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Is a Non-Aligned Defence Policy the best option for Sri Lanka's Economic Prosperity?

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Abstract—*Despite international warnings on a possible ISIS attack, the 'Easter Sunday Attack' on Sri Lanka confirmed the fact that political agendas and state security must never be tangled. Though in 2009, Sri Lanka was a country capable enough to defeat the world's most brutal terrorist organization, right after ten years, in 2019, 'too much freedom, too much reconciliation and too much political compromises' led to ignoring the intelligence reports on State security. Unlike other countries, from ancient era, location of Sri Lanka has made it a 'hot spot' in geopolitical warfare. In this backdrop, even though ISIS took over the responsibility of 'Easter Sunday Attack' in Sri Lanka, it is imperative to answer, Why Sri Lanka? Therefore, the research problem of this paper is to mainly focus on why ISIS chose Sri Lanka to launch this attack? In order to find possible answers, the research methodology adopted focussed on secondary data sources of media and internet.*

It is pertinent to mention that this research is explorative rather than explanative, basically to secure Sri Lanka's future economic growth and geopolitical stability by pursuing a non-aligned strategy. Ultimately, it is the prime objective of the research outcomes to emphasis on policies and strategies for strategic defence of Sri Lanka in geopolitical realities and furthermore to introduce recommendations to the legal framework which is the need of the hour to support Sri Lanka's defence policy. This research has steered clear from not making conclusions, however the inferences been made could instigate a certain course of action which the author believes the national defence and economic experts are in the best position to consider.

Keywords— International Geopolitics, ISIS, Strategic Economic Growth, Sri Lanka's Future Defence Policy

I. SRI LANKA'S FUTURE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND GEOPOLITICAL STABILITY

Sri Lanka's geopolitical location in the Indian Ocean has been of strategic interest to all key nations operating in the Asia-Pacific region. The key nations

that have made their intentions clear are the U.S.¹, China and India. However, it must be borne in mind the geopolitical agendas of each of these nations are significantly different and more often than influence nations towards a strategic alignment to one of them. **This paper strives to present a case to pursue a non-aligned defence policy for Sri Lanka to achieve both strategic economic and geopolitical stability.** As per Zukrowska (1999), *"The link between economics and security was always rather obvious. Stability in this context can be seen in two ways: as political stability and as economic stability. A lack of stabilisation in one of the mentioned fields, let alone both, can be dangerous as has been proved by historical precedent"*

II. BACKGROUND

On 21st April 2019, Easter Sunday morning, a wave of deadly bomb blasts hit Sri Lanka. Three churches and three luxury hotels in the commercial capital Colombo were targeted in a series of coordinated terrorist suicide bombings. Later that day, there were another two explosions at a housing complex in Dematagoda and a guest house in Dehiwala. *"253 people were killed"* (The Guardian 2019) including foreign nationals, and 03 police officers and at least 500 were injured. *"Death roll revised down from 359 by authorities"* (Aljazeera 2019). As reported by BBC (2019) *"Government admitted a major intelligence lapse before the attacks as the Indian Intelligence warnings about planned attacks had not been taken seriously"*.

¹ U.S.- United States of America

Source: The Guardian (2nd May 2019) “Sri Lanka Police name all nine Easter Sunday suicide bombers”

On 23rd April, ISIS² claimed the responsibility of the attacks in Sri Lanka, by stating they were the work of “fighters of the Islamic State” via their Amaq News Agency (Guardian 2019). It also released a photograph showing the suicide bombers standing in front of an ISIS flag taking an oath of allegiance. “These attacks also suggest that ISIS had sub-contracted bombings to two local groups “National Thowheed Jama’at (NTJ)” and “Jammiyathul Millathu Ibrahim (JMI)”” (Hoffman 2019), which were subsequently banned³ by the Government of Sri Lanka. NTJ is a previously little-known extremist Islamist group who had reportedly vandalized Buddhist statues in December 2018 in Mawanella (Indian Express 2019). Even less is known about JMI. In this backdrop, on 22nd April, Emergency Law⁴ came into effect, under Gazette No 2120/5 and on the same day midnight, police curfew was declared giving police extensive powers to detain and interrogate suspects. An overnight curfew and day time curfew also imposed in several days as appropriate to assist investigations as well as to minimize tense situations as occurred during the 1983 Insurgency. “On 24th May Emergency Law was further extended for a month”. (Colombo Page 2019). Aftermath of the attack, Prime Minister (PM) had been reiterating the need for foreign intelligence support in his several statements from the time of the attacks. However, according to Kurukulasuriya (2019), “the government’s response to this new crisis, with its dire security dimension, shows a level of internal dysfunction that has left citizens aghast”. The confidence the average Sri Lankan had of the defence establishment has been completely shattered.

III. RESEARCH DESIGN

Despite the fact that these attacks were locally planned or sub-contracted by ISIS, it is yet a mystery, why they chose Sri Lanka? Therefore, the problem statement, hypothesis and design of this research are as follows;

Research Problem- Mainly focus to answer the ‘Easter Sunday attack’ carried out by ISIS, WHY was Sri Lanka targeted?

² ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) or IS (Islamic State) or ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant)

³ NTJ and JMI were banned on 27th April 2019, under Emergency Regulations No 1 of 2019.

Location	Suicide bomber
St. Anthony’s Church, Colombo	Alawddin Ahmed Muath (Local resident)
St. Sebastian’s Church, Negombo	Mohamed Hasthun (resident from East)
Zion Church, Batticaloa	Mohamed Nasser Mohamed Asad (local resident)
Shangri-La Hotel, Colombo	Zaharan Hashim, (Leader of NTJ) Ilham Ahamed Mohamed Ibrahim
Cinnamon Grand Hotel Colombo	Insaf Ahamed (Ilham’s elder brother)
Kingsbury Hotel, Colombo	Mohamed Azzam Mubarak Mohamed
Tropical Inn- Guest House, Dehiwala	Abdul Latheef (man who failed set bomb off in Taj Samudra Hotel, Colombo)
Housing Complex, Dehiwala	Fathima Ilham (wife of the youngest of Ilham brothers)

Hypothesis- The Nations pursuing defence agreements with Sri Lanka do so to achieve geopolitical dominance versus Sri Lanka’s future economic prosperity and geopolitical stability.

Research Objectives- In order to answer the above problem statement an extensive study of geopolitics and disclosure of relationship between geopolitics and terrorism is required to establish if the Easter Sunday attack in Sri Lanka was geopolitically instigated. Therefore, this study aims to:

- Understand the strategic geopolitical importance of Sri Lanka
- Understand the new global geopolitical realities which guide India, Pakistan and China’s influence on Sri Lanka from a historical perspective
- Understand U.S. strategic geopolitical agenda
- Ultimately, to analyse the background of ISIS and means of their intervention to Sri Lanka

IV. SRI LANKA’S STRATEGIC GEOPOLITICAL LOCATION AND CHALLENGES

Sri Lanka is located in the heart of the Indian Ocean, being a key geographical location which is a gateway to Africa and Latin America. Similar to Istanbul⁵ which

⁴ Emergency Regulations No 1 of 2019

⁵ Istanbul is the largest city of Turkey

bridge between Europe and Asia. According to Daniel (2019), "30,000 naval vessels, 45,000 air crafts and 4,500 oil tankers passed by our 200nm of EEZ every year. No trade can happen between the Middle East energy producers and energy consumers in far East without Sri Lanka being involved" Sri Lanka has faced many invasions due to its geopolitical location. It is also pertinent to mention the U.S. dwindling influence in Asia-Pacific especially, in the Philippines and Japan in terms of their defence bases. As per Koenig (2019), "As the world-geostrategic location of Sri Lanka, links the Arabian Sea with the Indian Ocean. Sri Lanka may also have a direct, open-sea connection with the small British island of Diego Garcia, in the Chagos Archipelago, north-east of Madagascar. Diego Garcia hosts the US's largest Navy base outside the American Continent"

In this backdrop, understanding the geopolitical agendas of India, Pakistan, China, U.S., Saudi Arabia and Israeli are crucial.

A. India's historical influence on Sri Lanka

Though we assume India and Sri Lanka are two separate countries, there was a time in the distant past when India and Sri Lanka was a single land mass. "Even today, after the land mass has split, the distance between India and Sri Lanka is only 22 miles of the Palk Strait" (Goonethilake 2010). India's influence on Sri Lanka dates back to the Rama-Ravana War⁶ as a result by which the Adam's bridge⁷ was built re-connecting the land mass of India and Sri Lanka. Later, in 1987 Indo- Sri Lankan Peace Accord was signed between two countries with regard to LTTE⁸ issue. These two are the important affairs took between the two countries from ancient history in defence perspective. The Indo-Sri Lankan Peace Accord 1987, permitted an Indian intervention to Sri Lankan Civil War through IPKF⁹, at a time, "LTTE leader Prabhakaran was at hand to be captured by Sri Lankan Security Forces" (Wickremesekera 2012) Despite that, Sri Lankan leaders let India intervene at this stage and this resulted the infamous "Air Drop" of supplies over the Jaffna region (De Silva 2018), which as per Weisman (1987), "aided the LTTE". According to Khan (2009), "the LTTE was also trained and supported by

RAW¹⁰ of India and with the blessings of Prime Minister (PM) of India, Indira Gandhi". Therefore, it is not a surprise when they halted military advance on the LTTE leader. But Pakistan assisted the Government of Sri Lanka in supplying high-tech military equipment to the Sri Lankan army in the Civil War against LTTE further strengthening ties with Sri Lanka. Next, it is important to analyse how India turn out to be a main character in geopolitics. For that, it is imperative to focus pre and post Bin Laden incidents which occurred between U.S. and Pakistan. After Bin Laden was found in Pakistan in 2011, the "U.S.-Pakistan alliance split" (Ross 2011). Therefore, U.S. chose India over Pakistan to establish U.S. South Asian influence. National Public Radio (2011) reported that "The Obama administration's decision to suspend \$800 million in aid to the Pakistan's military signals tougher U.S. line with a critical but sometimes unreliable partner in the fight against terrorism". In 2018, The Economic Times stated, "The Donald Trump administration has barred scores of Pakistani military officials from training and education. The move comes a month after US suspended security assistance to Pakistan, worth USD 1.15 billion" [Emphasis added] As a result, Pakistan has strengthened ties with China. Further, China's economic influence in Sri Lanka in southern tip of Asia, seems becoming problematic to India's geopolitical agendas. Today, India's influence on Sri Lanka would not only confined to geopolitics and economics but also to natural resources, mainly for water, as "India currently faces worst ever water crisis in history". (Sri Lanka Mirror 2018).

To what extent will India be influenced by the U.S. to meddle in Sri Lanka's affairs to achieve its strategic influence in Asia-Pacific?

B. China's historical Influence in Sri Lanka and the OBOR strategy.

China's historical relations with Sri Lanka date back to the 4th century A.D., when the Chinese monk Fahian visited Sri Lanka. Even before diplomatic relations were established between the two countries, Sri Lanka and China entered into the historic Rubber-Rice Barter in 1952¹¹. It was significant because China entered into an agreement with a non-Communist

⁶ Rama- Rawana war occurred as a result of Rawana who abducted Rama's wife Sitha from India to exact vengeance on Rama and his brother Lakshmana for having abuse Rawana's sister Surpanakha

⁷ Also known as Rama- Sethu Bridge or Rama's Bridge believed to be built by Hanuman's monkey army enabling the crossing of Rama's army. Investigations conducted by Indian National Remote Sensing Agency had suggested that the land connection could be a manmade structure built 5000 to 3500 years ago.

⁸ LTTE- Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, world's most ruthless terrorist organization, defeated through a war victory by Sri Lankan government on 18th May 2009.

