

**General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University**  
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This book contains the proceedings inclusive of a peer reviewed section of papers presented at the 11<sup>th</sup> International Research Conference 2018 of General Sir John Kotelawala Defence, University Ratmalana held on 13<sup>rd</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> September 2018. No part of this Publication may be reproduced stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means including electronic, electrostatic, magnetic tape, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without prior permission in writing of the publisher. The contents published in this book do not reflect or imply the opinion of General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University or any other agency of the Ministry of Defence of the Government of Sri Lanka. They reflect and imply the opinions of the individual authors and speakers.

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## FOREWORD

The International Research Conference 2018 of General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University (KDU IRC-2018) was on the 13th and 14th of September on the theme, Securing Professional Excellence through Collaboration. It was held for the 11th consecutive year under the guidance of the Vice Chancellor, Rear Admiral JJ Ranasinghe. The inaugural ceremony of the conference was held at the auditorium of the Faculty of Graduate Studies, under the patronage of the Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, Mr. Kapila Waidyaratne. Many distinguished guests: Tri-service Commanders, members of the Board of Management of KDU, representatives of the Diplomatic Corps, Vice Chancellors of other state universities, senior officers of the Tri-services and the Police, graced the event.

The session was opened by the Vice Chancellor, and he warmly welcomed all the dignitaries and participants. Further, he briefly explained the significance of the theme of the conference and KDU's commitment to fulfill national responsibilities. KDU IRC-2018 awarded honorary professorships to two internationally eminent Sri Lankan born scientists, Professor Mohan Munasinghe and Dr Sarath D Gunapala, in recognition of their contribution to their respective fields of science, and to mankind.

Delivering the keynote address, Mr. Waidyaratne commended KDU for playing a leading role in moulding the future of the military as well as civilian youth who are in pursuit of high quality tertiary education in Sri Lanka. He also stated that KDU contributed immensely to the much needed research and innovation, despite being an excellent institution for learning and disseminating knowledge that empowers the youth by helping them to develop sound attitudes and skills.

KDU IRC - 2018 continued with the tradition of bringing together researchers, academics and professionals from all over the world. This conference particularly encouraged the interaction of scholars to present and to discuss new and current research. Their contribution helped to make the conference as outstanding as it had been. A significant

increase in the number of research papers received was noted at this conference. Out of 573 research papers received from both local and international scholars, 370 research papers were selected for presentation through the double blind peer review method. Each paper was reviewed by two independent experts in the field prior to selecting them for either oral or poster presentation. The selected papers were presented in nine research sessions, such as, Defence and Strategic studies, Basic and Applied Sciences, Engineering, Medicine, Allied Health Sciences, Computing, Built Environment and Spatial Sciences, Law and Management Social science and Humanities.

Technical Sessions were conducted on the first day of the conference in each faculty which drew approximately 55 guest speakers internationally and locally. Similarly, on the second day, parallel Plenary Sessions were conducted in the faculties under sub-themes, with the participation of approximately 370 experts delivering speeches related to their respective disciplines. The international guest speakers numbering more than 14 represented countries such as Japan, United States of America (US), United Kingdom (UK), India, New Zealand, Malaysia, Pakistan, Philippines, Burma, Indonesia, Bangladesh and Maldives,

KDU IRC-2018 was a unique research conference due to reasons, such as, international authors were facilitated to present via Skype remaining in their country; articles were automatically uploaded to Google Scholar in order to generate individual citations (H-indexing); the best papers of each category were published in the KDU Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies; and the best oral and poster presentation of each session were awarded.

This book contains proceedings of the sessions conducted under the disciplines of The plenary speeches and selected research papers presented at the technical sessions of the faculty are also included in this book, in addition to transcripts of the speeches delivered at the inaugural session. These Proceedings will no doubt furnish scholars of the world with an excellent reference book. I also trust that this will be an impetus to stimulate further study and

research in all areas. I also trust that this would stimulate enthusiasm among scholars to engage in further study and to demonstrate the national and international importance of conducting research. I thank all authors, guest speakers and participants for their contributions.

A conference of this magnitude could not have been realized without the tremendous and generous support of the academic and administrative staff of KDU, who contributed to making it all happen.

**Dr. Upali Rajapaksha**  
Editor  
Conference Chairman 2018

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## WELCOME ADDRESS



**Rear Admiral JJ Ranasinghe VSV, USP, psc, MSc(DS) Mgt**  
Vice Chacellor

A very good morning to you!

I cordially welcome the Hon. Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, Mr. Kapila Waidyaratne, and I pay my gratitude to you Sir, for accepting our invitation and for being with us today at this 11th International Research Conference of General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University.

Next, I wish to extend a warm welcome to our Keynote Speaker, Prof. Mohan Munasinghe; and the Guest Speaker, Dr. Sarath D. Gunapala, both of whom are very eminent and distinguished Sri Lankan scholars who have made their imprint in the international arena. We are proud of your achievements and we consider your presence here today, as truly encouraging and inspiring us at KDU, as well as for all conference participants.

Let me also warmly welcome the Tri-service Commanders and all the other Members of the Board of Management of KDU. Also it is my pleasure to welcome Your Excellencies of the Diplomatic Corps; Vice Chancellors of other State Universities; and Senior officers of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and the Sri Lanka Police.

I also wish to extend a warm welcome to all dignitaries, scholars and participants; especially those of you from our friendly countries, who have come all the way to adorn this international conference in Sri Lanka.

Ladies and gentlemen, let me bid all of you present here today a very warm welcome this morning; and extend our appreciation for participating in this important event of our calendar.

We at KDU consider this annual conference very seriously due to several reasons. First, it is instrumental in establishing and strengthening the much needed research culture within the university, and it permeates the same into other universities and higher educational institutions in the country as well as into the industry through collaborations. Secondly, it gives local participants and institutions invaluable opportunities to establish links and networks with international counterparts, which is essential for progression in respective fields of specializations. Thirdly, it directly and indirectly contributes to the national growth and development in the long run. So, we consider this international research conference as an investment for the future.

As you are aware ours is primarily the National Defence University of Sri Lanka and our primary mandate is to produce academically and professionally qualified officers for our defence services, and we have been doing this for the highest satisfaction of the services. But today KDU has identified the need to establish firm civil military relations to face the complexities in national defence today, and hence the commencement of day-scholar programmes has helped us to achieve that goal while reducing the burden

of the other state universities in providing adequate higher educational opportunities for our youths. The well-developed infrastructure, state-of-the-art facilities as well as the dedicated human resources at KDU are now being meaningfully utilized to extend its services to deserving civilian youths to follow standard degree programmes in diverse disciplines, and the success of our achievement is seen in the increasingly higher number of foreign students who join our courses from countries, such as, the Maldives, India, Pakistan, Bhutan, Nepal, Uganda and Japan; along with expatriate students from Australia, Canada and the Middle East.

Ladies and gentlemen, in the modern times, it is essential not to compartmentalize varied fields, but to instill multidisciplinary collaboration among them. Hence relationships with different fields of innovation help to bridge gaps and inculcate professional excellence, which is the challenge of the 21st century. This explains the validity of the theme of our 11th International Research Conference, "Securing Professional Excellence through Collaboration".

KDU IRC is an ideal opportunity for the academia and professionals, to meet, discuss and exchange views in an academic environment. What is special about our conference is that, it is enriched with the participation of many local and foreign academics in varied disciplines; along with individuals from all three armed forces and the Police Department. Therefore, this is the only conference in Sri Lanka that brings together civilian professionals and their military counterparts.

I extend a warm invitation to the local and foreign students, academics and professionals present here today, to present their research findings; engage with other researchers in your field of study; have fruitful discussions and build life-long friendships with each other.

I welcome all to the 11th International Research Conference of KDU.

Have an inspiring and unforgettable day at KDU!

## SPEECH OF THE CHIEF GUEST



Mr. Kapila Waidyaratne  
President's Counsel Secretary

Good morning, everyone !

Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, Secretaries to the Ministries, Commander – Sri Lanka Navy, Chief of Staff of the Army, Dampath Fernando and the Air Force, Sumangala Dias, Your Excellencies of the Diplomatic Corp, international organizational scholars and other distinguished invitees.

It is my privilege and honour to be present here as the Chief Guest of the inauguration ceremony of the 11th International Research Conference organized by the Kotelawala Defence University, at which I happen to be the Chairman of the Board of Directors of its management. Let me first express my thanks to the Vice Chancellor, and conference organizers for inviting me as the Chief Guest of this very significant event.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as the Defence Secretary and also the Chairman of the Board of Management, I am aware of the outstanding role played by KDU in the tertiary landscape of Sri Lanka. With the donation of this beautiful estate along with the Kandawala mansion by the late General Sir John Lionel Kotelawala, the third Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, KDU was founded in the 1980s as the only tri-service academy in the country to provide much needed university education to the officers of the tri-services. Since then, KDU has come a long way over the last several decades reaching heights that may not have been dreamt at its inception.

For the last thirty years, KDU has produced thousands of graduate officers of very high calibre to lead the Army,

the Navy and the Air Force, as highly disciplined and professional forces. In most recent times with its expansion to provide higher education opportunities to deserving civilian students, KDU has earned a name within and outside the country as a university that provides high quality tertiary education in diverse fields in a disciplined environment.

Today, with nine academic faculties, the Southern Campus and the recently established University Hospital, KDU has come to the forefront with determination to serve the nation in the best possible way. Therefore let me congratulate the Vice Chancellor and his able staff for the tremendous job, the excellent job done by them. Also let me take this opportunity to salute the pioneers of the university, specially the late General Sir John Lionel Kotelawala and Deshamanya Late General Dennis Perera, and let me not forget the political leadership of His Excellency the former President, J.R. Jayawardena, for the foresight to establish this University far back in the 1980s. Ladies and Gentlemen, the 11th International Research Conference that we are inaugurating today is a testimony for the significant role played by KDU in the field of higher education of Sri Lanka. As you are aware, it is not at all an easy task to successfully organize an annual conference of this magnitude considering the previous years. This itself indicates the strong commitment and responsibility of KDU to provide opportunities for the all-important task of knowledge creation and dissemination.

As you have already heard, and what I gathered from the Vice Chancellor, every year the number of research

papers submitted for this conference is on the increase. It is heartening to know that thousands of researchers from all over the country as well as the world consider this conference an appropriate platform to present their papers. Therefore in my capacity as the Chairman of the Board of Management of KDU, I too share with KDU the pride of the leading role played by this defence university in popularizing research, which I believe is an essential, key aspect in the nation's growth.

Ladies and Gentlemen, the conference theme, Securing Professional Excellence through Collaboration, is timely particularly for countries like ours in our quest for appropriate development strategies in the face of new global challenges.

We do need meaningful collaborations across diverse professional bodies, and we cannot be completely looking after our own interests in isolated compartments. So time has come for all professionals to unite in sharing the burden of developing our nation economically, socially and culturally, so that the future generations will have a safer world to live in.

I believe it is our professional responsibility, irrespective of labels of distinction such as scientists, doctors, engineers, lawyers, academics, administrators, military professionals or any other, to find opportunities for innovative collaborations. And in such initiatives we all must reach excellence in our own professional domains and it is in this respect that universities and higher education institutions play an important role.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is my belief that in this respect General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University is discharging its duty to the nation in a commendable manner. So let me conclude without taking much of your precious time as there are two eminent internationally recognized Sri Lankan intellectuals to deliver key note addresses at this conference. Let me once again thank the Vice Chancellor and the organizers for inviting me as the Chief Guest this morning. And let me also congratulate them for organizing a conference of this nature on a very timely and an important theme. Finally let me wish the two-day conference and both national and international participants a highly productive conference with intellectually stimulating deliberations.

Thank you very much.



## KEYNOTE SPEECH



### Professor Mohan Munasinghe

Professor of Sustainable Development, Sustainable

Consumption Institute, University of Manchester, UK

Founder Chairman of the Munasinghe Institute of Development, Sri Lanka

Good Morning to everybody!

Distinguished Audience, Vice Chancellor, Secretary, Service Commanders, Distinguished Guests Excellencies and of course fellow academics - I'm going to talk to you very briefly about Sri Lanka's sustainable mission and how we can achieve security, peace and prosperity through the green growth path. I would like to emphasize that we are looking for win-win solutions for people, the planet and prosperity for the entire globe. Now let me talk very briefly about the major issues that we face, i.e. threat for global security, and threats, such as, poverty and inequality due to resource shortages, shortfalls in the financial sector, disasters, conflicts and unfortunately weak leadership at the global level.

There is a concept called ecological foot print of humanity, which tells us how much of the planet resources we are using in total. In 2012, we were using one and a half times the equivalent of what the earth can sustainably produce, and by 2030 If we continue our present pattern of development we will need two planets! We know that we have only one planet. Sri Lanka is also exceeding its own ecological balance; it means we are chopping down the forests, polluting the water and so on. Now we have another question. It is the question of over consumption because if you look at who is doing the consumption, the richest people on the planet or the top 20% is consuming 85% of the resources, which is sixty times more than the poorest.

Sri Lanka has a dynamic nonaligned strategy; friend of all and enemy of none, which is something the President emphasized to me very much. The multipolar world order will be hopefully much more dependent on soft economic power rather than military power. And you have many poles of influence in the world. As we move to that, there will be disturbances, but Sri Lanka has a very key geostrategic position, and we can play a role in this. In case of climate change and global warming, there are two key facts which are the most important. The first point is; poor countries in poor groups suffer the most, which is manifestly unfair because the poor countries and the poorer people had the least to do with creating the problem. The problem was mainly created by the rich countries but the poor suffer. The second important point is that we follow this balance inclusive of a green growth path and make development more sustainable.

We can meet the challenge of climate change, as well as, all the other problems like poverty and so on. In the history, we have had many civilizations which lasted thousands of years. Whilst the Han civilization in China, Maurya Gupta Empires in India, Mesopotamian and the Roman Empire collapsed, eventually because of environmental and social factors, mainly over consumption of resources, there will be social divisions between rich elites and poor masses. So, these are very important aspects. We can learn a lot from the past history. If you take for example the hydraulic Systems in Sri Lanka, we had a wonderful

sustainable vision. For example, we believe that land belongs to the people and all living things while the ruler is only the guardian of the land; and King Parakramabahu had said not even a drop of rain water should flow into the ocean, without serving the man. If you look at the old dam anicuts, you will see that they were positioned exactly where the modern instruments tell us where they should be. They were ecofriendly and we had systems like the Velwidhana system and social system, controlling the flow of water which was extremely sustainable. So we have to be very much aware of these environmental and socio economic factors, scarcity of resources, inequality and conflicts which can also affect our present civilization. It could lead to some process of Barbarization where you have unrestrained market forces combining various problems like poverty, inequality and climate change, which would lead to a total breakdown of the planetary system. We also see the mass movement of refugees and other people which is more and more difficult to control, which is really a threat to global security in the future.

So, we now come to the last hope for mankind in a sense in this era, which is the 2015 sustainable development goals and the UN 2030 Agenda. How can we move forward towards a 21st Century Earth Eco-Civilization for a safer and better future? It is through the Balanced Inclusive Green Growth (BIGG) Path. The "Inclusive Green Growth Path", if you analyze the words- 'inclusive' means social; 'green' means Environment; and 'Growth' means Economy. These three elements are in the sustainable development triangle. And one of the core concepts that are extremely important here is, making development more sustainable. It is a call for empowerment and action. It basically says that sustainable development maybe very mysterious like a mountain peak covered with clouds. But we don't need to be discouraged. We will take one step at a time and climb up the hill, and eventually, we will reach the top. And the important thing here is that you and I, individuals, can make a difference.

We don't need to wait for Presidents, Prime Ministers and others to tell us what to do. Many of us know what we need to do. When we leave this room we switch off the light, we can turn off a tap, we can plant a tree, many things we can do that are extremely sustainable; so empowerment is extremely important. At the company level, we have corporate social responsibility and many other things. At the city level we can practice sustainable cities, and we come to the second core concept which is essentially what I told you before, that we need a prosperous economy specially with many millions of poor people in the world,

we need to bring them out of poverty, but we also need to look at the environmental side that is the process of growth. So we don't want to destroy the environment and we need the social side which is the most neglected part. Unless we have social harmony none of the other things will be helpful. We can understand nature quite well, such as, forests, lakes and the air we breathe. But we have neglected social capital, human and cultural capital, and we had a 30 year war which eroded a lot of our social capital, this is the glue that binds the society together. All of us have a major role to play in that.

Just to remind you of the 2004 Tsunami in Sri Lanka, which is a shining example of social capital work. We were in the middle of a civil war, a poor country, one in every five hundred people was affected by the Tsunami, and other countries thought our society would collapse. But we rallied; people went out onto the beaches, voluntarily helped other people and cleared the bodies. There was social capital at work. If you look at the following year, in Hurricane Katrina in 2005 in one city New Orleans, what happened? There was no social capital: there was a complete breakdown of law and order, looting, raping and other things were going on. It was shocking because it's a very wealthy country and a small city. Hence social capital is not necessarily the property of the rich. Poor countries have effective social capital networks; we have it in Sri Lanka; we must build it and we must continue with it. I must also tell you very briefly that we need to transcend boundaries within our own mind; also this is for innovation that is what universities have to do.

Values are extremely important. We have to replace unsustainable values with more ethical values. We need to think in terms of multi-disciplinary issues. We need to think in terms of the whole planet and not just our own backyards. We have to think in terms of long time spans, decades and centuries; and as military practitioners, I'm sure you understand that it should be a long range plan, not just today or tomorrow. And we need to work with all stakeholders, i.e. the Government, not only the Government but also the civil society and businesses. Just to emphasize the question of social values, it is unethical social values that actually drive our society towards injustice, violence, greed and selfishness. That has created the state of what I call not as economic development, but as maldevelopment. We are growing based on debt, poverty, inequality and so on, which is not a very healthy way to go, and that has created what is called the environmental death over-using our planetary sources and also causing climate change. When we deplete our natural resources,

there is more conflict. So, you have unethical social values. That is a vicious cycle. If you look at the pattern of wars today, there are no wars on weapons of mass destruction, the wars are all for resources for oil, water and land.

So, this cycle has to be broken, and we have to transcend disciplines to do that, we need to think in multi-disciplinary terms, and we need to bring the civil and business societies to work with the government to push them to strengthen democratic space and provide good governance. So, let me just briefly tell you that climate change is in a precarious situation today. We have 280 parts per million, and the main indicator is the Co2 level in the atmosphere. That was at a safe level 100 years ago or more. Today it's over 400. So, we are exceeding the safe level of Co2, and what will happen is that we will have global warming, we will have more rainfall in wet areas so you have more floods, landslides; and more droughts in dry areas and more deserts; and we will have storms, cyclones and other things in addition to sea level rise and overall temperature increase. So the economic damage over the last 50 years is rising and it's going to continue to rise. We need to survive climate change, specially to protect the vulnerable people, poor children and the elderly, in some parts of the world, such as, small islands like the Maldives, and others which will be completely submerged, and particular sectors and systems like agriculture, coral reefs and so on, but unfortunately we are not doing those things.

Talking of sustainable production, there are two key points to consider. The first one is sustainability and triple bottom line, i.e. finance and economy, environmental and social. Those three have become much more important, it's not only a question of profits any more. The second one is effective usage of resources. If you are producing shoes, if you can produce shoes using less leather, less energy and less water; it is a win-win situation, because you are reducing the burden on the environment, and also reducing your cost. So this is very attractive and now we have technologies, which are win-win. There are many technologies which we have applied, for example, in case of a garment factory in Sri Lanka, MAS Holdings, which shows you how resource efficiency works. We have looked at how carbon and energy are used in the life cycle of the product from raw material to manufacturing, to distribution to use and disposal. The main carbon emissions of a garment come from raw material, not only from manufacturing. What is the lesson for us? If you want to reduce emissions of carbon, you are not going to tinker with the manufactory process; you are going to talk to your procurement officer. The procurement officer must

buy raw material from the sources, which uses the least amount of carbon. It is not an engineering problem, it's a procurement problem. So this kind of analysis tells you where the hot spot is.

For energy, the hot spot is in manufacturing and distribution and in final endings. Why? Because people wash garments, that is energy, because of hot water. So these are methods on improving production processes; and let me just tell you that what we are planning here is to have sustainable consumers and sustainable producers working together because what you see in advertising today in the TV is mainly very unsustainable; it tells you to buy more and tells you to buy very unsustainable products. We have to break that side and eventually if we get these sustainable consumers and sustainable producers working together, we can eventually have a sustainable society and use modern tools. Traditional markets fall, so we can have organic markets and other things, where you go and buy the stuff, but for young people, it's online marketing. I'm supporting start-up companies which have huge sustainable online markets. Most young people who are in their twenties do not want to visit a shop; they go to the computer and shop online. So you have to have the tool to do the right thing and through these sustainable markets you can build a sustainable society.

In the sustainable Sri Lanka vision, we have hope for a thriving economy. We don't want to be poor. Being green and inclusive does not mean poor. We want to be prosperous and to lead a high quality life in an advanced stable economy, but it is green; it should be built on our traditional respect for nature, use resources efficiently and in an inclusive society. If you look into cross cutting issues, it has things like values, gender, international relations, security and peace; so all of these are integrated. This is one of the failures of Sri Lanka in every department of the Government. It is up to people like you, thought leaders, who can contribute to bring this integration about.

Let me just finish by saying we need to harmonize the economy, society and environment to build the democratic space in Sri Lanka. We need to work with the business society, civil society, the government, or all working together; and let me just end by reminding you that the situation in Sri Lanka has to be improved quite substantially because inequality has become much worse in the last two decades. Although GDP is growing, it is not reaching down. That is a very important aspect. Spatially also, the western province and so on are much better off than for example - the dry zone. We are not

investing enough in health; we are not investing enough in education rather low as a percentage of GDP. There are also other things, for example, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The Chinese government is very important for us strategically. If you want to be an Indian Ocean hub, we have to understand that we are right in the middle of the maritime BRR. So we need to be a friend of everybody and enemy of none. We have two major ports, Hambantota and Colombo right in the middle. So Sri Lanka's geostrategic position allows us to play a key role and the investments in the BRI will also help us to bring that about. But we have an important balancing act to play. And I think, the Foreign Ministry and security forces establishment of the country have a very important role in maintaining that balance and bringing prosperity to Sri Lanka. So, for the defense services you have to be good professionals; as professionals you have to be the best. But you have to also understand the economic, social and environmental dimensions of your job. And you have to broaden your perspective to bring those aspects this is difficult.

Although it is a difficult task, our graduates and others need to narrowly focus on their expertise and to be the best in the world. I think you can do much for building the nation, one nation and one flag, protecting the democratic space. And you have to understand the concept of National Identity. We all are Sri Lankans. We have a role in disaster, this is a peace time role going from conflict to resolution; through education and training, raising the standard of national conduct especially among young people; service to the nation; honesty; integrity; respect for nature and environment; respect for the society; law; tolerance and harmony; discipline; leadership; accountability; effectiveness and impartiality, and all of these values have to be rebuilt. My final message is that we face multiple problems, but we know how to address them. Unfortunately we need to do more; we have to go on the balanced inclusive green growth path. The Indian Ocean is a key area where we can do this. We need also to bottom up leadership; we don't have to wait for global leaders to tell us what to do. I think KDU and the Sri Lanka Defence Services can lead the way to peace and prosperity in the 21<sup>st</sup> century global civilization.



## GUEST SPEECH



### Dr Sarath D Gunapala

Solid-state Physicist and Senior Research  
Scientist, Jet Propulsion Laboratory, NASA, USA

It's my pleasure to be here today, and I'm going to talk about the exploration of our solar system and beyond in the next thirty minutes or so. I have small stories to make it memorable, and I hope you will enjoy it.

I work at NASA Jet Propulsion Laboratory (JPL). Our main business at NASA is exploration of solar system and beyond, using robotic space-crafts. If you hear anything in the news, such as, going to Mars, Rovers, Jupiter, Saturn or beyond solar system, that is what we do.

We design and build space-craft, and seven minutes after launching we take control of it. With the space network, we can listen to our satellites even beyond the solar system. Two of our satellites, Voyager 1 and Voyager 2, are stationed about sixteen billion miles away, so if you have to send a radio signal at one hundred and eighty six thousand miles per second, it takes twenty six hours to go and then acknowledgement comes twenty six hours later, and it keeps changing.

Our deepest space network system has three antennas set in Basku in California, Madrid in Spain and Canberra in Australia. So when the earth spins, we have 24/7 coverage. Why do we do this? When I fly for a long ride, if my neighbour sitting next to me somehow learns that I am a physicist working for NASA, ten out of nine times, irrespective of gender, colour of skin, religion or ethnicity, they ask, "Are we alone? Is there life in outer space?" Looks like the question, "Are we alone?" is somehow genetically

quoted into us. It's fascinating! It's interesting to note as to why we call this a solar system and not an earth system!

For nearly a few million years we believed the earth was flat, we were at the centre and everything and the universe spun around us. Normal people, also called Homo Sapiens; in Latin, homo is "man" and sapiens is "wise" – "wiseman" – were very egocentric and less tolerant, so they thought everything was around us; but some people thought otherwise. Some thought there were other worlds, and they were put to silence very quickly by execution. Aren't we glad we live in more tolerant times today? We can say, "It's flat", "It goes around or not", "I don't believe in it", etc. People may argue with you, but not get physical. I'm going to talk about different types of space-craft we use, one example for each satellite class, such as, Voyager, Cassini, Phoenix and Curiosity. Then I'll talk about the hunt for other earth-like planets and recent developments in the search for life in our solar system and beyond.

JPL was formed by the California Institute of Technology in 1936 as a graduate student experiment with the involvement of six students. JPL gave the first orbiting spacecraft called Explorer 1 to the United States of America in 1958. The first two Russian spacecraft were Sputnik 1 and Sputnik 2. We have about 9000 staff, located in Pasadena in California at the foot of St. Gabriel Mountain. In 1940, JPL's first claim to fame was the development of something called jet assisted takeoff, during the World War II, for planes to takeoff at very sharp angles, so in enemy

territory it was very helpful. In 1950, they developed the first guided missile for the United States Army, and in 1958, they designed the first orbiting satellite called the Explorer. Today, we have thirty one robotical spacecraft, two beyond the solar system and the balance twenty nine are around different planets. The four types of spacecrafts we use today are: Flybys, Orbiters, Landers and Rovers. Sometimes planets align; in that case it is much more cost effective to send one satellite to observe few planets. It happens once in one hundred and seventy six years; they are the major planets: Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus and Neptune. Voyager is a Fly-by. We built two voyagers, Voyager 1 and Voyager 2; and launched them to Jupiter in 1976. Jupiter, the largest planet, is a thousand times larger than the earth and does not have a terrestrial land; instead it's just a gas bowl with many moons. Before sending the Voyager, we knew of only four moons, discovered by Galileo called Galilian Moons, bigger than our moon, but Voyager 1 discovered fifty four moons, so Jupiter has fifty eight moons. It's fascinating! In one of the Galilean moons, we observed a big volcanic eruption. This was the first time we observed a volcanic eruption beyond the earth. All the planets of the solar system are on one plain called the Solar Plain.

Voyager 2 was sent two weeks behind, in case something goes wrong with Voyager 1. Saturn is a magnificent planet, also a gas bowl. It has a fantastic ring system, first observed by an Italian astronomer. Its density is so low, if you can take this serene and beautiful Saturn to the ocean, it will float. Its rings are formed with ice particles; some are like sand pebbles and some are big chunks of ice, as big as ten meters. Close to about sixty moons were observed in Saturn; the biggest moon is Titan, at which temperature is very low and ice water is frozen. Another moon of Saturn is called Enceladus. It is a very small moon covered in ice and it has water-rivers. Hence, it has a lot of interest. Voyager is very interesting. Professor Carl Sagan, Professor of Cornell University, encouraged JPL to put a message if there is any intelligent life elsewhere. So we made a copper record quoted in gold with greetings from fifty five languages including "Ayobowan", one hundred and fifteen pictures, a variety of natural sounds of birds, whales, giraffes, lions, etc., and also President Carter's and the then UN Secretary General Waldheim's message, classical and western music, and also we put a needle and sign language if intelligent life captures it they will figure out how to play it. We put a map of the solar system so that they would know from which planet it came from. We also put sign language indicating where we are and where it came from. It is hoped for someone to find it; similar to

in early days when people got lost in the ocean or stranded on an island, they would put a message to a bottle, hoping someone would find it.

The first Lander was launched to Mars in 1975. An Italian astronomer found canals in Mars. So, Hollywood movie makers hypothesized Marshians; little men with big heads, complied with Darwin's theory of evolution. We believed Martians were more brainy. Of course now we know Mars does not have intelligent life, but there could be microbial life.

Curiosity is the largest rover we built; it has ten instruments, cameras and very powerful lasers, which would analyze signals coming from vapour to find out what kind of minerals it has. Curiosity has been working on Mars since 2012, and we are building the next one called Mars 2020, and it will be launched in 2020, it will take eight months to go to Mars. We will launch when Mars and the earth are close, so it doesn't have to travel across the solar system, which would otherwise take years. Mars and earth get close every other year. We are about one hundred million miles away. One Martian year is two earth years. We landed on a crater with a five kilo metre high mound. Why did we select this location? From previous Rovers, Landers and Orbiters there is evidence that Mars has running water. We know on earth, life was formed as soon as it had water. So we thought if Mars has running water, this crater could have water. We wanted to explore whether there are rivers. There were pebbles without jagged edges, instead they were circular, because for millions of years they would have rolled over. One hundred to two hundred years ago Mars had frozen ice like frozen mud, so in Summer times, it melts. The question is if it had water, what would have happened to it? Scientists believe that when the inner core gets colder and becomes solid, it is called a dead planet as nothing moves, and there is no current and no magnetic field. Therefore, due to blasting of high energy solar wind, the water would have vapourized.

Cassini orbiter launched in 1997 on a journey to Saturn, landed in Venus. Until Cassini, we didn't know Enceladus had rivers. We sent Cassini five miles above the surface of Enceladus. It was a very risky maneuver. We found it has geysers, everything that a primordial soup needs. Now we know of four places that have water: Mars, Europa (icy moon of Jupiter), Titan and Enceladus. We want to investigate all four. We are very much interested in sending a very specific satellite to Titan to explore the possibility of life. We encourage NASA to fund. Actually NASA funded Europa Clipper Mission last year. Europa

is one of the large moons of Jupiter discovered by Galilio. In Europa ice cracks all the time, but we don't know the cause. By 2020 we are going to find out whether there is life.

In 2009 we launched the Kepler telescope to find extra planets orbiting around our neighbouring stars. So far we have found five thousand planets. Out of three thousand five hundred of them we found only two earth-like planets; and in one we think there is water. We shouldn't get discouraged; as the Galaxy has two hundred and fifty billion stars. So far we have discovered about two hundred and fifty billion galaxies. If each star has ten planets, there are so many planets more than all the words uttered by human beings in the last several million years; probably one hundred thousand planets in our solar system that can probably have life.

Now we are building a lot of big telescopes for astronomy. The current largest telescope is a ten metre telescope located in Hawaii. We think with large space telescopes we can hopefully find life elsewhere, within our neighbourhood and in the near future. When looking for life, we look around for earth-like blue planets (blue for water), medium in size, hovering around. Bigger stars or giant red stars burnout fast as their life time is short. Medium size stars like us survive longer for about

a million years and their biological process is lengthy, so there is plenty of time to evolve.

The building blocks of life are carbon and hydrogen. There is plenty of these in the universe found by NASA's Spitzer space telescope developed about twenty years ago, still in space. Life must be around carbon and water base. Life can come in surprises. Look at life on earth? Take a bird, lion, jelly fish, human, snake and a giant tree. To explain a snake to a person from another planet – how do you explain? We have this animal as long as a rod, no hands, can swallow his prey five times bigger than his mouth, can move two feet per second, can kill a person like me in a couple of hours by biting and injecting some proteins allergic to us, etc. So when we look for life, it can be in different forms, but water and carbon base.

Our ancestors, probably two and a half million years ago, never thought we would walk on the moon; escape the gravity of earth; become the second kind of species, not the first generation, etc. What's happening? Scientists are making new life! A couple of years ago, French scientists made an artificial rabbit. They took the glowing florescent of a jelly fish and mixed and made a glowing rabbit or a luminous rabbit. Now homosepians are creating life. Many cultures or societies in the East and mostly the West thought only God can create life. Homosepians can play the role of God, too! A question for you!

## VOTE OF THANKS



**Dr Upali Rajapaksha**

The Conference Chairman,  
KDU International Research Conference 2018

Honourable Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, Mr. Kapila Waidyaratne, Keynote Speaker, Professor Mohan Munasinghe, Guest Speaker, Dr. Sarath D. Gunapala, Tri-service Commanders, Members of the Board of Management of KDU, Your Excellencies of the Diplomatic Corps, Vice Chancellors of other State Universities, Senior Officers of the Tri-forces and the Police, Our most valued invited guests, Academic and Administrative Staff of KDU Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is my privilege to propose the vote of thanks on this occasion. An event of this magnitude cannot happen overnight. The wheels started rolling months ago. It required planning and a bird's eye view for detail. I have been fortunate enough to be backed by a team of motivated and dedicated colleagues, who were willing to take on the completion of tasks beyond their comfort zones.

It is with pride I announce that we received more than 573 manuscripts, from local and international authors, and approximately 350 of them are published. Moving with the times, this year's conference offers great opportunities to presenters, such as the ability to deliver presentations via Skype; and to upload Google Scholar in order to generate individual H-indexing citations.

It is with utmost pleasure I announce that we have also given many opportunities to internal and external undergraduates to share their research findings at our conference, as either poster or oral presentations.

On behalf of KDU, or let me call it fraternity of the one and only Defence University of Sri Lanka, I extend very hearty thanks to our Chief Guest, Honourable Secretary to the Ministry of Defence, Mr. Kapila Waidyaratne; for gracing this occasion. The Support we received from the Ministry of Science & Technology and Bank of Ceylon was immense.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge our gratitude to the Guest Speakers, Professor Mohan Munasinghe and Doctor Sarath Gunapala, for sharing with us their findings and opinions. We are all inspired by your great words. You are an enormous pride to our motherland.

My special thanks go to our Vice Chancellor, Deputy Vice Chancellor Defence and administration and Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic, for your consistent guidance throughout this journey.

Ladies and gentlemen, we thank you for being with us this morning.

Have an inspirational and fruitful day!



## SESSION SUMMERY

### FIRST PLENARY SESSION

The 11th KDU International Research Conference was organized under the theme “Securing Professional Excellence through Collaboration” was participated by elite defence experts representing world renowned military colleges, universities and think tanks. The defence session had two plenary sessions and four technical sessions.