⁹ IPKF- Indian Peace Keeping Force

¹⁰ RAW- Research and Analysis Wing (R&AW)

¹¹ At the time, Sri Lanka was affected by a worldwide rice shortage as well as a severe drop in rubber prices due to the introduction of synthetic rubber. At the same time, China had a surplus in rice while being unable to purchase natural rubber due to economic sanctions from other nations.

country. Diplomatic relations between Sri Lanka and China were established in 1957. The first agreement after establishing diplomatic relations was on Economic and Technical Cooperation, signed in 1962. In 21st century, Sri Lanka and China relations have seen robust growth. Sri Lanka and China upgraded bilateral relations to a strategic cooperative partnership during the Sri Lanka President's visit to China in 2013. (Asirwatham 2018). Most importantly, in China's economic strategy, One Belt One Road¹² (OBOR) initiative, Sri Lanka plays a pivotal role as a gateway to Africa and Latin America in its Maritime Silk Route. Therefore, Hambantota Port and Colombo Port City are key to China's OBOR. This close relationship with China led to allegations in Western media that China is practicing "Debt-Trap Diplomacy" on Sri Lanka which is both unfounded and untrue as China holds less than 10% of all Sri Lankan debt. Supporting that Sanderatne (2019) has quoted IPS Executive Director Dr. Dushni Weerakoon speaking at the Sri Lanka Economics Association (SLEA) annual sessions in January 2019, *"Chinese loans amounted to only about 9 percent of Sri Lanka's total outstanding debt in 2017, while China's share as a bilateral lender was about 14 percent, an amount equivalent to India's share"*.

To what extent will the U.S. go to destabilize China's rising economic influence in the 66 OBOR Nations? To what extent U.S. suspects China converting its economic influence to defence agreements in Sri Lanka's maritime cities?

C. U.S. Geopolitical Agenda in Asia-Pacific

U.S. has been directly or indirectly involved in countering the perceived threat of the expansion of communism in many Asian Nations, which even led Wars against Vietnam and Korea. "U.S. main goal in Vietnam was to prevent a communist takeover of the entire nation" (Study.com). "The Korean War was one of several military conflicts that occurred during the Cold War, as the United States and its allies attempted to stop the spread of communism" (Ohio History Central) However, the breakdown of U.S.-Pilipino relations in terms of U.S. Naval Subic Bay base and its dwindling influence in Japan has prompted U.S. to strengthen its alliances in Asia-Pacific. *"On 24 November 1992, the American flag was lowered in Subic for the last time and this withdrawals marked the first time since the 16th century that no foreign military forces were present in the Philippines"*

(Whaley 2013). It is further pertinent to note that U.S. economic model hinges on its defence industry.

U.S. modus operandi: "On 19th March 2003, U.S. along with coalition forces primarily from the United Kingdom, initiated war on Iraq, under the false suspicion that Saddam Hussein possessed or in the process of building weapons of mass destruction" (History.com 2019). The U.S. with its Middle Eastern ally Saudi Arabia has forged ties with Israel presenting Iran as its common enemy. For Saudi Arabia, this involvement has been positioned as one of gaining influence for its Wahhabism Islamic radicalization agenda. Destabilization of the Kuwait, Libya and Syria were all part of a strategic clandestine operation to destabilize the Middle East and ensure the safety and security of Israel. Whilst the strategic goals of destabilizing Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Tunisia and Egypt were achieved Russia's intervention into the Middle East prevented the same happening to Bashar-al-Assad in Syria. "BBC expose with graphic visuals that US and British-led coalition forces enabled hundreds of ISIS Jihadists to escape from the Raqqa (Syria) after the headquarters of their self-declared Caliphate were bombarded out of recognition". (Ians 2017) In essence, Russia has a religious interest in Syria, where the two cities Palmyra¹³ and Maaloula¹⁴ are significant to Russian Christian history¹⁵. Truly, Syria is the entrance of Russia to the Middle East. The U.S. influence on Middle East has also drawn a wedge between cash rich Qatar and Saudi Arabia / UAE, on the basis that Qatar supports Iran which is perceived as a threat to Saudi Wahhabism expansion strategy. The relocation of the American Embassy to Jerusalem is a confirmation of U.S. led destabilization goals being achieved in the Middle East. This has now been achieved and the potential threat of a United Middle Eastern response has diminished. With all these, it is clear that U.S. has always intervened a country as way of lending a hand on sake of two reasons; terrorism and to overthrow dictators not support U.S. Through this destabilization U.S. has been able to achieve both its political agenda of the safety of Israel and its military agenda of bases in the Middle East, in Saudi Arabia and Turkey and the sale of weapons.

U.S. commitment to sovereignty of Israel at any cost "The Arab-Israeli War grants Egypt control of Gaza. Before Israel became a nation, the majority of people dwelling in the region were Palestinians. On 14th May, 1948 Israel was officially declared a State, marking the

¹² Also called as 'Belt and Road Initiative' (BRI)

¹³ Home to some of the Christianity's oldest churches. Today, St. Petersburg of Russia is known as the Palmyra of the North.

¹⁴ Only place in the world that speaks the language of Jesus. The ancient churches of Maaloula has been destroyed by ISIS were rebuild by Russian Government's charity.

¹⁵ Russian Orthodox Church

first Jewish State in over 2,000 years. U.S. President Truman recognized the new nation on the same day. Israel regularly seeks help from the U.S. to reinforce its regional security and defence capabilities. During 2018, Israel and Iran have clashed over Iran's presence in Syria, fuelling speculation about the possibility of broader conflict between the two countries and how Russia's presence in Syria might affect the situation". (Zanotti 2018). However, it is a well-known fact that U.S. is the godfather of Israel and will spare any intervention to secure the nation at any cost. The recent announcements to moving U.S. to Jerusalem is also seems as an authorization to Israel to annex all Palestinian lands in the future.

Destabilization of Asian and Middle East was occurred through al-Qaeda and ISIS.

Al-Qaeda: Arabic for "the Base," is an international terrorist network founded by [Osama Bin Laden](#). The origins of Al-Qaeda can be traced to the Soviet War in Afghanistan in terms of cold war around 1979. But it is believed that it was formally founded in 1988. Osama Bin Laden and Al-Zawahiri are the leaders of this organization. It is considered the top terrorist threat to U.S. confined Al-Qaeda story to U.S. funding and weapon sales, and finally able to withdrew Russian troops from Afghanistan. However, this strategy backfired on U.S. as Al-Qaeda has then created havoc in U.S. in 9/11.

ISIS: It was started as an Al-Qaeda splinter group at the inception to destabilize the Middle East in order to secure Israel. They aim to create an Islamic caliphate¹⁶ across Iraq, Syria and beyond. The group is implementing Sharia Law, based on Saudi concept of Wahhabism, rooted in eighth-century Islam, to establish a society that mirrors the region's ancient past. ISIS is known for 90 attacks in 21 countries that have killed nearly 1,400 people carrying out public executions, crucifixions and other acts. "Its Leader is known as, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, is reportedly based in Syria. He was detained in US run prison Bucca in Southern Iraq and has been released in 2004". (CNN 2019). "The Israeli authorities have provided significant amounts of cash, food, fuel and medical supplies to Sunni rebels (ISIS) fighting against Bashar al-Assad's government" (McKernan 2017). It is evident that ISIS cleverly use the Islamist sectarian clash of Sunni and Shia to initiate conflicts, for example, for regional rivals of Saudi Arabia, Iran, and fear psychosis of Shia domination was built up by the

ISIS in order to attract Sunni support and further. According to Jayasuriya (2017) *"they use this propaganda for three purposes; to export its terror and also to recruit fighters from the West; to influence vulnerable and willing orthodox Muslims to radicalize and for likeminded militant Islamist in other parts of the world to independently form ISIS support cells"* [Emphasis added]. Most importantly, as Dissanayake (2017) has pointed out, *"with the passage of time, ISIS encourage the use of the particular tactic called 'Do-It-Yourself Terrorism' (DIY) - where anybody, regardless of age, race, geographic location, and background, could easily become a 'solider of the Caliphate' to execute attacks in the name of ISIS. ISIS is notorious for its 'slick' online strategy. This has attracted a significant number of foreign fighters and 'jihadi-brides' to travel from all over the world to join the movement. Those who were unable to travel were given an alternative solution to become a proactive supporter of the outfit, by carrying out attacks in their home countries as 'lone-wolves'. In this manner, ISIS effectively pioneered 'crowd sourcing' its jihadist movement"*. [Emphasis added]

Scholar perspectives:

- *"US troops and allied Sunni militias defeated al-Qaeda in Iraq during the 2007 "surge" — but didn't destroy it. The US commander in Iraq, General Ray Odierno, [described](#) the group in 2010 as down but "fundamentally the same." In 2011, the group began rebuilding, and in 2012 and 2013 it freed a number of prisoners held by the Iraqi government, who then joined its ranks. Meanwhile, the group saw an opportunity in Syria, where peaceful protests descended into violence in mid-2011 and 2012. It began [establishing a presence](#) in Syria in mid-2011 in order to participate in the fight against Bashar al-Assad's regime, a move that helped it gain fighters and valuable battlefield experience. In 2013, the group once known as al-Qaeda in Iraq — now based in both Syria and Iraq — rebranded as ISIS. Tension grew between ISIS and al-Qaeda, and they formally divorced in February 2014".* (Beauchamp 2015)
- *"ISIS is entirely the [creation of NATO](#) and the West and it [remains in control of the organization](#). Even when US is funding extremists in order to destroy Assad in Syria, it is clear that, ISIS itself, is also being directed by Western intelligence, the GCC¹⁷, and Israel"*(Turbeville 2018) [Emphasis added]
- *"Beginning in 2011 – and actually even as early as 2007 – the United States has been arming, funding,*

¹⁶ Caliphate means an area rule by Caliph or a Chief Muslim Ruler.

¹⁷ GCC- Gulf Corporation Council

and supporting the Muslim Brotherhood and a myriad of armed terrorist organizations to overthrow the government of Syria, fight Hezbollah in Lebanon, and undermine the power and influence of Iran. Billions in cash have been funneled into the hands of terrorist groups including Al Nusra, Al Qaeda in Iraq (AQI), and what is now being called "Islamic State in Iraq and Syria". ISIS was harbored on NATO territory, armed and funded by US CIA agents with cash and weapons brought in from the Saudis, Qataris¹⁸, and NATO members themselves. The "non-lethal aid" the US and British sent [including the vehicles we now see ISIS driving around in.](#)" (Cartalucci 2014)[Emphasis added]

- *"Even as the US fights Islamic terrorism, it is accused at other times of using ISIS as an asset. Analyst Saeed Naqvi in a comment on the Easter Sunday attacks published in The Economic Times, refers to a New York Times interview with Barack Obama, where the then US president admitted to having delayed bombing ISIS when it reared its head in Iraq, so as to put pressure on Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri Al Maliki to sign a SOFA agreement. "In other words, ISIS was an American asset at that juncture," Naqvi noted". (Kurukulasuriya 2019)*
- *"According to former Afghan President, ISIS is the brainchild of the US and its allies which introduced this terrorist group to the world" (Ians 2017)*

D. Saudi Arabia and its global geopolitical agenda

In the Middle Eastern geopolitical agenda currently Saudi Arabia and Israel are apparent U.S. allies. The geopolitical agenda of Saudi Arabia is the expansion of Islamist radicalism through Wahhabism in the Middle East and it is pertinent to mention it has now focussed its attention to Asia. *"US foreign policy in the Middle East during Cold War tried to prevent Soviet Union influence by supporting anti-communist regimes and backing Israel against Soviet-sponsored Arab countries. Back in 1960s and 1970s, US came to replace United Kingdom as the main security patron of the Persian Gulf states, working to ensure a stable flow of Gulf oil. However, since 9/11 attacks in 2001, US policy has included an emphasis on counter-terrorism. History reveals that US has diplomatic relations with all countries in the Middle East except for Iran. Iraqi PM's statements on 21st May 2019 reveals that he intends to intervene to end tensions between Iran-US". (Abdul-Zahra 2019)* U.S. relations with Saudi Arabia refers to the bilateral

relations which began in 1933, where full diplomatic relations were established. Saudi Arabia is a strong U.S. ally and *"according to [data](#) from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the biggest importer of arms from the United States from 2009 to 2018 was [Saudi Arabia](#)" (Armstrong 2019). Presently, Iran- Saudi Arabia proxy conflict¹⁹ is the ongoing struggle for influence in the Middle East and adjacent regions to propagate Saudi led Wahhabism as an option to Iran's Shia religion. In this backdrop, on 17th May 2019, "Saudi Arabia and other Gulf States have agreed to a request for a renewed deployment of US forces to deter Iran with the evidence grows that Iran is stationing missiles directed at Israel" (Jerusalem Post 2019). With all these, a connection between ISIS and Saudi Arabia was disclosed by Armstrong (2014), "ISIS roots are in "Wahhabism", which a form of Islam practiced in Saudi Arabia. In July 2013, the European Parliament identified Wahhabism as the main source of global terrorism, and yet the Grand Mufti of Saudi Arabia, condemning IS in the strongest terms, has insisted that the ideas of extremism, radicalism and terrorism do not belong to Islam in any way"[Emphasis added]. Saudi Arabia have found willing partners among the vulnerable populations in the Central Asian and Afghan-Pakistani regions, Africa, the Balkans and even in Europe. These funders indirectly assist ISIS and al-Qaeda-friendly organizations to fast-track their recruitments process on their behalf. As per Yayla (2018), "in the leaked U.S. embassy cables, it was openly addressed that Saudi Arabia was "a critical source of terrorist funding" where the money is mostly spent on training of Wahhabi clerics, production and distribution of Wahhabi textbooks, media outreach and donations to local schools or cultural centres".*

Is ISIS the Saudi Arabian vehicle to achieve its Wahhabism expansion in the world which then gives Saudi Arabians a strong rationale to invest in all clandestine ISIS operations anywhere in the world, thereby, joining the U.S. with a strategic purpose of its own?

V. ISIS' STRATEGIC OPERATIONS IN SRI LANKA

As per Jayasuriya (2017), *"the spreading of Wahhabism²⁰ in Sri Lanka took place after 1973 and avenues for the spread of Wahhabism opened with Sri Lankan Muslims traveling to Saudi Arabia for employment".* Majority of Sri Lankan housemaids employ in Saudi Arabia than in other Middle Eastern

¹⁸ Author considers that Qatar has been isolated by U.S. due to its alignment to Iran.

¹⁹ Also called as Iran- Saudi Arabia Cold War or Middle East Conflict

²⁰ Wahhabism is a Saudi Islamic radicalization strategy

countries. As per Weeraratne (2014), *“in 2013, a total of 293,105 Sri Lankans have departed for foreign employment and majority of their destination was Saudi Arabia”*. According to Jayasuriya (2017), *“in the 1980s, Salafist Islam, began to spread in Kattankudy, Sri Lanka. An ultra-orthodox Salafi group is often referred as “Thowheed,” meaning monotheism and also written as “Tawhid.” There are six different organisations that the Muslims of Sri Lanka belong to; Thabliq Jaamath, Tharika, Ehewanu Muslims, Thawheed Jaamath, Jamithul e Islam and Jamathul Muslimeen”*. [Emphasis added] It was identified that two organizations; National Thawheed Jamaath (NTJ) and Jamaathe Millathe Ibrahim (JMI) are responsible for Easter Sunday attack. *“NTJ is an ideological offspring of the rapidly growing, Saudi-funded Tamil Nadu Thowheed Jamath (TNTJ), which has a headquarters in Chennai, India. The TNTJ, a Wahhabi-based organization, helped establish the Sri Lanka Thowheed Jamath (SLTJ), from which the NTJ emerged as a splinter”* (Sellin 2019). Therefore, it is pertinent that it is not that randomly ISIS has sub-contracted to launch these attacks to local NTJ and JMI, but those organizations itself were ISIS, rooted in Sri Lanka through Saudi Wahhabism under different designations. As seen in Sri Lankan attack, using wealthy families to achieve ISIS targets is a new trend which was also seen in suicide attacks on a church and police building in Indonesia last year (Ethirajan 2019). In February 2018, Tim Meko cited about a report by the Soufan Center has traced back 5,600 ISIS foreign fighters has returned home whereas with regard to Sri Lanka, only fighters who has left their home country to join ISIS were mentioned. *“In Easter Sunday attack, at least one of the bombers, identified as Jameel Mohammed Abdul Latheef, went to ISIS recruiters in Syria in 2014, according to Wall Street Journal”* (Arora 2019) but, was unsuccessful in his task and later suicided in a Dehiwala Guest House. According to Jayasuriya (2017), *“a Sri Lankan ISIS fighter Mohammed Sharaz Nilam Mushin aka Abu Shuraih Seylani was killed in Syria on 12 July 2015”*. These confirms the existence of Islamic State-linked jihadist networks in the country and that several other Sri Lankan nationals may also be fighting for the jihadist group in Iraq and Syria. *“Subsequent investigations revealed that there are 36 Sri Lankans who have travelled from Sri Lanka to Syria and have joined the ISIS. One of the bombers had travelled to Syria. Another trained in Turkey. One man arrested hours after the attacks had commuted between Sri Lanka and Syria, leading investigators to identify him as a possible middleman between the Islamic State and Sri*

Lankan militants” (Gettleman et al 2019) However, it is clear that these groups could not have succeeded without a strong local support.

Saudi Wahhabism and the ISIS attack in Sri Lanka

- *“After 1973, the Arab oil embargo that enriched Saudi Arabia greatly, the ultra-fundamentalist Wahhabi sect, which is the official religious interpretation in the Saudi Kingdom, began to penetrate Sri Lanka’s adherents to Islam. The Wahhabis in Sri Lanka act through a movement called Thawheed or Monotheism”* (Schwartz and Al-Alawi 2013).
- *“Tawhid or monotheism, is the basic focus of Wahhabism”* (Long 2009)
- *“The 2007 Wikileaks exposed that Muslim leaders in Sri Lanka expressed concerns about growing Wahhabi presence in the East of the island, resulting in the rise of hard-line Salafi groups inciting sectarian clashes. Issue 12 of IS English online magazine Dabiq dedicated a feature article of a Kandy-born Muhamad Muhsin Sharfraz Nilam, nom de guerre ‘Abu Shuraih asSilani’, as their martyr. Facebook has also shut down a once-active public page called the ‘Seylan Muslims in Shyaam’ (Sri Lankan Muslims in the Levant), urging Sri Lankans of all ethnic background to join the jihadist bandwagon”* (Dissanayake 2017)
- *“Easter Attack was inspired by extremist Saudi ideology known as Wahhabi Salafism spreading through their mosques and schools around the world”* (Gabbard 2019).
- *“The NTJ is believed to have been formed sometime around 2014 after breaking away from the larger Sri Lanka Thowheed Jamath (SLTJ), according to a report in The Hindu newspaper. Based in Kattankudy, a Muslim-dominated town in eastern Sri Lanka, the NTJ, much like the SLTJ, is believed to have been strongly influenced by Wahhabism - the official religious doctrine in Saudi Arabia”* (Aljazeera 2019)

“ISIS and Al-Qaeda appropriate foundational texts of al-Wahhab, including The Book of Monotheism (Kitab at-Tawhid), in their curriculum, in their Sharia (ideological) training in military camps, online training and the school systems they control”. (Yayla 2018) This was their hidden progress in Sri Lanka too. In Sri Lanka, Arabic schools and universities have built and has used to train NTJ terrorists, and those universities were not UGC²¹ registered. It is also important to cite about Jihadism²², to find out whether their ideology is

²¹ UGC- University Grants Commission

²²According to Zalman (2019), it refers to a person who believes that an Islamic State governing the entire

similar to ISIS' Wahhabism. *"Moreover, most contemporary jihadist terrorists are not adherents of Wahhabism. The two categories, Wahhabism and contemporary jihadism, are not synonymous"* (Long 2009) However, *"the ideology of ISIS has been described as being based on Salafism, Salafi Jihadism and Wahhabism"* (Bunzel 2015). As per Yayla (2018), *"Salafist Jihadism is stemming from Wahhabism"*. Therefore, it can be summarized that Sri Lankan Thowheed or Jihadi or ISIS, all based on one philosophy though different terminology has been used.

Having achieved its destabilization objectives in the Middle East to secure Israel, is the U.S. refocussing ISIS on destabilizing the China OBOR economic strategy, on the pretexts that the China OBOR initiative is also a Chinese defence expansion strategy?

VI. RESEARCH FINDINGS PERTAINING TO THE ISIS ATTACK ON SRI LANKA

"Historically, even a single successful suicide bombing requires a logistical "tail" involving many people, including recruiters to radicalize and maintain the resolve of the bomber-martyrs, skilled bomb makers, and operatives to surveil targets" (Hoffman 2019). Therefore, it is a challenging undertaking generally only could be accomplished by people with considerable expertise and an organizational network.

Preamble- It is pertinent to mention that the purpose of this research is basically to secure Sri Lanka's future economic growth and geopolitical stability by pursuing a non-aligned strategy.

WHY was Sri Lanka targeted?

As the U.S. influences in Asia-Pacific began to dwindle, it maybe needed a new base to compensate for its impending losses in Philippines and Japan further, for Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka offered an easy entry for destabilization due to the following factors. As per Kruglanski et al (2019), *"four distinct factors made Sri Lanka attractive for the ISIS strategy converged to enable the Easter bloodbath: (1) political developments in Sri-Lanka in the post war period, (2) dysfunctionality of the current government, (3) the regional penetration of the Islamic State in South and Southeast Asia, and (4) collaboration of the perpetrators with radicalized networks and groups"*. Considering all these facets, this research comes into five possible reasons as to why ISIS chose Sri Lanka;

community of Muslims must be created and that this necessity justifies violent conflict with those who stand in its way.

- After the perceived losses to ISIS in Syria and Iraq it had to re-establish itself in order to secure the continuous funding from its sources.

The defeat of ISIS in Syria was announced by U.S. after the bombing of Bagouz in Syria. As per Dyer (2019) *"In the 40-second video Baghdadi vowed his militants would get revenge on the West for the group's defeat in Iraq and Syria and claimed the Sri Lankan Easter bombings were part of their 'battle of attrition'"*.

- Lapse in Sri Lankan State security measures DailyFT (2019) reported that *"according to the assessments of Jonah Blank, the attack was a result of the political negligence than its accounting as an intelligence failure by many parties and ISIS did not choose Sri Lanka, but Sri Lankan extremists chose ISIS"*.

As per views of Prof. Colonne (2019), *"it must be analysed if this was an attack against Christian religion or they anyhow wanted to commit a mass destruction? Maybe they had pre-planned to launch the attack anyway on 21st April without any religious interest, but in order to accomplish a mass destruction, they may have chosen crowded church locations (since it was Easter Sunday), to fulfil their objective. The main purpose in attacking hotels seems to commit a maximum damage to foreigners, despite the LTTE who never attacked foreigners, but ISIS had done such previously as done in France"*. [Emphasis added] Moreover, ISIS to secure a base in Sri Lanka it had to attack a Christian target and an economic target to appeal Western countries. This maybe the reason why luxury hotels were targeted too. It was mainly to gain attraction towards Sri Lanka by which maybe indirectly to justify U.S. intervention too. This even could be as a possible revenge attack on Christians as a retaliation to New Zealand attack.

- Drugs and terrorism

It is a well-known fact that drug trafficking, crimes and terrorism are constantly interconnected as drug trafficking is always among the top revenues behind all terrorists activities. This year, Sri Lanka has taken stern actions to fight against drug menace. In this backdrop, WHY was Sri Lanka targeted? , become complicated with drugs-terrorism nexus. It was reported that *"Indian security agencies suspected the recent terror attack in Sri Lanka was financed by a Pakistan-based drug cartel. Drug smugglers based in*

Pakistan have been using the Sri Lankan sea route for the last seven years to export drugs to Europe after a clamp down on the Central Asian and Russian drug routes". (Chaudhury and Tripathi 2019)

➤ **Attacking Chinese and Indian investments**

It is pertinent to point out that among three luxury hotels, Shangri-la Hotel, was the only one signified in merging the two countries China and Sri Lanka. Surprisingly, unlike other locations, but to bomb Shangri-La two suicide bombers took part, and most importantly, Zaharan Hashim, known as the leader of NTJ himself went to this target as a suicide bomber. This emphasizes the fact that Shangri-La was the main target among all other locations. Fortunately, Taj Samudra, an Indian icon in Sri Lankan tourism, was the hotel which the bomb blast was not successful.