#### *DR. Arvind Gupta*

The first speaker of the plenary session was Dr. Arvind Gupta, Former Deputy National Security Advisor and secretary and Director, Vivekananda International, Foundation, India. In his presentation titled “Challenges for International Collaboration in Facing Unconventional Security Threats”. He highlighted that Nations today face a variety of unconventional threat to their security. He further stated that in the absence of precise definition, there is no single definition of what constitutes unconventional threats. It is widely recognized that such threats transcend the conventional understanding of hardcore military threats to a nation’s security. Over the years, climate change, terrorism, food, water and energy shortages, migrations, drug and human trafficking, organized crimes, cyber security health pandemic, demographic imbalances, poverty and inequality etc. have been recognized as nontraditional security issues. He stated that in this environment failed-states incubate terrorism and many other instabilities.

Dr. Gupta was of the view that many of these threats are inter-connected and transcend boundaries. No country alone can deal with them. According to him unconventional security issues are often rooted in governance, development, lifestyle and culture as well as domestic politics. Dealing with them poses a challenge. International collaboration is essential to deal with them. One challenge is how to evolve regional and global security architecture to deal with nontraditional security issues. He shared the opinion that the international community has initiated several landmark initiatives, such

as UN Sustainable Development Goals, UN resolutions on terrorism; Paris climate change accord, UNCLOS etc. However, he further emphasised that the implementation of these agreements and initiatives has been tardy and there are many impediments effective international collaborations ranging from multiple agendas, geopolitics, poor capability, inadequate international regimes etc.

#### *Major General Muhammad Samrez Salik HI (M)*

The second speaker was the Director General, Institute for Strategic Studies, Research and Analysis (ISSRA) National Defence University, Pakistan. He focused on Pakistan’s perspective on “Military’s approach to upholding National Security”. The presentation was aiming at discussing the contextual importance for Pakistan because of the consistent national security challenges faced by the country since its inception. The presentation has shed some light on history of Pakistan between 1947 and 2001 which marks a period of monumental events having a direct bearing on the national security structures. The presenter was of the view that Pakistan with its nascent state organs took shape in a highly securitized external environment. He further stated that Pakistan’s threat perception, since then, revolved around ensuring its defense against external aggression while the internal front remained marred with political chaos, compounding the national security imperatives. Apart from its traditional and expected role, elements of Military, especially Pakistan Army has been repeatedly called upon for the tasks which were well beyond the scope of its ordinary call of duty.

During the presentation it was revealed that the security challenges faced by Pakistan are complex and intertwined with issues relating to identities, modernization, globalization and a specific set of regional and geographical circumstances. Towards western borders, Soviet invasion of Afghanistan left enduring marks on the collective psyche of Pakistani nation, playing havoc with the fragile socio-political and economic structures greatly impacting national security of Pakistan. Security situation in Baluchistan is simmering for last few years



where the militants are devoid of a cause and political support and collude with external powers to destabilize Pakistan. He stated that towards their eastern borders world is witnessing a precarious situation of human rights violations in Indian administered Kashmir, which remains the unfinished agenda of partition between Pakistan and India.

Major General Salik mentioned that Pakistan's Military operates as one of the Element of Nation Power within the national security architecture where all other elements of National Power pursue common objectives within their own domains. Pakistan's Military, therefore, discharges its duties within the bounds of Constitution of the State, following a "Whole of The Government Approach". He was of the view that in a peculiar national security environment Military may have to assume lead role thereby creating necessary conditions for all other elements of National Power to eventually ensure sustainable development of the masses.

Maj General Salik's presentation was concluded by establishing the opinion that Pakistanis, have proven case to be a progressive, peace-loving, enterprising, vibrant and resilient nation.

### ***Ravinatha Ariyasinghe***

The Third presentation of the first plenary was conducted by additional secretary, Economic Affairs and Trade of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The title of the presentation was 'Professionalism on the battle field and beyond'. He presented the point that in recent times conflicts have shown that for sustainable peace battlefield victories must be followed by the rehabilitation, reconciliation and re-development. The presentation highlighted the importance of learning lessons from other countries that have faced similar situations and engage with them to collaborate to understand their successes and failures. He further illustrated how the rapidly growing global security environment could be benefited from such collaborative efforts.

### ***Professor. Young Ho Kim***

Young Ho Kim, the forth speaker was the Director – General of RINSA and professor at the Korean National Defence University in South Korea. His presentation title was "Reconciliation of two Koreas: Process and prospect"

was largely aiming at three things. First, he explained the on-going negotiation processes of denuclearization of North Korea and parallel efforts of reconciliation between two Koreas. Second, it will attempt to examine the prospect for success of such processes and efforts. Further it analyzed why the current processes of denuclearization and reconciliation has ignited. He identified four factors that have contributed mainly to a launch of two processes such as sanctions, Trump, Moon, and Kim factors. Third, he explained how the South Korean government plans to pursue the two processes of denuclearization and reconciliation in the peninsula simultaneously. He emphasized that how important it is for Korea since its simultaneously having the campaigning period for the presidential elections. He further stated that the Moon Jae-in administration has emphasized the importance of peaceful solution of North Korean nuclear problems and establishment of a permanent peace regime in the peninsula. Thus, the presentation shed the vision, goals, strategies, and measures that the Moon administration envisages and pursues to achieve the success of two processes, and then, highlighted its differences from other approaches to both denuclearization and reconciliation.

Finally, after identifying main obstacles that may hinder pursuit and implementation of such actions by the South Korean government, he proposed a few policy suggestions to overcome those obstacles. Suggestions included not only actions that should be taken by two Koreas but also those by other major stakeholders around the Korean Peninsula like the U.S., China, Russia, and Japan.

First plenary session was ended with a question and answer session.

## **SECOND PLENARY SESSION**

### ***Air vice Marshal Dr. Tatan Kustana***

The first speaker of the Second Plenary Dr. Tatan Kustana, from Indonesia Defence University presented "The Role of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika to strengthening security system in Indonesia and the challenges in the future"

In his presentation he stated that Indonesia is a unitary state in the form of a republic, based on article one of the 1945 constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. The guidelines to carry out the life of nation and state are the

values of Pancasila and the rules on 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. These values contain sovereignty and territorial integrity, togetherness, respect, loyalty, and dignity as a nation. Moreover, Indonesia is a unitary country that has diversity in many aspects, which basically could be potentially vulnerable due to the ethnic diversity, language, religion, race and ethnic groups. This is a factor that could trigger social conflicts and create a destructive force against the national integrity of the state. At least, there are several challenges that has to face by Indonesia in the future, such as the diversity of tribes, cultures and languages, and also the religious concerns. However, Indonesia is able to unite the diversity according to the motto "Unity in Diversity or Bhinneka Tunggal Ika", which means "different but still one as the nation". He further stated that the essence of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is the tolerance for all the differences. He emphasized that this motto was able to unite the plurality of Indonesia. The implementation of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika by the citizen in their life basically could strengthen the security system of Indonesia. He concluded by saying that the concept of Bhinneka Tunggal Ika in strengthening the security system is not a form of hard power but using the soft power approach can be applied in the life of the nation and state.

### ***Prof. Gamini Keerawella***

The Second Speaker Professor Gamini Keerawella, The Executive Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies shed the light on National security. According to him it is a critically important, constantly evolving and characteristically amorphous concept. He stated that from the very conception of the state, security remains one of its main functions. It has been argued that the state, the supreme political institution that claims the exclusive right to sovereignty, came into existence mainly to fulfill security needs of the society. To Thomas Hobbs, security is the *raison d'être* of the state. Accordingly, the state is the principal security provider for its citizens. At the same time, the security of the state is a critical precondition to discharge its security functions. Then he questioned, what is really meant by national security? Broadly speaking, national security denotes the ability of the nation to protect its internal values and assets from external threats. It is an axiom that military is the tool of national security. Security of the state depends on its power. Power was defined only in terms of military power. He was of the view that security was nothing but

the politico-military security of the state and the 'hard' military strategic security took precedent over the 'soft' economic dimension of security.

According to professor Keerawella the pedantic rigidity of the traditional national security paradigm began to thaw with the questioning of the narrow statist-bias and the primacy given to the military element in the concept in the 1980s. The challenges emerged from three directions simultaneously. Firstly, by presenting a report on 'Common Security', the Palme Commission ignited a new discourse on security. Secondly, the academic tradition identified as Peace Research developed an alternative paradigm by bringing the social groups and the individual as units of analysis. The Peace Research analytical frames developed by scholars such as Johan Galtung and Kenneth Boulding has widened the disciplinary confines of security studies. Thirdly, the human security discourse that evolved in the UN framework placed the concept of security on a different plane by reconfiguring peace from a human-centered perspective and bringing in a number of references of security and its various dimensions.

The main thrust of his presentation was to argue that human security is not an alternative to national security. The security of the state can be reconfigured from a human security perspective to capture the totality of the security paradigm.

He further argued that the rejection of state-bias in the traditional concept of national security does not mean that security of the state is not important. Security of the state is considered as a very important prerequisite for the other references of security. When the state is insecure the entire society becomes insecure. But, the stark reality is that security of the state is not simply the security of territorial integrity vis-à-vis external threats; it is definitely something more than that.

He further stated that in rereading national security in line with the new security discourse, we need to give due consideration to the human base as a unit of reference of security. It is true that the state is a mainly judicious-legal abstract; but the human base is its soul and content. When the human base of the state is insecure, the state cannot be secure. He further lustrated that it is necessary to bring other references of security such as the individual and the collective identities along with the state and to grasp national security in a broader analytical plane.



Professor Keerawella mentioned that Human security places human beings—rather than states—at the focal point of security considerations it captures many aspects that are vital for the survival of the people who remain outside the traditional security analysis. Human security and human development are closely related. He was of the view that survival means protection from violence as well as from malnutrition, disease and natural disasters. Human security emphasizes the complex relationships and often-ignored linkages between disarmament, human rights and development.

#### ***Brigadier General Hammed Shafeeg***

The third speaker was the Director General of operations and training at the integrated headquarters of the Maldives National Defence Force and Deputy Director General of National Counter Terrorism Centre, Maldives. He presented the Challenges of an Island Nation – The case of Maldives. The presentation was aimed at providing an insight into the unique characteristics of a small island nation and the challenges faced mainly in the context of national security. It highlighted the key facts about Maldives, its military apparatus and the application of national security in the view point of an island nation. The key areas of national security threats in the contemporary world are covered by religious extremism, piracy, trafficking and so forth. Brigadier General Shafeeg Focused especially on these asymmetric and transnational

threats that challenges the world today and which is of vital concern to a small island nation.

#### ***Major General Dato Abdul Rahim Bin Hj Mohd Yusuff (Retired)***

The last speaker of the second plenary was the First Holder of the Leadership Chair, National Leadership office NDU, Malaysia, Major General Dato Yusuff. He shared the view that Malaysia's geographic location in the centre of South East Asia is highly strategic. Therefore, her close proximity with the neighbours can be interpreted as having both strategic and economic significance in the region which in turn could leave her vulnerable to numerous security threats. It has been 61 years since Malaysia achieved her independence. Malaysia has progressed as a nation despite the turbulent period in her formative years, as well as the many incidents occurred in past decades threatened her national security. The security dynamics of the region have changed even beyond Malaysia's prediction and anticipation which links with transnational threats. As per him, recent experiences have proven that a security threat will come from the most unlikely source and in a non-traditional manner. It is therefore prudent that Malaysia nurture and maintain the various security engagements and cooperation in the region and beyond to overcome these threats.

All the session were concluded after a question and answer session.



# “PIRATES OF THE ARABIAN SEA”: SOMALI PIRACY IN THE HIGH SEAS AND ITS CHALLENGES UPON INTERNATIONAL MARITIME SECURITY

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**Abstract-** This paper elucidates the contemporary challenge from Somali piracy for international maritime security. It traces the history of piracy in modern period and why piracy has become a difficult issue in terms of international law of the sea as a result of some ambiguities in defining scope of high sea and pirates. In this paper, we argue that the practical difficulties arising from UNCLOS regarding activities in the high seas have created a loophole for the expansion of piracy. Nevertheless, this paper will provide insights on how piracy can be addressed through combined efforts of international law of the sea and maritime security mechanisms.

**Keywords-** High Sea, Piracy, International Law

## I. INTRODUCTION

International law scholar Prof. Barry H. Dubner has pictured the term piracy as “acts of murder, robbery, plunder, rape and other villainous deeds which have transpired over centuries of mankind’s history”. (Dubner1980) In an old U.S judgment delivered by the Supreme Court called *United States Vs Smith* states piracy as a crime against the peace and order, in fact it was very first court case that has dealt with the issues on piracy in the proceedings. Indeed, the acts relating to pirates and their acts usually conjure up in one’s mind. The macabre scene where villains holding swords with the symbols of a skull and, strike ships in the sea, and slaughter the passengers or may be it would romanticize an image of a hero like “Captain Jack Sparrow” who explore the unknown sea into infinity for the sake of adventure as it

depicted in Hollywood movie series. In any case, today Piracy has become a severe issue in International Law of the Sea and international security, because the activities of Somali pirates which are heavily prevalent in Arabian sea which also has shuddered most of the commercial ships and shipping companies. In the early part of 90’s Somalia was in a middle of a civil war and this chaotic internal instability allowed Somali fishermen to adopt alternative approaches as their way of living. (Petrig 2011) Those hapless fishermen organized themselves to be goons in the sea with their small boats and initially their targets happened to fellow wealthy fishermen who were fishing in the Arabian Sea belt. Gradually the piracy turned into an industry of blood money earning in Somalia and the pirate activities began to spread from Somali coast to the Arabian Peninsula. Somali pirates were also audacious to extend their piracy activities to Indian Ocean in some instances. This situation had agitated Security Council concern as a threat to international peace and security and which passed a UN SC resolution 733/1992 with regard to the situation in Somalia.

## II. LEGAL DEFINITION OF PIRACY

Piracy gives different meanings for different people and as the introductory statement, it could be stated that piracy is an act of violence. The modern legal understanding of piracy was begun in 1932 Harvard Research Draft. Even this draft became foundational cornerstone for later development relating to piracy. However, in a more legal manner, a relevant definitions on piracy is seen in the Article 39 of the International Law Commission Draft, according to it acts of piracy should consists of following.

- I. Any illegal act of violence, detention or any act or depredation committed for private ends by the crew or the passenger of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed.
- II. Any act of voluntary participation in the operation of a ship or an aircraft with knowledge of facts making it a pirate ship or aircraft
- III. Any act of incitement or international facilitation of an act described in sub-paragraph 1 or sub-paragraph 2 of this article.

Apart from the definition given by International Law Commission draft, both the 1958 Geneva Convention on High Seas and ILOSC have aptly defined the term Piracy and pirate activities properly in the black letter law. According to the Article 15 of 1958 Geneva Convention on High Seas Piracy is defined as follows

- i. Any illegal acts of violence, detention or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed:
- ii. On the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft;
- iii. Against a ship, aircraft, persons or property in a place outside the jurisdiction of any State;
- iv. Any act of voluntary participation in the operation of a ship or of an aircraft with knowledge of facts making it a pirate ship or aircraft.
- v. Any act of inciting or of intentionally facilitating an act described in sub-paragraph 1 or sub- paragraph 2 of this article.

The piracy in International Law of the Sea has been mostly mixed up with the International Maritime Law. Especially the bodies that are working against the piracy have emerged under International Maritime Legal mechanism. For instance, International Maritime Bureau is a non-profit of organization, which was started in 1981 to collect data on all kind of maritime crimes. This particular association had paid serious attention towards the international piracy and according to their definition piracy means unlawful acts as defined in Article 101of the 1982 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The infamous “*AchilleLauro*” incident caused

to concern to much about the protection of the vassals. In “*AchilleLauro*” case some of Palestinians hijackers attack the Italian cruise “*AchilleLauro* in international waters, Thirty miles from Port Said, Egypt.(Kraska 2010) The cruise was caring near about 90 passengers and twelve among them were the American. Ultimately this situation led the path to draft the 1988 “SUA convention, and came into force in 1992. This SUA convention which does not apply to warships or other military or police ships, where Article (1) specifies as offences of certain acts against shipping, including the seizure of ships and the endangering of safe navigation by the use of violence against persons on board or by damage to the ship, its cargo or equipment, and attempt to commit those acts. Under the Article 5 of the SUA convention, state parties make those convention offences punishable according to their laws. This SUA convention is an instance which proves the fact International Maritime Law has intervene the scope of Law of the Sea in terms of upholding the law and order in navigation against piracy (Churchill 1990). In fact IMO has considered this issue as a grave problem and it maintains a centre in Kuala Lumpur to monitor the incidents relating to piracy. Now it is important to look at the regulations laid down by the UNCLOS 1982 on piracy. In the convention piracy is defined in Article 101 as follows. Piracy consists of the following acts:

- i. Any illegal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship or a private aircraft, and directed:
- ii. On the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft;
- iii. Against a ship, aircraft, persons or property in a place outside the jurisdiction of any State
- iv. Any act of voluntary participation in the operation of a ship or of an aircraft with knowledge of facts making it a pirate ship or aircraft;
- v. Any act of inciting or of intentionally facilitating an act described in sub paragraph (a) or (b)

The interesting point relating the piracy is that International Law of the Sea has enabled the states to seize a pirate at any place beyond the territorial sea, according to Article 105 on the high sea or any other place outside the jurisdiction of the coastal state that pirates can be

arrested by any of the state. But Article 106 verifies such a seizure only can be taken place on the basis of adequate grounds of suspicion.

### III. SOMALI PIRACY IN ARABIAN SEA AND ITS THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL MARRITIME SECURITY

Generally, piracy has been considered as a common feature in high seas, due to the fact that high seas opens to all the states and there is no specific jurisdiction in high seas. However, the Somali piracy seems to be a hybrid case and its strange nature has made the international security mechanism quite complicated. There have been incidents reported that in most of the cases Somali pirates have attacked the foreign vassals in the high seas and after the seizing the vassals those attackers have sailed them to the territorial waters of Somalia and it had complicated the international security mechanism. The rigor of the piracy has alerted many of the states and UN Security Council resolution 1816/ 2008 gave foreign warships the right to enter Somali territorial sea for the purpose of repressing the acts of piracy and armed robbery at sea by all necessary means. However, entry into Somali water is permitted with the consent of the Somali Transitional Federal Government based on a bilateral agreement. As we stated above the complex nature of Somali pirates in Arabian Sea has jeopardized the international maritime activities and the cohabitation between International Law of the Sea and International Maritime Law is heavily visible in this context. As an example, several countries have deployed their navies on independent patrols for safety of their merchant ships. These include Japan, China, Iran, Russia, India and South Korea. Since Article 87 of Convention on High Seas states that “High Seas are open to all the states” the given states have come forward to maintain the navigational security in Arabian Sea. As a matter of fact the international concern over Somali piracy was doubled in the increase of pirate activities that took place in 2008. As a protective tool the Djibouti code of conduct for the repression of piracy and armed robbery against ships in the Western Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea came into force from January 29 of 2009, it was signed by nine countries of the region.

By looking at the Law of the Sea rules on piracy and its inadequacy to cope with the issue that one can understand the fact that the piracy definition given by UNCLOS is rather narrow. It's 105 only discusses about

the action on the high seas and only action undertaken by one ship against another ship. Also it has only included the necessity of involving two ships in the act, but the question arises how those law adopted by the Article 105 of UNCLOS become possible in a moment where the ship crew or passengers have turned into be violent. Correctly, the taking of control by hijackers embarked as passengers on the Portuguese ship Santa Maria in 1961 and on the Italian cruise ship *AchilleLauroin* 1985, which had extensive press coverage, were not considered to be piracy. Especially with regard to the Somali piracy issue in Arabian Sea, in some of the cases Somali pirate activities have taken place in territorial seas and the Article 105 of UNCLOS does not cover such situations. On the other hand it is in some rare circumstances that Somali pirates come to strike the ships from their own ships and in most of the cases the pirates use their own skiffs or some little boats for their onslaughts, indeed such creates a reasonable doubt to which extend those acts can be categorized under piracy by the very conventional Article given by the UNCLOS. It may be underlined that acts preparatory to piracy and other acts of violence not directly linked to piracy are not included in the definition.

### IV. STATUS OF CAPTURED SOMALI PIRATES

As it mentioned, international law accords universal jurisdiction to the courts of the seizing state. This jurisdiction, applicable under Article 105 of UNCLOS for the seizure and arrest of pirates on the high seas, applies also to seizures and arrests in the territorial sea of Somalia under the Security Council resolutions referred to above. Seizing powers in other words those states those who are fighting against pirates have greater powers over the captured pirates, especially under the UNCLOS they have been given a universal jurisdiction. However, in most of the cases those states that captured pirates seem too reluctant in taking any legal actions relating to those pirates. As an example Denmark once captured so many pirates in one of their operations, but Danish authorities were not willing to prosecute them according to Danish legal system and finally they were released (Ritzau,2014).

The reluctance of seizing states to prosecute and try pirates is implicitly taken into account in the resolutions of the Security Council. Resolutions 1816 and 1846 contain the following provision...

*calls upon all states, and in particular flag, port and coastal states, states of the nationality of victims and perpetrates or piracy and armed robbery, and other states with relevant jurisdiction under international law and national legislation, to cooperate in determining jurisdiction and in the investigation and prosecution of persons responsible for acts of piracy and armed robbery off the coast of Somalia, consistent with applicable international law including international human rights law, and to render assistance by, among other actions, providing disposition and logistics assistance with respect to persons under their jurisdiction and control, such victims and witnesses and persons detained as a result of operations conducted under this resolution.*

### V. CONCLUSION

The challenges arose from Somali pirates activities in the Arabian Sea have become detrimental to the international peace and order, not only that it is connected to the international terrorism as well. In such cases, the Piracy should not be neglected as an insignificant matter. Perhaps the new trends in international law can arise with the piracy issue such as use of force by other states in the high sea (where the states should only engage in peaceful activities) but the UNCLOS provision which grants power to all the states to seize a pirate ship enables states to apply use of force in their actions. In Saiga No 2, which was decided by International Tribunal for the Law of the

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Sea, has stated international law requires that the use of force must be avoided as far as possible and, where force is inevitable, it must not go beyond what is reasonable and necessary in the circumstances. Considerations of humanity must apply in the law of the sea, as they do in other areas of international law.

Indeed piracy has created new paths in International Law of the Sea and as I stated above the pirates related issues in Law the Sea has been interwoven into the mechanisms of International Maritime Organization. However, the piracy in Somalia has started to reduce by now and the applicability of SUA convention and Interstate cooperation has made a significant influence in the area of Law of the Sea.

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# SEA POWER OF ISLAND NATIONS IN THE 21ST CENTURY: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR SRI LANKA

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**Abstract-**This paper discusses the importance of applying the maritime concept of Sea Power as a pragmatic strategy to counter non-traditional maritime security threats to Sri Lanka. The researcher, as a practitioner as well as a scholar in the field of maritime security, argues that the lack of coherent functionalism between maritime strategies and practices is a key to the maritime security problems faced by countries such as Sri Lanka. This is a research conducted by studying the maritime concept of Sea Power, maritime practices of small state navies and challenges and opportunities with special reference to Sri Lanka. Sea Power is broadly defined as the military and civil maritime capabilities of a country. Sri Lanka is more vulnerable to non-traditional maritime security issues such as drug trafficking, gun running, terrorism, piracy, poaching, marine pollution, human smuggling, illegal transfer of item and Illegal Unregulated and Unreported (IUU) fishing activities. Therefore, counter strategies should be developed by taking the maritime theories and practices into consideration. The research problem highlighted the inadequacy of addressing the social reality in the field of maritime security in Sri Lanka. Further, it is intended to examine how these maritime strategies could be applied as a practice to strengthen the national security of the country. This puzzling issue highlights the significance of understanding the concept of Sea Power and its usage. The objective of this paper is to draw attention to understand the necessity of transition of maritime strategies to practitioners to take effective actions. The researcher has selected qualitative research method with collecting data from secondary sources and this includes scholarly articles, books, case studies, journals, etc. Further, the researcher use data collected through his personnel observation. A theoretical review is discussed with the broad theoretical framework of 'Strategy as

Practice'. The requirement of affiliation between maritime theoreticians, developers and practitioners is seen as the primary need to address the national maritime challenges of the day.

**Keywords-** Sea-power, Island Nations, Strategy as Practice

## I. INTRODUCTION

Sea power generally covers the area of the military and civil maritime capabilities of a country. Sea power defined as the capacity to influence the behavior of other people by what you do at or from sea (Till, 2013, p.87). With the geographical location of Sri Lanka all the main sailing lanes in the region are running closer to her. Adams Bridge is a barrier for sailing, which connects Sri Lanka with Indian sub-continent. These geographical features of Sri Lanka faced horrific consequence when transferring people and goods in India throughout the history. In an island nation, the Navy is the most vital maritime security component. Further, navies and coast guards are the main constituents of sea power. Therefore, coastal states deem to strengthen with, importantly, military naval capabilities.

Sri Lanka being an Island nation, land power and air power needed to be coordinated with sea power. Strategies need to develop with the understanding of the prime requirement of national security. Therefore, strategies needed to be conducted to understanding the suitability of the practice, maritime perspectives and its philosophy. Sri Lanka has the advantage of maritime geography and long existing maritime community. However, there are

many challenges in the area of non-traditional maritime security issues in the country. For an example, most of the illegal physical infiltrations are flowing into the country via maritime environment. Therefore, Sea Power of a small nation such as Sri Lanka helps to counter maritime threats and challenges.

Security strategies have been developed by the maritime nations throughout the history based on the perspective of maritime environment. They have given prominence to sea, land and air power domains. "What should be the strategic objective of a coastal state?" is the prime question before the strategic elites of any coastal state. It is essential to understand the significance of maritime resources, maritime economy and maritime people when understanding the strategic objective of a coastal state.

Establishing of a 'Sea Power' was one of the maritime strategies experienced and succeeded by the great maritime empires such as England. Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan of the US navy, highlighted the importance of sea power by mentioning, six basic elements. They are geography (access to sea routes), physical conformation (ports), and extent of territory, population, character of the people and character of the government. These strategies needed to be understood by strategists. Contemporary Sri Lankan maritime security environment faces the threat of transnational crimes such as Drug smuggling, Human smuggling and gun running. There are reported incidents of Sri Lanka continues to be utilized as a transit point for drug smuggling from the 'Golden Triangle' and the 'Golden Crescent'. Further, heroin is routed via Sri Lanka from Pakistan or India on a big scale by sea, by containers and mechanized fishing craft (Wijegunaratne, 2012). Since the threat is prevalent, countering strategies should be implemented as practices. The absence of proper strategies would be addressed in this research based on the theory of 'Strategy as Practice', through the view of 'Sea Power'.

## II. METHODOLOGY AND EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

This research is about the social behavior of maritime security components by applying of strategies into practice of maritime affiliations. This broader area of social science

needs to prove with logical reasoning of theories based on laws of cause and effect. The researcher will be using qualitative methods to collect data. This will be collected from the secondary source of books, articles, journals, website releases, dissertations, video and audio materials and published data of expertise in the field of maritime security and researcher's own observations.

## III. RESULTS

### A. Theory of 'Strategy as Practice'.

Policy makers in the field of security build strategies to maintain the behavior of security organizations and transfer to practitioners in the field of maritime security. The strategy is there to understand as an activity or practice. Strategic management is the art or science, of governing an organization with the aim of implementing intentions (Golsorkhi et al., 2010). The researcher argues that, practitioners have to be assigned to formulate and implement security strategies, reproduce them whenever needed by doing the necessary changes. This process has to be managed by the national security organization organisation of a country.

Sri Lanka's main security decision-making body is the Security Council, which is headed by HE the president. The strategic decisions are taken at the frequently held SC meetings in order to delegate the authority to the respective security stakeholders to implement those strategies on ground. Military heads of Sri Lanka Navy and Coast Guard are delegating these strategies to ground level practitioners for implementation. This is the general procedure of flow of security directives to practitioners in the field of maritime security.

Practice is a very special concept and by studying about the practices will enable the researchers to examine the issues that are relevant to those are dealing with developing the strategies. This process further helps to understand suitable theoretical background to address particular issues (Golsorkhi et al., 2010, p. 1). Therefore, there should be a fine amalgamation of maritime security and its uses on ground. The concept of sea power as a maritime strategy in Sri Lanka should be deeply studied and discussed before developing security policies and the same must come to the agendas of practitioners.

**B. Concept of Sea Power**

Sea power supersedes land power and air power on the concept of maritime security. The maritime historians; Admiral Mahan, Julian Corbett and modern maritime experts such as Robert Kaplan are eminent figures of maritime or sea power. The term 'sea power' is a relative concept and the researcher prefers to utilize this term in the context of investigating Sri Lankan maritime capabilities.

At a closer look, it is evident that maritime security lies over all the five sectors of security. Admiral Michael Mullen, U.S. Navy admiral and 17th Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, points out that

*'Where the old maritime strategy focused on sea control, a new one must recognize that the economic tide of all nations rises not when the sea is controlled by one, but rather when they are made safe and free for all' (Till,2013,p.36).*

However, defining of Sea Power becomes a contradictory and a debatable topic as vice Admiral William Crowe said 'You are absolutely correct, we are victims of our syntax...some of the things we write in the Navy are not necessarily understandable' (as cited by Till, 2013, p.23). A comprehensive study of the concept of Sea Power is a boosting force to this research. Geoffrey Till, the book of Sea power – *A Guide for the Twenty First Century* is a third updated edition of the book. This book is essential for the study about naval power and maritime security. Under the topic of '*In Search of Sea Power*' states, humankind did not take the sea for any one single cause, but for a variety of reasons linked to the four attributes of the sea itself, each of which is intimately connected with one another. The four attributes are the sea as resources, the sea as a medium of transportation, the sea as a medium of information, the sea as a medium for domination. This book itself gives a broader idea about Sea Power. The researcher found interesting definitions of sea power and it can be elaborated as in the diagram below.

Navies are integral parts of the maritime domain of a state. In the context of Island nation's navies and coast guards should be the predominant security bodies to provide

maritime security. England, Australia, New Zealand and Japan could be taken as example for strong island nations which have the ability to provide strong maritime security. To an island nation significance of maritime domain is unquestionable. In the IOR island nations such as Mauritius, Sea Shells and Sri Lanka are increasingly recognized as opportunity countries to maritime domain offers (Malcolm, 2017).

The constituent of Sea Power link together and help to determine the development of country naval and maritime power (Till, 2013,p.88) and it can be elaborated as in the diagram below.

Establishing of Sea power in a country is directly helpful to strengthen the national policies. Sea power is a collective effect of military and civil maritime capabilities of a country. Military maritime capabilities can be achieved via naval operations and civil maritime capabilities can be achieved via commercial operations. Military maritime capabilities are basically naval ships, craft, naval surveillance systems and costal protection units. Under civil maritime capabilities, merchant shipping, fishing, marine insurance, ship building and repairs can be taken into consideration. To establish sea power the combination between these two elements are essential.

The geo-strategic importance of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) was understood by the great maritime historian, Alfred Thayer Mahan. During the cold war United State of America was a maritime power and the USSR was a land power. Lack of maritime expansion became a losing point for USSR to dominate USA in the Cold War Admiral Mahan's maritime concepts were so influential in the field of maritime studies, most of the contemporary maritime security architectures are designed based on those concepts. These historical examples prove the gamut of nature, of a concept called, 'Sea Power' and Sri Lanka being an island nation, these strategies must incorporate with security policies of the country.

**C. Identifying the constituent of Sea Power and maintain good order at sea.**

According to figure 2, navies are linked with constituent of Sea Power and interlinked to each other. These constituents have been used in early Sri Lankan maritime domain. Sri Lanka had a great history as a maritime nation with archaeological prove of the voyagers of

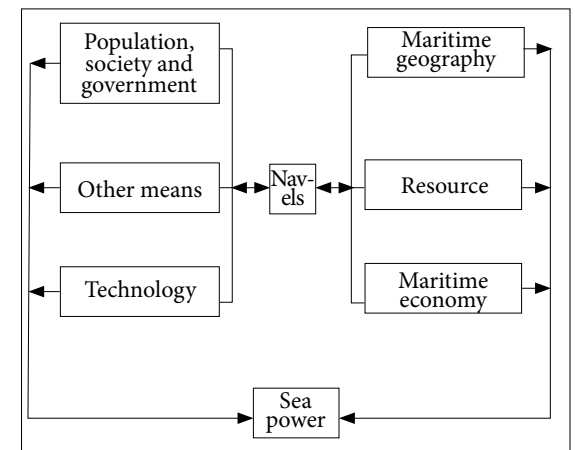


Figure 2. The constituents of sea power (Till, 2013, p. 88)

King Parakramabahu I in the kingdom of Polonnaruwa (Karannagoda, 2008). In a maritime nation, people, society and government are contributing to maritime domain development. Sri Lanka is a small state which, has greater opportunity to contribute to maritime related activities. It is the responsibility of the respective government of Sri Lanka to admire this and strength civil and military maritime capabilities.

When comes to the technology, Sri Lanka Navy, Coast Guard, Air Force air surveillance should be developed with modern technology and government has to take a strategic approach to facilitate maritime security stakeholders and maritime people. The location of Sri Lanka in IOR gives excellent maritime geographic opportunity of coasts, harbors, proximity of important sea lines of communication and ease of access to the open ocean. When comes to maritime economy, Sri Lanka required to give prominence to shipbuilding and repair, the fisheries, marine insurance and ports. Eighteenth century Royal Navy grabs their opportunity to be a strong Navy in the world. Therefore, it is a matter of choice to government of Sri Lanka to decide, how much money a country chooses to spend on Navy.

The main attributes at sea are key pillars to maintain good order at sea. In 21st century maritime security divide into a 'home' game and an 'away' game (Till,2013.p.283). Internal security issues could be addressed by the partnership of government departments, agencies and international partners, whereas to address external threats, holistically international maritime collaboration

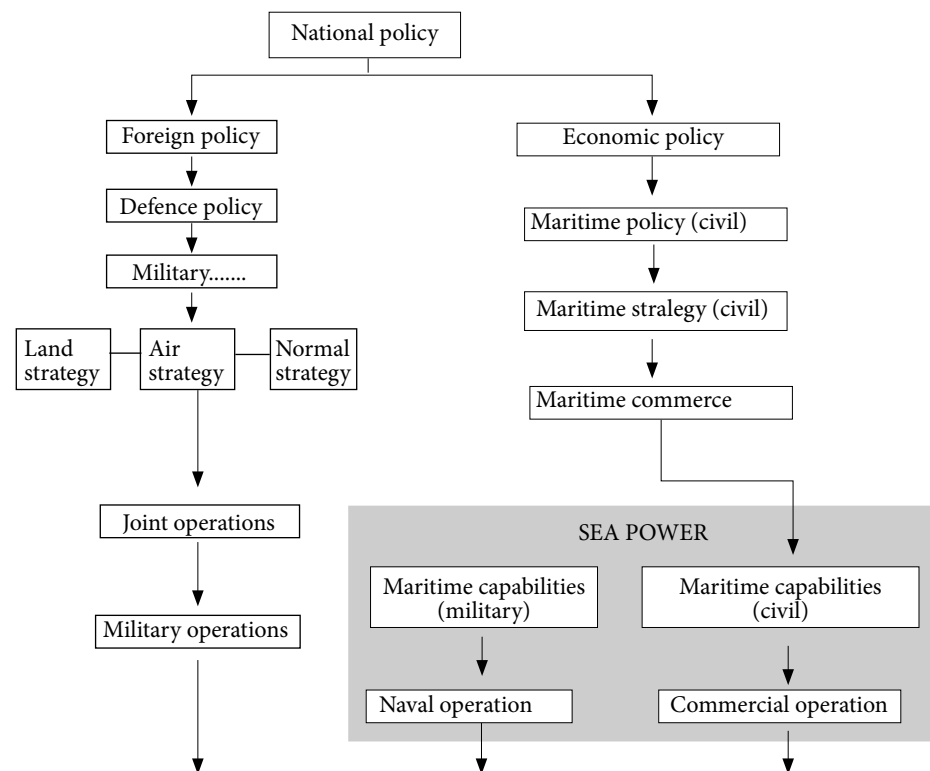


Figure 1. Sea power and its setting (Till, 2013,p.24)



is required. The reason is present day non-state actors who are engaged with transnational maritime crimes aren't considered any national boundaries in their operations.

The following figure illustrates the main attributes and threats to good order at sea.

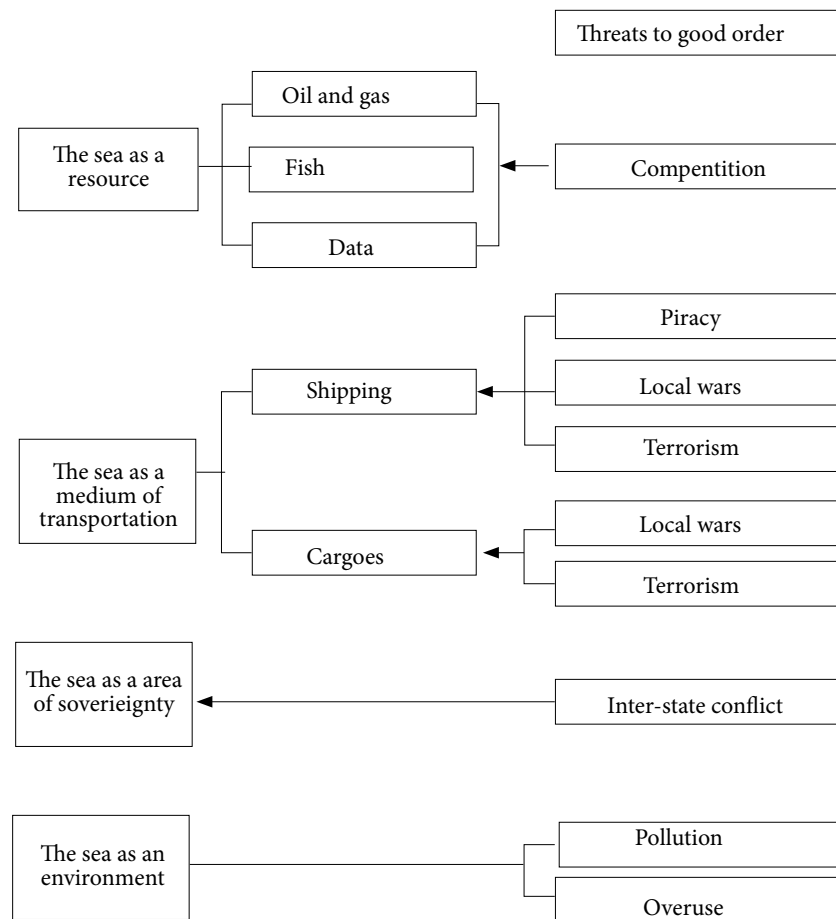


Figure 3. Threats to the attributes and good order (Till, 2013, p.284)

According to figure 3, Sri Lankan maritime security architecture must be strong enough to counter threats to good order at sea. The location of Sri Lanka in IOR has the mammoth of opportunities to use the sea as are source to harvest fish, explore oil and data transit. On the contrary rivalry between state and non-state actors to the interest over maritime resources are notable in the IOR. As an example LTTE exploited Indian fishing trawler fleets, which were engaged in IUU fishing in northern waters of Sri Lanka to ferry their cadres, fuel, explosive and other war fighting materials mainly from South India

to Northern, North Western coasts of Sri Lanka. IUU fishing is linked to transnational maritime crimes, money laundering and illegal trafficking of drugs (Colombage, 2017). Therefore, there are many opportunities to smugglers to use IUU fishing as a shield to transfer illegal items into Sri Lankan Waters

Sri Lanka is situated adjacent to one of the busiest shipping lanes in the world. Around four nautical miles (one nautical mile = 1.852 km) south of the Dondra head of Sri Lanka 'Traffic Separation Zone' is marked (Haslam, 1987)

and it gives the directions and laws to the ships to operate in a heavy ship traffic area. With the geographical location of Sri Lanka all the main sailing lanes in the region are running closer to her. Therefore, the naval responsibility of providing maritime security and Search and Rescue (SAR) operation assistance is the main role.

**Sri Lanka has clear demarcation of maritime boundaries around the country.**

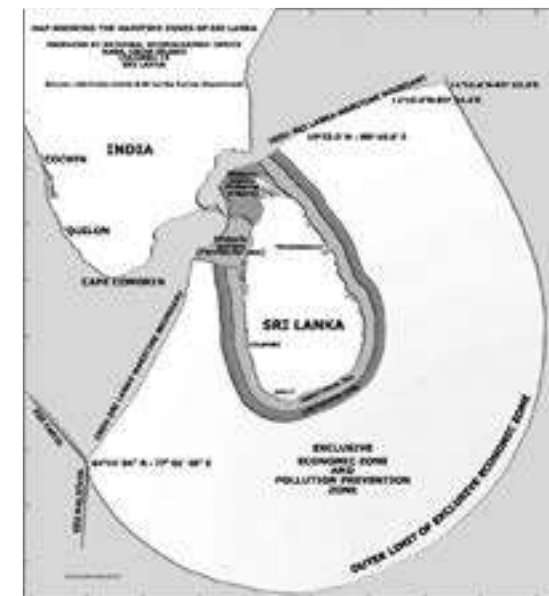


Figure 4. Maritime Zones (Sri Lanka Survey Department)

According to figure 4, the demarcation of maritime zones around Sri Lanka is very clear. However, North and North West sea of Sri Lanka are vulnerable to the encroachment by Indian fishermen to do Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing. Even though IMBL has imposed by law, still there are discrepancies over fishing rights in the balk bay by Indian and Sri Lanka fishermen. Therefore, sovereignty could be challenged by this issue.

The Sri Lankan coastal area is also vulnerable to sea erosion, deterioration of coral reefs, mangrove, sand mining, etc. Overuse of these natural resources could be negatively affected to the maritime environment. Further, pollution due to massive sea transportation could be a greater challenge to Sri Lanka. Therefore, to counter aforesaid maritime security threats and challenges,

required to develop a security mechanism to maintain the good order at the sea.

Developing of Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA) is a key requirement to maintain good order at the sea. Maritime domain is encompassed " all areas and things of, on, under, relating to, adjacent to, or bordering on a sea ,ocean, or other navigable waters, including all maritime related activities, infrastructure, people, cargo, vessels and other conveyances" (NMDAP, 2013). Maritime Domain Awareness is basically an effective understanding of anything which associated with maritime domain which could impact security, safety and economy of a country (Department of the USA Navy, 2009, p.2). Sri Lankan maritime security environment Navy and Coast Guard are the outermost defence layer. Therefore, they are the practitioners who fulfil the requirement of MDA. It is the responsibility of maritime policy makers to implement integrated maritime governance in order to apply the strategy into practice. However, many non-traditional maritime security issues are still penetrating to country with giving huge impact to national security.

Non-traditional maritime security issues are the most notable in the present security environment in Sri Lanka. Conceptual understanding of maritime strategies is important to take a policy decision by military decision makers. However, researcher has observed lack of understanding of concepts and theories into practice in this study. To maintain good order at sea, these maritime concepts must implement an Island nation like Sri Lanka.

**IV. CONCLUSION**

The comprehensive understanding of maritime concepts and theories are very important in the field of maritime warfare. The conceptual understanding of these theories is the key success for practical implication in maritime operations. The concept of 'Sea Power' is the main area of study in this research. Under that, researcher comprehensively discussed about main attribute at sea and constitutes of sea power. Understanding of these concepts by maritime security policy makers are essential to counter, non-traditional security issues and to maintain good order at the sea. Further, theory of 'Strategy as Practice' given a theoretical value to this research. Naval warfare is an art and deep study of military strategies by policy makers and practitioners.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations suggest to implement to strength maritime security in Sri Lanka.

- a. Develop a Sri Lankan maritime doctrine.
- b. Establish a joint operation center to look into matters related to maritime domain with a domestic cooperative security strategy. This would be helpful to operation commander to take prompt action to a particular situation.
- c. Establish an academic maritime security center to cooperate policy analysts, policy makers and scholars in the field of maritime security.
- d. Political decision should take to give priority to spend on Navy and Coast Guard to provide maritime security.

The existing maritime security structure in Sri Lanka lacks the proper study of maritime theories and concepts. The effort of understanding the context should include the understanding of the work of practitioners in the field of maritime security. The significance of national contribution to strengthen the maritime security of Sri Lanka clearly needs to be identified by the maritime security policy makers.

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CYBER SECURITY IN THE MODERN WORLD:  
AN ANALYSIS OF CYBER SECURITY AND LEGAL  
FRAMEWORK IN THREE ASIAN COUNTRIES

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**Abstract-** The advent of information technology has resulted in advanced but virtual or cyber security threats, which decree that all nation states must safeguard their virtual boundaries and information with the same fervour as their physical boundaries. Paying attention to the multiple cyber-attacks across the world, it was identified that a strong framework to monitor hacking and other cyber threats, and well-developed mechanisms and organizations to guard national interests on multiple platforms were essential if any country is to tighten its security and ensure protection of data. This qualitative research uses secondary sources and examines three case studies from Asia and analyses the weaknesses (if any) of the government’s legal framework in each country, the successes of the case study, and best practices that other countries could use from their experiences. This is balanced by the personal experiences and observations of the researcher as an employee of the industry. The legal ramifications and framework take focus in this research, and it is intended to provide a road map to governments for future cyber security investments. The paper analyses the legal frameworks in each country to better understand the necessary legal measurements to ensure cyber safety, and it offers recommendations to governments towards combatting cyber terrorism and data loss.

**Keywords-** Cyber security, Cyber warfare, Best practices

I. INTRODUCTION

The advent of information technology in the form of the internet has resulted in advanced but virtual or cyber

security threats, which decree that all nation states must safeguard its virtual boundaries and information with the same fervour as their physical boundaries. Cyber threats are any illegal activity and malicious attempts aimed at accessing, damaging or interrupting a computer system or network (Romanosky, 2016; O’Connell, 2012; PNC, 2015). They use malware, phishing attacks, SQL injection attacks, cross-site scripting, denial of service, session hijackings, and credential reuses to attack the system (Rapid7.com, 2017). According to the Cyber Security Report (2017), in the past decade, there have been several thousand threats launched over the cyber space. In India, the first half of 2017 saw 27482 threats (Salman, 2017). In 2017 alone, global cyber security crime cost an estimated USD 1 trillion and it is expected that costs will be 6 trillion by 2021 (Forbes, 2017), which is one-third of the gross domestic product of the USA in 2015 (Trading Economics, 2017). Thus, a major threat to contemporary national security has arisen in the cyber arena motivated by financial or political goals.

Cyber threats have far-reaching consequences for both the government and private sectors. The attacks on LinkedIn (Wood, 2016), My Space (Francis, 2017) and Tumbler (Hern, 2016) in the period 2012-2016, as well as the softwares WannaCry (Symantec Security Response Team, 2017) and Petya (Solon and Hern, 2017) have elaborately demonstrated the devastating legal and economic consequences and backlash of an attack – whether perpetrated maliciously by an outside threat or through the inadvertent actions of an insider. Given the global reach of these attacks, the global banking industry invests heavily in solutions to combat such threats.

According to Cassim (2017), currently the most encountered malware programs are “Gamarue, a malicious computer worm that is commonly distributed via exploit kits and social engineering; and Skeeyah and Peals, which are Trojans that try to look innocent to convince users to install them.” These malware programs operate by stealing information (credit card information, passwords, birthdate information, etc.), downloading other malware onto the computer it is currently inhabiting, or by providing access to a hacker so that the hacker can access the information and systems of the computer. The solution software industry is expanding rapidly, offering solutions such as cloud-based, application-based and physical resources (software and hardware) to prevent, counter, and combat attacks from both outside and inside.

Governments face threats far in excess of what private companies do and they run a larger risk in not updating their security measures. The recent allegations over Russian influence in the US presidential elections (The Sydney Morning Herald, 2018) are a case in point of the need for increased government vigilance on all fronts, especially the cyber space. If a country is to tighten its security and ensure protection of data, it was identified that a strong framework to monitor hacking and other cyber threats were essential, along with well-developed mechanisms and organizations to guard national interests on multiple platforms.

#### **A. Sri Lanka’s History of Cyber Threats**

The country has weathered many threats, especially with organised groups hacking into government networks in the mid-1990s. During the height of the war, the LTTE released many high-impact pictures of murdered civilians and bombed locations to tarnish the Sri Lankan brand. In recent times, revenue has been lost due to data breaches and system downtime. Given that an increased overall attack pattern on government and critical services can be observed, Sri Lanka must understand the interconnectedness of national security and cyber security. Sri Lanka lags in its approach to and understanding of cyber security, a situation that needs urgent rectifying, given the continued as well as recent attacks on both governmental and corporate entities.

#### **B. Bangladesh**

A major breach of security occurred in Bangladesh, which shone a light on the vulnerabilities that many developing nations labour under. Cassim (2016) reports that “more vulnerable countries saw over 40% computers hit by malicious software compared to the world average of 21%.” The modern-day, digital bank robbery in Bangladesh had repercussions around the world, linking Asia and Europe in its reach.

#### **C. Singapore**

The developed country addressed in this research, Singapore provides the best practices for others around the world to follow. With a comprehensive legal framework put in place following the attack, Singapore provides safety not only to its citizens but also to other countries.

## **II. METHODOLOGY**

This is a desk research looking into the threats faced by the governments of Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Singapore, with the view of understanding the larger ramifications of being vulnerable in the cyber space. The research aims primarily to bring to the fore the need for cyber security management and secondarily to provide examples of best practices from the region for use by governments. The paper answers the following research questions: Firstly, what legal framework exists for cyber security threat management in each country? Secondly, what are the threats that these countries face in economic, political, and diplomatic spheres due to cyber threats? Finally, what are the current best practices in combating cyber terrorism? Do these countries use them and if not, why do they not?

## **III. RESULTS**

#### **A. Sri Lanka**

‘Lanka Clear’ is the central cheque clearing agency in Sri Lanka, handling all financial transactions in terms of

cheque management for all banks and financial institutes. It comprises of members of all banks as the management body and regulates the industry for payment management in cheque mediums and is a highly regulated agency governed by the Central Bank directives that cover cyber security, governance and information management (Lanka Clear, 2018). In late 2000s, a focused attack was executed on the web applications and website of Lanka Clear due to un-deployed web security protocols (although mandated by the Central Bank), where the website was compromised, and hackers commissioned by the LTTE working out of India gained access and administrator rights to the website. Subsequently, disturbing images of murdered children and war-torn areas were published across the website with links and screen captures sent to war crimes units. The purpose was to pressurize the Sri Lankan government into entering a ceasefire agreement as the LTTE battle lines had fallen in most locations. Due to the lack of a strong web security and governance cycle, Sri Lanka suffered a substantial loss in terms of trust and financial stability within the region. As Lanka Clear is the only cheque processing facility in the country, regional financial organizations and trade partners expressed concern in terms of the compromise of critical data pertaining to transactions carried out with Sri Lanka as well as the safety of data within Lanka Clear.

Cyber-attacks have also caused regional instability by affecting several countries interconnected in cross-border financial transactions. The Bangladesh Bank attack is a strong example of the financial and reputation loss incurred due to cyber-crime (Khandelwal, 2016b). The banking standards for interbank financial transactions is governed by SWIFT policies. The Bangladeshi Central bank was operating their core services without the implementation of a core firewall within their network (Kumar, 2016; Khandelwal, 2016). The functionality of the said device is to monitor all information transferred in and out of the central bank for irregularities. In May 2015, four bank accounts were opened in the Philippines Bank that were used in 2016 to instigate a cyber-attack amounting to an estimated US\$1 billion (Schwartz, 2016). The attack was carried out on the same day in February 2016 attacking the core digital cash transfer system of the Bangladeshi Central Bank, due to the lack of a core firewall to protect the network. Since the attack was not reported in depth, some information is based on available estimations. The attack provided the hackers with access to the core server that was used to execute the said transactions. The destination countries were Sri Lanka and Philippines where 35 payment instructions

worth \$81 million (Gopalakrishnan and Mogato, 2016) were issued from the Federal Reserve Bank. The attack was successfully carried out with only the final few transactions being rejected due to a spelling error in the issued payment advice, which alerted the Deutsche Bank who flagged it as suspicious. A total of \$81 million was withdrawn during February 2016 leading to one of the largest overhauls within one single country in the SAARC region.

#### **B. Singapore**

In January 2013, a global hacking organization, Anonymous announced war against the Singaporean government (Lee, 2013). The reason highlighted was the \$130 million investment by the Singaporean government to counter cyber-threat and hacking within the island nation. Anonymous claimed that the hacks they carry out is for ethical purposes to highlight corruption and threats globally and that if a country is investing against their interests, it would launch a cyber war against such opponents. Accordingly, in mid-2013, attacks were launched against several government institutes as well as the government-managed newspaper ‘Strait Times’ or ST (Lee, 2013). The reason for the attack on ST was that a journalist within the newspaper had changed anonymous quotes from launching a war against the “Singaporean government” to “Singapore”, purposely focusing on an attack on the country rather than on the government. An Anonymous hacker named “Messiah” claimed responsibility for the attack. In addition to the attacks against the government, Anonymous instigated an attack against Standard Chartered Bank, attacking servers held at Fuji Xerox Singapore. It was noted that data belonging to over 647 high net individuals were stolen and the same hacker was linked to the attack.

As a result of the attacks and focused hacking attempts, the Singaporean government engaged in an Asia Pacific- level Cyber Threat Readiness Agreement with Australia. This provided a strong platform on which to engage the resources of both countries in fighting cyber threats via a regional Security Operations Centre or SOC, which is utilized to analyse data from each country’s critical systems to ensure that irregular activities do not take place. The systems provide a proactive mechanism to counter cyber threats and attacks. In November 2017, both countries announced that the cyber threat platform in place had yielded positive results showcasing the possibility of managing threats via regional cooperation.



IV. DISCUSSION

A. Sri Lanka

In the case of Lanka Clear, there was a problem with sensitive data because Lanka Clear is the only cheque processing facility in the country. This fact has led to an expressing of concern by concerned parties such as regional financial organizations and trade partners in relation to both the safety of sensitive data and the safety of working with Lanka Clear. As a remedial mechanism, a web security appliance was launched, but this proved to be a reactive action as the damage to the country was already done. Lanka Clear is still used as a focus point of government-based financial processing and this provides a strong platform to increase awareness within the government sector on cyber security protocol. At present, Lanka Clear has transformed itself into a highly compliant entity engaging best-of-breed cyber security products to battle continuous attacks to the network. Although the entity itself is now compliant, Sri Lanka is yet to create a strong cyber security policy in terms of law making and enforcement as well as management of data or information shared amongst government bodies and third-party organizations. Thus, it is possible to see that the repercussions of a cyber-attack extend far beyond the immediate time frame. Companies such as Lanka Clear need to be vigilant from this point forward to ensure both that a similar incident does not happen and that its reputation is cleared.

B. Bangladesh

Following the massive heist, Bangladeshi banks commenced heavy investments into security technology and services. In addition, the government set strong regulations via the Central Bank to govern the process of data processing and management. As noticed within the case study, regional effects of cyber-attacks spread beyond a nation's boundaries leading to damaged trust that can affect a country's economy, development and growth. Bangladesh as a country had not focused heavily on cyber security readiness and investment as it had not faced traditional threats within this sphere. On realization of the attacks and the damage it caused to both the country as well as the people, heavy investments were made within this domain. The central bank of each country governs most of the data management regulations and this was noted to be lacking within the country. In addition to the following, a strict national guideline

was initiated for cyber security threat identification, management and resolution. This was deemed to be of crucial importance as it engaged the whole country, on the matter of readiness for the expected non-traditional wars in future.

C. Best practices – Singapore

The island nation is positioned with a strong regional ability to combat cyber-threats due to the knowledge hub and infrastructure built around cyber-threat defence mechanisms. Due to the organized attacks launched against the country, investments on data management, identification, monitoring and threat response have yielded strong outcomes within the cyber-threat mitigation domain. As most hack attempts remain undetected for months, the Singaporean government noted that successfully managing cyber-crime and threats needs a strong mechanism for detection. Thus, the government's investment into a regional Security Operations Centre has provided a working platform and model for other countries to follow. According to several cyber groups that rank countries based on cyber threat readiness, Singapore has featured as a strong global force in combating cyber-threats.

An analysis into the Singaporean success story shows three major components that contributed to building a strong nation geared for cyber war: Information dissemination – Sharing of information and best practices have been a key feature (Koh, 2017). Singaporean governmental and private institutes invest heavily in training and development as well as knowledge sharing across departments and groups. It was noted that most attacks no longer arise externally but internally due to accidental malware and virus outbreaks. Information dissemination assists in combating such threats as all stakeholders are regularly updated on current threats in each organization.

The second component is threat detection/response. Each organization's ability to detect anomalies in the network and mitigate accordingly has been a key differentiator in the level and severity of data loss. As most government organizations in Singapore follow a fixed standard to protect information, this process becomes easier. Countries such as Bangladesh and Sri Lanka execute ad hoc protection mechanisms that are not standardized across entities. Due to these reasons, when attacks and threats successfully enter the institutes, it provides a

platform to move into other organizations through communication channels. Singapore maintains strict mechanisms to detect threats via continuous proactive software solutions. In addition, the central bank and other security-related agencies provide a guideline on best practices to mitigate risks and threats from cyber-attacks. A strong detection and response mechanism is essential and recommended for all countries and organizations to maintain a sustainable cyber-attack readiness framework.

Thirdly, regional cooperation ensures Singapore maintains a strong data sharing policy, for information and threat responses. Singapore leads the region in training and development. It is noted that whilst countries such as the USA and China maintain strict policies on sharing information, Singapore embraces an open culture of learning and sharing of past experiences and threat vectors with all entities. This provides a faster learning curve for developing countries as well as gaining diplomatic ground for other trade and knowledge-based ventures. Regional cooperation extends to assisting government entities fine tune their data protection policies, as seen in Australia as well as Japan. Singapore maintains a threat-response mechanism that provides regional data to the government as per agreements signed between nations as well as security governance entities. The mechanisms adopted by Singapore promote sustainable growth of cyber defence policies. It must be noted that cyber warfare is not restricted to a single country and information facilitation strengthens global cyber protection, which mutually benefits nations across the map.

D. Legal Ramifications

Laws governing countries can and must protect the citizens and their data. What laws exist in the three selected countries to protect from cyber-threats? Sri Lanka has passed many laws impacting on and affecting the cyber security domain of Sri Lanka (Kotelawala Defence University, n.d.), including the following:

- i. Information and Communication Technology Act (No.27 of 2003) - This Act aims to improve Information and Communication Technology and solve conflicts. In addition, it aims to introduce and implement a national policy on ICT.
- ii. Evidence (Special Provisions) (Act No.14 of 1995)
- iii. Intellectual Property Act (No. 36 of 2003 (Sections

related to Copyright) - For copyright infringement matters

- iv. Electronic Transactions Act (No. 19 of 2006) for matters pertaining to the creation and exchange of data messages
  - i. electronic documents
  - ii. electronic records
  - iii. other electronic communication
- v. Computer Crimes Act (No. 24 of 2007) - This Act deals with the prevention and punishment of computer-related crime, thus hacking and cyber-crimes are included in this. The Penal Code is undergoing changes to take these new developments into consideration.
- vi. Payment and Settlement Systems Act (No. 28 of 2005)
- vii. Payment Devices Frauds Act (No.30 of 2006)

The Computer Crimes Act, in sections 3 to 10 (cited in Jayasekara & Rupasinghe, 2015), states as follows:

- i. The illustrations given in the Act states that for any unauthorized modification or damage or potential damage to take place, any one of the following should occur
- ii. Impairing the operation of any computer, computer system or the reliability of any data or information held in any computer;
- iii. Destroying, deleting or corrupting or adding, moving or altering any information held in any computer;
- iv. Making use of a computer service involving computer time and data processing for the storage or retrieval of data;
- v. Introducing a computer program that will have the effect of malfunctioning of a computer or falsifies the data or any information held in any computer or computer system (e.g. viruses, worms, etc.).

At present, the cyber-crimes division is engaged in locating perpetrators. Added resources such as a military unit can bring rapid justice. However, a problem arises in dealing with non-citizens such as the Pakistani hacker, at which point Sri Lanka must rely on international law.

However, while a legal framework exists in Sri Lanka, it is not currently viewed as strong, as experts have deemed that the infrastructure within the government sector is not equipped to handle strict regulatory processes. Many organizations such as ICTA and Sri Lanka Computer Society have engaged the government on the matter considering increasing readiness for cyber threats and management. As a region, SAARC has investigated the possibilities of establishing a common platform for cyber readiness such as the APAC alliance set up between Singapore and Australia. This allows information sharing as well as best practice application, knowledge sharing and management of critical situations. It has been noted by both the Singaporean and Australian governments that resource sharing in terms of cyber security management and mitigation has been noted to be effective as each country faces both common and unique threats. The pooling of resources provides a stronger battle front for governments to engage and mitigate global cyber security attackers focusing on APAC. Singapore has been focusing on regional standard establishment and it is expected that over the next three to four years Sri Lanka, India and other nations will engage on a common framework for the region. Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and other countries can benefit from benchmarking Singapore's legal frameworks as the maturity of the protocols in place are high. In addition to the mentioned protocols, a structured approach is utilized in adhering to international standards in processing critical information and risks.

Singapore follows global security standards such as NIST that provides a framework for legal processes and the management of task-based execution. Legal frameworks in IT security are applicable to processes, people, and security solutions based on the area of application. At present, since most countries do not adopt a dedicated legal framework, this has led to many gaps in the overall policy. Analysis of events and audit trails is the only method available for countries such as Sri Lanka and Bangladesh as the investments into automated policy-based monitoring mechanisms are not in place. The private sector has not contributed significantly to a national security policy as the entities focus on internal security management rather than a country-wide security posture. The private sector maintains The private sector maintains highly skilled security workforces that can contribute significantly both in terms of creating sustainable policies and managing future risks through awareness creation and knowledge sharing. Bangladesh and Maldives rely on Sri Lanka's CERT team, as they have not invested in retaining skilled professionals within the

cyber security and IT domains. Thus, another gap exists to leverage on Singapore and Sri Lanka's skilled workforce for IT security enablement among developing countries and Sri Lanka has the potential to become a regional thought leader within the security domain given the many IT professionals within the local market. However, the lack of information sharing has become a primary concern. Each government department functions in isolation with staff and managers unwilling to share data and information with other government bodies. The lack of education in cyber security is a major barrier as many senior staff members have low computer literacy rates. Propagation of viruses and hackers within the network is always higher when staff are not trained to highlight and identify particular risks. Currently the global standard for cyber security life cycle management is the NIST framework issued by the US government and the framework is adopted by most security-focused entities. The framework covers data management, processing as well as deletion, ensuring that data removed cannot be recovered and used. In addition to the NIST framework, PCIDSS and ISO27001 frameworks are used for process-based IT security standards. These policies focus on how credit card information is managed and how an organization addresses various aspects of data privacy and security. Sri Lanka uses a combination of PCIDSS and ISO27001 for a few government entities but has not standardized across all government agencies leading to gaps in data processing and security. PCIDSS is applied to most of the government banks and central agencies for financial services. Given the high adoption rate in private enterprises, ISO27001 is mainly used by these enterprises. Compliance is easier when standard mandates are applied to all entities. As Sri Lanka is still in the process of adopting core security principals within the government sector, a few years will be required to ensure that standards are complied with.

## V. CONCLUSION

Government investment within the cyber security domain has increased recently but a large gap exists in the creation of a sustainable IT-based hub in Sri Lanka. The government has not implemented clear procedures to address the growing demand for secure transactions. Although basic legal frameworks exist within the cyber-crime and data management arena, a significant gap exists in comprehensive IT legislation. Additionally, the lack of cyber security lawyers in Sri Lanka has contributed to delays in establishing clear protocol and guidelines.

Conversely, the private sector maintains senior resources within the cyber security domain specializing in data management standards, auditing and compliance. Each private institute focuses on internal risks and compliances rather than an industry-based mechanism to assist other organizations. Thus, exists data sharing and transfer between organizations is inefficient or non-existent. The private sector is poised to assist the war against cyber terrorism provided that knowledge and information sharing is facilitated between organizations. Currently telecommunication companies and banks command strong resources to assist in their security operations and these resources can be utilized to increase the overall security governance and compliance posture of Sri Lanka. As most core economic processes such as banking, stock exchange and management of funds are digital, the risk of cyber threats is high. Due to the risks created by a digital platform, a comprehensive security mechanism with failover options is required to be safe from cyber-attacks. As diplomacy plays a crucial role in managing relationships with regional entities, it is noted that a cyber security dialog or forum would immensely assist Sri Lanka's cyber security readiness campaign.

In examining the need for cyber security, it is evident that all governments must invest heavily into setting up systems that will effectively and efficiently guard the information and users of the country. The government cannot detach itself from the network usage of the individual and must ensure that the user is consistently protected. Administrators must be competent and invested authorities, rather than students of networking or website development. All companies and entities must understand that their internet presence is not only to send messages out unilaterally to public but to also safeguard the interests of their clients. Till this is understood, no amount of work will be enough to keep the country and its information safe. Entities must invest in heavy-duty, effective mechanisms that are both up-to-date and state-of-the-art, to ensure that all ransom ware and malware are detected in a timely fashion and neutralized before they cause harm. Keeping in mind that it is possible for hackers to enter the system even 18 months prior to their malicious actions, it is necessary to invest in systems that will keep abreast of the administrative accounts (to shut down any that are not in use or are unnecessarily created). It is in the interests of the government to create a nexus between industry experts, companies in the industry, and the government. The industry experts should be called

on to lead the change in mechanism as well as to train and teach. The companies should ensure, and be allowed and encouraged to ensure, that all computer networks are protected, and that hacking and other security threats - including both insider and outsider threats - are minimized. A national policy must be created that leaves room for future advancements while acting as a barrier to outside threats. This policy can be the guide for instances of a threat. The policy should help make existing laws more effective and realistic, and universally followed. The government must oversee the companies through regulations since deregulated businesses cause more damage than regulated companies. Finally, the IT security sector in the industry must be allowed to bloom, with the government taking necessary action to nurture it. The emphasis should be on increasing the capacity and knowledge of the sector so that it is able to handle threats without needing to resort to or depend on the government's intervention. Additionally, they must be given adequate resources (monetary, physical, intellectual, etc.) to ensure that they can carry out their work without impediment.

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# FORMULATING OF AN INTEGRATED AIR DEFENCE SYSTEM AS A RESPONSE TO CONTEMPORARY THREATS

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**Abstract-** Air Defence (AD) is one of the prime security concerns in modern security concepts. With the rapid development in the field of military aviation, necessity of AD is becoming an important security arrangement worldwide. Different countries have developed some sophisticated weapon systems with associated command and control elements in order to encounter the threats from air. Sri Lanka, having an airspace which expands up to its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and beyond, is in a dilemma to safeguard it due to lack of resources and absence of proper vision. In order to encounter perceived threats which are mostly in asymmetrical nature, Sri Lanka is in need of an Integrated Air Defence System under unified command with decentralized assets. This paper intends to evaluate and analyse the current threats to Sri Lankan airspace in order to formulate necessary countermeasures. This is a study based on an empirical survey and data are gathered through primary and secondary sources. The authors also intend to introduce a structure for AD Command for optimal utilization of resources and authority to achieve synergetic effect.

**Keywords-** Air Defence, Integrated System, Contemporary Threats

## I. INTRODUCTION

Air Defence (AD) could be defined as measures designed to nullify or reduce the effectiveness of any attack done by hostile aircraft or guided missiles after they got airborne. It involves of nullifying or reducing the effectiveness of

attack done by hostile aircraft, missile or any other object of outer space. Air Defence system generally includes ground, air, surface and sub-surface weapon systems, associated sensor systems command and control methods and passive measures. It may be to protect vulnerable points (VP), vulnerable areas (VA), key points, and key areas which have economic, political, cultural and military potentials in a country. In its widest sense, air defence is the protection of VA of the homeland or VP against an enemy's air-attack. It comprises all operations which directly or indirectly afford such protection. The airborne threat is necessary to fulfil the Air Defence. (Unver, 2015) There is no any evidence for comprehensive AD system that has been employed to counter the threat from air until 1861. An American Aeronaut while on his balloon, reported the first anti-aircraft fire. Eventually this can be identified as a one of the pioneering attempts of any person in activating Air Defence. Ground based Air Defence Systems (Air Defence Artillery - ADA) began with its evolution when one of the US Army Officers built the first automatic AD weapon around 1909.

However, progresses in the field of AD Doctrine was apathetic as the military leaders were yet to realize the importance of air defence. The significant air threat encountered in World War I (WW I) triggered the development of dedicated ADA. Sound location and search lights were the main means of surveillance. The establishment of London Air Defence Area (LADA) in July 1917, was pivotal as it was the first step towards centralization & integration of assets like Field Firing units, Anti-Aircraft (AA) Gun Batteries & Search Light

Batteries into one entity (Prior, 2011). During the World War II (WW II) Air Defence Systems were developed rapidly and sophisticated systems were integrated with RADARs were introduced (Bullethead, 2011). It was Great Britain who pioneered the developing of integrated AD system with incorporated RADAR and AA gun systems during this period. (Werrel, 2005).

Air Defence Identification Zone (ADIZ) of Sri Lanka is defined up to 12 nautical miles from shore line. Responsible AD Commander has the sole authority to initiate relevant defensive and offensive actions against hostile aircraft or guided missile.