➤ **To counter China's OBOR economic expansion strategy**

"OBOR initiative is a massive economic extension which links 66 countries and beyond" (Chin 2016), which a gateway to Africa and Latin America opens through Sri Lanka. Also, the growing economic strength of China has raised it to the world's second largest economy in world (IMF 2018) and as per Statistics Times (2018) "China possess \$14, 172, 20 billion of GDP where U.S. is ahead of China by \$7310 billion in 2019". This poised China to become world's first in a little time. This maybe the U.S. leading economic rationale to counter China. CT Web (2019) reported that, "US Senate Armed Services Committee has unveiled a draft bill on 23rd May 2019 that targets China on several fronts, from stemming the erosion of the U.S. military advantage against Beijing to countering the growing Chinese influence around the world".

However, *"It was never a secret that China and U.S play the great game in South Asia, which became very clear since the dawn of December 2018, when US Navy using Sri Lanka to counter China's growing Indian Ocean presence" (Macan-Markar 2018)* U.S. saw Easter Sunday Attack as an opportunity intended to cause in the guise of security stabilization and countering ISIS with a view to achieve their military presence in Sri Lanka, primarily to achieve the SOFA²³ to access Trincomalee harbor for U.S. naval presence in the backdrop of debacle in Philippine and Japan. According to Rutnam (30th May 2019), *"The US and Sri Lanka are attempting to seek a consensus on a controversial agreement. SOFA was initially signed in 1995 in Sri Lanka allowing the US military to be in Sri*

Lanka for military exercises or other official duties. The US has now sought to amend the 1995 agreement by including fresh clauses which give US troops' additional privileges. However, the US Embassy insisted that the agreement will not permit the US to establish a base in Sri Lanka or station troops in the country". [Emphasis added] After Easter Sunday attack, it was seen that U.S. commenced high tension against China. This became more evident with US Military Update on 24th May 2019 that *"US Indo Pacific Command (USINDOPACOM) Chief denounces China and called for stronger US- Sri Lanka military relations".* On the other hand, *"The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) of the US Government has approved a five-year grant of \$480 million to Sri Lanka at its quarterly meeting held on the 25th of April 2019 in Washington D.C. The MCC Sri Lanka Compact is designed to expand economic opportunities and reduce poverty through economic growth" (Colombo Page 2019)*

Should Sri Lanka consider any defence agreements which could indirectly be perceived as an alignment to a Nation?

VII. RECOMMENDED POLICIES AND STRATEGIES FOR THE STRATEGIC DEFENCE OF SRI LANKA

Preamble- It is pertinent to mention that the prime objective of this research is basically to secure Sri Lanka's future economic growth and geopolitical stability by pursuing a non-aligned strategy.

A. *Exploit China's economic influence through the OBOR and pursue Sri Lanka's non-aligned defence policy*

Sri Lanka on account of its strategic location is now in the radar of dangerous power games among super powers. Consolidating Sri Lanka's pivotal role in China OBOR, Sri Lanka be able to become a massive economic hub being a key gateway to Africa and Latin American countries. Therefore, Sri Lanka must work with China for economic growth in OBOR, but must ensure that China do not use Sri Lanka as a military base. Further, to counter the geopolitical influence of U.S. and Saudi Arabia, in achieving their twin goals of using Sri Lanka as a military base and as a tool for Wahhabism expansion respectively, it is pertinent that Sri Lanka must never be aligned with either China or U.S. by letting them fulfil their ulterior motives in geopolitical strategies. Consolidating Sri Lanka to the

²³ SOFA- Status of Forces Agreement

U.S. strategic goal in the Pacific and Indian Oceans is to counter China with the help of its allies. As a result, it is evident that India strives to keep China away from Sri Lanka, therefore, in our policies and strategies for the strategic defence of Sri Lanka, it is important not to grant India to have a legitimate reason to intervene to Sri Lanka. The point here is not to say that Sri Lanka does not need the help of other nations but, to pursue a non-aligned defence policy for Sri Lanka to achieve both strategic economic and geopolitical stability is pertinent.

B. Sri Lanka's strategic defence and legal framework to support our policies

It must be noted that existing laws are sufficient, especially existing anti-terrorism laws to counter ISIS involvements or any terrorist involvement in Sri Lanka and there seems no necessity of a new legislation to be passed. In comparison to the existing Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), the newly proposed Counter Terrorism Act (CTA) is criticized for being negligent in respect of terrorists. According to Kurukulasuriya(2019), *"critics argue that the government's real objective is to get rid of the PTA in compliance with the Geneva resolutions and further such could help protect ex-LTTE elements or sympathisers domiciled abroad, also raises questions as to whether the drafting of this law had external inputs"*. Further, following existing laws of Sri Lanka widely cover the involvements with foreign terrorists: the 1887 Penal Code (Section 2), the 1987 Prevention of Terrorism Act (Section 11) and the April 2019 Emergency regulations 2120/5 (Sections 26 and 27). It must be strongly asserted that political agendas and State security must never be tangled at any cost, because despite 'State Security' been concerned as a 'mere fact', it is recognized in the Constitution²⁴ under "Directive Principles of State Policy and Fundamental Duties" in Article 27 (3)²⁵ with regard to national security and in Article 27(15)²⁶ with regard to international security. Moreover, in order to eliminate ISIS from Sri Lanka, it is imperative to cut down their finance flows, seizure their properties and penalize all supporters' who shields Saudi Wahhabi extremists. It is further recommended to consider Malaysia's counter terrorism strategy they implemented against ISIS. Most importantly, in order to fighting ISIS we must first counter Saudi

Wahhabism ideology. As the late Singaporean leader Lee Kuan Yew stated regarding preventing terrorist attacks: *"You must use force. But force will only deal with the tip of the problem. In killing the terrorists, you will only kill the worker bees. The queen bees are the preachers, who teach a deviant form of Islam in schools and Islamic centers, who capture and twist the minds of the young."* (Sellin 2019).

In terms of future economic growth in the national interest of Sri Lanka, it is pertinent to consider the legal stance with regard to foreigners' rights to own property in Sri Lanka. In 2014, repealing Part VI of the Finance Act²⁷, Land (Restrictions on Alienation) Act²⁸ came into effect stipulating restrictions on the alienation of lands in Sri Lanka to foreigners, foreign companies and certain institutions with foreign shareholders. Foreigners can buy apartments/condominiums from ground level up²⁹, however, lands cannot be purchased on freehold and can only be leased up to 99 years. These legal implications have further aided securing the non-alignment policy of Sri Lanka in global geo-economics as well as in geopolitics.

Finally, the purpose of this study being focussed to strengthen the economic growth and the geopolitical stability of Sri Lanka allowing a non-aligned policy, this research has steered clear from not making conclusions, however the inferences been made could instigate a certain course of action which the author believes the national defence and economic experts are in the best position to consider.

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²⁴ Constitution (means 1978 Constitution with Amendments) is the supreme law of Sri Lanka

²⁵ Ar. 27(3) - The State shall safeguard the independence, sovereignty, unity and the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka.

²⁶ Ar. 27(15) - The State shall promote international peace, security and co-operation, and the establishment of a just

and equitable international economic and social order, and shall endeavor to foster respect for international law and treaty obligations in dealings among nations.

²⁷ Finance Act, No 11 of 1963

²⁸ Land (Restrictions on Alienation) Act, No 38 of 2014

²⁹ Apartment Ownership Law No 11 of 1973

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Effectiveness and Transparency Dilemma in Consolidating Democracies

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Abstract— *Many countries in consolidating democracies faced challenges of striking a balance between effectiveness and democracy/transparency, especially when they transformed non-democratic regimes into democratic regimes. As Huntington describes the beginning of the “third wave” of democratization process many Latin American countries, Europe and some parts of Asia underwent fundamental changes of democracy in the state bureaucracy and the intelligence community. This included establishing free and fair elections, instituting market economies, creating civil societies and completely reforming intelligence apparatuses. However, the lack of democracy in non-democratic regimes in the past haunted the people of the country, has resulted in creating mistrust and a lack of credibility between the intelligence community and civil society. As such, this paper will argue that ‘building trust between the Intelligence Community and Civil Society is one of the most critical issues for achieving effectiveness and transparency in consolidating modern democracies.’ Therefore, this paper discusses what is the effectiveness and transparency dilemma in intelligence, comparative analysis of Argentina, Mongolia and Brazil to identify the fact that why mistrust between civil society and the intelligence community are more demanding, and how to build the trust between civil society and the intelligence community. In this regard, fundamental changes of democracy in these countries, particularly*

in the state bureaucracy and intelligence community will be used to elaborate the effectiveness and transparency dilemma in consolidating democracies. The author will adopt mix method to gather data relevant to the subject matter.

Keywords— **Intelligence community, effectiveness, transparency, dilemma, democracy**

I. INTRODUCTION

Intelligence agencies usually face a recurring dilemma because of the trade-off between transparency and effectiveness. More often intelligence community has a tendency to think that more transparency has less effectiveness of the results that they achieved. As Cristiana Matei identifies, effectiveness is “ability of the intelligence system to successfully carryout assigned role and mission;” whereas, transparency is “access to intelligence information,” and credibility of the actions. (Matel 2007). In other words, intelligence involves covert operations to achieve secrecy and effectiveness; whereas, democracy constitutes the accountability and openness of the intelligence functions. The transparency and effectiveness dilemma appears when the intelligence community tries to establish democracy, the rule of law and accountability during the consolidation (from a political police to a bureaucratic intelligence) period.

In most of the cases though a democratic transition has been completed, there are many tasks that need to be accomplished and conditions that are required to be addressed in the process of consolidation for democracy. As Linz and Stepan's identify, "behaviourally democracy becomes the only game in town when no significant political groups seriously attempt to overthrow the democratic regime or secede from the state." Juan, Linz, Stepan, 1996). In other words, citizens seek for overall quality of the democracy from political society and the intelligence community.

Additionally, public opinion demands that democratic procedures and democratic function of institutions are the most appropriate way to build the trust between civil society and the intelligence community to ensure better transparency and the effectiveness. As such, apart from the other demanding issues like, political issues, economic issues, external influences and the media challenges, the paper will analyse building trust between the intelligence community and the civil society, as one of the most critical issues when consolidating modern democracies.

II. THE MISTRUST BETWEEN CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

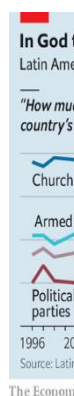
Argentina: Most of the non-democratic countries used the intelligence community as a "political police" to serves the interests of the government rather than interests of the state. (Davis and Kristian, Gustafson, 2013). This is a tool that most authoritarian regimes exercised to gain political advantages to maintain their power. As a result, that gap between civil society and the intelligence community always widen in terms of accountability. For example: Argentina's intelligence community consisted of powerful intelligence services (the services of each branch of armed forces and the small services of the federal police and security forces). As such, the military coup in 1930, characterized as starting point for the use of "cohesive power" of the state against opposition, and the growth of a secret state (lack of external control, and accountability) within the state, which included surveillance, instigation, espionage, blackmail and vetting. (Davis and Kristian, Gustafson, 2013). Further, Argentina's unlawful practices of the military junta from 1976 to 1983 still haunted the country. The "dirty war" designed to blackmail people in order to advance its grip of power by using the intelligence community has not been held accountable for its unlawful practices, which resulted in overwhelming mistrust between civil society and the intelligence community. (Davis and Kristian, Gustafson, 2013).