Further, according to United Nations Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), Sri Lanka has the right to challenge any hostile aircraft or guided missile when entering in to airspace over Sri Lanka's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) (United Nations, 1982). However, with the available resources, it is a daunting task for responsible organizations to safeguard both these areas. Hence, we have to evaluate our actual requirement and acquire suitable air defence weapon system with land, surface and airborne units, which is to be placed under unified command to achieve optimum results. This paper discusses the requirement of such integrated Air defence System for island nation like Sri Lanka in order to counter the contemporary threats.

## II. THREAT PERCEPTION

The terrorist activities of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has come to an end in 2009 once Sri Lankan Armed Forces gained a decisive military victory. The last phase of the humanitarian operation reflected that the first ever terrorist organization in Sri Lanka flew their own aircraft. Despite its primitive nature, those aircraft delivered the intended terror among communities lived in non-operational areas especially in Colombo. It was Sri Lanka Air Force (SLAF) who shot down those aircraft in Colombo with an arduous effort with minimum resources available to them (Islamic Republic News Agency, 2009). Ever since, Sri Lankan airspace was not threatened by any mean owing to the peaceful environment prevailing in the country. Nonetheless, Colombo Flight Information Region (FIR) of Sri Lanka was trespassed in couple of occasions where AD net was alerted. In both the occasions they were high speed radar pickups which are suspected to be fighters. Hence, it is pertinent to understand the contemporary threats and challenges have to overcome on safeguarding our airspace.

### A. Local Threats

"A friend to all and enemy to none" is the catchphrase of Sri Lankan foreign policy. It means we do not intend to be enemy for any sovereign state but to be a friend. Our national interests and military objectives are formulated in accordance with our foreign policy. Hence, any military threat against Sri Lanka could rarely happen. There is a less probability of infiltration in to our airspace by a sovereign state as Sri Lanka maintains cordial relationships with other regional and extra regional states. However, due to the peculiar nature of contemporary threats, we must be prepared for any military threat with profound readiness. If the terrorists could penetrate one of the most sophisticated AD systems during 9/11 attack to Pentagon, an interested party will infiltrate comparatively frail Sri Lankan AD net. Hence, it is vital to study the types of threat that we might be facing in safeguarding our skies. Further, military intelligence had warned about possible subversion acts by unveiled extremist/terrorist groups.

### B. Regional Threats

Indian Ocean Region (IOR) sporadically has become a hot zone due to the fragile relationship between two nuclear powers India and Pakistan. Sri Lanka once allowed Pakistani military aircrafts to use base assets on their way during 1971 Indo-Pak war. India once intentionally violated Sri Lankan airspace during Operation Poomalai by using flying fighters and air-dropping supplies in North of the island in 1987. Hence, we must not consider Sri Lanka as an isolated Island and our airspace would be disturbed during an escalation between these two nations. On the other hand, number of extremist/terrorist groups have emerged within the region which could not be countered easily.

### C. Extra Regional

IOR is playing a pivotal role in the contemporary global politics. Western powers and emerging super powers like China can be identified as the most importance parties which intend to expand their presence in the Indian Ocean. Harsh V. Pant elaborated that the great game of this century will be occurred because of the waters of Indian Ocean. African and Asian continents are looking towards to establish their presence in the IOR through the Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) and land routes as the China plays a massive role to secure their energy supplies.

Since Sri Lanka is geographically at the centre of IOR, the country has become a “super-connector” which connects East and West. Hence, Sri Lanka has been exposed to various traditional and non-traditional threats. In this backdrop we have to ensure the sovereignty and integrity of our airspace.

**D. Threat Evaluation**

Invention of the aircraft by Wright brothers changed the ways of future wars. However, it did not happen rapidly soon after they flew the first aircraft. It was Italian Army who began to use aircraft for military purpose in 1911. During the WW I this threat which came through the air was countered by using fighter and ADA. Since then AD systems evolved into various weapon systems, command and control elements, and sensor systems in order to detect Defended Areas (DAs). Within this context, threat Evaluation (TE) can be identified as the process of analysing and evaluating perceived threats in order to formulate necessary countermeasures.

**E. Actual Threats**

After the elimination of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) terrorists, now Sri Lanka enjoys peace and harmony across the island. During the final phase of the Humanitarian Operation conduct against terrorists, we encountered an air threat of terrorists owned light aircraft (Zlin 124) which became a threat to the security of Colombo city. With this understating, an interested party who would attempt to jeopardize the prevailing peaceful environment can be named as the root of the actual threats. Therefore, if the country failed implement a proper security measures, there will be a repetition of 9/11 attack which posed a great threat to security of Vulnerable Points (VP) and Vulnerable Areas (VA)s. It means Regional or extra-regional extremist/terrorists groups who are in possession of any kind of aircraft could enter in to our airspace and target country’s High Value Targets (HVTs) in order to bargain their demands. Further, Regional or extra-regional interested party can launch a short range or long range surface to Surface Missile (SSM) or Air to Surface Missile (ASM) being on land, naval or airborne platform.

**III. EXISTING ASSESSTS AND THE SYSTEM**

**A. Air Assets**

At present SLAF is the only service that has the air assets in very limited numbers. It possesses F-7 Fighter interceptors as their main weapon platform dedicated for AD. Apart from that, there are Kfir multirole fighter and K-8 advanced trainers which could be utilized against slow moving non-lethal air threats. K-8 was employed during the humanitarian operations for limited missions. However, present status of air assets is not in a satisfactory order to support materialization of the required depth of AD network.

**B. Land Based Assets**

These assets include the radars, weapon systems and command and control units. All Ground Control Interception (GCI) and surveillance radars deployed for AD requirements are under the control of SLAF. Also SLAF operates Air Defence Command and Control Center (ADC&CC) which commands and coordinates all SLAF AD units. It maintains certain degree of communication with Sri Lanka Navy (SLN), Sri Lanka Police and Civil Aviation Organization of Sri Lanka (CAASL) with related to AD matters. Further, SLN has maritime radars mounted at harbors and vessels for harbor protection. These radars are dedicated for maritime surveillance. However, performance of these radars enables primary detection of low level airborne elements. Apart from radars, both SLAF and SLN have different array of AD guns. Some guns such as L-70 are coupled with fire control radars which can be operated automatically. In addition, both SLAF and SLN have deployed IGLA shoulder fired missiles for the protection of VPs.

**C. Naval Assets**

All naval assets which related to the AD are in the hand of SLN. They have maritime radars fixed to navy vessels. Further, all vessels are mounted with multiple array of guns that are capable of taking airborne targets. SLN has not yet focused any significant attention towards maritime AD. As an island nation Sri Lanka needs a strong maritime AD measures to safeguard its territory surrounded by the Indian Ocean.

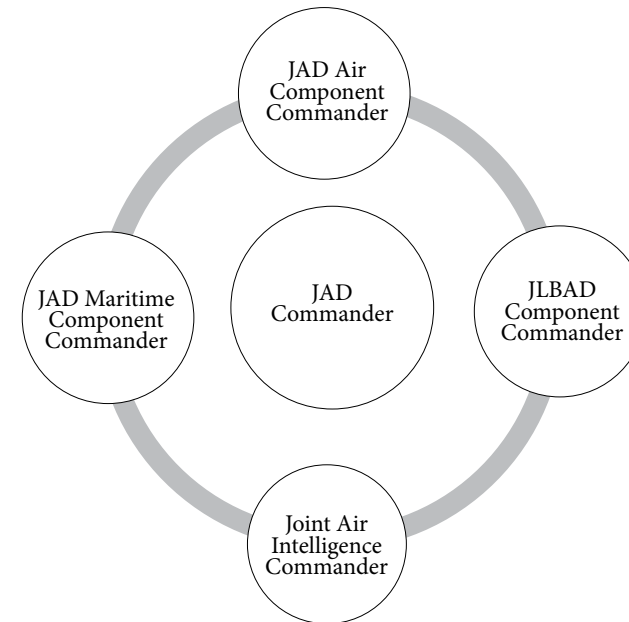


Figure 1. Proposed Command Structure of JADC & CC

Being the organization, whose primary role is AD, SLAF or any other air force is not in a position to mount a highly successful AD guard covering the whole spectrum. There is no argument that it needs the contribution of other civil organization to scrutinize the entire operation. At present above mentioned AD recourses are functioning quite independently without a proper coordination. The nature of AD operations is unique due to the very limited time left whenever AD is breached to react. Only an aggressively mounted AD set up would provide better results. Hijacked Airliner crashed to pentagon in parallel to 9/11 attack is a fine evident that proves how you may get fail even if you possess most sophisticated systems and resources. It demands highly rationalized system in order to satisfactorily counter AD threats. Equal contribution of early warning to Short Range Air Defence Systems (SHORADS) is a mandatory for implement a successful mission. Further, it requires a centralized and independent command for AD operations. Hence joint mechanism would serve better in this case where all required resources are readily available for disposal. However, considering the availability of assets and threat perception, a typical joint command would not be suitable for Sri Lankan context. Instead of that, a combination of required entities include certain join characteristics would be a better solution. Following is the basic command

structure proposed for the JAD Command and Control Center (JADC&CC) by the authors for the AD operations for the Island nation.

However, the duties of different components, departments and units needs to be performed by professionals to receive the expected outcomes. Following features are the main components / assets proposed under each commander.

- I. JAD Air Component Commander
  - a) All interceptor squadrons
  - b) All multirole fighter squadrons when deployed for AD purposes
  - c) All Early Warning (EW) platforms
  - d) All Surveillance and recce platforms
- II. Joint Land Based AD (JLBAD) Component Commander
  - a) All Radar squadrons
  - b) All LBAD weapon systems
  - c) All LBAD force protection units



The command and control of naval vessels with AD capabilities would be defined to serve AD and maritime defence. Nevertheless, a certain task would be expected when situation demands both services concurrently from such units. The understanding of the commander of the particular vessel regarding maritime and AD matters will play a key role in such cases.

- a) JAD Maritime component commander
- b) All harbor security units including radars at harbors
- c) All vessels with radars and AD capable weapon systems
- d) All coastguard units with AD capabilities

The Joint Air Intelligence Commander needs to have the close links with police, CAASL, sister intelligence services etc. Civil AD responsibilities would be looked after by this particular commander.

- I. Joint Air Intelligence Commander
  - a. Information collecting units
  - b. Information Analysis and Processing Unit
- ii. Information Archives

Within this situation, centralize command and decentralized execution are the basic concepts of command. Unity of command is one of the fundamentals of air power (Dupuy, 1955). In AD operations, unremitting vigilance and swift responses remains main factors of success. If these two are not met, the damage would be devastating. 9/11 attack on US and Operation "Opera" conducted by Israel Defence Forces on Osiraq nuclear reactor in Iraq in 1981 are classic examples for such incidents. Hence, it is of paramount that all AD executions comes under one single command for effectual and efficient operation. The central operation room must have all inputs of radars, Mobile Observation Points (MOP), air surveillance, Combat Air Patrols (CAP) and the processed and refined information of intelligence units.

#### IV. CHALLENGES AND RESPONSES

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

-George Santayana-

Most of the challenges which abridged below are been faced by ourselves or by other counterparts. If we do not hasten to respond those challenges, we will face the similar or worse consequences. Therefore, the authors urge the relevant entities to consider these response options for deliberation, which would be beneficial in formulating a deterrent AD system.

#### A. Acquisition and Maintenance of Assets

It is obvious that existing assets would not help in formulating the proposed integrated AD organization. Therefore, integrated AD system can be expanded and developed in to a network centric integrated system in order to fit in to the proposal of this study. It means it is necessary to acquire additional assets to mount an aggressive AD. Following are few main assets needs be procured to cater this proposal.

- a) 4th Gen or above multirole fighters
- b) Long range AD surveillance radar
- c) Short range Low level AD surveillance radars
- d) Maritime AD surveillance radars
- e) Surface to Air Guided Weapons (SAWG)
- f) Secure Data Link

In this scenario, the county has to develop necessary assets and capabilities. Even though it is quite challenging to convince the taxpaying citizenry and the governing bodies to fund, acquiring new assets and technology which usually cost in terms of millions of USDs is necessary to formulate a worthwhile AD set up. In addition, procurement of certain weapon platforms, weapon systems and other high tech military equipment should be monitored and influenced by interested state and non-state actors. Another challenge is the maintenance of acquired assets. But obsolescence, new acquisitions, change of strategies, change of command and cost factor, monopolistic nature of the industry and less number of units are the hindrances to achieve desired outcomes. So, establishing business partnerships with other organisations will lead to reduce the cost. When this comes to the technological aspect, the related technology needs to be gained in par with the acquisitioned assets.

Further modern day AD operations are so dynamic and ever transformative. Going parallel with the new

technology is not only a throbbing effort but also a costly affair. Developing nations like us might not have the luxury to enjoy the state-of-the-art techno at all times. However, the technology in hand needs to be reasonable enough to accommodate expected outcomes. One of the main fragments of this techno aspect is the network centric operation, which is the key of modern AD systems. During the humanitarian operations which were conducted against LTTE terrorists, SLAF developed a primary network centric AD system linked with Sri Lanka Army (SLA). On the other hand, Research and Development (R&D) is a better solution to acquire and develop new technology. It means, a separated R&D unit should be established. Total dependence on the other nations becomes questionable when politico-diplomatic calculus shifts between parties due to various reasons. Sri Lanka experienced such barricades from USA, Canada, members of EU etc during the final stage of war. The propaganda operations led by International Tamil Diaspora can be identified as the main reason for that. To avoid such barriers a certain degree of independent R&D unit is required. Above proposed modern and sophisticated systems should be aligned with the training modules to produce competent expertize. Usually the military related knowledge classifies as confidential due to the security sensitivity of the data, capability and capacity concerned. It is an obstacle to access required training requirements. Therefore, a clear vision requires to focus training set-ups to meet future requirements. When this comes to the aspect of air intelligence, it is well known fact that a proper air intelligence service provides earliest warning about possible AD threats. There are three factors need to be superimposed to activate a threat which are intent, opportunity and capability. Intelligence services can provide a clue on intent and capabilities of possible hostilities. Hence, the duty of air intelligence is to monitor trends of flying related activities and interest of suspected elements on the same. In this regard, the chain of command is the essential to manage personnel, units, regiments, divisions and all segments of forces. Though the three services have different sub cultures, traditions and norms in their respective services and units can blend them as an integrated system commanded by different force commanders. Such issues might affect the smoothness and operational effectiveness of the system. In that sense, an enhanced joint structure would not be a feasible solution for the county to exercise integrated AD system.

#### B. Non Traditional Threats

Most of these AD measurements have been designed to counter conventional threats. Unlike in past, nowadays the technology is easy accessible through the internet. Also the fantasy of flying has become a common dream of many communities. This has resulted to increase drone and model aircraft flying activities occurred for commercial purposes and recreation. These can be a better tool to satisfy hostile intents.

"It is better to be wise after the event than not wise at all, and wisdom after one event may lead to wisdom before another".

-John C. Slessor -

We have seen how commercial airliners were used as flying bombs by Al-Qaida's, (Zlin, 124). Actually it is questionable that these unorthodox threats could be successfully countered through neglecting AD measurements or not. Therefore, authors are in view that such threats can be explored through a separate study.

#### V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations are made by the authors to formulate an integrated network-centric AD system for the island nation as follows.

I. Establishment of separate R&D unit: It requires to establish separate R&D unit or section to deal with the AD matters. Then only we can manage the huge cost of existing system. Within this milieu, having a separate division to study traditional and non-additional threats related to AD would be beneficial in following aspects.

- a. Developing own weapon systems
- b. Maintaining of equipment and systems in hand
- c. Accessing and refining new technology
- d. Developing strategies, tactics and techniques for traditional and non-traditional threats

II. Training for joint operations and technological advancements: Training set-up needs to be arranged in order to produce modern professionals who can easily fit in to integrated structures. Joint operation modules shall be included in the syllabi of all three services, advanced and continuation trainings. This would enable individuals to be acquainted with other services cultures, traditions, norms etc. At present Kothelawala Defence University produces officers for all three services who are been trained together. This kind of nature needs to be developed to gain proper outcomes. Further the syllabuses should be updated regularly in par with technological advancements. Further training which offered by overseas institutes will bring new knowledge for military personals.

III. Establishment of proper Air Intelligence Unit: A proper functioning air intelligence service is a mandatory requirement for sound and alerted AD network. It is the only way to eliminate threats of hostilities. Hence an intelligence network which is interlinks with national interests needs to be formed step by step.

VI. CONCLUSION

When it comes to AD, it demands quite large number of equipment, money and efforts to formulate an integrated system. Though a Building of an effective Air Defence system is a long term process, integration of the different elements is the best method to receive best outcome for an effective and aggressive AD network.

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BIOGRAPHIES OF AUTHORS



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A STUDY ON ‘AAWA GANG’: MEASURES TO OVERCOME FUTURE THREATS TO NATIONAL SECURITY OF SRI LANKA

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**Abstract-** Three decades of civil war marked the end of the defeat of LTTE terrorism through a war victory in 2009. Since then, Sri Lanka has been experiencing a post-conflict phase throughout past nine years. The ‘conflict trap theory’ has been already overthrown with the expiration of five years since the end of war. Therefore, one may assume no terrorism would arise in Sri Lanka in the near future. However, in the recent past, with a chain of criminal incidents that occurred in Jaffna, for which a gang famously known as “Aawa” was held responsible, paved a considerable space of suspicion regarding the national security of Sri Lanka. In this backdrop, the research problem of this paper is focused on Aawa gang in order to evaluate methods to overcome future threats to national security. Literature review of this paper will be mainly based on criminological perspectives on Classical and Positivists thoughts and ‘crime-terror nexus’ theory to access Aawa gang’s current status and to seek its probabilistic opportunities to become terrorists. Therefore, research methodology of this paper relies on both qualitative and quantitative methodologies based primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include data gathered through in-depth discussions with police officers, intelligence officers and inhabitants of Jaffna and secondary sources include statistics of Sri Lanka Police, CCTV recordings, media and internet. Further, the research is limited to the data from January 2014 to July 2018 and has excluded Biological Positivism in research analysis. Finally, it is the prime objective of research outcomes to reveal the possible future challenges to the national security of Sri Lanka and to provide practical measures to overcome such challenges.

**Keywords-** Aawa Gang, Future Threats, National Security

I. INTRODUCTION

The first incident of Aawa gang reported in 2011 during a wedding ceremony held in Amman Kovil, Inuvil whereas the first crime committed by Aawa gang was on 04.01.2014 also in Kopai. Since then, as per criminological perspectives Aawa gang has been identified as a criminal group according to their behavioural patterns. However, it is still debatable whether group traces a political agenda, youth uprising, a tender phase terrorist movement, or a starting level of an insurrection. Anyhow, due to long-term continuous but, sudden unexpected occurrence of criminal activities it became popular in the country, which even became capable to spread fearful thoughts of insecurity in Northern areas of Sri Lanka by even resulting Parliamentary discussions regarding Aawa gang.

II. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Research problem of this study is focused to evaluate Aawa gang against the national security, along with theoretical perspectives of classical and positivist criminological paradigms and ‘crime-terror nexus’ theory. The conceptual framework of this study will be proceed first to identify



the nature of the behaviour of Aawa gang through their acts and background facets, then to examine whether this gang has become a challenge to the national security and ultimately to recommend the measures to be taken up to apprehend Aawa and such similar threats in the future.

Therefore, research methodology of this paper relied on both qualitative and quantitative methodologies based on both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources include data gathered through in-depth discussions with police officers, intelligent officers and Jaffna inhabitants and secondary sources include statistics of Sri Lanka Police, CCTV video recordings, media and internet. Further, it is important to note that the data analysis of the research is limited to the duration between the first crime committed date of Aawa gang to the final revised submission date of this paper, means from 06.01.2014- 25.07.2018 and to the exclusion of biological positivism.

### III. "AAWA GANG"

Until 17th October 1995, which by the Operation 'Riviresa' Sri Lanka Security Forces claimed the territory of Jaffna peninsula, Jaffna was administered under LTTE. Even though, war in Jaffna peninsula was ended in 1995, informants from both Sri Lanka Security Forces and of LTTE were actively engaged in their tasks. However, after the end of war in 2009, grudges between the two groups of informants started and as a result, few independent crimes such as theft and assaulting the opponents of committing such crimes were reported. In this backdrop, small groups/ gangs were mushroomed with unemployed youths especially in Jaffna district.

However, Aawa gang has derived under unknown origins. It was revealed that a person named 'Nimalan Kandasami' who has come from South India by boat to Northern Sri Lanka has formed Aawa gang at the inception. It was found that he has brought a sword made in Brazil and some CD's

of South Indian fighting scenes, and has created a group namely, 'Nimalan Group'. Also, he has made 15 similar swords that of the sword of Brazil from a blacksmith in Chunnakam. Later, he has gone back to South India. Thereafter, the gang was led by Kumareshan Rathnam Vinodan alias 'Aawayan'. He was called as "Aawayan" due to his speaking pattern. In Tamil 'Waa' means 'mouth' and Vinodan being a person who talks without any limits and he makes 'Aa...Aa..Aa...' sound while talking. This is the rationale behind the name of 'Aawa gang'.

Aawa gang is also known as 'Jaffna Bike Gang' since their mode of transportation is bikes. Its majority active members are unemployed youths between age of 17-25 except one identified military deserter. Their assembly occurs two three days a week and planning their future acts while consuming liquor. Also, the reason behind their heroic mind set is action movies they often watch. It is also important to note that this group is mainly active in four cities of Jaffna District and not in rural areas. Also, their main weapons are swords and different shapes of knives mainly manufactured by local blacksmiths.

In the year 2016, then the Minister of Law and Order Hon. Sagala Rathnayake stated about Aawa gang in the Parliament that, "Two parties have clashed in 2011 at Amman Kovil in Inuvil, Jaffna. One party has grouped up to attack their opponents and later the same group started engaging in illegal activities in Jaffna. They have assaulted university students, engaged in robberies and have taken ransoms in Jaffna, Kopai, Chunnakam, Manipai, Chavakachcheri police divisions. Later, they have engaged in contract crimes. The entire group has 60 members out of which 38 are now in custody. We are on the lookout for 8 leaders of different levels" (Daily FT 2016). However, as per police statistics Chavakachcheri police area has no reported crimes by Aawa gang though it is mentioned in the above statement. Since the inception of the gang to the end of July 2018 Aawa gang has been functioned under six identified leaders.

**Table 1. Details of Aawa Gang Leaders**

Year	Aawa Leaders	
	Name	Born in/ age at the leadership
Founder	1) Nimalan Kandasami	-
2011	2) Kumareshan Rathnam Vinodan alias "Aawayan"	1991
At the end of 2013	3) Nallalingam Prasanna alias "Sanna" 4) Gunasekaran Davayudan alias "Deva"	1991
2015	5) Sathyawel Kadan Nishanthan alias "Nisha Victor"	1995
Since August 2017	6) Mohan Ashok Kumar alias "Ashokan"	22 years

Since the first crime committed date 04.01.2014 to 25.07.2018, several crimes have been reported under the name of Aawa and many court cases have been filed.

**Table 2. Police Statistics of Crimes Committed by AAWA Gang**

Police Area	Year	Crimes and Suspects			
		Total No of cases arrested	Total number of suspects reported		
Kopai	2014	1	16		
	2015	--	--		
	2016	1	05		
	2017	4	18		
	2018	3	09	19	58
Manippai	2015	1	13		
	2016	1	02		
	2017	7	6		
	2018	2	11	06	67
Jaffna	2016	5	28		
	2017	1	11		
	2018	3	09	05	44
Chunnakam	2016	3	18		
	2017	9	49		
	2018	3	15	12	79
TOTAL		44	248		

In this table, the four police areas in which Aawa gang crimes have been reported are considered for data analysis from 04.01.2014 to 25.07.2018. With the available data, it is clear that majority cases have been reported in Chunnakam police area though the first crime was reported from Kopai Police area in 2014. Also due to the arrest of all suspects and the first leader Aawayan after the first crime incident, in 2014 and 2015, gang has not engaged in any illegal activities except one incident occurred in Manippai in 2015, where again all accused were arrested.

It is important to note that here, the total numerical value of suspects are not accurate because of the fact that same accused have been engaged in several crimes repeatedly in later incidents due to their release on bail.

Then, in 2016 compared to the previous two years 10 crimes reported, however, year 2017 is recorded as the highest crimes reported year of Aawa up to date with 21 crimes. Also, within the first 7 months of year 2018, 11 crimes have been reported, whereas in 2017 first 7 months had 13 cases. Therefore, comparative to 2017, it is a 0.02% decrease in 2018.

Further, it is evident through Police records that almost all suspects of early cases and more than 90% of suspects of recent crimes have been identified and arrested even though majority of them have been later released on bail and only few accused are in remand prison.

Moreover, in detail analysis of available statistics it was revealed that mainly extortion, grievous hurt, voluntary causing hurt by dangerous weapons, robbery, theft, arson, obstructions to police officers, possession of explosives are the most common grave crimes committed by Aawa gang whereas two incidents of homicide and an attempt to homicide have also been reported.

#### IV. AAWA AS A CRIME GROUP: CRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

In criminology, two main schools of thoughts, namely, Classical school and Positivist School are concerned in analysing the criminal behaviour of individual criminals and crime groups. According to classical theory of criminology, criminals are rational actors. This theory is known as “Rational Actor Model” of criminology. Basics of this thought are, rationality, free will and hedonism (seek to avoid pain and increase pleasure) to determine criminal behaviour. Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham are the pioneers of this theory and their thoughts were based on “Social Contract Theory” of Hobbes, Locke, Voltaire and Rousseau.

In contrast, under Positivist paradigm, three perspectives of criminology is discussed. (1) Biological positivism or “Predestined Actor Model”, which determine criminals according to physical/body characters. As per Cesare Lombroso, criminals represent a physical type distinct from non-criminals. (2) Psychological positivism determine the causes of crime directed to the mind/ ego of the criminals. In this, Sigmund Freud’s “Psychodynamic Theory” and “Behavioural Learning”, “Cognitive Learning” theories are examined by giving space for both rational and predestined notions. (3) Sociological positivism determines the criminal behaviour that deviate from the norms acceptable to the consensus of opinion in society. Here, Emile Durkheim was able to assert the merits of social factors in explaining individual and group action.

In terms of Aawa gang, it seems important to analyse Classical theory, Psychological Positivism and Sociological Positivism to define the criminal focussed behavioural pattern. Biological Positivism is excluded from research analysis due to the reason of impracticality in applying this theory to Aawa members due to the fact that they possess general physical characters of youths in

the same age despite of core focussed drug addicts under this theory.

In Classical view point, free will, rational thinking and hedonism have become the main foundations of Aawa gang too. Being unemployed young males, who seeks pleasure to avoid pain by means of rational thoughts on heroic versions stimuli by action movies, they behave in their own free will. Therefore, the law should be able to suppress their criminal behaviours in order to establish peace and order in the society. (The drawbacks of the existing legal system will be discuss under recommendations)

In Psychological Positivist view, theory of Psychodynamic is important to compare with Aawa gang behaviour. Freud’s three sets of interacting forces of; (1) Id (primitive biological drives) such as the youth energy, (2) superego (conscience) of consensus of values developed by the culture of the society in Jaffna, such as, heroes. This factor is firmly established by the incident that when the gang was led by Aawayan, they committed robbery and ransom collection from businessmen, and whereby distribute those money among poor to be respected as heroes. Ultimately, (3) ego (conscience personality) of balancing Id and Superego are the results of their criminal behaviour.

Under Sociological Positivism, Aawa behaviour is analysed under four main conditions, namely, (1) culture, (2) societal norms, (3) territorial and (4) financial aspects.

- i. It is a cultural aspect in Jaffna to use swords and large knives in quarrels and they are available in their households. This is as much as similar to the clubs or knives used in rural Sinhalese cultures for the likely purposes. Therefore, in one point of view use swords and different shapes of large knives by Aawa to commit crimes is an aspect inherited in their culture.
- ii. Societal norms of northern inhabitants are entangled with the caste differences. This has negatively impact on police duties as Jaffna Tamils dislike to work with Tamil police officers. This was further established by the distribution of leaflets in Jaffna suburbs by Aawa gang at the inception, demanding Tamil Police officers to leave the area. This seem that Aawa gang represent the voice of Northern inhabitant’s societal norms and believes.

- iii. The terrain of Northern Province once laid the foundation for the birth of world’s most dangerous terrorists, LTTE. It is evident that still some people advocates LTTE leadership. This fact is re-approved by acts of Aawa members by displaying the LTTE flags and even with the merging of LTTE cadre’s names, such as, “Victor”<sup>2</sup> by an Aawa ex-leader ‘Nisha Victor’. These evidence supports the superego factor of Psychological Positivism as well as Sociological Positivism.
- iv. Also, these youths are financially funded by their relatives abroad. On the other hand, the police have received information on the source of the group’s finance and advice, which comes through a Tamil organization in Switzerland. It has been revealed when interrogated a suspect in custody. Police have been informed that a group in Switzerland is still involved in fund raising for LTTE and that two of the group is currently in Sri Lanka. Also it is stated that one named Pirunthan is the man in Sri Lanka is having connection with Swiss gangs have connections and Aawa this group carry out his instruction here’ (Timesrilanka.com 2017) Police TID<sup>3</sup> is currently investigating on these facts.

Therefore, as per criminological perspectives it is clear that Aawa Gang is a crime group. Thus, next the question arises whether this is an organized crime group? In the year 2000, the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime defined an organised criminal group as “a group of three or more persons existing over a period of time acting in concert with the aim of committing crimes for financial or material benefit.” (EUROPOL 2018) Further, during Police investigations of Aawa crimes, it has also been revealed that some of their crimes are not random but mostly on targeted persons due to the fact that they commit crimes on contract basis for money. These facts support Aawa even to consider as an organized criminal group too.

<sup>2</sup> “Victor” was one of the leading LTTE cadres who engaged in terrorist activities at the dawn of LTTE in 1980’s.  
<sup>3</sup> Terrorist Investigation Unit

#### V. FUTURE OF AAWA: CRIME-TERROR NEXUS

As per available intelligence and based on criminological perspectives, their behavioural patterns it is currently only falls into the category of crime group and not a terrorist movement. The different identities of being criminals or being terrorist can be merged in two ways; (1) Criminals transform to terrorists and (2) Terrorists transform into criminals. Thus, the transitional behaviour during the transformation stage occupy both qualities of two ends and that would make it impossible to have a clear cut identity of one extreme.

“Crime-terror nexus” is a theory emerged with the terrorist activities of ISIS in the recent past. This simply means merging of criminals and terrorists milieus. As much as the two phenomena differ, however, there exists an inherent connection between them as terrorism is also criminal in nature, and all terrorists are criminals but only a few criminals are also terrorists. “Gang” is a phenomenon studied since the 1920s, seem to constitute a relevant reference point for terrorism experts and researchers. As gangs allegedly embraced “networked organizational forms,” and turned into power seeking “net warriors,” modelled on entities involved in political violence, such comparisons gained new weight. (GLOBSEC 2018) Thus, Aawa gang though called as a ‘gang’ has yet not developed to a stage of committal of political violence as such by ISIS.

Therefore, at this juncture aftermath of evaluating 4½ years of behavioural pattern of Aawa gang with the concepts developed in crime-terror nexus, Aawa gang only falls into the category of a crime group and still it cannot be considered as a terrorist group. As per State Intelligence, even though certain linkages with LTTE foreign domains have been revealed, such are yet not strong enough to establish a direct link.

However, attention is required to evaluate the opportunity vested on extremists or terrorists advocates to use Aawa gang to drive to enforce their so-called Ealam dream which was tarnished by the 2009 war victory or to create issues in the State to damage the internal security as well as the image in front of the international community.

Thus, based on theoretical foundations of social studies Aawa gang is a study of human behaviour, therefore it

is impossible to provide a certain prediction than of a probabilistic prediction as, “There may be a probability (not a possibility) of conversion of Aawa gang into a terrorist movement in the future if not identify the threats and take measures to overcome the existing lapses”. In this backdrop, rather than mere labelling Aawa as a “Crime Group” it would do better and suitable to keep its status in between the crime group and its opportunity to become a terrorist movement by applying “Ice Burg theory” where what is unseen may be larger than what is seen.

## VI. AAWA GANG IMPACT ON NATIONAL SECURITY

It is apparent that due to the continuous, out-breaking behavioural pattern of Aawa gang throughout past 4 ½ years and inability to mark an end up to-date; though the leaders have been captured where the next in line comes to the leadership and most importantly, the linkage with foreign resources to gain funds must be given a vital importance to consider. It is a threat to national security with the lessons learnt during three decades of civil war where the inability to eradicate the youth militant uprising at the inception of their organisation in the early 1980’s was capable enough to initiate terrorism.

Further, it is highly essential to point out that the existing legal barriers has contributed the existence of Aawa gang throughout. Because, almost all arrested accused are bailed out in courts due to nature of the offences they commit. As a result, repetition of crimes by the same Aawa members occur repeatedly and this aspect has not paid attention by the judiciary.

In fact, causing injury by cutting is a “grievous hurt” which falls under one of the 26 types of crimes in Police GCR<sup>4</sup>. However, whether it is a grave crime or not is decided by JMO<sup>5</sup> by his written statement in the Medico-Legal Examination Form produced by Police. Then it is decided whether such crime falls under Section 300<sup>6</sup> or 317<sup>7</sup> Penal Code. Anyway, both these offences are non-bailable by Police whereas bailable in Magistrate Court.

<sup>4</sup> Grave Crimes Register

<sup>5</sup> Judicial Medical Officer

<sup>6</sup> Attempt to murder, if such act cause hurt to any person

<sup>7</sup> Voluntarily causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons or means

However, examining the severity of the criminal<sup>8</sup>, Police sometimes pleads under Section 14<sup>9</sup> of the Bail Act in order to refrain granting bail by Magistrate Court. Thus, if the report of JMO decided as ‘non-grave crime’ or if Police has concluded investigations, then court is bound to release such suspect on bail. In this backdrop, Aawa gang members who are arrested often being released on bail and in addition, police statistics prove the fact that such accused have re-committed the same crimes gain and again. (See Table 2) Therefore, this judicial action has become the contributory factor to the continuity of Aawa gang. Also, the main weapons of Aawa, swords and large knives are not illegal weapons according to Sri Lankan Law. These are the main issues require the attention of judiciary to be addressed.

## V. RECOMMENDATIONS

With the points discussed above, it is important to make recommendations on followings, as means to overcome similar future threats to national security.

### A. Executing Police Duties

Sri Lanka Police being the key responsible organ of State’s internal security, the legal authority to prevent crimes and other threats to internal security is bestowed with them. Therefore, prevention of the crime group Aawa is a duty and responsibility of Police.

However, except under the aforementioned legal barrier (release on bail), the criminal behaviour of Aawa has a declining effect due to the latest trend of upcoming grudges/clashes among Aawa members. This has limited their criminal behaviour to the gang itself than against the general public. First clash between two groups of Aawa

<sup>8</sup> Severity of a criminal is measured based on the past criminal records, possibility of destroying evidence against him while on release and the opportunity to interfere with the witnesses of case and etc.

<sup>9</sup> Reasons for which court may refuse bail or cancel a subsiding order for release (a) that such person would- (i) not appear to stand his inquiry or trial; (ii) interfere with the witnesses or the evidence against him or otherwise obstruct the course of justice; or (iii) commit an offence while on bail; or (b) that the particular gravity of, and public reaction to, the alleged offence may give rise to public disquiet.

gang were reported at the end of April 2018, occurred as a result of competing for the leadership of the gang while the leader was in remand prison. Second clash on damaging properties of two Aawa members including arsoning of a bike and damaging a house was reported on 28.06.2018 as they refused to involve in future acts of the gang.

In-depth discussions with Jaffna inhabitants revealed that due to stern legal actions by Police and societal-pressure to be refrain from illegal activities, now Aawa is being labelling as a ‘nuisance’ to the general public of Jaffna as it disturbs the peaceful living hood of northern inhabitants and to businessmen. Therefore, many Aawa members are now try to refrain to get involved with gang’s illegal activities. This supports the fact that Aawa gang can be curbed by means of stern legal actions by Police. Most importantly, attention is required to pay regarding the Tamil illiteracy of police officers of Northern Province which has further resulted the delay in Police investigations. Therefore, it is recommended to recruit police officers who are literates of Tamil language or to provide training programmes to available officers. Also currently Police TID is investigating about Aawa, and it is further recommended to hand over Aawa investigations to Police OCPD<sup>10</sup>.

### B. Legal implications

As discussed above, majority of Aawa gang accused bailed by courts due to the nature of their crimes. Therefore, it is recommended to avoid granting of bail under Section 14 of Bail Act until such threat is fully diminish or until all members being arrested in order to scatter the passage of the leadership to next subordinate which resulted the development of Aawa throughout. Also, considering Aawa Gang under PTA (Prevention of Terrorism Act), if PTA could be enforced, Aawa members could be held in detention for 3 months and could be renewed such period every 3 months until investigations fully concluded. Moreover, if necessary in the future, military assistance could be obtained under directions of the President of the State by enforcing Emergency Regulations through a Gazette Notification under PSO<sup>11</sup>, and it is recommended

<sup>10</sup> Organized Crimes Prevention Division, which was established in April 2017 with the prime objective of curbing organized crimes.

<sup>11</sup> Section 5 of Public Security Ordinance

to impose Emergency Regulations only to areas where Aawa Gang is active. In addition, by considering Aawa crimes as Offences against State under Chapter VI of Penal Code, Section 122, Attorney General shall prosecute and shall be punished by imprisonment. It is highly important to note that these legal recommendations are ‘possible’ legal solutions available and the application of such shall be determined by the authorities accordingly.

### C. Media

News broadcast by media has indirectly assisted Aawa to become popular in Sri Lanka as well as to uplift their Psychological and Sociological strengths. This has even caused to raise awareness of availability of such gang even to international domain. This has even a tendency to growth of their funding process and even to grant an opportunity to use them by extremists or terrorist advocates. Most importantly, it must be noted that most news broadcasted through media regarding Aawa gang are false. For example, media exaggerate the term ‘Northern Province’ when reporting Aawa crimes, when Aawa involvements are reported only in 4 Police areas of Jaffna Division out of 53 Police areas in whole Northern Province.

The latest amendment to the Fundamental Rights of Sri Lankans is the Right to Information granted under Section 2 of the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, where Article 14A (1) states that “Every citizen shall have the right of access to any information as provided for by the law, being informed that is required for the exercise or protection of a citizen’s right”. However, as per 14A (2) such right shall be restricted “in the interests of national security, territorial integrity or public safety, for the prevention of disorder or crime.....” Therefore, it is clear that the State can control media in the case of Aawa gang to refrain unnecessary promotions towards these criminals as well as to avoid false news headlines which even obstructs peace and order of the State.

### D. Social issues

It is also essential to point out that the unemployment of youths in Northern Province has also aided Aawa continuation. Therefore, it is recommended to create job opportunities to these youths to avoid repetition of youth uprising in the future.



VI. CONCLUSION

Finally, it is important to emphasize that the Aawa gang is yet a crime group which is of an out-breaking behaviour. Being criminals as well as its probability to become terrorists in the future if not overcome existing barriers, would support to consider Aawa as a further threat to national security. Therefore, it is a need of the hour to take necessary measures through judiciary especially to overcome existing legal lapses to face such analogous threats in the future.

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EFFECTS OF LEADERSHIP STYLES ON SOLDIERS' TURNOVER INTENTION OF SRI LANKA ARMY

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**Abstract-** Leaders are known to practice different leadership styles to accomplish missions in the Army. Thus the challenge for Sri Lanka Army leadership is to ensure that leadership practices in organizations are in accordance with performances to achieve the intended goals. For that purpose, it is necessary to retain soldiers. Retaining those quality soldiers who are currently serving must be a significant focus of the service over the next several years. Without leadership emphasis, the Army's retention rates could drop. Further, without the development of key leadership skills, retention rates may suffer. The overall objective of this paper is to find which outcomes could take through the commitment of military leadership and soldiers' turnover intention in post war context. Since this is a vast subject area, the researcher attempted to find out the relationship between two leadership styles within people concern and task concern axis which affects the turnover intention of soldiers. Through this effort the researcher expects to identify specific areas needed to be developed in military leadership and how we can reduce turnover intention of soldiers. To study that a questionnaire was given to 50 Other Rankers from different regiments of the Sri Lanka Army. The relationships between the variables of the study were analyzed using Pearson's correlation coefficient analysis and after analyzing the results it was found that leadership styles have no significant effect on soldiers' turnover intention of the Sri Lanka Army.

**Keywords-** Military Leadership, Turnover Intention, Sri Lanka Army

I. INTRODUCTION

Now the Sri Lankan military forces are moved into peacetime formations after more than two decades long conflict in the country. War specialists identified the military members as strong human resources of the world because they can use for various non-military activities effectively than other human resources such as disaster situations, emergency situations, post conflict recovering process and country development etc. However, the successes of present activities carrying out and potential activities that can be done by the Army highly depend on the quality of leaders and behaviour of soldiers in the Army. It is important to understand how it relates to the effectiveness of leadership and job satisfaction of the Sri Lankan Army. The overall objective of this paper is to find which outcomes could take through the leadership and soldiers' turnover intention in post war content. Through this effort it is expected to identify specific areas to be needed to develop leadership and reduce turnover intention of soldiers. Further it is focused to identify the nature of leadership styles and from that knowledge below mentioned sub objective will be achieved.

- i. To study in depth on job satisfaction and effectiveness of military leadership.

**A. Depth on job satisfaction and effectiveness of military leadership.**

John (1988) measured that the leadership effectiveness and leadership role and its influence on performance,

leadership behaviors, and attitudes (p.108). They found that high leadership indexes are not related to past performance records but associated with both higher potentiality of enhanced performance and higher reputation of organizations, the direction of a meaningful influence of behavioral complexity and dynamics on the leadership perceived level. In a study of leadership behavior it is founded that total leadership is significantly related to the four personality factors: outgoingness, intelligence, emotional stability and assertiveness Singh (1978). A mechanism of leadership styles affecting team innovation in the private research centers which investigate the relationship between different leadership styles and team innovation with the mediating effects of knowledge sharing and team communication. The war has two important dimensions; win the war and win peace. The Sri Lankan army excels in the first. But without an equal commitment to stability and reconstruction, combat victories can be lost. In that approach, the construction of the nation is an implicit non-military task where the military will always have the primary responsibility for establishing and maintaining security, public order and emergency service in the country. War specialists identified military members as strong human resources of the world because they can be used for various non-military activities more effectively than other human resources in diverse range of fields such as disaster situations, emergency situations, recovery process after the conflict and development of the country (Command and Staff of Defense Services) School - Sri Lanka, 2002). In this way, it effects the military leadership and the work performance of the soldiers. They are real challenges in the post-conflict or peace. Projects of national development and public utility Infrastructure improvements are timely and require optimal use of finances.

Sri Lankan Army (SLA) is in the middle of the transformation which is the key element of national power. Many thought that the role of the army would be diminished after eliminating the terrorist movement, while the Army has been more active in the post-conflict period and support the government's efforts to achieve sustainable peace. Therefore, the postmodern soldier is not only a warrior but also considered as an important social employee.

Leadership style is the "relatively consistent pattern of behavior that characterizes a leader" DuBrin (2001).

Different leadership styles may affect organizational electiveness or performance Nahavandi (2002). According to the Oladipo (2013), the success or failure of proper organizations, nations and other social units has been largely credited to the nature of their leadership style. Chung Hsiung Fang (2009) identified that leadership style can affect organizational commitment and work satisfaction positively and work satisfaction intern can affect organizational commitment and work performance positively. Leadership is largely culturally orientated, embracing traditional beliefs, norms and values and a preoccupation Murray (2007). According to Goh Yuan (2005) study, leadership style is significantly influenced by the leader's immediate and extended family, clan and tribe.

Considering the review of the literature, below illustrated figure 1 shows the conceptual frame.

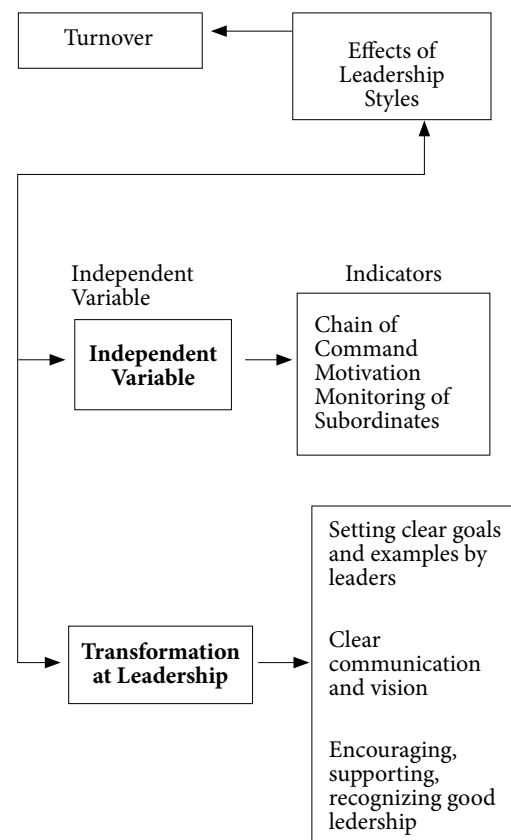


figure 1. Conceptual Framework

According to the figure 1 independent and dependent variables as follows

**TRANSACTIONAL LEADERSHIP**

Chain of Command Motivation Monitoring of Subordinates

**TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP**

Setting clear goals and examples by leaders  
 Clear communication and vision  
 Encouraging, supporting, recognizing good

$$y_i = f(X_{1i}, X_{2i}, X_{3i}, X_{4i}, X_{5i}, X_{6i}) + \text{err}$$

Y = Vectors of soldiers turnover intention.

X<sub>1</sub> = Chain of command

X<sub>2</sub> = Motivation

X<sub>3</sub> = Monitoring of subordinates

X<sub>4</sub> = Setting clear goals and examples by leaders

X<sub>5</sub> = Clear communication and vision

X<sub>6</sub> = Encouraging, supporting, recognizing good

**B. Sampling**

The sample consists of 50 of several regiments, who are willing to participate in the study as a sample. When selecting the sample, the following criteria are considered especially for the fair analysis of the problem. Responders are selected, since it covers all weapons (infantry, support weapons and services)

**C. Data Analytical Method**

In addition to the arithmetic mean score, standard deviation has been calculated for each factor. Larger than the standard deviation value- lower the influence, therefore the relevant factor becomes insignificant. On the other hand smaller than standard deviation value- larger than influence, therefore factors becomes significant and can influence the dependent variable as well.

**D. Correlation Analysis**

Correlation an analysis used in statistics to determine any relationship between two or more variables, strength, proportionate and the significance of the relationship.

Correlation coefficients can range from -1.00 to +1.00.

The value of -1.00 represents a perfect negative correlation while Value of +1.00 represents a perfect positive correlation.

A value of 0.00 represents a lack of correlation.

The correlation of the variables is high if change of the value of dependent variable at a given value of independent variable could be represented by a straight line.

**E. Interpretation of Findings**

Then percentage were calculated to assess the relative difference of opinions of respondents. Accordingly, findings were interpreted on percentage values in accordance with the model given below.

**F. Analytical Tools and Methodology of Data Interpretation**

Drawing recommendation were based on the findings as well as on the statistical interpretation. Computation of the Mean and Standard deviation were based on the relevant Lickert scale numbers and the number of respondents in each category for each factor.

Eg. Assume that 15 respondents out 100 sample have identified that the given factor was highly influential while the balance 85 of the sample respondents have indicated that the given factor was influential only up to some extent.

Respondents	Lickert scale	Total
15%	x 2	= 30
	85 x 1	= 85
	Total value	= 105
	Therefore Mean	= 105/100
		= 1.5

A positive value in terms of Lickert scale. Therefore, X= 1.5 indicates that the average opinions of respondents evident that fact variable has been influenced

Accordingly, interpretation was done in accordance with Mean score and Standard deviation value that had been



calculated on the data received at the empirical survey.

### Correlation

Values close to +1 indicate a high-degree of positive correlation

Values close to -1 indicate a high degree of negative correlation

Values close to zero indicate poor correlation of either kind, and 0 indicates no correlation at all

The relationship and the effect of variables were analyzed by using the software SPSS

(\*\*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed))

### G. Finding

2% of the solders have indicated that strongly dis agree with the leaders performing their duties with highly co-operated nature with soldiers.18% of the solders have indicated that dis agree with the leaders performing their duties with highly co-operated nature with soldiers.8% of the solders have indicated that no idea with leaders performing their duties with highly co-operated nature with soldiers.26% of the solders have indicated that agree with the leaders performing their duties with highly co-operated nature with soldiers.46% of the solders have indicated that strongly agree with leaders performing their duties with highly co-operated nature with soldiers. 4% of the solders have indicated that strongly dis agree with the Leaders perform their duties in terms of example to solders.20% of the solders have indicated that dis agree with Leaders perform their duties in terms of example to solders.12% of the solders have indicated that no idea with the Leaders perform their duties in terms of example to solders.24% of the solders have indicated that agree with the Leaders perform their duties in terms of example to solders.40% of the solders have indicated that strongly agree with Leaders perform their duties in terms of example to solders.

## II. DISCUSSION

Leadership is a dynamic process that deserves study. Leadership is a quality and a skill, which is both admired and needed in our military and our society. Therefore, the researcher's purpose of this study was to examine the

relationship between military leadership and soldiers' turnover. Since this is vast subject the researcher has attempted to find out the relationship between two leadership styles within people concern and task concern axis which affects the turnover intention of soldiers

The above data shows that 10 per cent of the total sample are Warrant Officers, 12 per cent Staff Sergeants, 16 percent Sergeants, 26 per cent Corporals, 18 per cent Lance Corporals and 18 per cent Privates out of which 36 percent Other Ranks are from infantry, 34 per cent Support Arms and 30 per cent Services.

## III. COCLUSION

Leadership is a dynamic process that deserves study. Leadership is a quality and a skill, which is both admired and needed in our military and our society. Therefore, the researcher's purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between military leadership and soldiers' turnover. Since this is vast subject the researcher has attempted to find out the relationship between two leadership styles within people concern and task concern axis which affects the turnover intention of soldiers.

The sample consisted of 50 Other Rankers from different regiments of Sri Lanka Army. Data was collected through a questionnaire. First section of the questionnaire consisted of semi structured questions and back ground data. The second section of the questionnaire consisted of five point likert scale statements to measure the leadership and the soldier's turnover in post conflict context.

After analyzing the above factors it was found that Other Rankers believed that military leaders followed different levels of leadership styles which will enhance the performance in present context. The relationships between the variables of the study were analyzed using Pearson's correlation coefficient analysis. Although many previous studies conclude that leadership styles can affect the followers' intention of leaving the organization, this notion is not supported in this study. This study concludes that leadership styles have no significant effect on soldier's turnover intention of the Sri Lankan army.

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# LEARNING STYLES OF MILITARY LEARNERS

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**Abstract-** Learning styles influence the way students learn and how they approach learning situations. Learning styles among students are varied and there are number of factors that may account for such differences in how students learn. Military education system is different from a civil education system. There is lesser evidence on learning styles of military learners and most importantly no evidence from Sri Lankan setting. Therefore, understanding learning styles of military students is an important mission in order to improve the effectiveness of student learning in a military setting. This study aimed to examine whether there is any transformation of military learners' learning styles over a period of time. A modified version of the standard Kolb's learning questionnaire by Honey and Mumford was distributed among military students at two levels; that is students of Defence Services Command and Staff College (DSCSC) Course Number 12 which consists of 140 masters level students including 14 foreign officers and newly joined officer cadet at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University (KDU) numbering 208. According to the study 78% of Masters level students show the Activist learning style while 9% of them are Pragmatists, 7% are Reflectors and 6% of them are Theorists. Findings on Cadets indicated 27% 'Activist' learning style while 25% of them are Pragmatists, 24% are Reflectors and 24% of them are Theorists. The implications of these findings are discussed in terms of military teaching and learning in ways that will accommodate different learning styles of military students to improve their learning in a military setting.

**Keywords-** Learning styles, Military, E-Learning

## I. INTRODUCTION

Learning style is unique to each and every individual learner due to various reasons which are inherent to his

or her life style and pedagogical effects. It is observed that the various types of learning styles have been introduced by researchers such as Felder & Silverman (1988), Grasha-Reichermann, Honey & Mumford (2000), Kolbs, Myers-Briggs, and many other styles, Helmy et al (2016). Military education is entirely different from civil setting. It includes classroom based learning, field work and strenuous physical training activities. Further, Armies are undergoing major transformations in their training today. Rhyan (2016) stated that army should continue to develop its professional and military education from Corporal to General of the Army.

Military learners can be defined as the students of active service in the military. Basically all the military learners are considered as adult learners. According to Starr-Glass, (2011), military learners possess the similar characteristics of adult learners and in the same time they also represent a special group with some unique strengths and weaknesses which are inherent to them. Pierson (2017) argued that there is no proper approach to the military learning. Nevertheless, when compared military learning to the other disciplines, there are lesser studies published in military related learning styles.

A study carried out in Colombo University revealed that there is no difference in learning styles of the undergraduate students from first year to final year in the field of medicine. Similar results reported from a research done in Saudi Arabia among undergraduate students of first year to final year medical students (2015). In contrast, another study conducted among nurses found that there are differences in learning styles when compared to undergraduate and graduate nurses Suliman (2010). The 'Diverger' learning style has become wellknown among

graduate female nursing students (45.8%) whereas the undergraduate nurses study on other learning styles. However, it is clear that certain disciplines may cause changes to one's learning style over time perhaps with training and accommodating the learning environment within each and every discipline. Therefore, it is interesting to learn whether the military students transform their learning styles over time with their military education.

## II. AIM AND OBJECTIVES

Aim of this study is to study the learning styles of graduate and undergraduate levels to understand the nature of learning styles. Findings of this study will lay a basement for a future master studies on the learnings of military learners.

## III. METHODOLOGY

Sri Lankan military education is based on mainly General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University where all other institutions are accredited to confer the degrees from basic level to PhD. Therefore all most all basic degrees and 80% of postgraduate are offered from KDU. Defence Services Command and Staff College (DSCSC) also confers their master's degree through KDU. Therefore 80% of postgraduates and total population of undergraduates comes through KDU. Hence the required sample of masters and first years of undergraduates were selected from DSCSC and KDU respectively. All available first year cadets were selected from KDU while 140 students from Army, Navy and Air Force were included from DSCSC. 20% of them from are Masters Students of KDU. This is a descriptive cross sectional survey to determine the learning styles of the postgraduate and undergraduate military student's at DSCSC and KDU. DSCSC participants were all master degree candidates who had over 10 years of experience in a military setting and KDU participants were the first years who just joined the military after their advanced level examination.

An English version of Honey and Mumford learning style questionnaire was used to collect data. This is a modified version of the standard questionnaire based on the Kolb learning inventory. This questionnaire consisted of 80 items with two choices to select one. The original questionnaire is consist of general questions that has not focused any particular field. Every question had only two options it means the respondent can have a choice to agree or disagree to a statement or he can mark a

tick if it is vice versa. Finally all the ticks were taken in to the consideration while determining the learning styles of students according to the standards has set by Honey and Mumford (2000). The Honey and Mumford learning inventory describes four types of learners which are Activist, Pragmatist, Reflectors and Theorists. Key characteristics of each learners were questioned within the questionnaire. Figure 1 describes the Honey and Mumford learning model.

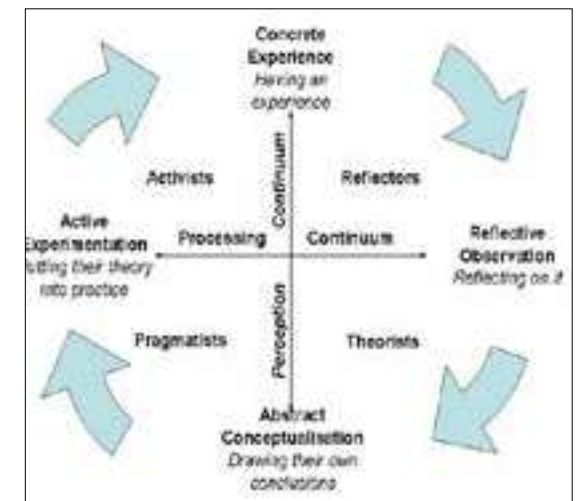


Figure 1. Honey and Mumford learning model

Printed questionnaires were delivered among 140 postgraduate students at DSCSC and 208 first year officer cadets at KDU. Data collection was carried out over a period of six weeks. Instructions to fill the questionnaire were given to all the participants on by the researcher himself and another officer who supported in collecting data. Participants were given adequate time to read and tick the answers on a separate sheet.

## IV. RESULTS

The completed and returned questionnaires of 125 undergraduate officer cadets and 181 postgraduate level military students were selected for the analysis. Incomplete questionnaires were discarded as they gave a syntax error during the analysis.

The respondent rate of DSCSC participants is higher (89.2%) when compared to KDU participants (87.0 %).



Among the DSCSC participants there were 64 officers from Sri Lanka Army, 28 from Sri Lanka Navy, 25 from Sri Lanka Air Force and 8 foreign officers from Bangladesh, China, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Rwanda and United States of America.

KDU participants represented the five faculties which are Defence and Strategic Studies, Engineering, Law, Medicine and Management. Learning style of each participant was evaluated manually using the criteria given by Honey and Mumford (2000). Figure 2 shows the representation of different learning styles preference among Masters level students at DSCSC.



Figure 2. Distribution of Learning Styles among Tertiary Level Military Learners at DSCSC

There was no definite learning style that was used by the first year KDU cadets. Figure 3 shows the representation of learning styles which are practised among the KDU participants.

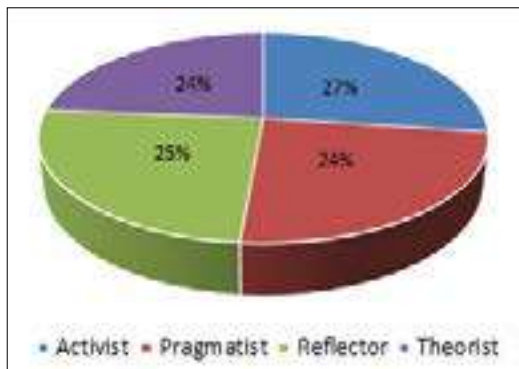


Figure 3. Distribution of learning styles among fresh military learners at KDU

Further, the analysis was conducted by using statistical package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Chi-Square goodness of fit test was done for both the categories of postgraduate and undergraduate participants using the following hypothesis.

Type 1 - Postgraduate students

Type 2 – Undergraduate students

H0: Learning styles & Type are independent

H1: Learning styles & Type are not independent

Chi-Square goodness of fit test is a non-parametric test that is used to find out how the observed value of a given phenomenon differs from the expected value. In Chi-Square goodness of fit test, the term goodness of fit is used to compare the observed sample distribution with the expected probability distribution. There is a significant relationship between learner type and learning style. Table 1 illustrates the Chi-Square results.

Table 1: The Chi-Square Results

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	78.469a	3	.000
Likelihood Ratio	82.633	3	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	62.581	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	306		

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.83.

## V. DISCUSSION

This study is intended to determine the preferred learning styles of Masters level military learners and the newly joined undergraduate officer cadets. Results revealed that there is an equal distribution of learning styles among the undergraduate fresh cadets whereas the 'Activist' learning style which has become dominant (78%) among the military learners who has over 10 years of service in the military. 78% of them are Activist type.

Irfan Shukr et al (2013) have founded that the postgraduate level military medical professionals in Army Medical College in Pakistan dominate Reflector learning style. Borracci et al (2008) reported that postgraduate physician students in Spain are generally use convergent learning style. Felder and Silverman (1998) found that the most creative engineers are global learners. Another research conducted among pharmacy student in Brazil revealed that pragmatist learning style is predominant among those students which are relatively high with 77.1% compared to other researches in the world.

In this study, other learning styles were represented at minor levels such as 9% Pragmatists, 7% Reflectors and 6% Theorists. In contrast, Tulsi et al (2014) founded that there is no specific learning styles dominate among master's engineering students in India. Another research conducted among dental students of King Saud University, Saudi Arabia revealed that the students' learning styles did not change throughout the undergraduate study from first year to final year. Similar results showed in a Sri Lankan study where majority of students from the first year to final year shown the multimodal learning styles. Further among postgraduates, it was unimodal. (Samarakoon et al, 2013). Current study shows the equal representation of learning styles among fresh undergraduate cadets. These are in line with the findings of Angleo D'Amore et al (2011) In there study, there were 29.5% of Assimilators, 28.8% Diverges, 23.9% Accommodators and 17.9% Converges among the first year nursing and midwifery undergraduates.

When the findings of current study is comparing with other studies, there is a similar pattern of distribution of learning styles among first year undergraduate cadets and the first year undergraduates of other disciplines. It can be argued that the different disciplines can have their inherent dominant learning style over a period of time.

Activist learning style has become the dominant learning style among postgraduate level military learners after at least ten years of service in the military. The reasons and factors affecting are yet unclear as there is lack of evidence. It is interesting to focus on the activities which are taking place to dominate Activist learning style of these officers over a period of time while serving in the military. This was discussed by Pierson (2017) on his thoughts on adult learning environment in United States Army War College. He emphasized that the army should focus on a learning environment where learning activities can provide

solutions to real life problems which allow them to apply their own experiences. It means the personal experience gained through the military service could change one's learning style. As per Cercone (2008), with the maturity and experience, adult learners tend to learn differently than young learners.

Most of the participants were interested to learn their learning style. Therefore a feedback was given to them after the survey. A limitation of this study was that the researchers had no way to look for the previous learning styles of DSCSC participants. Researchers recommend to do a further research to find the factors that may affect changing their learning style and also a longitudinal study that includes the KDU participants.

## V. CONCLUSION

Learning styles of first year undergraduate military learner's show an equal percentage among Activist (27%), Pragmatist (25%), Reflectors and Theorist had 24% each. The postgraduate level military learners dominate Activist learning style with a high rate of 78%. Reason for this kind of a changing behaviour can be occurred as a result of organizational influence, especially due to vocational training in specific field. Some of the professionals have specific military learning style that comes under the category of activist. This can be a result of having robust and well organized educational system within the military itself. Therefore organizational influence to change the individual learning style will change a particular individual's behaviour at large. Finally those changing behaviours needs be considered while focusing on developing a student base e-Learning system.

## VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

This survey is a basement for an ongoing MSc research project which is doing by the principal author. It is high time for expound further research in order to develop a new learning model for postgraduate level military learners and to improve learnings of students to achieve better results than ever before in the military. Further it will help entire military learning domain to adjust their teaching and learning systems effectively to cater learning styles of learners rather than the teaching methods of teachers. Moreover, researchers suggest that this study should conduct for all the cadets and see whether is there

any progression from first year cadets to final year cadets with related to Activist learning style.

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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY ON THE RECRUITMENT PROCESS OF OFFICER CADETS: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NEPAL AND SRI LANKA

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**Abstract-** Maintaining a credible military deterrence is the raison d'être of the armed forces of any nation. The process of getting able-bodied men to an organisation is called recruitment. Recruitment of officer corps in South Asian countries has declined to an extent where it needs a serious research attention. The factors applicable to recruitment in one part of the world is not equally applicable in other parts. Therefore, this research will be limited to the South Asian context with a special reference to Nepal and Sri Lankan armed forces. Both Nepal and Sri Lanka face unconventional security threats. Even though they need the military strength to deal with the problem, the numbers of recruitment are declining consistently. Investigating the reasons for this declining is pertinent to devise solutions. The author has referred to sources of literature in order to find the various aspects of the issues in this regard. It is evident that recruitment and selection are considered by the previous researchers as a single process. However, the author suggests that they are different functions on the ground. Armed forces are found to be effective at the selection process rather than in the recruitment. The author suggests that recruitment should generate the availability of similar candidates and subsequently the process of selection should be used to hand-pick the most suitable candidates from the similar pool. Finally, placement of the candidate should be done according to the requirement procedures and their skills. The study has further found that the decline in the number of candidates, is due to various factors. As per the literature, demography, legality, nature of occupation and marketing are the most common factors affecting the recruitment process.

**Keywords-** Recruitment, Demographic Factors, Legal Factors, Occupational Factors, Marketing Factors.

I. INTRODUCTION

In this study, various books, journals, and articles have been reviewed in order to understand the subject area. The available literatures are reviewed under sections of recruitment and selection process, impact of demographic factors on recruitment, impact of legal factors on recruitment, impact of occupational factors on recruitment and impact of marketing factors on recruitment. The objective of this study is to understand the factors affecting the recruitment process of officer cadets. This review is carried out by searching academic databases on recruitment process which expound demographic, legal, occupational and marketing factors.

II. RECRUITMENT PROCESS

Barber (1998) has defined recruitment is a practice and activity carried out by organisations with the primary purpose of identifying and attracting potential employees. (Barber, 1998). Rynes and Barber (1990) suggested that recruitment encompasses all organizational practices and decisions that affect either number or types, of the individuals who are willing to apply for or to accept, a given vacancy (Rynes and Barber, 1990). Gusdorf has defined (As cited in Mondy, 2008) recruitment



as the process of attracting sufficient and qualified individuals on a timely basis for jobs which are available in organizations. (Gusdorf, 2008). Recruitment process includes three crucial features which are the possibility to attract capable people's interest to apply for a specific job, capability of fulfilling given role in an organisation and how the capability is determined by an organisation.

Recruitment is a process (Rynes and Cable, 2003, Ekwoaba et al., 2015) which involves actions in generating number of candidates and maintaining those candidates, and motivating them to join the organisations (Dineen and Soltis, 2011). As Cable and Rynes (2003) pointed out, environmental and contextual considerations like firm, vacancy and labour market affect not only to the recruitment process but also to generate viable candidates and maintain status of viable applicants. Dineen and Soltis (2011) suggest that candidates have to make two key decisions to complete three stages as brought out by Cable and Rynes (2003). Those key decisions are the candidate's decision to voluntarily enter the recruitment process and the organisation's decision to formally invite individual to join that organisation. It means the identification of the target group and relevant strategies are prerequisites to gain the candidate's interests for available job opportunities. After that candidate has to face selection processes where fairness perceptions and timeliness play a vital role. At the last stage, candidate will be able to gain the job.

There are two aspects of recruitment authorities which come under centralisation and decentralisation (Khillare and Shirsale, 2017) Centralised recruitment method is adopted by an organisation which maintains a separate and dedicated department for recruitments. It means others departments do not concern about the recruitment process at all. In the decentralised method each department has the authority to select their staff (ibid). Based on the sources of recruitment, this process can be categorised under internal and external sources. Internal sources of recruitment include transfers, promotions while external sources include press advertisements, educational institutes, placement agencies, employment exchanges, labour contractors, unsolicited applicants, employee referrals and recruitments at factory gate (Giri, 2008, Mascarenhas, Gusdorf, 2008). Waldt and Thebe (2014) have presented common sequential steps that come under the recruitment process. These steps are synergised steps which reflect a comprehensive recruitment process model.

- i. Step 1 : I identify the number of required people for existing vacancies
- ii. Step 2 : Update the job description, specification and profile.
- iii. Step 3 : Determine the key performance areas of the job/Recruitment planning.
- iv. Step 4 : Consult the recruitment policy and procedure.
- v. Step 5 : Consider the sources of recruitment (searching).
- vi. Step 6 : Adopt an appropriate recruitment method.
- vii. Step 7 : Develop strategies to recruit human resources. (advertisement/strategy development).
- viii. Step 8 : Follow a suitable communication method/Implement a decision.
- ix. Step 9 : Ensure the pool of potential qualified applications/Allow sufficient time for responses.
- x. Step 10 : Screen responses/Screening.
- xi. Step 11 : Evaluation of the Recruitment and control.

Recruitment and selection can be understood as a single process which deals with the employee's work commitments. But the selection is crucial part of the recruitment process (Barber, 1998, Armstrong, 2009). Recruitment and selection are two different terms which are often used interchangeably (Torrington et al., 2014). Torrington (2014) has stated that the selection is the process of choosing the right person for the right job. On the other hand, selection can be also problematic (Torrington et al., 2014). Selection process begins with the inputs which associate the proper identification of applicants. (Waldt and Thebe, 2014). According to Giri (2008) selection is the process of hiring people who intend to be successful in their careers (Giri, 2008). According to Bratton and Gold (2007) managers and other responsible people generally use specific instruments to select appropriate individuals from a pool of applicants by considering the management goals and legal requirements. Though some scholars have suggested that these two functions are closely connected, each requires a separate range of skills and expertise and it may be fulfilled by different staff members. It indicates

that the recruitment activity is not a sole decision taken by the responsible authorities. (Foot and Hook, 2005).

Further, Waldt and Thebe (2014) have presented a common sequential steps of selection process as follows.

- i. Step 1 : Interview (Reception and initial screening)
- ii. Step 2 : Application form
- iii. Step 3 : In-depth selection interview
- iv. Step 4 : Background and reference checking

- v. Step 5 : Medical examination and physical testing
- vi. Step 6 : Assessment centres
- vii. Step 7 : Making the decision on hiring
- viii. Step 8 : Making a fair job offer

However, combination of the recruitment and selection process generate 19 steps. These steps are not dogmas and can be changed and differ according to available requirements. In this regard, Schreurs and Syed (2009) looked at three variables which come under organisational, individual and outcome variables as shown in the figure 1.