Mongolia: On the other hand, Mongolia is quite different from Argentina. In 1960, intelligence and other security institutions in Mongolia balanced its relationship with Soviet Union against a threat from China. However, in 1989, Soviet Union lost its interest and influence toward Communist blocks states, which resulted in Mongolian democratization with the "third wave." Most importantly, in 1990 the Mongolian democratic revolution took place when the political bureau of the "Mongolian People's Party" agreed to resign from collectively conduct multiparty election, and after totally removal of party organs from the security sector. During this period, intelligence community of Mongolia became fully interoperable with its Soviet allies because of the similar style of Soviet intelligence system existed in the country. As a result of that, the level of public awareness and understanding of intelligence turned to low and misleading. The increases in public demand for disclosure of information, facts and materials about political eliminations during the democratic revolution discredited the intelligence community and led to public fear and suspicion about its credibility.

Brazil: Brazil and Argentina exhibit similarities in terms of use of the intelligence community as political police. After the military regime, the Brazil government created its post-doctoral intelligence agency, the Brazilian Intelligence Agency (ABIN), while maintaining a large number of former SNI personnel, who consisted of the ruins of the non-democratic National Information Service (SNI). The intelligence community had been involved in numerous scandals and abuses such as illegal wiretapping, incriminating taps frequently found in press releases. Additionally, many complaints have been forwarded by the Brazil Muslim community about the ABIN illegal surveillance of Muslims in recent years. On the other hand, during the military regime (1964-1985), the civilian authority lacked intelligence operational commitments. Therefore, the monopoly of the military regime continued until 1985; thus, neither reforms nor changes in the legal framework in the intelligence system in the present context carries a "stigma" among the civil community for the Intelligence community having been a tool of repression under the old regime.

III. ANALYSIS

Throughout the 20th century, most of the Latin American countries, suffered due to political instability and military rule, resulted in large scale human rights violations. Further, considering



Argentina, Mongolia and Brazil even those countries have transformed from authoritarian regime to democratization process, still can witness some laps in democratic control and oversight of the institutional process. Figure A provide clear understanding, how people of Latin American countries have built trust on country's institutions.

Figure 01: The Confidence on Country's Institutions

Source: The Economist

The figure A indicates that the most Latin American people seem dis-satisfied with new democracy; dis-satisfied figure has increased from 51% in 2009 to 71%. Further, it also indicated that the public confidence over political parties reduced from 20% to 0% from 1996 to 2018. Hence, the figure One and Two depicts that even the Latin American countries transformed from autocratic to democratic regime, they still not satisfied with institutional transparency and effectiveness in democracies. As Huntington describes, several military uprising in most of Latin American countries generalized the sentiment of demanding democracy, as a result of that countries like Argentina, Mongolia and Brazil have failed to achieve democratic control and oversight in their political institutions. Intelligence Community, similarly acted as a "political police" to serves the interests of the government rather than interests of the state. As a results of that there had been civilian uprising and social revolutions took place, especially in Argentina. Offences related to missing of children during the dirty war can be a classic example of lack democratic control and oversight of Intelligence Community. Above all there were number of other issues provoked for eg., even countries like Argentina, Brazil and Mongolia, enacted new intelligence legislations but not into force, resulted a lack of credibility between the intelligence community and civil society. The role of intelligence community is to ensure and influence in consolidation of democracies. If the intelligence power is weak and substandard that will reflect in oversight mechanism. In the democratization process and the post democratization period, these three countries, the intelligent power have not checked with laws and oversight mechanism, as a result of that oversight mechanism was substantially block in front of democracy. Intelligence accountability is often considered institutionally as a set of distinct formal mechanisms: executive control, legislative oversight, and judicial review (Richard E. Neustadt, 1990). However, among all these government oversight has

created the most interest. Most of the democratic countries including Sri Lanka have provided the keystone of democratic intelligence accountability. However, for political and structural reasons, a legislature it-self hardly provide an umbrella to protect the stable system of accountability (Richard E. Neustadt, 1990).

C. Building Trust between Civil Society and the Intelligence Community

Creating new Intelligence Agencies: Creating new intelligence agencies includes reforming organizations and personnel who are deemed necessary to build trust between the intelligence community and civilians during the consolidating of democracies. According to Loch K. Johnson, "intelligence agencies carry a stigma of their non-democratic past and transgression, which linger for decades in the peoples' hearts and minds. In other words, in most of the cases especially Argentina, and Brazil (Mongolia, in this case, is different from these two countries; but, the concept are similar in nature due to influences by communist Russia) new agencies are built on the ruins of the former non-democratic intelligence community during the period of democratization that created the mistrust between the civilian community and the intelligence community. Brazil, however, to compensate for the loss of legacy personnel, opened the doors for the younger generation in the intelligence community.

Most importantly, democratic transition came not only in the intelligence community, but also in the military and the federal police. Mongolia on the other hand, is in the process of training new professionals of effective use in the intelligence operations. On the other hand, Argentina's democratization of the intelligence community through reforming organizations have been a consistently weak in terms of political commitment. Therefore, it mirrors the need to build both transparency and effectiveness of the intelligence community; it is necessary to create new intelligence agencies by reforming organizations and personnel to the avoid legacy of the past and to build trust.

Establishing a Legal Framework: Establishing a legal framework is necessary in intelligence to achieve better transparency and effectiveness during consolidating democracies. As Loch K. Johnson notes, "establishing a completely new legal frame work for intelligence, which pledges that the new intelligence system serve the security interest of their nations, and citizens verses a privileged class, is hence cardinal in the emerging democracies." Loch Johnson's point is

that the legal frame works need to be included with clearly defined responsibilities and powers of the intelligence community that reflects control and oversight, especially, legal boundaries for the activities of the intelligence community. So far, Argentina underwent many reforms and legal changes in their constitution and legislation. For example, the Internal Security Law enacted in 1992 established the civilian management of the police and security forces. Mongolia on the other hand, established the General Intelligence Agency in 2001, and expanded it in 2008 to respond to all public inquiries and to provide official positions and explanations. Further, many academic conferences pertaining to legal matters which included intelligence activities and role of intelligence in a democratic society held from 2003 to 2011. Compared to Argentina and Mongolia, Brazil however, has shown no real improvement in reforming the legal system. For example, so far no action has been taken to include intelligence functions in the Brazil constitution of 1988, and no action has taken to either present or pass a constitutional amendment to define legitimate Brazil's intelligence function from 2011. Therefore, ABIN remains ineffective due to the legal and institutional frame work, constantly wrecked by scandals. As such, to increase the powers of intelligence communities, foster intra-agency coordination and effectiveness requires proper legal frame works and constitutional reforms in consolidating democracies.

Ensure Accountability by Placing Intelligence Community under Democratic Civilian Control: Ensure accountability in the intelligence agencies by placing intelligence under democratic civilian control becomes a key focus in emerging democracies. According to Loch K. Johnson, "control is needed to ensure intelligence agencies work within specific limits and represent legal frame work imposed upon them." Basically Jonson's point is that intelligence control and oversight is ensured by the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government to achieve democratic accountability of the intelligence community. As Davies and Gustafson believe, Argentina, the Ministry of Defence took control of the entire military intelligence through civilian control and oversight for better accountability and transparency, and by decree 10976 of the August 17, 2006 allowing access to all military intelligence information. Mongolia on the other hand, has given more freedom to the intelligence agencies and now intelligence experts and chiefs are available for media interviews and information outreach the public. Brazil, in 2002, introduced seminars under subtitle

"contributions for sovereignty and democracy" with media coverage aimed to publicize the importance of intelligence in democracy. However, Brazil needs many more steps to ensure accountability in its emerging democracy.

Parliamentary Accountability: The ultimate legitimacy and authority of intelligent community should be derived from legislative approval in order to avoid political abuse. On the other hand, by placing intelligent services under total parliamentary control and oversight, which creates effectiveness dilemma due to lack of expertise and professionals in the parliamentarians; especially in the area of sensitive information and other related secret activities that are important parliamentary question or parliamentary commissions inquiry. Parliamentary oversight also carries with it antagonist relationship with other parliamentary members, especially in presidential regimes, where the president has control over internal security matters and intelligent community.

IV. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Considering all challenges and actions taken by consolidating democracies in reforms by Argentina, Mongolia and Brazil, the first focused on making intelligence accountable, more open and transparent as previously mentioned. The lack of accountability rather than effectiveness was the main issue during the non-democratic regimes. As a result of past experiences, intelligence agencies carry a stigma of their non-democratic past, which had created mistrust between civilian society and the intelligence community. Further, mistrust is developed due to most non-democratic countries used by intelligence community as a "political police" to serves the interests of the government rather than interests of the state. The consolidating democracies and related new services are built on the ruins of former non-democratic intelligence agencies, which widen the gap between the civil community and the intelligence community in terms of transparency and effectiveness. However, Argentina, Mongolia and Brazil took many steps during the consolidating democracies such as creating new intelligence agencies, establishing a legal frame work and establishing democratic civilian control and oversight, yet some areas, still need improvements to build trust between the intelligence community and the civilian community in consolidating democracies. As such, this paper identified that building trust between the intelligence community and civil society is one of the most critical issues in consolidating modern democracies.

Following recommendations can be made in the view of the difficulty faced by states everywhere have to control intelligence, and considering the dangerous legacy of intelligence services to achieve transparency and effectiveness.

i. Democracies must establish a 'clear and comprehensive legal framework' for intelligence activities. It also essential to develop a model in order to comparatively analyse relationship between the state and the intelligence community by involving three major pillars in the parliament, which together should clearly define and structure the intelligence system.

ii. The next is to develop a strategy to ensure the balance between civilian and military involvement in intelligence, in terms of both production (collection and analysis) and consumption. One alternative is to give the military responsibilities only for military intelligence, and have civilians assume responsibility for strategic intelligence and counterintelligence, or prepare a policy, and define responsibilities for the parties who logically involved the matter of coordination among the intelligence organizations.

iii. Establish a common mechanism to ensure decentralize control of intelligence services by separating it into different agencies within the legal framework, to prevent any single entity from having a monopoly on its production or use.

iv. The country must implement proper policies to achieve information and that information should be publicised through authorized channels.

v. The enhancement of interagency coordination on classification, declassification, and practices among information management professionals is also undeniable

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Revisiting the Regional Security Complex of South Asia

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Abstract— *The paper criticises the existing theoretical framework of regional security complex of South Asia based on the primary research question: in what ways has the Chinese presence in South Asia reinforced or reiterated the major security concerns: bilateral relations of small states with India, Indian security concerns, maritime security, state sovereignty, issues created by debt diplomacy that affects the South Asian regional security complex? The regional security complex understands China as an external power which penetrates the regional security complex of South Asia based on the rivalry of India and Pakistan. However, the Chinese involvement in South Asia, particularly with the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has changed these relationships. In this context, the paper argues China can be understood as an internal member of the complex, based on the criteria for categorising internal members. Therefore, the paper brings the case study of BRI and the selection of the case study method to conduct the research has constructed a broader scope to consider BRI and its development projects in South Asia and its effects over the security architecture of South Asia in terms of debt diplomacy and the influence of China on bilateral relations of India vis-à-vis small states of South Asia. In conclusion, the paper remarks that China is no longer penetrating the regional security complex based on power rivalry of Indo-Pakistan, but China is playing a pivotal role in the South Asian context by maintaining strong security interdependency with the members of the security complex while defining the complex.*

Keywords: *Belt and Road Initiative, China, Regional Security Complex, Security, South Asia*

I. INTRODUCTION

Since 2003, Chinese President Xi Jinping and the Chinese politburo have talked of “rejuvenation” of the nation to restore what has been lost. Once China was regarded as the highest civilisation, and in 1800 China’s power reached its peak with the Qing dynasty: the Chinese economy dwarfed all other civilisations and “it was ten times larger than the Japanese economy and substantially mightier than the

combined economies of Europe. China was indisputably the leading power in Asia, holding sway over a vast area of land and sea and dominating the social order” (Miller, 2017, p. 5).