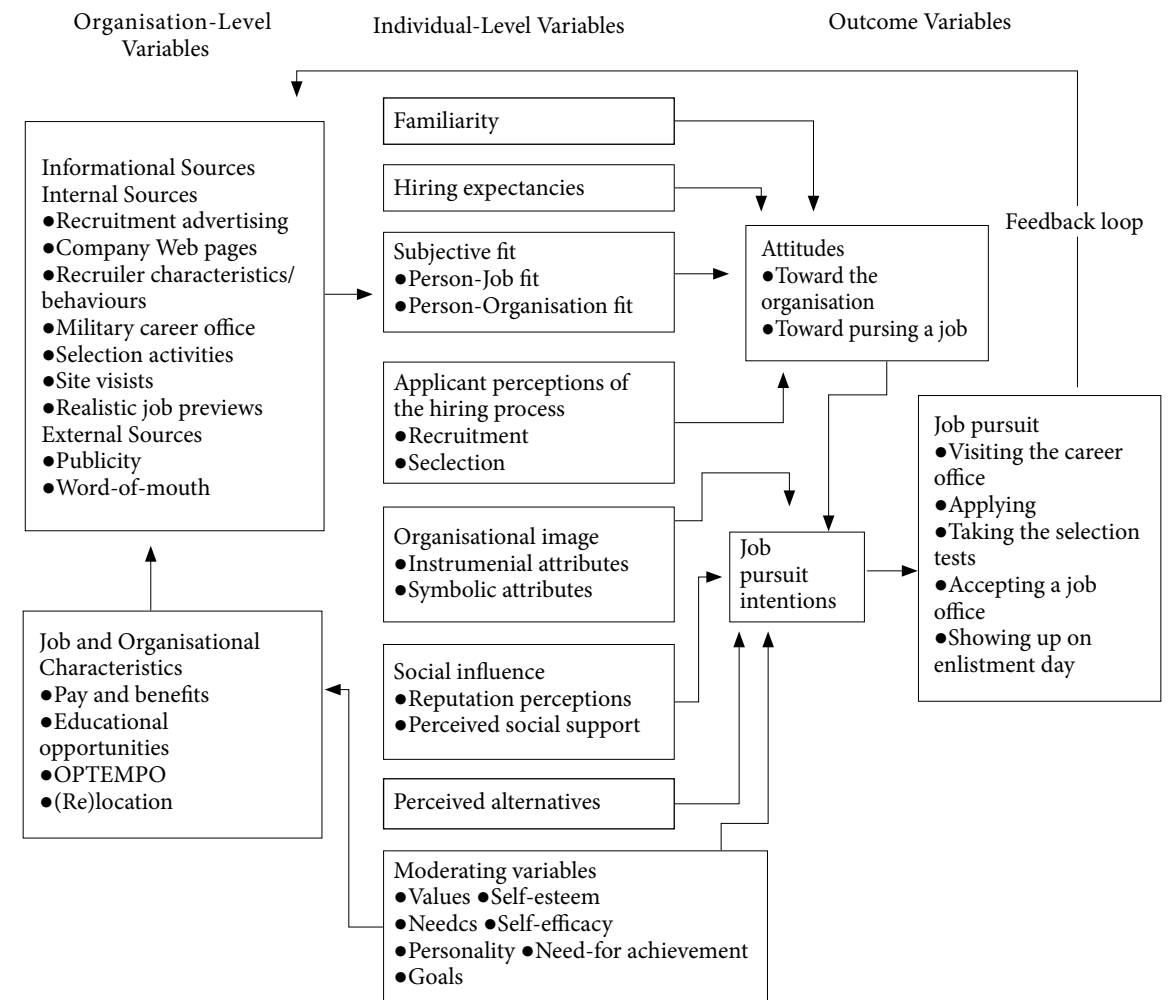


Figure 1. Proposed Model of Military Recruitment  
Source: Schreurs and Syed (2009), A proposed mode of military recruitment

Organisational level variables include the environment which prevails under the control of organisation. This encompasses internal sources and external sources. Individual level variables are mostly related with candidates. Further, outcome variable includes the final steps in the joining of candidate. All these variables have impact on the recruitment and selection process.

### III. IMPACT OF DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

Council et al (2003) have described two demographic variables which create impact for the recruitment process namely young adult demography and child demography. Socio-economic characteristics of parents such as their education qualifications have made an impact on the youth's aspirations and decisions to join military. This study shows that the expected recruitments will increase given a cohort of 15 to 20 people. Furthermore, study suggests that, though the qualification requirement can be met by the youngsters, the increasing problem of obesity and asthma leads to reject the most of their applications. The study has also found out that the propensity to enlist in military service has been decreasing day by day due to the perceptions of parents and particularly mothers and counsellors strongly influence on youth to make decisions with regard to fields of career and education. Quester has further suggested that due to brain drain reliance on foreign recruitments, there are reluctances available among youth to join military. Recruitment and selection is depending on the demographic variables like age, sex, income, education, interests, propensity (Council et al., 2003, Richter and Hanhart, 2012; Denis, 2015). Quester (2005) has highlighted the necessity to increase the serving age in military to motivate officer cadets.

Study also suggested that when the economy does not function well, the recruitment in military becomes easier and vice versa. It means war and demographic changes are positive driving factors which drive for recruitments. (Quester, 2005). Dennis (2015) has highlighted five trends in demographic and socio-economic changes. The rise of ageing population (It means youth has to spend much time and money take care their aged parents) have to look after obesity and lack of fitness, decline to serve (mostly based on the perceptions and changes in the education sector), the rise of cost in investing equipment and high-tech militaries which reduces personnel casualties (Denis, 2015).

Ethnicity is also another factor affects to the recruitment of military personnel (Orvis and Asch, 2001). The components like race, gender, personality and knowledge are most influential factors in the selection process. (Joshi et al., 2011). Another study suggests that the educational benefits provided by military to youth is an influential factor to increase their tendency towards military (Kleykamp, 2006). Philips (2015) has found that a child raised by absentee mothers are more likely to join military due to the obstacles faced by them during their early times. On the other hand, there are few youths who are willing to leave home because of the conflict and economic crisis available in the families. All these factors depict that the deprivation of human needs also lead to enlist them in the military (Philips, 2015).

### IV. IMPACT OF LEGAL FACTORS

In most of the countries, legal provisions on the recruitment of officer cadets were changed periodically during and after World Wars (Lerwill, 1988). As an example, initially United States Army gave a vital importance to volunteer forces. Likewise, while most of the countries are focussing on volunteer force, some are still practising conscriptions which aligned with the national security predicaments (Simon and Abdel-Moneim, 2011).

Ejiogu (2007) has stressed that recruitment policy must be based on the selecting appropriate individuals to serve the tax payers. It means if the responsible authorities practise a wrong policy, country would face extreme conditions occurred in Nigeria (Ejiogu, 2011). Canadian report on the recruitment and retention highlights key areas like delays within recruitment process, file handling, duration between recruitment and selection process can be considered as the root causes for such kind of incidents (Sorenson, 2017).

### V. IMPACT OF OCCUPATIONAL FACTORS

Type, name, brand and the size of the organisation (Cable & Graham, 2000; Chapman et al., 2005, Alnaçık, 2012, Nyce, 2012) determines individual's choice of recruitment. In this regard, propensity to join military (Woodruff et al., 2006) is influenced by the environment of the individuals (Bachman et al., 1998). On the other hand, such kind of Job satisfaction is linked with motivation, social interaction, employee characteristics, organisational

environmental characteristics, organisational perceptions and disturbing factors like frustration, conflict, job security, promotion, stress and interests (Freeman, 1977; Izvercian et al., 2016). According to Herzberg (as cited in Naz, 2015) 1966) job satisfaction is related to intrinsic factors like recognitions, responsibilities, achievements, and advancements while job dissatisfaction is related with extrinsic factors like the amount of pay, administration, company policy, relationships among colleagues, and working environment (Naz, 2015). In the case of military, hardship of military life, stress, age of military retirement can be considered as occupational factors (Quester, 2005). This perception has also assured through a study conducted on Australian Defence Forces which recognises the organisation culture is one of the reasons that reduces the recruitment of soldiers. (Brown, 2013). As an example, a study conducted among 10 companies in Zimbabwe has found that cost of advertisement, inappropriate qualifications, nepotism, favouritism and unskilled labour resources which surpasses the number of skilled labours, political interferences, brain drain, lack of qualified persons in local pool, outdated or inadequate job descriptions and the size of recruitment firm affects for the recruitment process (Zinyemba, 2014).

### VI. IMPACT OF MARKETING FACTORS

As mentioned in earlier, attracting of appropriate candidates is crucial in the recruitment process. Therefore, organisations need to advertise their strengths to overcome their weaknesses by using a proper marketing strategy (Armstrong, 2009). From the perspective military, armed forces still follow conventional scripted method. Rynes & Barber (1990) have suggested that these methods needs to be changed. It means forces should pursue divergent methods in advertising their work opportunities. It shows that the cost of advertising particularly influences the recruitment (Chaudhary and Nirala, 2014). (Since the attraction is a vital factor for the recruitment process both tangible and intangible factors contributes to the recruitment process). Tangible factors are salary, allowances, career growth, education, health insurance, welfare, family life and amenities while intangible factors are social status, respect, and recognition within the society (Richter and Hanhart, 2012).

### VII. CONCLUSION

The study mainly concludes that the demographic, legal, occupational factors have played a major role in the

selection process. Variables like age, income, interests, gender, education level of parents, transcendent purpose to serve in military, ethnicity of minority, investment in education by military, presence of military make strong influence on the individual's decision of individuals to join military. Moreover, the race, gender, personality, and knowledge of recruiter is also influencing the outcomes of recruitment process particularly in minority. Then the legal factors affect to the recruitment which relates to the quantity and quality and quality of armed forces to maintain. Occupational factors like the type, name, brand and size of organisation are also subjected to the motivation, social interaction, employee characteristics, organisational and environmental characteristics, organisational perceptions and disturbing factors like frustration, conflict, job security, promotion, stress and interests. Finally this paper points out that the marketing factors which relates to the advertising strengths and weakness of organisation; methods of attraction have played a significant role in the recruitment process.

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# DEVELOPING LIFE COPING SKILLS AMONG AMPUTATED ELDERLY WAR VETERANS/DIFFERENTLY-ABLED WAR HEROES: A REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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**Abstract-** The theoretical aspects related to life coping skills among disabled or differently able war heroes will be discussed in this paper. Literature review on the other hand will guide the researcher to develop a sustained conceptual framework and based on that, the researcher will be able to conduct a reliable study. Coping skills are defined as the ways in which people learn to deal with certain stressful situation or circumstances. Every person copes with different stress levels and over the time, they learn to deal with the certain stressful scenario. On the other hand, people who are passing through the stressful situation are not only suffering by themselves, but people who are around them also suffer due to emotional attachment. Therefore, developing coping skills is essential under a stressful situation. Coping skill is defined as any behavior or characteristic that is relevant to a person's adaptation. It is further detailed that, coping skill includes religious belief system, solving problems, social skills, health and energy, and commitment towards social network. Coping skill is a technique/ method a particular person uses to manage a stressful situation. This particular skill will enable a person to face the problem, identify the problem, take necessary action and be flexible in terms of handling a stressful situation in a successful manner.

**Keywords-** Coping skills, Psychological Impairments, War-Related Trauma.

## I. INTRODUCTION

Every conflict in the world has been taken thousands of lives, displaced thousands of families and severely damaged the economy and infrastructure. The exposure to war-related trauma has led to amputate large number of veterans (Miller & Rasmussen, 2010). Disability causes a variety of physical and psychosocial challenges which effect to the body image, lifestyle and self-concepts of individuals (Kooijman, et al, 2000). The alternations and prosthesis generally creates stresses which is associated with individual's inability to maintain emotional well-being. Sometimes it may lead to poor psychosocial adjustment (Williams, et al, 2011). Furthermore, the well-being of disable people should be considered as the main goal of rehabilitation rather than a biomechanical or physiological factor. We can consider quality of life as an umbrella, covering all aspect of medical services that offers to a disable people. The concept of quality of life extends beyond traditional symptoms and it includes subjective well-being, satisfaction, functioning and impairments. The impact of such pain increases the impact of secondary stresses such as family conflicts, negative events which lead to mental health problems (Wickrama & Wickrama, 2008, 2010). In this setting, the objective of this study is to understand the developing of life coping skills among amputated elderly war veterans/ differently-able war heroes. This review is investigated by searching key academic databases on the subject. The collected data has reviewed under two phases such as theoretical review and empirical review.

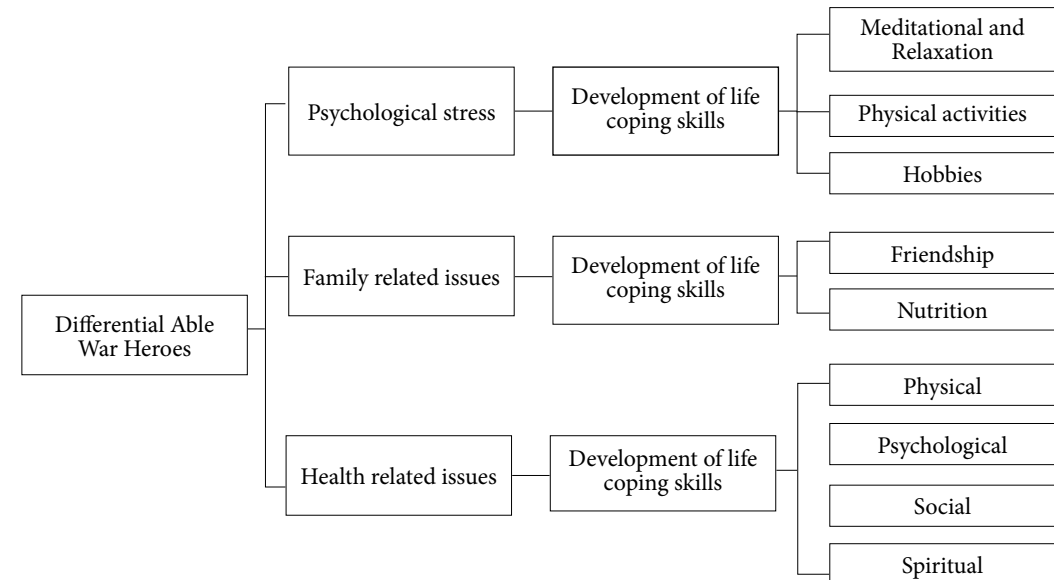


Figure 1. The Conceptual Framework  
Source: Author

## II. DISCUSSION

The discussion of the paper is entirely based on the effect of life coping skills among amputated war veterans as follows. The following conceptual framework clearly depicts the relationship between differently able war heroes and development of their life coping skills.

### A. Development of Life Coping Skills Under Psychological Stress

According to American Psychological Association (2018), people can be victimised from psychological stress regardless their age, gender and maturity. It has further elaborated that the psychological stress can also lead to physical health issues. By agreeing to the same, Anon (2018) has stated that the stress mainly refers to two things which are the pressure in mind and the way body responds to it. Therefore, psychological stress can be a response to an environmental, social or any other external factor. If a person suffers from a psychological stress, that could be visible through his or her physical conditions. There are several physical conditions such as low energy, headaches, upset stomach including diarrhoea, constipation, nausea, aches, pains, tense muscles, chest pain, rapid heartbeat,

insomnia, frequent cold and infections, loss of sexual desires. (American Psychological Association, 2018). Therefore, it is important to maintain a good mental health to have a balanced life. (Anon, 2017) On the other hand, having a proper mental or a psychological health will be beneficial for a person to achieve the desired success within his or her personal and professional life. Hence, maintenance of psychological fitness is an essential part in human life. Psychological fitness is therefore, aiming at developing mental, emotional and behavioural aspects of people, which is one of the vital things to be considered for military people (Lori, et al. 2011). According to them the psychological status of military officers can be developed thorough the awareness of self-environment, beliefs, attitudes, ability, to cope with stress, decision-making skills, social engagement and interaction with others. Apart from the above mentioned aspects, following areas can be identified as the essential aspects in handling the stress.

#### i. Mediations and Relaxation

Meditation is one of the processes of enhancing set of integrated physiological changes of people which lead them to have a relaxation. Further this can be a good solution to overcome many diseases and psychological



impairments (Lazar, et al, 2000). On the other hand, this can be considered as a kind of an exercise to the brain which improve the memory, empathy of individuals (Bushak, 2015).

## ii. Physical Activities

According to World Health Organization, a physical activity can simply defines as a movement of body that used skeletal muscles to generate energy. Also it reveals that, the lack of physical activities causes 3.2 million deaths across the globe. As per the United States Department of Agriculture stated, there are different types of physical activities which individuals can involve in activities such as running/Jogging, walking, cycling, heavy work, swimming, doing aerobics and playing Basketball tennis. According to Rehabil (1991), these kind of physical activities is a good recommendation to improve the physical fitness of war heroes. At the end of the day, those will lead to ensure their mental fitness as well.

## iii. Hobbies

Hobbies is an activity doing for the purposes of gaining pleasure within an assigned worked schedule. According to Naidu (2015), hobbies enrich the lives as well as bring happiness to people. According to her, there are several advantages for personal life such as the ability to share stories with others, relieve stress, become patience, develop bonds with others and create a social life that increases confidence and self-esteem. This also helps prevent bad habits as well. Therefore, it is important to have a hobby by the disabled/ differently-able war heroes as it reduces the discomforts and challenges such as boredom, less socialization and depression, etc. (Poore, 2009).

## B. Development of Life Coping Skills Under Family Related Issues

It is a well-known fact that, war heroes who faced injuries in the battle fields, continue their lives as disabled or differently able individuals. In this situation, this generate serve impact on the life of injured soldier and his or her family as well (Smith, 2010). According to Stockton (2012), disabled or differently able war heroes who already return to homes face several issues that aligned with invisible wounds such as psychological obstacles.

The inability to find an employment, to settle back in to normal relationships and depressions have become unavoidable challenges.

## i. Friendship

Friendship is an important factor for any individual's life since their emotional support and different viewpoints and feedback is helpful for closed ones. Most importantly, they are having an extraordinary power to make people ease while they are undergoing with a depression or any type of a problem (Lutfiyya, 1997). She further stated that, people those who are with or without disabilities should have friends to enhance their psychological health.

Amado (1993) has highlighted that, people with disabilities faced difficulties in developing social relationships due to lack of opportunity available in the society. Because of their disability to move, they are unable to get in touch with peers or exposed to the society. On the other hand, there is a lack of support and attention to differently able people from the society. Also, they are unable to develop new relationship since their scope is limited to a selected area, where majority of them are unable to freely move. Therefore, O'Brien (1993) shows the importance of developing social relations between differently able war heroes and mass community in the society.

## ii. Nutrition

In addition to that, Nutrition of disable people is also an important factor because it assures the survival of the humans. However, much attention should be given to the nutrition level of disable or differently able war heroes since it is the only assurance for them to sustain their lives (Padmasiri, 2012). On the other hand, maintenance of a healthy diet is essential for speedy recovery of disabled war heroes. As they are unable to have proper exercise, nutrition and a well-balanced diet plays a vital role. (Wechter, 2014).

## C. Development of Life Coping Skills Under Health Related Issues

According to Baines (2018), veterans, soldiers or the military face eight problems which differ from the problems faced by others in the society. Their life style and behaviour which relate to a unique service lead

them to suffer from unique set of health and wellness issues. Therefore, it is identified that there are main areas related to health related issues such as physical health, psychological health, social health and spiritual health.

According to Medline Plus (2017), due to the sacrifices made by the soldiers to the country, they face various physical difficulties and health issues than the general civilians. They suffer from various injuries, etc. which occurred during their missions. The majority of injuries are lifetime. The Medline Plus (2017), has elaborated that the most common types of injuries are shrapnel and gunshot wounds, loss of limbs, head and brain injuries, tinnitus and hearing problems, typically exposure to noise, sprains and strains, limited range of motion, especially in ankles and knees. Due to these life lasting disabilities, the disabled/ differently able war heroes suffer mentally and physically (Bushak, 2015). According to her, getting socialized with others is vital for their life in different ways. It helps to get emotional support from the civil society and receive feedback and different viewpoints on their development. (Lutfiyya, 1997). She further elaborated that the socialization leads to regain the happiness, mental fitness of differently able people as well. Because the socialization may help to realize the importance and the value of them to the society and they will be able to receive appreciation and respect from the society on behalf of the sacrifices made by them. This may increase the mental wellbeing of them. Further, spiritual well-being which refers to an ability to experience life through a person's passion on art, music, literature, nature, can create a massive impact on the health of the disabled war heroes. Moreover, this can be considered as a kind of an exercise to the brain. It helps people to maintain mental health, improve the memory, enhance empathy, etc. and especially, they are satisfied with their life rather than getting disappointed or depressed (Bushak, 2015).

## III. JUSTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH GAP

Development of the life coping skills among amputated elderly war veterans enhances the abilities of the disabled soldiers. Therefore, the authorized bodies can have better understanding of this situation and they can take necessary actions to increase life coping skills among amputated war veterans. In addition to that, in future more research should be done on this area.

## IV. CONCLUSIVE SUMMARY

The conceptual framework which has developed by the author is essential to develop life coping skills among veteran/ differently-abled war heroes.

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# ECUADOR'S BORDER SECURITY FAILURES: AN ANALYSIS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COORDINATING BUREAU OF INTELLIGENCE

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**Abstract-** This article sets out the institutional redesign elements that ended up shaping a poor border security between Ecuador and Colombia. It suggests that because of an institutional design addressed by a strong executive figure, the structure that the state intelligence institution took was functional to the elected President. This fact caused severe shortfalls in the Ecuadorian-Colombian frontier.

**Keywords-** Institutionalism, State Intelligence, Border Security.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to explain Ecuador's security border failures and the institutional design of State that coordinates with the Intelligence Agency of Ecuador. Ecuador is located in South America, neighboring with Colombia in the north, and Peru in the south. Ecuador became a Republic since 1830.

A bomb exploded in the back of the Police Command on January 27, 2018, in San Lorenzo, an Ecuadorian town located in the border with Colombia. The explosion took place very early in the morning (Velasco B, 2018). This fact did not only unveil obvious issues, such as deficiencies in certain routine security procedures within the affected police facilities, but it was also the tip of the iceberg that made serious shortcomings regarding the implementation of public security policy on the Ecuadorian-Colombian border.

Since 2008 up to present time, a series of adjustments have been taking place in the Ecuadorian State about security. The ultimate goal of security in Ecuador was purportedly modified with the changes of law. But this actually did not happen. Within the function of intelligence, there is a clear division between the legal and the real factors. As a result of that, state institutions favoured the President of the Republic at the time. This phenomenon explained by Basabe (2017) as an "imperial presidential system". In the Ecuadorian security sector, as well as in other State sectors, planning and execution of public policies was closely related to the president. As reported by the interviewees of this study, the minister who were closest to the former president imposed his agenda and priorities; regardless of the coordinating body of the Security Sector (MICS) (Source Anonymous source. (Cobo, 2017).

The Secretariat of Intelligence is the institution responsible for the development of strategic intelligence, namely, the anticipated knowledge that meets its national development objectives, the protection of its citizens and "the structure and institutionality" (MICS, 2014, p. 24 ). The law provided the Secretary of Intelligence the following responsibilities:

- I. to prepare the National Intelligence Plan; to coordinate and execute activities for the production of intelligence, to articulate the work of all the intelligence agencies existent in the State;
- II. to provide timely strategic intelligence to the President of the Republic; and to contribute to the

maintenance of the integrity and independence of the State (Public and State Security Law, 2009).

However, The National Secretariat of Intelligence, was not a free of imperial presidential influence. The centralized function of the intelligence agency in Ecuador, remained unchanged since 1979, and it was disappeared upon direct order of Rafael Correa Delgado. The President of the Republic at the time built the institutional characteristics that would redefine the new coordinating body as from two critical junctures. According to the political science perspective critical juncture is understood as the "periods of significant change" (Cappocia and Kelemen 2007, p.347); whereupon certain factors are established, and changes or new phases of institutional stability could arise. The operations of the coordinating bureau of intelligence's in Ecuador went through a period of apparent calm and without major alterations for thirty years. In 2005, its functional organic regulation was approved (Rivera, 2011). It was only after two events considered which was attempted to modify the Directorate of National Intelligence. This was led to a real change. The first one was "Operation Fénix" carried out on March 1, 2008 (El País, 2008), which bombarded against the demobilized Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia who were located at bi-national border between Colombia and Ecuador. The second is the event that took place on September 30, 2010, that was attempted coup d'état or assassination (Jiménez, 2015, Piedra y Pinto, 2016, Carrión, 2018).

However, the category of critical junctures may not be sufficient to explain the elements of the institutional redesign of the activity of the State's that coordinates with intelligence body in Ecuador. It has led to make security flaws in the border area. For this purpose, it is necessary to incorporate the important" ideas and discourses in politics" (Schmidt 2008, 303). This theoretical entry has been selected because it interlinks with all contexts. From this point of view, the context can be defined as the place where "ideas, arguments and discourses make sense" (Schmidt 2011, 9).

In order formulate the implications of the institutional mission of SENAIN (National Secretariat of Intelligence, known later as Secretariat of Intelligence, SEIN –Spanish Acronyms) it is necessary to analyse the implications of the concept of strategic intelligence. Cucovaz (2016) refers to strategic intelligence activity that indicates "the detection of risks, threats and opportunities based on national, regional and/or international interests in order to improve the decision-making process (p.23). The author considers that strategic intelligence is "vital for the public sector" (p.24)

## II. METODOLOGY AND EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN

Similar studies in the field of security and defence show that the highest percentage of sources of information, which is provides a base for this study. Most of the data come from oral sources. The assertions made in the text are based on the testimony of anonymous sources (Díaz, 2005). This does not mean that the information has not been proven; certain data provided in the text are repeated in the testimonies of two sources within the (executive and operational) state institutions, and testimonies of stakeholders outside the state institutions. The interviews used for this study were carried out within the framework of an extensive work on the institutional intelligence in Ecuador. The text refers to interviews performed to: a former president of the Republic of Ecuador (2003-2005); Undersecretaries of the Coordinating Ministry of Security (2012-2014) and of the Secretariat of Intelligence (2014); senior officials of the National Intelligence System, Assemblymen and former Assemblymen. In addition information was obtained from interviews and official documents without classification and other existing studies on the intuitional Intelligence in Ecuador.

## III. RESULTS

### A. Current construction of the coordinating bureau of intelligence : past and effect of the critical junctures in their institutional composition.

In 2008, the activities and results of the National Directorate of Intelligence (DNI –*Spanysh Acronyms*) belonging to COSENA (Consejo de Seguridad Nacional – *National Security Council*), are no longer exists. The existing intelligence units, that is a part of the structure of the Armed Forces and the National Police, fulfilled their institutional objectives. In the case of the Armed Forces, they provided timely and relevant products "in terms of capabilities, intentions and motivations of threats to the sovereignty of the State [...]" (Ordoñez and Cruz, 2017, p.62); whereas in the case of the National Police, its activities were focused on the "planning, search, processing and dissemination of information related to the risks and threats posed to the maintenance of public order, public [...] and citizen security" (Aguirre, 2018, para. 2).

The intelligence units of the Armed Forces and the National Police were equipped, including the coordination with international structures to exchange information in order to fight transnational organized crime (Gutiérrez, 2018, Source Anonymous Police 1). This fact did not affect the work of the National Security Council. Upon reference of former COSENA officials, the DNI and former presidents of the Republic; it was known that the President of the Republic was advised on guidelines set forth in their meetings about the security sector (Gutiérrez, 2018, Anonymous source 10, 2018). However, the main purpose of this advice was to safeguard the state security, rather than implementing a personal agenda of the head of state (Gutiérrez, 2018, Anonymous Source 10, 2018).

The institutional change of the coordinating bureau of intelligence in Ecuador, namely the former DNI, was reconfigured from two critical junctures that are considered two main keys, Firstly, Operation Fénix in 2008, and the events of September 30, 2010. These events were determined as such, because they comply with the causal structure established by David Soifer for critical junctures. According to Soifer, these require two components, "permissive [...] and] productive conditions" (2009, 2).

### B. Operation Fénix: reconfiguration and institutional redesign.

In Operation Fénix, can be considered at a critical juncture. The permissive and productive conditions are fulfilled as a matter in the eyes of the media that put the intelligence system at the center of the national debate (Piedra, 2012). Prior to these events, the intelligence issue hadn't agenda in the media. In reference to the productive conditions, this was a consequence of Correa Delgado's reading. When he was aware of the bombing of a camp of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, he directly attacked the military and police intelligence agencies. The accusation began with Colonel Mario Pazmiño, Director of Intelligence of the Army (Pazmiño, 2017), who would have privileged to deliver information to the Embassy of the United States and to Colombia (El Universo, 2009). Police Major, Manuel Silva, made the same accusation. It was assumed that the intelligence agencies of the Armed Forces and the National Police were co-opted by the United States (Huerta, 2009).

As a result of these events, the President of the Republic at the time, created a Commission on March 25, 2009, that was responsible to clarify the events occurred in Angostura on March 1, 2008" (Nieto, 2014). Social movements, the Ecuadorian Episcopal Conference, the Media and a single General in passive service of the Army (Huerta, 2009), represented them. The appointment was made by decree.

In line with Correa, the Transparency and Veracity Report of the "Angostura Case" repeats the speech that asserts there was a delayed reaction of the security sector of Ecuador. In addition, it reports that the links with the government of the United States affected the state's sovereignty; thus determining the responsibility for the events upon the UIES ( Unidad de Investigaciones Especiales de la Policía Nacional) and the National Police (Transparency and Truth Commission, 2009). On this report, it is striking that his assertions are far from being fully argued. The text lacks internal coherence and a unified wording in its composition. This can be construed as evidence, that the members of the commission repeated a prefabricated speech.

Both, the positioning of the presidential discourse, and the majority of the governing party in the National Assembly removed the regulation, legitimacy and reserve, which were bases of the state intelligence in Ecuador (Piedra, 2012). Subsequently, the regulations changed with the issuance of Executive Decree No. 1768 dated June 8, 2009, thus replacing the DNI with the National Secretariat of Intelligence (SENAIN –Spanish Acronyms). Subsequently, the legal existence of SENAIN would be regularized, through the Law on Public Security and by the State.

In this first critical juncture, the legitimacy of the intelligence activity was affected as a consequence of two elements. The discursive management of the executive branch and the coverage of the event by the Government's media gave rise to an unequal access of the rest of the media, thus positioning their version as an act of betrayal by the military and police intelligence agencies. Finally, the restraint was removed by means of the declassification of the information submitted only to the commission created by the President of the Republic.

The figure adopted by the newly created National Secretariat of Intelligence was characterized by the following elements: the strong break-up with any kind of



cooperation, terms or academic training provided by the United States of America and other European countries (Source Subsystem Military Intelligence, 2018). This was the breeding ground of the second characteristic which broke all personnel of the intelligence sector that had training in the United States of America.

On the other hand, the experience of those who were identified as managers of the Angostura events was undermined; the officials of the National Directorate of Intelligence, and members of the Armed Forces and National Police gained a specialized knowledge gained in the United States. These people were "facilitated" by arranged retirement processes, leading almost to a full elimination of the institution's historical memory (anonymous source 8). Instead, personnel recruitment processes were established, which recruited young academics. Most of them possessed theoretical knowledge about the activity (Source: Military Intelligence Subsystem, 2018).

The main problem in relegating subsidiary tasks to few experienced personnel remained in the National Directorate of Intelligence. The fact is that they started from scratch, "they uprooted the tree" (Source: Military Intelligence Subsystem, 2018). The new officials devoted a considerable period of time, to discuss the distinction of security, defence and intelligence (Piedra, 2014). The authorities had a long way to go in order to give a professional status their staff; not an easy task due to the lack of universities that taught intelligence activities in the country.

Lastly, the undermining lack of confidence transmitted by former President Correa to military and police intelligence in Ecuador that created a distrust between the civil servants of the SENAIN, and the military and police officers (Anonymous sources 3 and 4). The lack of trust worsened a problem that was already identified in the DNI. Francisco Jijón, National Secretary of Intelligence, could hardly coordinate the intelligence sector. In the absence of a law that it may establish operating parameters, the joint and coordinated work depended on the confidence enjoyed by the official on the part of those who headed the military and police intelligence subsystems. The two elements would constitute in the future, as one of the biggest obstacles that affect the performance of the Secretariat of Intelligence.

From its creation until the second event considered as a critical juncture on September 30, 2010, SENAIN was going through a period of basic institutional definitions. Under the direction of Jijón, the construction of the Intelligence Law and the National Intelligence Plan was initiated. The professionally of its personnel was also supported. Experts from Argentina, Chile and Spain (Pinto, 2018) delivered the first training workshops. In addition, merit and opposition competitions were launched to fill vacancies in the positions of intelligence and strategic analysts (Pinto, 2018, Official 4 SENAIN / SIN, 2018). In this stage of increasing personnel in the institution recruitments took place based on the current expenditure, to fill in the vacancies.

In summary, the institutional features of the Intelligence Secretariat after the Angostura independence of the intelligence function considered the ultimate good that needs to be safeguarded; distrust among military, police and civilian officials; absence of a law that regulates the activity and a lack of the experience and learning about the intelligence activities.

It is known publicly that while members of the National Police of Ecuador decided to remain in their barracks as a protest action against the approval of the Organic Law of Public Service (Jiménez, 2015); the officials of SENAIN and the intelligence subsystems were in a seminar (Ecuador Immediate, 2010). At 9:15 pm Ecuador was going through one of its darkest moments. As a result of Rafael Correa's argument that he was kidnapped at the National Police Hospital in Quito. Then the encroachment of a joint group of the "Armed Forces and Special Groups of the National Police of the GIR and GAO" (Garzón, 2010, paragraph 19) took place. In addition, a former police officer went into a coma (Carrión, 2018).

Such is the opacity of the events that took place in the facilities of the Quito Regiment No. 1 of the National Police, and its hospital, that up to this date there is no unbiased version of the events (Piedra y Pinto, 2016). What counts is an official version very well positioned through the speech of the former President, documentaries, books and statements of the members of his cabinet. The version of the "assassination attempt" (Presidency of the Republic, 2013, paragraph 7) spread very well, in contrast to voices having a different discourse and who were silenced (Jiménez, 2018, Official 2 SENAIN / SIN, 2018), and the absence of liability of the actual responsible ones who allowed the alteration of evidence at the crime scene.

Ambiguity is evident at this point, regardless of the actual events that took place, Correa expressed the following about the intelligence system: "We are blind, at ground zero, in terms of intelligence for internal security" (*La Jornada*, 2010). For the former president, the flaw in intelligence was clear. This consisted of not warning about the police rebellion, and "the conspiratorial work prior to the attempted coup d'état" (*Prensa Latina*, 2010). These ideas were constantly repeated at every opportunity that the former head of state had when dealing with September 30, 2010 (Drafting Policy, 2010).

The permissive conditions in this critical juncture are placed in the delegitimization of the state's intelligence activity. This action was accomplished through the state-owned mass media.

Three years later, through Executive Decree number 22, a Commission was created to investigate the events that took place on September 30, 2010. The main argument that Correa used was that the "different entities to which he has ordered the review of the investigation, [diluted] his work" (A. Alvarez, 2013). This committee was made up of people close to the former president.

Just like the Angostura Commission; the delegation investigated the events of September 30, the outcome produced a document and evidence that reinforced the former president's version. The commission determined that in the 30S events there was a "plan for a coup d'état, taking [the President] hostage [...] and] an attempt to assassinate him" (*Editorial Office*, 2014). In addition to members of the National Police, the members of the commission pointed out to the private media as responsible for these events (Redacción justicia, 2014).

September 30, 2010 became a critical juncture that determined the institutional redesign of the coordinating bureau of intelligence in Ecuador. The permissive conditions stemmed from the events that were assumed to be true on that date. These events positioned at a national level the need for an institution capable of alerting the incumbent government of possible destabilizing events. The seriousness of the version of events disseminated by official sources led to the discussion of the end purpose of SENAIN once again. Even assemblymen outside the government party requested the Secretary of Intelligence at the time, to provide explanations.

In reference to the productive conditions, beyond the change of Secretary of Intelligence, the idea of the end purpose of SENAIN's intelligence activity was modified with this event. The former president's idea of safeguarding the established order was tantamount to preserving his position in power, and it was established as true for some officials to preserve the status quo, and keep the president of the Republic in power (SIN Official, 2018). The productive conditions were carried out by direct action of Rafael Correa Delgado, once again through a special investigation committee of the event that was considered a critical juncture

Firstly, SENAIN's priorities consisted of strengthening the centralizing structure of the intelligence agency, under the command of a civil authority; and subject the military and police intelligence subsystems for control purposes.

The existence of the critical situation allowed modifying the work priorities of the institution. Instead of seeing, the threat in foreign countries that sought to co-opt intelligence agencies or in forces that would constitute a threat to national security, the threat became anything at personal or institutional level that could potentially jeopardize Rafael Correa's tenure in office. In this way, the different areas of comprehensive security in which SENAIN divided its work: Justice and citizen security; governance and democracy; Science and Technology; environment and risk management; economy and human development; as well as international relations and defence (National Intelligence Secretariat, 2012), they lost sight of the equal importance they all had.

Henceforth, the priority of SENAIN's work would rest in the sphere of governance and democracy (SIN Official, 2018). Although traces of the encroachment of organized crime structures in border areas were made visible, and early warnings were made concerning the first signs of encroachment of organized crime structures in government agencies, it was difficult to monitor them.

Notwithstanding other important issues were being worked on, and training was provided for SENAIN officials and the intelligence subsystems on criminal intelligence; priority was set on the political aspect (Official SENAIN / SIN, 2018, Official 2 SENAIN / SIN, 2018, Official 3 SENAIN / SIN, 2018).

The incorporation of politics being addressed as a priority also brought about changes in other aspects of SENAIN.



This change is more prominent in 2011 where massive personnel hirings began within the institution without the support of official appointments. A regional office is established in Guayaquil, where members of Alianza País (a political party to which Correa Delgado was a member and president) are massively hired (Official 4 SENAIN / SIN, 2018, Official SENAIN / SIN, 2018). The hiring of officials without a backup official appointment created the context for them to breach the law provided by high-level officers.

In addition to turning the current Secretariat of Intelligence into an instrument of Rafael Correa and Alianza País, the background of the institution's personnel brought about a new problem: the escape of trained personnel; and decline in relevant institutional processes. As of 2010, when Francisco Jijón was removed from office, the Secretary of Intelligence had four secretaries.

The ongoing changes of authorities led to more and more intense personnel exchanges, because as time went by, the load of personnel that had contracts was greater. Subsequently, a time of relative institutional stability came with Rommy Vallejo who held the position for four years and two months. Just when this period of relative stability was arising, there was a phenomenon of mass resignation; many officials who had a stable contract resigned their positions, based on evidence of an extreme partitioning of the service that took place with Vallejo (Official 2 SENAIN / SIN, 2018, Official 6 SENAIN / SIN, 2018). Aside from the fact that experienced officials were relocated to insignificant tasks, most officials who were hired, left the institution. Among other things, this occurred because an internal system of merits was not in place to ensure access to training (Official 6 SENAIN / SIN, 2018).

The tendency to locate, in practice, the provisions established by Rafael Correa above the work priorities established in the National Intelligence Agenda. This fact took place regardless of whether these provisions were illegal or unconstitutional.

The institutional characteristics that were determined as a result of the speech of the former president around the events of September 30, 2010, are detailed here: Firstly, it is imperative to change the institutional priority towards preserving the sovereignty concerning the work of intelligence aimed at the comprehensive security of the state and, to keep Rafael Correa Delgado and his political movement Alianza País in power. With a new institutional

priority, other characteristics were consolidated in its institutionalized as discretion in decision-making, reinforced by the absence of a well-detailed law that regulates the activity. Likewise, as a consequence of the factual change of priority, there was a high turnover of personnel, and an imbalance in the proportion of personnel without appointment in the institution.

These characteristics would end up consolidating a functional structure for the one who held the position of President of the Republic, with authorities and public servants who did not comply with the law while exercising their work.

**C. Effects of the institutional design upon the security of the northern border area between Ecuador and Colombia: the intelligence failure that evidenced the bomb in San Lorenzo.**

The existing problems in the different border areas of Ecuador are no surprise for the Ecuadorian State and its institutions. The reports submitted by members of the National Police assigned to the border give an account of these problems since 1986 (Egas, 2018). At that time, alerts were already raised to the Ministry of Government and Police explaining the situation of a poorly state presence in the area. Measures that produce development possibilities for the populations were already suggested to be specifically applied that year in the northern border area, (Egas, 2018).

In the same year, the Anti-narcotics Intelligence and Interpol Services of the National Police reported the encroachment of "Colombian drug dealers on the North-Eastern border" (Gallegos, 1999, p.26). The activities carried out in Ecuadorian territory and linked to this crime were coca cultivation and the installation of drug processing laboratories (Gallegos, 1999). The eradication of coca crops located in Ecuadorian territory was achieved in 1993. Notwithstanding the border areas of Sucumbíos, Napo and San Lorenzo, they became supply territories for the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC – Spanish Acronyms) (Gallegos, 1999; Egas, 2018).

The relationship and coexistence of the Ecuadorian population with members of FARC meant a source of constant income and turned them into victims of pressure and intimidation (Gallegos, 1999). Therefore, the eradication of activities linked to drug trafficking

on the border, did not count on the collaboration of its inhabitants (Gallegos, 1999). In this context, there is a direct attack against members of the National Police and the Ecuadorian Armed Forces in the area of Piñuña Negra, located in San Miguel Sucumbíos River. On December 16, 1993, during the operation "Amanecer"; members of FARC ambushed the river patrol that watched the San Miguel River. At 2:30 p.m. a rain of grenades and a two-hour mortar fire caused the death of nine people, another thirteen were wounded and two were missing; they all pertained to the Ecuadorian Armed Forces and the National Police of Ecuador (Gallegos, 1999).

From the Secretariat of Intelligence, as well as from other state agencies, the problem and the potential risk involved in the situation of the border with Colombia were finally addressed. Plan Ecuador, established in 2007, sought through a "multidimensional and multisectorial preventive approach [...] to solve the problems of poverty, exclusion and violence" (Plan Ecuador, 2007, p.1) ". In spite of being the alternative to face the "impacts of the Colombian internal conflict" (Plan Ecuador, 2007, p.1), this initiative was diluted. The lack of support at international level (Jarrín O, 2018), and above all, the focus of the security sector on other relevant events urged the strategic actions to improve security in the border area and showed the expected results (Pinto, 2018).

According to former INS officials who were interviewed, the northern border of Ecuador and its security situation were constantly tackled (Jarrín, 2018, Official 2 SENAIN / SIN, 2018, Anonymous police source 2, 2018); however, these issues were not a priority. Although permanently appointed analysts were present to monitor the security issue on the border, the situation marked another real pace of work (anonymous police source 2). For example, in 2012, when they were conducting protest for water, life and dignity took place, the Secretariat allocated 90% of its operational capacity to cover this event (Police anonymous source 3). It included intelligence analysts and operational agents, including subsystems; so as to cover the mobilization for 24 hours (Police anonymous source 3, Official SENAIN / SIN, 2018).

The facts mentioned in the previous paragraph give an account of SENAIN's work priorities. Although there may have been a formal allocation of personnel and resources to key issues; they were annulled when other events arose and were considered by the Secretary of Intelligence as

top priorities. In general, these were related to the field of governance. As already mentioned in the previous section, they would have as direct beneficiary the former president Rafael Correa and his political movement Alianza País.

Upon reflecting on these facts it is relevant because it makes possible to prove the threat that drug trafficking has meant for more than twenty years, and continues to mean on the border area with Colombia. The problems that currently characterize the area of San Lorenzo such as poverty, the lack of employment sources, the presence of organized crime structures, common delinquency, hitmen, human trafficking, smuggling; etc; they are not new (*El Universo*, 2010, *El Telégrafo*, 2018, Ministry of Interior, 2017). Timely preventive actions were completely possible. This does not mean that there was an absence of intelligence analysts, who against the current, fulfilled their monitoring task for the border's security. In fact, ever since the negotiation process of the armed demobilization of FARC in Colombia began; a series of alerts on the risks in the migratory and citizen security areas would have been raised as a result. (Official 7 SENAIN / SIN, 2018). SENAIN proposed the creation of an inter-institutional network to deal with migratory issues of organized crime (Official 7 SENAIN / SIN, 2018, Official SENAIN / SIN, 2018), but because of the lack of support from the authorities this proposal did not thrive.

An institutional design that did not prioritize the preparation of strategic state intelligence did not allow these preventive actions to take place. From its early stages, the absence of a law regulating the activity, the excess of personnel without appointment, placing first the operations to maintain in power Rafael Correa Delgado and his political movement Alianza País, all of this consolidated a logic that left aside an imperative issue such as the possible encroachment of transnational organized crime on Ecuadorian territory.

Within the implicit assumptions of SENAIN, the first work priority came from the Presidency of the Republic. This precedent occurred in innumerable occasions whereby the great intelligence operations and the great victories counted only in the sphere of governability. Acknowledgments, professional promotions, congratulations; they were handed over to trusted officials who carried out the orders without questioning their legality.

IV. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The institutional characteristics of the coordinating Bureau of intelligence developed by direct action of the executive branch administration in Ecuador between 2007-2017 are summarized in five elements: Mistrust among the police, the military and civil servants; zeal for the independence of the intelligence function of the influence of the United States of America; absence of a law that regulates the activity; a team of young officials in the process of specialization in the field; the excess of personnel without appointment; finally, discretion in decision-making and directing work.

The combination of all these elements prompted the Secretariat of Intelligence (formerly SENAIN), to put aside its main goal, which is to safeguard a Comprehensive Security.

Evidence of the diversion of its main institutional mission, among others, are the events that took place on January 27, 2018 in San Lorenzo canton. In this case, the explosion of a bomb inside the facilities of the National Police headquarters was not timely prevented by the intelligence system.

The explosion accounts for a series of shortcomings present in general in the State security sector. In addition, the public policy proposals established for the northern border area of Ecuador were not executed; a vital element for the State as its coordinating bureau of intelligence It was completely focused on tasks that kept it from safeguarding the comprehensive security.

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  4. Anonymous source 11.
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  6. Official 2 SENAIN / SIN, 2018.
  7. Official 3 SENAIN / SIN, 2018.
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  9. Official 5 SENAIN / SIN, 2018.
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## COUNTERING TERRORISM AND VIOLENT EXTREMIST PROPAGANDA IN SRI LANKA THROUGH STRATEGIC COMMUNICATION

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**Abstract-** Radicalization and violent extremism driven by religious, racial and ethnic supremacist ideology has become the new face of the ever-evolving landscape of terrorism. Gone are the days when only a military approach with either a kill-or-capture directive was required to root-out the scourge of terrorism. With the advent of social media and innovations in information communication technology, terrorist groups are now waging information warfare with the primary goals of propagating their ideology, create a fear psychosis, expand their support and recruit extremist terrorists.

Terror groups such as ISIS have been successful in recruiting thousands of foreign fighters through successful publicity campaigns on social media platforms and misinformation campaigns against their adversaries. This phenomenon has created the need for a more holistic and integrated counter terrorism strategy to be adopted and implemented. Strategic communications and counter narratives is the new weapon against the ideological war on terror.

Since the end of a three decade long protracted war in 2009, Sri Lanka has been grappling with the growing influence of Muslim Jihadi and Buddhist extremism. This paper will take an in-depth look into the rise of violent extremist groups in the wake of a post conflict scenario and their implications on Sri Lanka's national security. While examining the rise of Jihadi Muslim extremism and Buddhist extremism, this paper aims at providing recommendations on an integrated and collaborative strategic communication framework that is paramount to counter terrorism and violent extremism in the present security dimension.

**Keywords-** Counter Terrorism, Extremism, Strategic Communication

### I. INTRODUCTION

As a result of constant innovations in information technology and its rapidly evolving nature, the world is faced with fighting an unseen enemy that can influence, coerce and instill fear among nations and its target audience through the strategic dissemination of extremist content. Religious extremist terrorist organizations such as ISIS have evolved greatly through their use of strategic propaganda via social media to spread their radical religious views which have successfully aided their campaign to recruit foreign combatants from around the globe and gain a large international support base.

Many countries have been successful in militarily defeating violent extremism. However, in the face of military setbacks suffered by a terrorist organization such as ISIS, they are still capable of influencing their target audience through the use of strategic communication campaigns (NATO StratCom COE, 2015). The asymmetric setting of extremist terrorism which is currently prevailing, focuses more on political, cultural, religious, psychological and economic targets rather than military targets.

Following the military defeat of the LTTE in 2009, Sri Lanka has been on the path towards reconciliation and lasting peace. Despite efforts by the government to ensure peace, security and stability in a once war battered nation,



Sri Lanka is facing a new wave of extremism which poses a grave threat to national security and challenges the country's peace building process. The rise of Islamic extremists that indirectly promote violence and recruit Sri Lankan nationals to join groups such as ISIS and the recent spate of violence orchestrated and influenced by Buddhist extremist groups such as Bodu Bala Sena, Ravana Balaya and Mahason Balakaya (Demons Brigade) have become serious questions surrounding the matter of national security. The use of the internet and social media platforms is a key weapon for extremist organizations to spread their message of hate and incite violence.

On August 03, 1990, a group of LTTE terrorists raided four mosques in the Eastern town of Kattankudy and began sporadically opening fire at those gathered for congregational evening prayers, killing 147 men including children (Amnesty International, 1991). The attack on the Kattankudy mosques eventually sowed the seeds of a new breed of extremist militants known as the Jihad group that were arming themselves against the LTTE.

From 2004 onwards, moderate Muslims who did not adhere to the extremist rules of the Jihad groups in the Eastern province had to face brutal repercussions. The Jihad groups were imposing their brand of extremist Wahabi Islam on the day-to-day lives of moderate Muslims living in certain parts of the East. On several cases sectarian violence had broken out in Katankudy in which extremist Muslim militant groups attacked the Sufi Muslims and moderates and had destroyed several Sufi mosques, congregational prayer centres, IT labs, education centres, houses and their businesses (Fuard, 2006a; Fuard, 2006b; Kamalendran and Fuard, 2009). Just months after the end of the war in 2009, a major sectarian clash between two Muslim groups escalated in the southern coastal town of Beruwala as a result of a new mosque in the area conducting a hate speech against the practices of the much older Buhari mosque (Sunday Times, 2009). As a result of the sequence of events related to extremist violence, in 2009, the government issued an amnesty for Jihad militants in the East to surrender their weapons to a Mosque in Kattankudy (Fuard, 2009).

Following the end of the war groups such as BBS, Ravana Balaya and Mahason Balakaya commenced a drive to radicalize and recruit followers to their organization which was based on Sinhala Buddhist supremacist and extremist ideology. Similar to the Jihad groups operating

in the east the BBS and Mahason Balakaya have been conducting well organized misinformation campaigns through social media to incite violence against the Muslim community in the country. Groups such as BBS and Mahason Balakaya are part of a new wave of extremists who are radicalizing youth and spreading their version of religious and ethnic intolerance through the calculated use of misinformation and terror (Terrorism Research and Analysis Consortium, 2014).

## II. METHODOLOGY

This study is based on qualitative data derived from first-hand accounts and secondary sources from reputed books, online journals, media reports and academic research. This paper empirically analyses the rise of violent religious extremism following the end of the war in 2009 until the current time frame. The objective of this research was to examine the use of strategic communication by extremist groups and provide necessary recommendations on a comprehensive framework to counter terrorist propaganda and extremist narratives.

## III. ANALYSIS

Even though terror has no religion, race or creed, the subject of violent extremism and Islamic Jihadi terrorism is shrouded with much controversy and debate due to its sensitive nature. No religion condones or promotes the use of violence or sanctions the killing of innocence which is being committed under the banner of Islamic terror groups and other violent religious extremist groups. Since the dawn of the 20th Century, modern terrorism has evolved over the years based on four waves, which are the Anarchist wave, Anti-Colonial wave, New Leftist wave and Religious wave of terrorism (Rapoport 2008). The current global terrorism trend is primarily driven by extremist religious ideologies and is prevalent in many major religious groups.

However, religious terrorism is now not only Islam-centric. According to Nathan Lean, the author of Islamophobia Industry (2012) and researcher at Georgetown University, a large section of the western media has played a part in fuelling extremism by creating an air of Islamophobia and paranoia of anything related to Islam (Arab News, 2013). There are several extremist groups in almost all major

religions and ethnic groups around the world that are spreading their brand of fundamentalism and radicalising vulnerable segments of society. One can witness the rise of Christian extremist groups in Africa and Neo-Nazi extremist groups in Europe, Buddhist extremist groups in Myanmar and Hindu extremism in India. All these groups much like the Jihad groups which try to preach their brand of extremist notions of Islam, emphasise on propagating their own extremist message of religious and ethnic intolerance. Almost all of these extremist groups have the ability to incite violence, conduct devastating attacks and propagate their own brand of hate through the use of social media and online platforms. In Myanmar fake news on social media platforms orchestrated by Buddhist extremist groups within the country have led to widespread attacks on the minority Rohingya Muslims (Financial Times, 2018). Similarly, investigations into extremist terrorist propaganda in India have shed light on how a Mumbai based extremist Islamic preacher who has a large social media following inspired the 2016 July, Dhakar attack (Dawn, 2016).

Social media is a key instrument used by both Buddhist and Muslim extremist groups to propagate hate speeches and extremist content which in turn have inspired violence in the recent past. If such radical groups are not countered, the possibility of them transcending into a fully-fledged terrorist outfit is a possibility which cannot be ruled out. Countering online violent extremist content and preventing ethnic and sectarian violence is a security dilemma which requires immediate attention and implementation as part of a national counter terrorism strategy.

The rise of ISIS and its ambitions of having a global Caliphate was a significant transnational security threat that was unavoidable. Their use of the internet and social media to disseminate violent extremist content reached unparalleled levels of influencing an audience and instilling fear. Many European nations experienced a large influx of their citizens joining the extremist terrorist group which was using the power of social media to radicalise and recruit thousands of foreign combatants – to fight for their holy war. A clear sign of Sri Lanka also being a vulnerable target of ISIS propaganda was when a 37 year old Karate instructor and teacher from an international school in Galewala, was reported to be the first Sri Lankan national to die fighting for ISIS in Syria. According to the ISIS propaganda magazine – Dabiq, several Sri Lankans had joined ISIS to fight in Syria (Asian Mirror, 2015).

Following investigations into ISIS operations in South Asia, it has come to light that Mohammed Shafi Armar, an Indian national who was named as a 'Specially Designated Global Terrorist' by the US State Treasury Department was operating several Facebook and other online personal messenger services to contact, radicalize and recruit youths from India, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka to join their cause. The 2016 Country Report on Terrorism established further indication of ISIS influence in Sri Lanka as it stated that the security forces and intelligence agencies were on full alert against the possibility of ISIS or its affiliates emerging in the island (Country Report on Terrorism, 2016). These events go on to establish the undeniable fact that the ISIS recruiters have targeted vulnerable Sri Lankan Muslims to join their cause and have been on a drive of online extremism in the island.

Strategic communication and the use of tactical propaganda has been the primary tool which fuels the extremist ideology and provide their impetus to continue despite being militarily weak. When analysing the process of radicalisation, terrorist groups such as ISIS conduct a planned psychological operation through the use of networks such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, YouTube, blogs and messaging services such as WhatsApp and Viber to influence the attitudes, emotions and perceptions of their target audience. The information communication technology revolution and end-to-end encryption in communication technology has posed an ever-greater challenge to the security establishment to monitor and counter violent extremist activities.

### A. The Emergence Buddhist Extremist Groups

The most recent rise of Buddhist extremist groups such as Bodu Bala Sena (BBS) and Mahason Balakaya (Demons Brigade) in which both groups have been instrumental in conducting well planned attacks on houses, businesses establishments and towns predominantly populated by Muslims, pose additional security and strategic challenges to Sri Lanka.

Since the rise of the BBS in 2012, the group's vocal leader Galagoda Aththe Gnanasara Thero has been openly conducting campaigns of hate speeches in a bid to incite violence and conduct calculated attacks on the Muslim community. The BBS campaign initially commenced by drawing media attention to protests, disruptions and hate speeches which further intensified their drive towards radicalisation. The BBS has also been involved in

strongly advocating for the ban on the Halal certification on food (BBC,2013), the postponement of Law College registration on racially motivated grounds (Daily Mirror, 2013), attacks on properties and businesses of the Muslim community (Colombo Telegraph, 2013), attacks on Media and hate speeches against certain Muslim mosques and Christian churches (Colombo Gazette, 2013).

The key element of the BBS campaign in order to incite violence was its use of communication networks such as WhatsApp groups and social media networks such as Facebook, Instagram and Twitter to spread a campaign of misinformation and rumours among their vast network of radicalised followers.

In 2014, following a minor incident in Dharga Town, the BBS leader Gnanasara Thero began to capitalise on a personal dispute between a Buddhist monk and three other Muslim men in the area. He incited a mob by delivering a racially charged hate speech against the Muslim community which was followed by BBS extremists leading attacks on shops and properties owned by Muslims in Beruwala, Aluthgama and Dharga Town (Groundviews, 2014; Sri Lanka Brief, 2014). The BBS attack on the Muslim community sparked immediate global attention with the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon expressing serious concern over the communal violence. Human Rights Watch (2014) and Amnesty International (2014) also expressed their concern over the plight of the affected Muslim community in the island and urged the government to take immediate steps to investigate and bring to books those instrumental in perpetrating extremist violence. Several countries issued travel advisories to their respective citizens in the aftermath of the violence which directly affected the local tourism industry in the area. The build-up of the BBS support base and their ability to gather extremist followers was due to their effective targeted propaganda campaign.

The most recent anti-Muslim riots which began in Ampara and Kandy early this year is a clear indication of the effectiveness of social media in amplifying a distorted message which could lead to extremist violence (Jeyaraj, 2018). The dissemination of anti-Muslim rhetoric and hate speeches which were targeting the Muslim community in the towns of Teldeniya, Digana, Udispattuwa and Tennekumbura were the primary cause for the violence in the Kandy district to escalate and a minor personal incident being blown out of

proportion, leading to communal riots (DailyFT, 2018). The government took immediate steps to temporarily block Social media and messaging platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter and Instagram in a bid to prevent the further escalation of violence which was occurring due to extremist propaganda (Daily Mirror, 2018). It was the first time Kandy district faced communal violence since the 1915 Riots and 1983 Black July riots.

Amith Weerasinghe, one of the key figures of the Buddhist extremist group Mahason Balakaya has over 150,000 followers on his social media platform. His ability to influence his following on social media was a key aspect of him being able to mobilise violent extremists to launch coordinated attacks on the Muslim community in Kandy. In many of his videos and posts, Amith Weerasingha is seen encouraging Buddhist extremist mobs to attack Muslims in Kandy (The Guardian, 2018). Many of these events which led to extremist violence provide a valid basis to understand the darker side of social media and how it could be used as a primary tool for terrorists and extremist groups to create violence and instil fear.

### ***B. Global Agenda To Counter Extremist Propaganda***

The United Nations Security Council, taking note of the alarming rise in global violent extremism, adopted resolutions 2178, 2250 and 2354 to counter extremism, radicalisation and counter terrorist narratives. The UN by adopting these resolutions have urged all its member states to prevent the rise of violent extremisms and the spread of extremist violent content.

However, taking serious consideration of the available options to counter racial incitement and global security threats as a result of extremism and radical propaganda, there is much controversy and debate on its implications on freedom of expression. As indicated previously, the Sri Lankan government sanctioned the blocking of Facebook and other social media platforms in the wake of the anti-Muslim riots which affected parts of Kandy and Ampara early this year (2018). The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), which emphasises on the protection of freedom of expression in Article 19, also recognises that certain exceptional speeches and content such as war propaganda, racial hate speeches that incite violence which are stipulated in Article 20 should be prohibited.

Even though censoring extremist content and blocking access to certain platforms is the instinctive option by many, on countless occasions it has been proven that censorship does not entirely provide a solution to prevent the dissemination of extremist content. Much of extremist propaganda is based on a multi-headed hydra system making censorship a challenging task. As a result of online censorship, extremist groups are able to operate through several other accounts and networks to spread their message and recapture their audience. In many cases, extremist followers are able to access blocked sites through the use of proxy websites. The ability to identify and ascertain vital intelligence required which will assist the counter terrorism drive and counter extremist narratives will be hampered due to censorship. Despite the censorship, followers of extremist groups are able to reach out to their networks through a number of alternative methods to circumvent online setbacks.

UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon when delivering his speech at SOAS, University of London, on 'Counter-terrorism and human rights: winning the fight while upholding our values' clearly pointed out that social media is central to Daesh's terrorist campaigns and expressed the need to take measures to counter such a campaign (2017). It is important to note that the internet and social media alone does not instantly radicalise an individual. The internet and social media act merely as a catalyst that provides the tools for an extremist group to capitalise. Radicalisation is a gradual process which develops over time and the placement of strategic extremist content has the potential to alter and appeal to the mind-set of a target segment.

It is imperative for the authorities to identify and address why people join violent extremist groups in the aftermath of global atrocities committed in the name of ideology. There is not a single individual profile trait to identify an extremist, as many come from a wide range of social, political, cultural and economic backgrounds. As it is now a global initiative to combat violent extremism and its narratives, Sri Lanka is in need to adopt firm strategies against the rising tide of radicalisation and violent extremism which pose a threat to the island's national security.

The primary strategy in countering terrorist and violent extremist content is to adopt counter narratives as an integral component of the strategic communication plan rather than taking the path of imposing censorship.

Censorship should only be imposed as a last resort, and only if there is an unavoidable serious threat to national interest and security. Professor Peter Neumann (2013), Director of the International Centre for the Study of Radicalization and Political Violence states that the governments' pursuit of restrictive measures of extremist content can be undesirable and ineffective.

According to a research published by the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, the concept of, "counter-messaging spectrum" is an effective mode of combating extremism (Briggs and Feve, 2014). The counter-messaging spectrum can be implemented to counter and prevent violent extremisms and extremist propaganda in the Sri Lankan context. This strategy will comprise of a subtle government communication angle to provide legitimacy and authority, which focuses on the reduction of the "supply" of extremist messaging by addressing the "demand" (Briggs and Feve, 2014). The counter messaging spectrum can be categorized as;

### ***C. Government Strategic Communications***

Government Strategic Communications is the strategic dissemination of content which present government policy in a positive manner in the fight against extremism. This may take the form of a public awareness campaign, publicity campaigns and public forums that address the need to counter extremist ideology.

### ***D. Alternative Narratives***

This can be categorised as an integrated Strategic Communication initiative. The Alternative Narrative aims to present compelling narratives to alter the perception of extremists and those vulnerable to radicalisation, rather than directly engaging extremist content. These narratives take more of a human interest angle and project humanity, ethnic harmony, peace and diversity.

### ***E. Counter Narratives***

Counter narratives are messages disseminated to directly counter extremist narratives by challenging their content such as articles, videos, social media and online posts. The counter narrative strategy is best affective when civil society, government agencies and religious organizations take a joint stand to counter extremist propaganda.



IV. CONCLUSION AND WAY FORWARD

Taking all factors related to the communication strategies and tactics employed by religious terrorist and extremist groups into consideration, this study clearly indicates that Sri Lanka is in need of a comprehensive plan to counter terrorist and extremist narratives.

The core strength of any terrorist or extremist organization is its ideology. The global war on terrorism can only be won if the ideology of terrorists and violent extremists can be challenged. It is imperative to establish a specialised, integrated task force or department with the functions of planning on executing strategic communication initiatives aimed at countering terrorist propaganda and extremist narratives.

The Research, Information and Communications Unit of UK and the Global Engagement Centre (Centre for Strategic Counter Terrorism Communication) which functions under the US State Department have been playing a pivotal role in countering extremist narratives, radicalisations and terrorist propaganda. Such an integrated division will be working with multiple stakeholders such as law enforcement agencies, legal experts, media organisations, social media organisations, IT advisory bodies, internet providers, intelligence agencies, journalists and communication specialists to take appropriate steps to counter online extremist propaganda. The counter messaging spectrum as indicated previously can be actively executed through such an integrated framework.

Strategic Communication is a force multiplier and its applications to counter terrorism and extremism can be implemented based on strategic, tactical, and operational levels. It is essential to conduct intelligence gathering, target audience analysis, production, dissemination, and finally evaluation of the operation. The intelligence requirements for such an operation focuses on the emotions, attitudes, language, beliefs, culture, and social patterns and will greatly differ from conventional intelligence gathering.

In addition to having a specialised integrated strategic communication task force to counter extremist and terrorist content, some of the areas which are essential in combating extremism that need to be implemented are as follows;

- I. Establishing an immediate national action plan with the co-operation of political leaders, religious leaders, civil activist, legal experts, NGOs, Media organizations, journalists, ICT industry, social media organizations, businesses, intelligence and law enforcement agencies to counter any form of radicalisation and extremism.
- II. Enacting and strengthening laws, regulations and policies to counter and prevent hate speeches, extremist content and narratives.
- III. Cooperation with international and regional nations to counter violent extremism and prevent the flow of foreign extremists and terrorists.
- IV. Investing on training and resources for respective government and intelligence agencies to monitor and counter violent extremist content.
- V. Direct education and awareness campaigns at district levels to counter extremist ideology and promote ethnic harmony.

A comprehensive and multi-dimensional strategic communication approach aims at preventing and countering extremist violence and imminent violence. Guns and missiles have become obsolete in winning the war against extremist terrorism in an age of propaganda warfare. The only way forward in winning the ideological war is by changing individuals' attitudes and perceptions on extremist violence and ideology. It is the need of the hour to take necessary measures to address this issue before it explodes into a much larger crisis.

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## CATALAN INDEPENDENCE FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

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**Abstract-** In the modern international system, state recognition is given much importance due to the issues relating to statehood. The recognition of states is a legal issue associated with international law. According to the international law, there are traditional and modern criteria to be considered when giving recognition to states. An entity has to be considered as a State in the international system if those criteria are satisfied. The objective of this study is to find out whether Catalonia can be identified as a state in the international system applying the statehood criteria. This research is a qualitative research based on secondary data. The data collection through the case study method. The case that is used in this study is Catalonia which unilaterally declared independence recently despite the objections of Spain and the international community. In analyzing the case, the statehood criteria are applied and assessed to confirm whether Catalonia fulfills those criteria in order to be successfully declaring the independence. The paper concludes that Catalonia did not fully satisfy the international law provisions and statehood criteria regarding statehood, while Spain strongly disagreed the self-declared independence stating that it is an illegal declaration of independence. According to the findings, it is further evident that Catalonia does not fulfill the criteria mentioned in the Montevideo Convention to be identified as an independent state.

**Keywords-** Recognition of States, International Law, Catalonia, Statehood, Independence

### I. INTRODUCTION

The concept of statehood is very subjective. Different people hold different ideas about the concept of state.

While some states are giving recognition to states, other states are reluctant to give recognition due to many political reasons. International recognition is immensely important to survive in the world. Therefore, states strive to achieve recognition among the international community since it is essential to conduct relations with others. State recognition is broadly perceived to be a political issue with legal consequences. Therefore state recognition should be based on international law and legal perspective. In this regard, there should be a kind of recognition from other states in the world. Within this context, customs, interstate negotiations and treaties are essential requirements.

Recognition of states can be done expressly or impliedly. The recognition to states does not solely depend on international law. It is always connected with the foreign policy objectives of other states in the world. This means even though a state is given de jure recognition or recognition by law, some states in the international arena are not willing to carry out with relations that state. This includes absence of political, economic and most importantly diplomatic relations with that particular state. This emphasizes the way of handling relations with other states, which influences another state's recognition in the international system. Thus, this can be identified as de facto recognition, which means recognizing a state factually. Therefore, it is important for a state to achieve both de facto and de jure recognition in the international arena. In addition to that, the most important two theories in granting recognition for states are the constitutive and declaratory theories.

“State is a complete association of free men, joined together for the enjoyment of rights and for their common interest”

*-Hugo Grotius-*

The states in the international community have two interests. One is national interests and the other is international interests. Every state try to protect its national interests. Therefore it is necessary to identify the traditional and other additional criteria which make state as an entity in the international arena. “The State is an association of a considerable number of men living within a definite territory, constituted in fact as a political society and subject to the supreme authority of a sovereign, who has the power, ability and means to maintain the political organization of the association, with the assistance of the law and to regulate and protect the rights of the members, to conduct relations with other states and to assume responsibility for its acts.” In October 10, 2017, Carles Puigdemont, the President of Catalonia gave a speech following the referendum on October 1, 2017 where the result showed that more than 90% of the voters chose to leave Spain. According to his speech, after the referendum, Catalonia has earned the right to be an independent state where the people have determined that Catalonia should become an independent state in the form of a republic.” The Article 4(4) of Catalonia’s Law on the Self-determination Referendum, has mentioned that the Catalan parliament has a right to declare independence. This unclear statement has spurred reactions from the Spanish government demanding clarification and threatening to invoke Article 155 of the Constitution which gives powers to the government to deal with a Self-governing Community. With the tension between the region of Catalonia and Spain, the situation has raised the question about the legality of unilateral declaration of independence.

## II. LITERATURE REVIEW

### A. Statehood

Legal writers have suggested many definitions of statehood throughout the history. The States system was began with the collection of negotiated treaties such as Westphalian Peace treaty in 1648. The principles inherited from Westphalia Treaty which includes such as the domestic authority and non-interference that have become a major components of the modern States system. Westphalia is

also important as European scholars derived their implicit models of state from the treaty.