The idea of Chinese rejuvenation should be understood in the light of historical facts. In 1949, after securing its victory over Chiang Nationalist Party by the communists, the party came with the national slogan of rebuilding the nation after years of carnage and destruction. Since the national rejuvenation, rebuilding the country and claims all the communist leaders in China have invoked the glorious past. Subsequently, in the 1990s, the Chinese foreign policy was shaped by the Deng Xiaoping doctrine based on the principle of “hide your strength and bide your time” (Vito, 2007, p. 45). However, President Jinping changed the three-decade-long policy of keeping a low profile by introducing the “Chinese dream of rejuvenation” (Miller, 2017, p. 8). President Jinping’s agenda of rejuvenation: Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), first introduced in 2013, acknowledges the necessity for a robust economy to play a dynamic military role for self-defence and maintain influential connectivities with its neighbouring states.

Jinping stressed that “we must preserve the bond between rich countries and active military and strive to build a consolidated national defence” (Bougon, 2018, p. 4). The BRI conveyed Chinese influence to the South Asian region through its massive port developments and economic corridor projects. The Chinese government proposed several land and maritime routes under the BRI, including China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, China-Bangladesh-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor, Antwerp port, Piraeus port, the port of Djibouti, Gwadar port, Hambantota port development project, Colombo Port City in Sri Lanka (Macaes, 2019). A number of these projects are laid across the Indian Ocean and link countries in South Asia with other regions, and it is “expected to impact more than 60 countries, which is home to about 4.4 billion people, represents about 63 per cent of the world’s population” (Friends of the Earth U.S, 2016, p. 3).

II. THE REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX OF SOUTH ASIA

Buzan and others describe the idea of South Asian regional security complex *The Regions and Power*, and they define the complex based on the military tension between India and Pakistan in post-partition and particularly their power struggle over the Kashmir. The continuation of military pressure in border areas and Kashmir; several military outbreaks including first Kashmir war in 1947, India-Pakistan war 1965 and 1971 and Kargil war between India-Pakistan has shaped the regional security complex of South Asia. Significantly after successful nuclear tests of the two countries, the regional security complex is shaped by the Indo-Pak rivalry.

According to Buzan and Waever, "South Asia is a clear example of a security complex centred on the rivalry between India and Pakistan" (Buzan, Waever, & Wilde, 1998, p. 14) and this rivalry invited many external powers to penetrate the region including China. With the Cold War politics, many external powers penetrate/influence to the regional security complex of South Asia, but none of these powers were able to define, reshape, organise or re-arrange the security patterns of the complex.

However, the paper attempts to identify the dynamic changes of the regional security complex of South Asia, particularly with the announcement of the Chinese led Belt and Road Initiative. The BRI has linked with many countries in South Asia, significantly with the small states in the region including Sri Lanka and Nepal. The arrival of BRI into South Asia has changed the dynamics of the regional security complex in some ways. Primarily, it diverted the centre of South Asian regional security complex towards smaller nations from Indo-Pakistan tension. The bilateral relations of small countries *vis-à-vis* India and the impact of security formations of small states gained substantial attention with the BRI. It does not mean that the security-military tension between India-Pakistan ceased to matter in the regional security complex of South Asia.

First, the smaller states in the region were all in one way or another tied to regional security complex because of their economic and social entanglements with India. Their collective weight would not begin to balance against India, and also these states do not want to bandwagon entirely with India. Even though many countries want to balance the power against India, "these nations could not do that due to economic and political interdependency over India

and the size of the Indian market, economy, political power and territory" (Dahiya & Behuria, 2012).

The equation has changed with the BRI projects and particularly with the national interests of small states and their political desires to reduce dependency on India being acknowledged by China while providing massive financial, infrastructural and other political, military, economic assistance. These assistances have facilitated small states to reduce their dependency over India. Chinese government looked at South Asia as a geopolitical solution for the maritime issues in Malacca because countries like Sri Lanka could open new maritime trade routes for China to continue its trade while bypassing Malacca. In this context, BRI has altered the security patterns of the regional security complex and most significantly the bilateral relations *vis-à-vis* India and small states.

Second, the involvement of China in South Asia has questioned the current understanding of China as an external power which penetrates the regional security complex of South Asia. Chinese "creditor imperialism and debt diplomacy (Pandalai, 2018, p. 1)" have created new security issues within the small states while consolidating China's position in strategically advance geopolitical locations in the region. For instance, the BRI projects in Sri Lanka, including Hambantota and Colombo Port City has locked Sri Lanka into Chinese debt diplomacy while forcing local government to lease these ports back to China. "Similar policy has locked Nepal in an economic crisis, the Trans-Himalayan railway development projects, financial aid has questioned the sovereignty of the country, and China gains considerable political power in Nepal" (Regmi, 2017). However, the political behaviour of small states still welcomes China as an alternative to India despite its debt diplomacy. Indian interference at the domestic issues of small states and the mistrust of India on its neighbours have questioned the equation of bilateral relations of India with small states of the region. In this context, small states welcome China based on the mid and long term national and development interests of countries by bearing the cost of debt diplomacy. According to Miller, Chinese BRI is a necessary evil for small states of South Asia to secure their security and economic needs in the 21st century (Miller, 2017). These deviations of security patterns reshaped the bilateral relations of smaller states *vis-à-vis* India, and BRI projects linked China with the regional security complex of South Asia while creating deep interdependencies with the members of the complex.

The current theoretical understanding considers China as an external member of the regional security complex of South Asia. However, with the BRI, it is impossible to look at South Asian regional security complex while considering China as an external member due to massive Chinese engagement with the small states of South Asia and its impact on the security relations of the complex. China is no longer penetrating the regional security complex based on power rivalry of Indo-Pakistan, but China is playing a pivotal role in South Asian context by maintaining strong security interdependency with the members of the security complex while defining the complex. Therefore, the paper attempts to understand the regional security complex of South Asia while bringing China in as an internal member of the security complex. The primary research question is: in what ways has a Chinese presence in South Asia reinforced or reiterated the major security concerns: bilateral relations of small states with India, Indian security concerns and supremacy of the region, maritime security, state sovereignty, issues created by debt diplomacy that affects the South Asian regional security complex?

A. Strategic Positioning of Sri Lanka and BRI

The Indian Ocean region has turned an active zone of the current wave of international politics in many terms. With massive changes in the world economy, global trade, the Indian Ocean is becoming a vital energy and trade channel to connect Asian countries with West Asia and Europe. The Asia-Pacific region is upgrading its strategic value in terms of maritime connectivity route while moving towards the core of the world trade system while connecting the Gulf and African regions and other resource centres. Currently, the Indian Ocean region is listed as the most intensive sea trade route in the world (Jaishankar, 2017). Petroleum and the trade channels in the Indian Ocean can be considered as a strategic lifeline for many countries to secure their national interests, national security, international trade, and connectivity.

Sri Lanka is positioned in a geopolitically strategic location in the Indian Ocean, and historically the country marked connections with its trading partners: from China to the Middle East and Europe since the third century B.C as a pivotal player of the old silk route. As the third-largest body of water in the world, the Indian Ocean has strategic advantages and these advantages multiplied by Sri Lanka's natural deep-water harbour facilities which can handle the world's largest ships. "With the improvement of port and other infrastructure, Sri Lanka's strategic importance

concerning sea-lane security and trade relations in Indian will rise further" (Weihua, 2018, p. 2).

From a strategic point of view, the island nation straddles a strategically important shipping lane, which is deemed as the busiest trade route in the world and it encouraged the Chinese BRI projects to be tied with Sri Lanka. Mainly China heavily depends on sea transportation to export its commodities to Europe and the rest of the world. Some 64 per cent of the global oil trade passes through the Indian Ocean, and China alone imports nearly two-thirds of its oil through this maritime corridor (Grace & Hao, 2018).

B. Intertwined National Interests: Sri Lanka and BRI

The primary assumption of the regional security complex theory is that "local sets of states exist whose security perceptions and concerns link together sufficiently close that their national security problems cannot realistically be considered apart from one another" (Buzan, 1991, p. 190). A set of countries have to maintain strong-durable amity/enmity relationships, and greater interdependency with each other to qualify as an internal member of the security complex and these countries cannot realistically address their national security problems without concerning others. These theoretical assumptions validate by the political decision of two countries: Sri Lanka and China to be partners of the BRI based on the intertwining of these national interests.

First, dynamic changes in bilateral relations of Sri Lanka vis-à-vis India encouraged the post-civil war government of Sri Lanka to find alternatives to address and secure the national interests of the country. Notably, military victory against LTTE increased international pressure over the government of Sri Lanka. The USA, along with western countries, brought the resolution: Promoting Reconciliation and Accountability in Sri Lanka against the government of Sri Lanka. The Rajapaksa regime had sought political support from India to defeat the UN resolution. However, in 2012, during the Human Rights session, the government of India decided to vote against Sri Lanka. "Indian support over UNHRC resolution on human rights issues has significantly damaged the core values of bilateral relations between the two countries" (Kandaudahewa, 2014, p. 83). In this situation, the Sri Lankan government decided to strengthen its relationship with China to counter the resolutions by using Chinese veto power.

The foreign policymakers of the Rajapaksa regime stressed that "political, defence, security, economic, trade and the national survival will be the higher

priorities of the government and to achieve that, Sri Lanka will preserve pragmatic foreign affairs with Asian nations comprising China, Japan and Pakistan” (Epa, 2016, p. 4). With that, Sri Lanka welcomed China and its BRI projects while creating a significant dependency and healthy relationship with China.

Similarly, Chinese national interests and the security concerns were intertwined with Sri Lanka, particularly in terms of geopolitical advancements. Chinese intention was to cut down their trade-in Malacca Strait due to the high cost, competition and the threats manifested by the western world, including the USA, UK and Japan. The political, military, economic and trade competition between USA and China increased the fear within the Chinese political body since 64 per cent of their maritime trade was conducted via Malacca Strait which was controlled by the USA. In that case, BRI targeted strategically important Hambantota: it is 4 212 nautical miles from Shenzhen, 3 862 nautical miles from Suez port, and close to Kenyan port and a gateway to the east and central Africa (Tonchev, 2018). The strategic presence of China in the Hambantota harbour cut down the trade cost of China. They can use it as a service midpoint of trade while improving supply chains across the region and it contributes to considerable growth in trade volumes. “This megaproject would slash approximately 1, 200 miles off the sea route from Suez to China and re-direct business away from the Malacca Strait and Singapore” (Tonchev, 2018).

Before the construction of Hambantota harbour, the Colombo port served as a midpoint for international ships and cargo vessels, and it provided dockyard facilities for ships to refill food, water, fuel and services. However, limited operational power of Colombo port forced international ships to use ports in South India as a midpoint, and it had reduced the economic benefits for Sri Lanka. Therefore, the government of Sri Lanka decided to construct a new port which is located much closer to the international sea routes and can provide a wide range of facilities. The geopolitical location of Hambantota harbour is addressing the political and economic interests of Sri Lanka, and international ships can reach Hambantota harbour easily since it is located close to the shipping routes compared to other ports in Sri Lanka.

The criteria to qualify as internal members of the regional security complex theory have pointed out to the necessity of maintaining a high degree of interdependency and amity/enmity relationships. The intertwining national interests of Sri Lanka and China created a greater interdependency between the two

states. The current theoretical understanding of the regional security complex of South Asia understand China as an external member, and according to the theory, external members cannot define, organise, construct or reshape the security patterns. The Chinese presence in Sri Lanka, intertwined national interests, the interdependency of two countries shifted Sri Lanka’s dependency away from India while creating a considerable military threat to India. Similarly, BRI projects in Sri Lanka have reduced the equation of bilateral relations of Sri Lanka *vis-à-vis* India. For example, during the 2009-2015 period, Sri Lanka did not sign a single MOU or any trade, economic agreement with India. However, the government of Sri Lanka had signed more than 18 MOUs in political, economic, military, trade and tourism sector with China including the eight major MOUs signed by two countries during the visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping to Sri Lanka in 2014 (Chaudhury, 2018).

The changes in the security posture of South Asian regional security complex deepened the security concerns of India, while smaller states adjoined with China and its BRI. This helps China to reshape the security patterns of the region. From a Chinese perspective, building a strong interdependency with Sri Lanka was “a logical step for China as it confers a strategic advantage in protecting its interests in Indian Ocean region while providing strategic pivot in the underbelly of India” (Hariharan, 2013, p. 34).

For instance, “Chinese military participation in the Sri Lanka joint services exercise ‘Cormorant III- 2012’ which was conducted in Eastern coast of Sri Lanka aimed at honing joint operational skills with the air force and navy in counterterrorism operations with the presence of military personnel from Bangladesh, Pakistan and Maldives” (ibid). This was recorded as one of the critical military exercises which were held in the Indian Ocean region with the absence of India. The continued military operations conducted by China along with smaller nations of South Asia and Pakistan with the absence of India has created a red alert for the security concerns of India. Notably, Chinese military activities in Hambantota harbour and the Indian Ocean region has reshaped the security patterns of the regional security complex of South Asia by changing the security and military alignments of smaller nations of South Asia. Previously, smaller states of South Asia considered India as the primary security provider and stability of the region was shaped by India as the regional hegemon. However, China was able to reshape these patterns through BRI.

C. Chinese Debt Diplomacy and Sri Lanka's Strategic Bargaining with India

The BRI projects provided substantial space to China to redefine, reorganise the security region of South Asia. Mainly, the debt diplomacy and creditor imperialist aspects of the BRI projects has created security issues in smaller states of South Asia, and it forced countries to reorganise their security patterns and concerns in both bilateral and regional levels. The current financial crisis of Sri Lanka due to the debt diplomacy of China can be taken as one of the case studies to analyse the changing patterns of security within the South Asian regional security complex.

The debt aspects of the BRI projects have questioned the security of Sri Lanka in many ways. From a financial perspective, the debts can collapse the economic growth of the country, and in this context, the newly elected government (2015-present) was forced to open their market to competitive investments. "When government borrowing is not accompanied by enough economic growth and revenue generation to fully service the debts, it can generate a downward spiral that inevitably ends in the need for debts restructuring or reductions" (Hurley, Morris, & Portelance, 2018, p. 3).

Nevertheless, for Sri Lanka as a middle-income country, the redirection of the FDIs and infrastructure investments will cut down the debts and by 2025 national debts will be reduced by 8.9 per cent (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 2018). Evidence in many countries including Argentina (2001), Ethiopia (1990-2011) and lessons of Latin American debt crisis appears to support the idea that debt-financed infrastructure investment can play a crucial role in catalysing economic growth. What matters is that the BRI projects in Sri Lanka created new security issues within the country and particularly it has reshaped the current patterns of security relations of the region.

First, the Chinese control over the Hambantota port has questioned the sovereign decision making power and the territorial integrity of the country. Mainly, Chinese naval vessels and submarines started appearing in Sri Lankan ports and this created security issues within the Indian Ocean region, and mainly it challenged the security concerns of India. The gradual increase of Chinese military and political appearance in Sri Lanka forced India to change their foreign policy towards Sri Lanka to address the national security priorities of India while maintaining the order of regional security complex. Rather than promoting the ethnic lines between Sri Lankan Tamils and TamilNadu, the central government of India decided to strengthen state to state relations with the newly

elected government of Sri Lanka. The government of India decided to enhance economic and political relations with Sri Lanka while carrying a moderate opinion on the issues of ethnic Tamils in Sri Lanka. Notably, after 2016, the Indian investments in Sri Lanka spread across the entire country rather than focusing on the Northern part of Sri Lanka. For instance, the Indian government-funded emergency ambulance services which operate in major cities in Sri Lanka including Colombo, Galle, Matara and Kandy.

Second, foreign policy shifted in New Delhi, towards Sri Lanka, to avoid miscalculations or indifference because it can lead to China gaining a foothold in Hambantota and many other areas and sectors in Sri Lanka. "New Delhi realised that matching dollar to dollar in terms of investments or trade creation should not be the priority, but being seen as honest and considerate of Sri Lankan peoples interests and rights while changing the negative prospect towards India which constructed throughout the history (Jacob, 2015)."

The Chinese BRI projects and its involvement in Sri Lanka forced two governments: India and Sri Lanka to rethink, reshape bilateral relations between the two countries. The continuous Chinese presence and debt diplomacy of China forced the Sri Lankan government to develop their interdependency and relationship with India to secure its economy and the security concerns. From the Indian perspective, continued military presence and territorial claims of China over Sri Lanka forced the Indian government to reshape and reorganise their security relations with Sri Lanka.

In this context, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi visited Sri Lanka in 2015, and the government decided to build 27000 new homes in Jaffna (Singh, 2018). To gain geopolitical advantage and to balance the Chinese development projects in Sri Lanka, the Indian government decided to offer massive development projects in Sri Lanka including the development of railway lines from Trincomalee to Medawachchiya, Kankesanthurai Harbour development project and the oil excavation in Trincomalee harbour sea (Aliff, 2017).

The regional security complex highlights that internal members of the security complex cannot understand their national security without considering other partners due to high interdependency between one another. China led BRI projects to match with this theoretical presumption because of the BRI and Chinese presence in Sri Lanka. Mainly, the Chinese

activities in Sri Lanka stressed that neither India nor Sri Lanka could address their security issues without each other and similarly, it proves that these two countries are not so independent as to neglect China. The selected case study pointed out that these security concerns of three states are intertwined with each other, and none of the countries could address their national security requirements realistically without concerning each other. In a broader context, China is a challenge to the security patterns of South Asia while gaining the control of strategically essential geolocations in the region. The BRI projects in Sri Lanka changed the military structure of the Indian Ocean, and now the Indian Ocean is turning to Sino-Indian Ocean (Niharika & Goyal, 2017).

With the BRI, countries like Sri Lanka are entangled with China, and it can be considered as a change of the security patterns. It has challenged the military supremacy of India while creating a military competition between India and China in the Indian Ocean region. The regional security complex theory of South Asia understood China as an external member which penetrates South Asian regional security complex. The contemporary security alignments and interdependency of Sri Lanka and China through BRI highlights that China can reorganise, redefine and rearrange the security patterns of the regional complex and especially bilateral relations of Sri Lanka *vis-à-vis* India. In this context, the case study identifies China as a part of the complex based on the criteria identified by Buzan et al. for having a clear understanding of the regional security complex of South Asia.

III. CONCLUSION

The regional security complex theory functions as a useful tool to analyse Chinese involvement and BRI effects on the security dynamics of South Asia. The theory has stressed that the external powers could penetrate a regional security complex, and Buzan et al. brought the example of Cold War politics to validate this argument. For instance, the Cold War politics and rivalry of India-Pakistan created a window for external powers to penetrate the regional security complex of South Asia. However, these external powers are not capable of redefining, reorganising or reshaping the patterns of a regional security complex and without an invitation from an internal member which is involved with a regional power race, these external powers could not alter the dynamics in a particular regional security complex.

The conventional understanding of the theory did not identify the ability of external powers to reshape

existing security patterns within a given complex. The paper has questioned the conventional understanding of theory and grounded China as an internal member of the regional security complex of South Asia. The political shift of China under the President Xi Jinping has introduced an umbrella of massive development projects: Belt and Road Initiative to reclaim its political supremacy of the world, particularly within the neighbouring regions including South Asia. The paper has looked at the BRI projects and its role in the context of small states of the region, significantly how it has changed the security posture of the small states.

The geopolitical reality of South Asia highlights that the small states are inevitably depending on India to address their political, economic and security needs. In this context, the small states are unavoidably subjected to the dominant power of India. Particularly India has interfered in the domestic politics of small states and India offered assistance to Nepal based on Indian political calculations while neglecting the needs of the government of Nepal (Regmi, 2017). Similar claims have been made by Sri Lanka during the post-civil war period, and notably, the former President Mahinda Rajapaksa criticised the political role of India and the decision of India to neglect Sri Lanka in the platform of UN.

The arrival of BRI into small states of South Asia can be understood within the framework of regional security complex theory. To qualify as an internal member of a particular regional security complex the individual players need to fit in the primary criteria of the theory which is “the local sets of states exist whose security perceptions and concerns link together sufficiently close that their national security problems cannot realistically be considered apart from one another (Buzan, Rizvi, & Foot, 1986, p. 21).” The national interest of the small states in South Asia and the national interest of the Chinese government under BRI mutually coexist with each other. For instance, the Chinese, through BRI, attempt to win the strategic position in Hambantota Sri Lanka: one of the critical geolocation in the maritime silk route as an alternative to Malacca dilemma. Sri Lanka welcomed BRI to reduce its dependency over India while maintaining healthy relations with China to secure the position of Sri Lanka in the UN. The massive infrastructure and substantial financial aid and assistance, which is placed on small nations in South Asia under the BRI created a strong relationship between these South Asian countries and China. These relations and BRI projects have changed the Chinese role in the regional security complex of South

Asia to a proactive member of the region who redefined the security patterns of the complex, particularly the bilateral relations of smaller states *vis-à-vis* India.

For instance, the massive debt of Sri Lanka under BRI and Chinese military presence in Sri Lanka forced India to change their foreign policy perspectives towards Sri Lanka. Previously, India has seen small states of the region as dependent on India and with the security issues which from BRI, India had to see the strategic values of the small states of South Asia, particularly strategic values of Sri Lanka and Nepal (Saran, 2017). Nepal's shift towards China brings political power next to Indian borders. In this context, the Chinese BRI projects forced the Indian government to maintain state-to-state relations with its neighbouring countries rather than shaping its foreign policy based on ethnic lines. According to the regional security complex theory, the BRI projects placed China in a strong position which could define, organise, and construct the security patterns of the regional security complex. The role of BRI in the South Asian region stressed that India could not think about its security without considering China and the behaviour of small states of South Asia. In this context, the paper emphasises that security perceptions and concerns of these countries are linked together sufficiently close, and their national security problems cannot realistically be considered apart from one another.

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Assessing the Effectiveness and the Global Trends of Virtual Reality Technology as Part of Military Training Programs Attended by Sri Lanka Army within the Past Decade

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Abstract— Virtual reality (VR) is a technology which allows a user to interact with a computer-simulated environment, whether that environment is a simulation of the real world or an imaginary world. It is the key to experiencing, feeling and touching the past, present and the future. It is the medium of creating our own world, our own customized reality. In military, new technologies are used to improve the process of training and development of skills of military people. Virtual Reality and its use in military applications has long been discussed, one of the main challenges face by country like Sri Lanka is lack of knowledge about devices and unaffordable price for military institutes. Simulators and virtual environments are powerful tools to train people in "reality-like" situations with various of training environments that Sri Lanka does not have. For the years Sri Lankan militarists participated to trainings which used Virtual Reality technology as aid of training program. This militarist have experience the difference between virtual training environment and live environment training. Implementing Virtual Reality training has the potential to create high quality, competence-based soldier with high mental demand, physical demand, temporal demand, high performance, effort and frustration level. Soldiers can involve in interactive scenarios with Virtual environment that would have been possible in previous years. The purpose of this study is to conduct a systematic review to determine the effectiveness of virtual reality (VR) training in Military. Most significantly, this study also provides a baseline for evidence that virtual reality is most suitable and trending technology for effective training than typical training programs.

Keywords: Virtual reality, Military trainings, , systematic review

I. INTRODUCTION

Human beings experience reality by the key senses such as taste, touch, smell, sight and hearing. Human brains have special processing mechanisms of sensory information to respond to input information. Unlike the above mentioned 'real reality', virtual reality technology makes human a real part of simulated artificial virtual world other than traditional user interfaces.

Virtual reality immersed virtual environment and give ability to manipulate objects or perform a series of actions to interact with 3D worlds in virtual environment by recreating a real life environment or situation instead of viewing a screen in front of them.

VR applications are used in the main industries such as medicine, education, entertainment and military. Beside the entertainment industry, Virtual Reality is used in military operations and last year major countries in the world invested millions of dollars to research and development projects based on VR.