Fiore (1874) who has stressed on power politics and law has mentioned that the state is an association of a considerable number of men living within a definite territory which is made as a political entity. That entity is the subject to the supreme authority of a sovereign, who has the power, ability and means to maintain the political organization of that entity with the assistance of the law. That sovereign has the power to control and protect the rights of the members of that political entity, conduct relations with other states and to assume responsibility for its acts. If these criteria are satisfied, then that entity is regarded as a state by Fiore.

Baty (1930) called a state as an organized people or an assemblage of human beings among whom the destiny of an ascertainable number usually prevails. This emphasizes on sovereignty as well. The existence of an organized political power over a territory and people is meant as sovereignty. Baty believed that the internal character of the states depends on the culture and traditions of the land people live in. He also proposed a criterion for statehood. It is a characteristic of self-containment which contains the existence among the people, or the bulk of the people.

Being different from other writers, Hans Kelsen attempted to define statehood in terms of law. He believes that the state is not the individuals who live in it, but the assemblage of individuals and this assemblage is the function of the order that regulates their mutual behavior. One of the unique results of the pure theory of law which constitutes the political community that is called a state.

### B. State Sovereignty

“At the beginning, the idea of sovereignty was the idea that there is a final and absolute political authority in the political community and no final and absolute authority exists elsewhere”

*- F.H. Hinsley -*

In the present world sovereignty can be defined as the independence of a state which allows states to act independently at its own discretion take decisions with regard to its internal and external affairs without violating another state’s rights. In the contemporary world it is necessary to identify differences between “internal” and

“external” sovereignty. Internal sovereignty is the structure or constitution of a state. External sovereignty relates to the relations with other states. Internal sovereignty deals with the state’s authority over its subjects, while the second notion refers to the independence or autonomy of states. These two are interdependent. Further, If a state or its people are sovereign over their monarchy, then outsiders are constrained from interfering. Internal sovereignty gives states or people certain autonomy or liberty in their international relations.

This reflects the general acceptance is the basic rule of international law. There are two main aspects on State sovereignty. First is that there are number of attempts in the international community to restrain State sovereignty in favor of international co-operation. The second aspect is the conventional tendency among some states that leads to retain their sovereignty in the face of unfavorable circumstances in the world.

## III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

### A. De Jure Recognition

De jure recognition interlinks with the fulfillment of necessary legal criteria of states. This recognition leads to make extensive relations in many ways. De jure recognition include,

- i. The establishment of diplomatic relations with the recognized state.
- ii. The participation of the recognized state in international conferences.
- iii. The right to be a part of international conventions and agreements.
- iv. Respect and recognition for the judicial and administrative organizations of the recognized state by the existing states.

### B. De Facto Recognition

De facto is the imperfect position of states. This recognition does not include the exchange of diplomats

and establishing of diplomatic missions. At this stage, states are eager to get their recognition by fulfilling de jure recognition. According to scholars, this period of recognition involves uncertainty. For an instance, Soviet Russia was considered as a de facto state in 1921 and in 1942 Soviet Russia was considered as a de jure state.

### C. Methodology

The study is a qualitative research which is aimed at gathering in-depth understanding on the discussed phenomenon. A number of secondary sources such as books, journals, articles and news reports were used in this study. The data analysis procedure was done through the case study method. Case studies includes analyses of persons, events, decisions, periods, projects, policies and institutions. The case study method used in this in a descriptive manner to get an in depth analysis of the particular case.

### D. Data Presentation and Analysis

Catalonia is a part of Spain where there is a regional government that has received the power through the Spanish constitution. The Catalanian regional president, Carles Puigdemont, has mentioned his determination to declare independence for Spain after a unilateral referendum. The country’s constitutional court ordered the referendum to be suspended last month. Puigdemont argues his government has been left with no choice but to proceed unilaterally to discuss the matter with the Madrid government. He also said that the referendum results gave him a clear mandate. But this is totally against the Spanish constitution. The constitution is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish nation, the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards. It recognizes and guarantees the right to self-government of the nationalities and regions. In order to find out whether Catalonia has the ability to be declared as an independent state, the statehood criteria should be applied to the case study of Catalonia as mentioned in the Montevideo Convention.

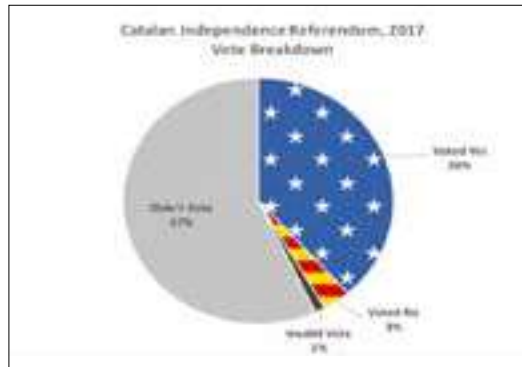


Figure 1.  
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estadística

IV. CRITERIA OF STATEHOOD

The word “statehood” has mentioned in the Montevideo Convention on rights and Duties of States introduces basic criteria for statehood.

“The state as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications:

- A. A permanent population
  - B. A defined territory
  - C. A government
  - D. Capacity to enter into relations with other states”
- Article 1 Montevideo Convention 1933-

A. Permanent Population

This criterion is very important in determining the statehood. Permanent population can be identified as the collection of individuals of both sexes who live together as a community despite the fact that they may differ in race, religion and in color. There is no specific number of people to be acknowledged for a state to be considered as a state.

According to 2017 statistics, Catalonia comprises of 7,496,276 populations out of the 46,528,024 population of Spain which amounts to 16.1% of the total Spanish population. Catalonia consists of four provinces namely Barcelona, 5,533,459 populations, Girona, 742,728 populations, Lleida, 427,833 populations and

Tarragona 792,256 population. This population has a distinct language and cultures. At present, over 60% of Catalans were born in Catalonia, 20% were born in other communities in the State and approximately 15% are having foreign origins. One out of three Catalans is between 20 and 39 years of age.

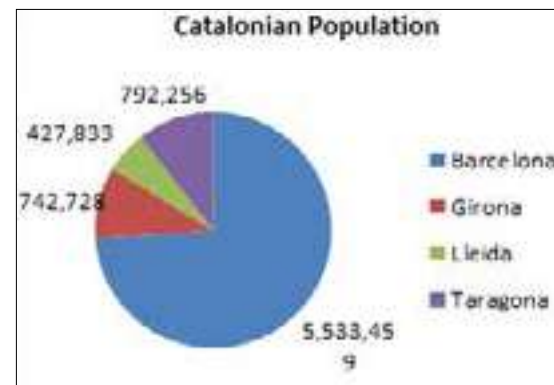


Figure 2.

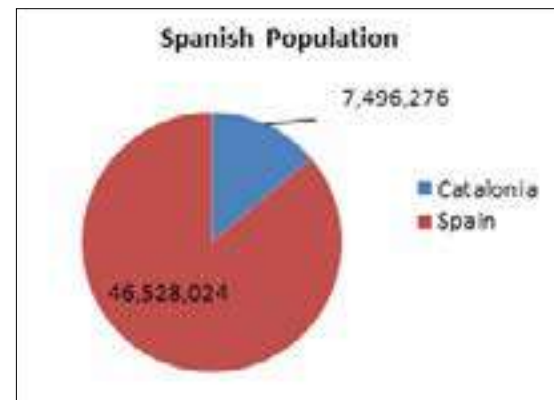


Figure 3.

As shown in the above figures, it can be identified that Catalonia is having a permanent population which fulfills one of the main criteria of the Montevideo Convention.

B. Defined Territory

State is a territorial entity and it is under the exclusive and complete authority of one single state. The authority exercised by one state over its territory is known as the territorial supremacy. This is a vital part of state formation and state sovereignty. As in population, there

is no minimum area of territory that requires to be fulfilled to be considered as a state. Also there has to be a reasonably stable political community. For example, Israel was considered as a state despite the issues of territorial borders. State own its own air, naval and land space. In addition to that the mobile objects such as ships and air crafts too fall under the category of state territory or state jurisdiction.

Catalonia is a self-ruling community in Spain on the northeastern extremity of the Iberian Peninsula with a surface area of 32,107 square kilometers Catalonia consists of four provinces namely Barcelona, Girona, Lleida, and Tarragona. The capital and largest city is Barcelona and it is the second most populated city in Spain and has a huge impact on Spanish economy. It is bordered by France and Andorra to the north, the Mediterranean Sea to the east, and the Spanish autonomous communities of Aragon to the west and Valencia to the south. The official languages are Catalan, Spanish, and the Aranese dialect of Occitan. Likewise it can be argued that since Catalonia has a defined territory it completes the other criteria. But Catalonia does not have their own air space or naval space as suggested by the international law. Therefore the issue regarding defined territory is quite unpredictable.

C. Government

A government of a state consists of executive, legislature and judiciary. This is the best example for a stable political community. Unless all these three components are completed, it won't be considered as a state. A government should have effective control over the citizens of the state. Otherwise the state fails and riots may take place by tarnishing the image of that particular state within the international arena. For instance Libya can be mentioned. This can be identified as the most crucial part of the Catalonian issue. Catalonia does have a regional government which already enjoys considerable freedom, and runs its own police and exercises much control over health and education. Still, taxes, foreign affairs, defense, ports, airports and trains are in the hands of Spain's government in Madrid. Therefore it cannot be identified as a separate state which can rule alone. Because the separate governmental powers has given to Catalonia by the Spanish government statute by binding Catalonia under the statute of Spain.

D. Competence to build relations with other states

Ability to enter in to relations with other states can be identified as another component of statehood. This is the decisive criteria for statehood. Foreign relations with other actors in the international system are a criterion for state formulation. A state cannot exist in the international system without its relations with other countries. On the contrary, in the contemporary world it is visible that states enter in to relations even when they do not have a defined territory or a population. Therefore it can be said that foreign relations of states is a prerequisite in formulating their statehood rather than a criterion for state formulation as in the case of Somalia. Most importantly this allows states to enter in to relations by their free will especially with international organizations such as the United Nations and World Health Organization.

Catalonia accounts for nearly a fifth of Spain's economy, and leads all regions in producing 25% of the country's exports. It can be identified as the power house of Spain. It contributes much more taxes (21% of the country's total) than receive from the government. Independence supporters have seized on the inequity, arguing that stopping of transfers to Madrid would turn Catalonia's budget deficit into a surplus. As an example Barcelona is the regional capital that attracts investments and Volkswagen (VILKAY) and Nissan (NSANF) have plants near Barcelona.

If Catalonia considers itself as an independent state, there will be issues regarding on the membership European Union. Catalonia was forced to apply for EU membership independently. But all of the current members have to agree for that including Spain. They believe that getting EU membership will be difficult to Catalonia. Moreover the exclusion from the block will raise the cost of exports produced in Catalonia.

E. Independence

Without the freedom or independence of a state, they cannot enter in to relations with the world. Crawford describes freedom as one of the main criteria for statehood. Independence of a state should prove the ability to enter in to relations with the world independently. It



emphasized the fact that state can exist as a separate entity in the world. An independent state consists of two basic characteristics.

- i. Not being subject to the authority of any other state.
- ii. Separate existence of an entity

Crawford further states that the independence of a state is twofold. They are formal independence and actual independence.

In applying this for the case of Catalonia, it can be identified that Catalonia is not actually independent as it is a part of Spain under the Spanish constitution that gives the power as a regional government. It is indicated in the Article 155 of the 1978 Constitution of Spain, that if a regional government "doesn't comply with the obligations of the Constitution or other laws, it imposes or acts in a way that seriously undermines the interests of Spain". The Constitution states that an absolute majority must approve the article's use. If this happens, the national government may adopt the "necessary methods" to force a regional government to comply in order to protect "said interests". Article 155 allows the national government to take over a regional government, including its finances and police. Therefore Catalonia is not an independent state.

### F. Sovereignty

The most important criterion for statehood is sovereignty. According to Crawford, a state cannot exist without sovereignty. State sovereignty can be defined as the evolving relationship between the state and civil society or the political authority and community. The relationship with these two factors is essential to maintain sovereignty and to be considered as a state in the international system. Catalonia can be identified as an entity which has sovereignty as it has a good relationship between its citizens and each of its ruling entities, the parliament and the police. Catalonia also has its own power to collect taxation. Therefore Catalonia can be identified as an entity which has sovereignty. But it is not sufficient to be identified as a state in the international system.

### G. Violation of international law

New states in the international system should not violate the international law in order to get the title as a "State." If a situation is connected with unlawful force and

coercion then the other states will not accept that entity as a state. Some believe that this should be the only and most important criteria for statehood. Actually Catalonia declared independence from a referendum which was held in October 2017. Spanish government and the European Commission argued that the vote is simply illegal, as Catalonia is part of Spain which gave regional power through the Constitution of Spain. Therefore they considered this as a unanimous declaration of independence as it is a violation of law. Likewise it can be argued that since Catalonia declared independence by violating the law, it cannot be accepted as an independent state.

### H. Self-determination

Equal rights and self-determination of people are protected by the UN preamble. The right to determination made lots of colonies to claim and gain their statehood. This actually made status to get the statehood title even without fulfilling the statehood criteria. Spain's refusal to accept the possibility of Catalan independence manifestly neglects the idea of self-determination. This position essentially denies self-determination which is an inherent right of states. There are arguments whether those states has to have the consent of the host state in order to declare their independence. In this regard, Catalonia doesn't give the consent declare Spain as an independent state as it is against the constitution. Yet this becomes arguable when a state fulfills the international law and the criteria of the Montevideo convention.

## V. CONCLUSION

After analyzing all above mentioned facts regarding the Catalonian statehood, it can be made a conclusion that Catalonia does not have the ability to be declare as an individual state in the international system as it does not fulfill all the 4 criteria of statehood as stated in the Montevideo Convention. Catalonia doesn't have a specific territory as it is a part of Spain and also Catalonia does not have a separate independent government as the government which is already there is instituted by the Spanish government. Also with regard to the additional statehood criteria, Catalonia does not have independence and the right to declare self-determination without the consent of host state as it is violation of law. Due to these reasons it can be identified that Catalonia is not

an independent state, but is a region governs under the Spanish constitution.

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# ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY, ASIAN CENTURY AND SRI LANKA'S FOREIGN POLICY

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**Abstract-** The 21st century has been widely regarded as the Asian century and this global power shift is characterized by unprecedented economic growth, investments and enhanced regional cooperation. This global power shift continues to underscore the importance of economic diplomacy. Today we are living in a highly complicated and interconnected world where economic diplomacy knits the fabric of international relations. Thus, in a situation of worldwide acceptance of global power shift from West to East coupled with the rising importance of economic diplomacy, as an Asian country, Sri Lanka certainly has great opportunities of yielding greater results of these developments in the international arena. Against this backdrop, this study looks into Sri Lanka's current foreign policy trends to understand and analyze how Sri Lanka has adopted itself to welcome these developments in the international arena. The main objective of this study is to understand and critically evaluate the new developments in country's foreign policy over the last three years. It looks into what measures Sri Lanka have already taken and what more can be done in order to maximize the benefits from this global power shift. This is a qualitative case study research which takes into account both primary and secondary data. The study remains significant as this shift in country's foreign policy has yet to be addressed adequately. The study reveals that the country has made great strides in its foreign policy approach in the context of adjusting itself to the developments in the international arena. A significant reorientation of country's foreign policy is observed, particularly in terms of strengthening ties with Asia while effectively balancing its ties with China and India.

**Keywords-** Economic diplomacy, Asian Century, Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy, Global Power Shift

## I. INTRODUCTION

The Asian Development Bank in its report "Asia 2050: Realizing the Asian Century" notes that Asia is in the midst of a truly historic transformation. If it continues to grow on its recent trajectory, it could by 2050, account for more than half of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP), trade and investment, and enjoy widespread affluence (ADB 2011, p.01). As the ADB notes the Asia's rise will be led by PRC, India, Indonesia, Japan, Republic of Korea, Malaysia and Thailand. Asia's rise looks set to continue and the roughly two centuries of global dominance by the European continent and the United States are drawing to a close (ESPAS 2015, p.08). This global power shift has also been identified as a geopolitical revolution (ibid). In understanding the global power shift from West to East, it should be understood with a study of changing dimensions of 'power' in international relations. Before understanding the concept of power, it should be noted that despite power is one of the most used terms in the field of international relations, it lacks a common definition. According to Nye (2004,p.01), power is like weather. Everyone depends on it and talks about it but few understand it. Until the recent history, power in international relations is often seen from a realist perspective. Power is considered by some realists to be an end in itself, while others assert that it is a means to an end (Schmidt 2007, p.45). Hans Morgenthau, in his work "Politics among Nations" claims that international politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power. Whatever the ultimate aim of international politics, power is always the immediate aim (Morgenthau 1948, p.13). As per Mearsheimer (2001, p.12), power is the currency of great-power politics, and states compete for it among themselves. What money is to economics, power is to international relations. At its core, for realists

power is about military and other material capabilities and for them power is about force and coercion. According to Mearsheimer, power in international politics is largely a product of the military forces that a state possesses (ibid). However, (neo) liberals hold a different perception on power. For them, power is not all about force and coercion. For them, it's about attraction. This aspect of power is explained in the concept of soft power. Joseph Nye (2004) defines soft power as the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment, which includes culture, values and foreign policies. Explaining diminishing significance of military power in international politics, Nye (1990) claims that while military force remains the ultimate form of power in a self-help system, the use of force has become more costly for modern great powers than it was in earlier centuries. As a result of these changing perceptions on power, economic diplomacy has able to gain greater prominence international relations over the last few decades. Today, economic diplomacy knits the fabric of international relations. In today's globalized world, characterized by economic interdependency of different countries, economy has become the decisive element in international relations (Tomšić 2008, p. 35). Economic diplomacy is a significant part of a much larger set of international arrangements that breed trust between countries (Amariei 2014, p.11). As per Berridge and James economic diplomacy refers to diplomacy which employs economic resources, either as rewards or sanction, in pursuit of a particular foreign policy objective. This is sometimes known as 'economic statecraft' (2003) According to Tomšić (2008) the term economic diplomacy refers to the diplomatic service activities focused on the increasing of export, attracting foreign investments and participating in the work of international economic organizations, i.e., the activities generally focused on the affirmation of economic interests of a country on the international level. Imbert (2017) identifies three common aspects of all definitions of economic diplomacy. They are (1) facilitating access to foreign markets; (2) attracting foreign direct investments; and influencing international rules. At present, given the highly interdependent nature of world affairs, particularly from an economic perspective, economic relations have gained greater prominence in world affairs. Today, no country in this world is self-sufficient which has underscored the significance of international trade. Furthermore, investments are often considered as a major pillar of economic growth which has prompted all countries to attract more and more Foreign Direct Investments (FDI).

Looking at Sri Lanka's context over the last three years, since the Presidential election in 2015, followed by the establishment of the coalition government, a noteworthy reorientation is observed in country's foreign policy. On one hand, Sri Lanka has made a significant effort in adopting an Asia centric foreign policy. Addressing the first session of the 8th Parliament, President Maithripala Sirisena stated;

"I would like to remind you that the 21st century is the century of Asia. It must be stated that we are fortunate to be naturally endowed with a geo-political location that enables us to derive maximum benefits in the context of Asia rising as the center of global economy. One of the prime responsibilities of all of us is to design our future economic policies, plans and strategies to make maximum use of this worthy opportunity gifted to us by the nature.....I wish to declare that from here onwards, my government would concentrate more on following an Asia-focused foreign policy middle path."

While making efforts to strengthen its relations with Asia, Sri Lanka has given greater prominence to its economic interests in its foreign policy formulation. For instance, looking at country's economic vision which has been documented in 'Vision 2025', Sri Lanka will position itself as an export oriented economic hub at the center of Indian Ocean. Furthermore, the country also aspires to raise per capita income to US\$ 5,000 per year, create one million jobs, increase FDI to US\$ five billion per year, and double exports to US\$ 20 billion per year (Vision 2025, 2017). These objectives cannot be achieved without a holistic foreign policy approach. Against this background, the study attempts to understand and evaluate the major measures which have been taken by the Sri Lankan Government to make maximum use of the developments in international relations and to critically evaluate these measures. Basically, the study attempts to answer the following research question.

- i. What changes have been made in Sri Lanka's foreign policy to make maximum benefits out of the recent developments in world affairs?
- ii. How has Sri Lanka benefitted from these policy measures?

## II. METHODOLOGY

This study is a desk study qualitative research based on both primary and secondary data. According to Astalin (2013, p.118), there are four major types of qualitative research designs which are commonly used. They are; (1) Phenomenology, (2) Ethnography, (3) Ground theory, and (5) Case Study. This study is a case study of Sri Lanka which looks into its foreign policy behavior since 2015 to first half of 2018 period. As this research is based on both primary and secondary data, main sources of data collection includes speeches, Hansard reports, government documents, annual reports, journal articles, magazines etc.

## III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As noted earlier, today Asia is indeed at a crucial juncture. Asia is all set to become the economic powerhouse in the world.

**Table 01. GDP growth rate forecast-2018**

	GDP growth rate
Central Asia	3.9
East Asia	5.8
South Asia	7.0
Southeast Asia	5.1
The Pacific	3.2
United States	2.4
Euro area	1.8

Source: ADB (2017), *Asian Development outlook update 2017*

Table 01 and Table 02 reflect the growing economic strength of Asia. As indicated in Table 01, Asia is projected to grow at a higher rate than the United States and the Euro area. Furthermore, Asian share of global output is expected to increase from 27.4% in 2010 to 50.6% in 2050. Moreover, for the first time, by 2050, Asian GDP per capita (PPP) (US\$) will be greater than the Global GDP per capita. Given the emergence of Asia as the economic powerhouse, it is pivotal for a country like Sri Lanka to strengthen its ties with Asia. Looking at the recent history, Sri Lanka has taken a number of initiatives to strengthen

**Table 02. Asia's share of global output (2010-2050)**

	2010	2020	2030	2040	2050
Global output (Market exchange rates, US\$ trillion)	62	90	132	195	292
Asian Share of global output (%)	27.4	33.5	38.9	44.5	50.6
Global growth (prior decade ending in column year (%))	-	4.0	3.9	3.8	3.6
Asia growth (%)	-	5.8	5.2	4.8	4.4
Asian share of global growth (%)	-	55.7	59.3	62.8	66.0
Global GDP per capita (PPP)	10,700	14,300	19,400	26,600	36,600
Asian GDP per Capita (PPP) (US\$)	6,600	10,600	10,500	25,400	38,600

Source: *Asia 2050: Realizing the Asian Century*, Asian Development Bank, 2017 (p.32)

its ties not only with a handful of Asian countries, but with Asia as a whole. One such laudable initiative is the ongoing discussions on Free Trade Agreements (FTA).

In addition to the two bilateral FTAs the country was having with India and Pakistan, earlier this year Sri Lanka entered into a FTA with Singapore, one of the resilient In addition to these three trade agreements, discussions are being carried out with regard to FTAs with a number of Asian countries including China, Indonesia, Thailand, Bangladesh and Malaysia. At the same time, the country is also having discussions with India on the proposed Economic and Technology Cooperation Agreement (ETCA). As noted earlier, in the coming years, Sri Lanka expects to double its exports US\$ 20 billion. In this regard, the realization of these trade agreements will certainly play a pivotal role. If Sri Lanka to achieve this target, it should certainly expand its exports, both in terms of

products as well as markets. Looking at Sri Lanka's export sector, it relies heavily on a small number of products and markets. In terms of products, tea and textiles account for more than 60% of country's total exports while the USA and Europe absorb over 50% country's exports. This overreliance on few products and markets has been the main cause of stagnant performance of country's export sector. Furthermore, the current developments in the Europe and the USA don't seem encouraging for Sri Lanka's export sector. Brexit for example would have a significant adverse impact on Sri Lanka's export sector. The UK accounts for 10% of total exports of Sri Lanka and around 30% of country's total export volume to Europe. Garments are the main export product to the UK, accounting for about 80% of total exports to UK. Thus, UK leaving the European Union means Sri Lanka will not be fully benefitted from the hard earned GSP+ facility. Against this backdrop, it is vital for Sri Lanka to diversify its exports in terms of both products and markets and this can be done only through effective practice of economic diplomacy. For example, most of the markets in Southeast Asia and Africa still remain untapped while there are so many emerging export products which have the potential to secure greater international demand.

One major reason which makes Asia such a crucial trading partner is its market. These ongoing discussion on

the FTA, if materialized, would give effective access to a market over 3 billion.

According to ADB, the emerging middle class will become a key driver of Asia's economic growth. For a country like Sri Lanka the emerging middle class indicates a significant market for country's exports. Thus, as stated earlier, now the discussions are being carried out for FTAs with China and Indonesia. Such trade agreements with huge markets like China and Indonesia would benefit country's economy immensely.

Over the last three years, Sri Lanka's strengthened ties with Asia is reflected by the number of state visits made by President Maithripala Sirisena. Out of the total state visits made by the president, the vast majority of those have been to Asian countries including India, Pakistan, China, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Japan, Indonesia and Republic of Korea. Some of these visits were made after lapse of decades. For example, the state visit of the president to Indonesia in 2017 was the first state visit made by a Sri Lankan Head of State in 40 years. This is a good example to show the reorientation of country's foreign policy towards Asia. All these visits have proved effective and fruitful. Table 04 indicates some of the main benefits Sri Lanka was able to derive from these state visits.

**Table 03. Rising middle class of India, China and Indonesia**

Country	2030			2050		
	Middle Class population (Million)	Upper class population (Million)	GDP per capita (PPP) (US\$)	Middle class population (Million)	Upper class population (Million)	GDP per capita (PPP) (US\$)
PRC	1,120	40	21,100	1,240	190	47,800
India	1,190	15	13,200	1,400	210	41,700
Indonesia	220	5	13,500	250	40	37,400

Source: *ASIA 2050: Realizing the Asian Century*, Asia Development Bank



**Table 04. Outcomes of President Sirisena’s state visits to selected Asian countries.**

Country of visit	Year	Outcomes
Malaysia	2016	Signing of five Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MoU on Tourism Related Activities.</li> <li>• MoU on cooperation in the field of Youth Development.</li> <li>• MoU on the Recruitment, Employment and Repatriation of workers.</li> <li>• MoU in the field of Culture, Arts and Heritage.</li> <li>• MoU between Sri Lanka Council for Agricultural Research Policy (SLCARP) and Malaysian Agricultural Research and Development Institute (MARDI) on Scientific Research and Technical Cooperation.</li> </ul>
Republic of Korea	2017	Agreements on economic cooperation, Economic Development Cooperation Fund (EDCF) and cultural cooperation. MoU on investment Cooperation and the Employment Permit System (EPS)
China	2015	MoUs on cooperation for special aid in public health, development of water treatment methods and technologies in kidney disease affected areas, research and development of the coconut industry and refurbishment of the Superior Court complex in Sri Lanka.
Republic of Indonesia	2017	Signing of two agreements on maritime and fishing cooperation and the cooperation on traditional industries.

Source: Created by author based on President’s Official website

Considering the recent developments in the Asian region, it’s no exaggeration to claim that the success of Sri Lanka’s Asia centric foreign policy to a greater extent shall be determined by how well it maintains and balances its ties with China and India. However, this is by no means an easy task. China-India relations over the years have been both controversial as well as complicated. Given the geopolitical rivalry between China and India for the supremacy of the India Ocean, it’s vital for Sri Lanka to be cautious in balancing its relations with the two giants.

In understanding the nature and scope of Sri Lanka’s relations with India and China, it is vital to have brief understanding of Sino-India relations. Despite

unresolved territory dispute, mutual suspicions over each other’s military strength, and geopolitical rivalry for the supremacy in the Indian Ocean, both countries continue to maintain strong economic ties, particularly in terms of trade and investment. Looking at trade statistics, the bilateral trade between India and China in 2017 rose by 18.63% year-on-year to reach US\$ 84.44 billion. It’s registered as a landmark as the volume of bilateral trade for the first time touched US\$ 80 billion, well above the US\$ 71.18 billion registered last year (THE TIMES OF INDIA, 2018). Looking from an economic perspective, over the last decade both India and China have able to achieve healthy economic growth, and projected to continue that success in the coming years as well (Figure 01).

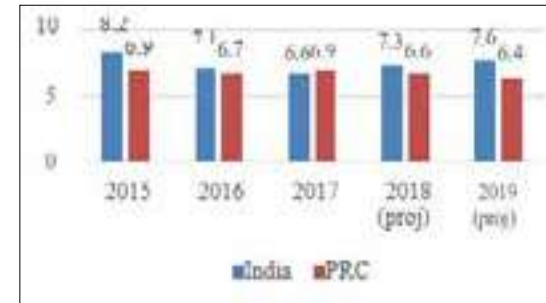


Figure 01. Economic growth rates of China and India (2015- 2019)  
 Source: Asian Development Outlook 2018, Asian Development Bank

From geopolitical and geo-economic perspective, Sri Lanka can ill afford losing any of the two giants in Asia. Particularly from an economic perspective, as it stands now, Sri Lanka is highly benefitted from both India as well as China.

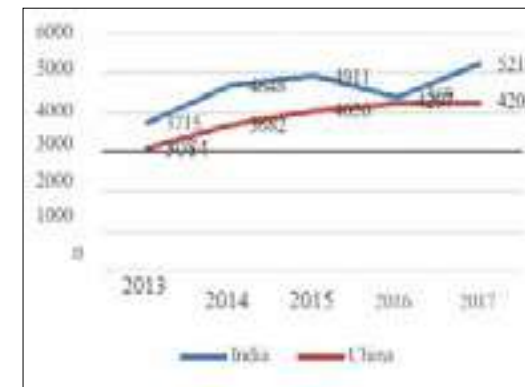


Figure 02. Sri Lanka’s total trade with India and China (Value in US\$ million)  
 Source: Central Bank Annual Report 2017, Central Bank of Sri Lanka

As given in figure 02, India and China have been major trading partners of Sri Lanka. The Graph 02 indicates Sri Lanka’s total trade with China and India. There has been a significant increase in total trade with both China and India during the period 2013-2017. In 2017, India was Sri Lanka’s main import partner followed by China while during the same year India was the third largest destination for Sri Lanka’s exports.

When it comes to tourism sector also India and China (P.R) remain vital as they generate highest number of

tourists to Sri Lanka. Furthermore, as far as Investments are concerned, both countries have made investments worth billions of dollars. According to the Indian High Commission in Colombo, Sri Lanka, India is among the top four investors in Sri Lanka with cumulative investments over USD 1 billion since 2003. On the other hand, today china remains Sri Lanka’s largest lender and the investor. When it comes to investments, the Colombo International Financial City or Port City Project, invested and developed by the China Communications and Construction Company Limited (CCCC), is Sri Lanka’s largest FDI with an estimated total of US\$ 15 billion. This is also the largest project between China and Sri Lanka under One Belt and One Road project initiated by China. In addition, a significant number of infrastructure development projects have been funded by China, including the Hambantota port, which is now being leased to China for a period of 99 years.

Considering these facts, Sri Lanka can ill afford losing any of these giants. The present government has made laudable effort in terms of balancing relations between both these countries. For instance, from a geo political perspective, this increasing Chinese presence in Sri Lanka is certainly a matter of concern for India. Yet, this Chinese presence has not hampered Sri Lanka’s relations with India. This can be identified as one of the greatest achievements of Sri Lanka over the last three years.

However, the Asia centric foreign policy is not only about strengthened relations between China and India, but it is also about strengthening ties with rest of the Asia as well. In this regard also Sri Lanka has made a significant progress over the last three years. As stated earlier, the ongoing trade talks with a number of Asian countries reflect the concrete measures taken during the last three years to strengthen country’s ties with Asia as a whole.

Further, in the context of effective implementation of economic diplomacy, maintaining friendly relations with countries alone is not sufficient. The success of economic diplomacy relies on two main aspects. First would be the presence of an open and dynamic foreign policy and second aspect is effective and systematic liberalization of the economy. This will be the perfect combination for successful practice of economic diplomacy. When it comes to economic liberalization, despite the open market economic policy brought on during the late 1970’s, Sri Lankan external trade has always been adversely affected by rigid protectionist policies.

However, the present government has taken a number of initiatives to liberalize the economy in an effective way for the best interest of the country. Some of these initiatives include; removal of para tariffs, opening up the shipping and logistics sector etc. Effective liberalization of the economy will be critical in Sri Lanka's journey towards becoming the commercial hub of the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, Sri Lanka's ratification of World Trade Organization (WTO) Trade Facilitation Agreement (TFA) in 2016 can be cited as another major stride forward towards greater level of trade facilitation. Meanwhile, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), while acknowledging Sri Lanka's performance (period 2015- 2017) in many of trade facilitation indicators including documents, automation, internal border agency cooperation, has noted that country's progress remains stagnant in the areas of procedures, trade community involvement, information availability and governance and impartiality (Figure 03).

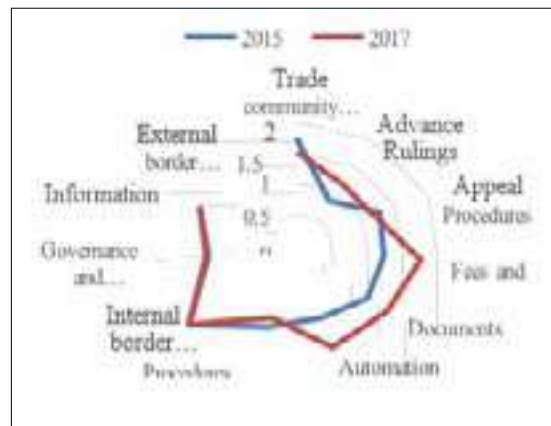


Figure 03. Sri Lanka's performance in Trade Facilitation Indicators (2015-2017)\*  
 \*2 = best performance that can be achieved  
 Source: OECD trade indicators

IV. CONCLUSION

Considering the initiatives taken by Sri Lanka over the last three years, it can be said that the country has made a significant effort to reorient its foreign policy in such a way to yield maximum results out of the current developments in international relations. Over the last three years, significant effort is made in terms of strengthening country's ties with Asia. Here, the most noteworthy aspect

of this new approach of foreign policy is that Sri Lanka while effectively balancing its ties with China and India, has also been able to create a broader partnership with the rest of Asia as well. This remains the most outstanding aspect of Sri Lanka's Asia centric foreign policy. As noted at the outset, the Asia's rise will be led not only by China and India. Countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, and Republic of Korea too will play a major role in this regard. Therefore, understanding these developments will remain vital for Sri Lanka if it to yield significant results from these developments in the international arena. However, with regard to its practice of economic diplomacy, there are loopholes which need to be rectified with immediate effort. Especially, areas of procedures, trade community involvement, information availability and governance and impartiality need greater attention. However, the progress which has been made so far in country's foreign policy approach is highly commendable and if Sri Lanka can rectify the shortcomings in country's trade facilitation frontiers, for certain Sri Lanka will be the commercial hub of Asia.

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