This paper attempts to provide a general introduction to the new trends in the military Virtual Reality training applications used all over the world. The study discusses about the practical difficulties faced by the militaries during live training, and how to reduce these issues. It also identifies mechanisms to use VR technology applications and approaches to new training concepts that can be develop by the past experience gained by the military training attendances.

A. Difference between Augmented Reality and Virtual Reality

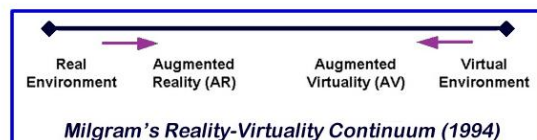
Virtual reality offers a digital recreation of a real-life setting, immerses users in a fully artificial digital environment. While augmented reality delivers virtual elements overlaid by virtually enhanced objects on the real-world environment and users see and interact with the real world while digital content

is added to it via modern smart phones or digital devices such as google glass and AR head set.

The diagram below describes the virtual reality offers a digital recreation of a real-life setting, while augmented reality delivers virtual elements as an overlay to the real world.

Figure 1. Milgram and Kishino's Mixed Reality on the Reality-Virtuality Continuum

Source: www.researchgate.net



Military Expenditure in Sri Lanka was USD 1710 million in 2018. One third of the above budget was used for training programmes. Training is the means to achieve the tactical and technical proficiency that soldiers, leaders and units must have in order to enable them to accomplish their missions. Realistic training is designed to counter paradigm shift in enemy sphere. Therefore, it is imperative that all commanders keep themselves fully abreast of the latest developments in tactical, technical and administrative doctrines to ensure all officers and men are trained in new techniques and skills involved with enhancing the virtual reality technologies. This study, therefore, attempts to answer the following questions:

- What are the new Virtual Reality trends used in military training programmes?
- Is there effectiveness of utilizing a virtual simulation in military training programs?
- What are the perceptions and awareness of Sri Lankan military communities about virtual reality technologies?

B. Background to the Study

Virtual reality is a new concept to Sri Lanka. Very few areas use VR technology such as entertainment and education areas. There is no VR concept introduced to medical and military training aspects due to the lack of research and development funds rather than expert knowledge.

Along with entertainment, the military was one of the first industries that invested a lot of money into the development of virtual reality applications, VR headsets, and VR platforms. That also played a significant role in the advancement of VR technologies worldwide.

The telecom service provide, Dialog, was the first to introduce the first-ever virtual reality application for Sri Lanka, featuring historical locations, edutainment and local entertainment. Dialog's virtual reality

platform is the first such platform in the island to integrate 360° pictures, videos, games and advertisements, whilst it is billed to develop a crowd-sourced VR data-driven platform allowing users to create and upload their own VR content. Compare to Indian military technology both Pakistan and Sri Lankan militaries are in behind the queue. Sri Lanka Army follows the British doctrine and field manuals.

Those were made with past experiences years ago such as World War 1, World War 2. Due to that reason some of those theories do not suit the present context and with the development of technology those theories to be renewed to tackle the present threats. Due to Sri Lanka's political instability and the 30 years of civil war the training and research areas not developed compared to India.

There is a project 'Cyber Voyage' in progress using 2D technology to link available geographic data into geospatial references that support any decision maker to take decisions not only based on information but also based on their geographical deployment. But still no technology or sharing network operations exist to make simulated environment combined with only geographic data to create Sri Lankan virtual environment at present.

One of the major advantages of employing virtual, constructive and game-based simulation for training are their associated cost advantages (Orlansky, et al., 1994; Riecken, et al., 2013) compare to training in live environment. In the current financial condition, this is of fundamental significance as spending plans for training keep on declining. Furthermore, the United States Army continues to employ simulation-based training (SBT) in novel ways (Mishkind M. C., Boyd, Kramer, Ayers, & Miller, 2013). This is largely due to its proven effectiveness in training and the need to decrease the cost of that training. In acknowledgment of the adequacy of SBT, the Army's Learning Model expressly calls for the expanded utilization of virtual training, as this class of re-enactment enables the Army to keep up Soldier capability in basic abilities at diminished expense cost (Stafford & Thornhill II, 2012).

Virtual world training is still an emerging technology for military training in Sri Lanka. Recent advancements in simulation technology have enabled the rendering of sufficiently realistic virtual world environments that may support effective training

rather than in live environment. But the soldiers who have participated in virtual training previously have basic knowledge and experience in the difference they felt during the training period. Those who touched and felt the virtual simulators have better understating of their improvement in both physical and psychological factors.

Effectiveness of Virtual Reality based military training has not been discussed or not deeply study in Sri Lanka. There were no sufficient exercises conduct in Sri Lanka to have better understanding about the Virtual Reality technologies in training programmes and its advantages.

II. METHODOLOGY

The main question addressed in this research is to study the training effectiveness of utilising a virtual world simulation within an operationally relevant task and Analysing the perceptions and awareness of Sri Lankan military communities about recent trend of virtual reality technologies. This Study use both qualitative and quantitative methods. The research focuses on the collection of both qualitative and quantitative data for interpretation. Self-completion questionnaire to collect data from 90 officers from Sri Lanka Army who are in the Infantry regiments, The Sri Lanka Armoured Corps, The Sri Lanka Artillery, The Sri Lanka Engineers, Sri Lanka Signals Corps, The Sri Lanka Mechanized Infantry, Sri Lanka Military Intelligence Corps, Allied Forces (Commando and Special Forces), Sri Lanka Army Medical Corps overseas training in the time period of 2008 to 2018. All the Military Officers were followed tactical and mechanical training due to unavailability of environment facilities in Sri Lanka. The aim of the survey was to measure their understanding about Virtual reality-based trainings and the effectiveness of the trainings and awareness and understanding of the next generation virtual trends.

A. Data collection and Data Analysis

The research gathered both qualitative and quantitative data. Primary Quantitative data collected exclusively through a survey research collection done with the Self-completion questionnaire. The respondents answer and complete the questionnaire by themselves. It disseminated to 90 of army officers those who have experience or participated training programmes with the aid of Virtual reality application. The questionnaire was disseminated in two ways, those who could be reached in person were provided with a paper-pencil questionnaire while some members answered the received the questionnaire in a MS Word format via email. Content analysis is the systematic examination of text and field notes by

identifying and grouping themes and coding, classifying, and developing categories secondary data collected from IEEEVR conference papers. Since 1993, the IEEE Virtual Reality conference has been the premier international venue for the presentation of research results in the broad area of virtual reality (VR).

III. DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

A. Statistical Data Analysis from the Questionnaire

The Statistical analysis have planned to time period of three months and gather in total 90 questionnaires filled in exclusively by people who had already participated Virtual reality based trainings operations.

I. Training Background of the survey individuals

Survey sample consists of 90 army agents 85% of them are participated to VR based Trainings and 15% are do not have direct VR Based Training experience.



Figure 2. Training Background of the Survey Individuals chart

II. VR TECHNOLOGY BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE OF THE SURVEY INDIVIDUALS

Figure 3. VR Technology Background Knowledge of the Individuals chart

50% out of sample have knowledge about the concept of virtual reality (VR) and 30% of the sample Used VR Technology in Trainings only. 15% from the sample have through knowledge about VR Technology with previous studies with their own studies or field studies. Other 5 % do not give answer about their knowledge level of VR technology.

65% From the interviewee sample experienced VR Technology in direct military training programmes. 20% of interviewees have experienced VR technology Gaming experience, gaming experience may be in training environment or with any other devices they use in there day to day life. And 10% use VR technology in education purpose and other 5% use VR devices to watch movies and Television.

IV. OPINION ABOUT OBSTACLES TO LACK OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT VR TECHNOL

Majority of Interviewee's opinion of obstacles to lack of use and knowledge of using VR technology devices as follows. According to them 41% of Lack of knowledge and user experience in VR devices are a

direct impact on the use of VR devices with people. Another reason is Cost of virtual devices. Market price of the devices are bit higher than other devices so 25% have idea that the cost have impact on use of VR devices with in society. When using VR devices, user may have faced discomfort with the devices . Health problems and discomfort of this VR devices are direct impact on the obstacle or may be reason to not use VR devices. 25% have idea that user experience with low quality VR headset , Google or VR cardboard may have direct impact on the user with no longer using this devices or discourage them to use this devices. Other 9% have not indicate any of the above reasons.

B. Quality Attributes analyzing

Figure 6. Quality Attributes Analyzing Chart

The second question part designed to analyse the idea about Differences in mental demand, physical demand, temporal demand, performance, effort and frustration level the interviewee face when they continuing VR and Live training programs. Most of army officers who have at least one VR Based training in Sri Lanka or out of Sri Lanka reported higher perceived mental demand, temporal demand, performance, effort and frustration levels in the virtual world simulation, as compared to the live condition. Results shows that greater physical experience and preference gives by Live Training (65%) rather than Virtual training (35%). Results shows that The environment in the training simulators makes trainees aware of different dangerous situations increase the temporal mental effort and frustration levels. virtual environment have combat simulators assigned to applications with clear training purpose and combat simulators assigned to different types of training categories. They are rather complex than the live environment. Soldiers perceived higher required mental exertion in this kind of Virtual environment to face different kind of defence situations. They felt more time pressure to take different kind of decisions relevant to the designed virtual environment such as trainings conduct using mission rehearsal exercises systems. There soldiers need more effort with more virtual targets and had higher task frustration in the virtual condition than the live condition.

III. Global Virtual Reality Trends Analysis by Content Analysis

A. 360-degree view googles

According to the new innovations in Global VR technology Norwegian soldiers given a 360-degree view Virtual-reality goggles and camera systems to

"see through" their armoured vehicles with a 360-degree view.(IEEE Spectrum's general)This googles and camera system provide ability to drivers of trucks and tanks on future battlefields to see all around their vehicles without having to poke their heads out. Virtual-reality headset prototype developed by Oculus Rift used by Norwegian army for the experiment. In this prototype they decided to locate Four spherical cameras on all sides of an armoured vehicle eliminate blind spots by streaming an all-around video view to the VR headset worn by the driver.

Drivers using the headset can even parallel park with the precision of up to a centimetre by looking straight down at the armoured vehicle's treads with high picture quality and its enough to see 10 to 15 metres clearly.

B. Advanced ground vehicle simulators

Advanced ground vehicle simulators Virtual technologies allow soldiers to experience any type of complex platform vehicle with customized vehicle shape and power in a navigate environments native to any part of the world far more immersive and realistic way than using your good old mouse and keyboard or even a driving simulator wheel. It is possible to simulate any vehicle type and develop virtual reality apps for any role one or several soldiers might play in that vehicle (a driver, gunner, hostage, etc.). From light reconnaissance tanks to non-line-of-sight (NLOS) mortars – anything can be modelled down to the smallest details.

C. VR Boot Camp Experience

Most popular and highly influenced military training according to web content is gaming industry. the military adopt gaming practice a way to train their soldiers, many of which grew up playing video games with entire VR-equipped bases and training facilities have started to use all kinds of devices and VR software including CAVE systems, motion trackers, and real-to-life equipment like vests and guns. Using this kind of gaming techniques soldiers learn techniques and strategies that can be applied in real-life combat scenarios.

D. Medical Training

Practically its very different to train military medical personnel under war-like conditions. But beside from medics play. Most important part in a battlefield. They have to work in stressful and dangerous environments, putting their lives at risk.

Virtual Reality helps to recreate close-to-combat scenarios in virtual reality to simulate life-saving operations. That help to practice various skills under very stressful conditions. United Kingdom researchers and scientists has created such a VR simulation. This VR environment recreates the interior of a Chinook helicopter and lets trainee to immerse into a confined war-zone-like environment of a military evacuation scenario. Then, a trainee is put inside with a prosthetic body on the floor and a VR headset, which lets him immerse into a confined war-zone-like environment of a military evacuation scenario.

IV. CONCLUSION

There must be a long term plan about modern technologies such as VR Technology combined with Information Industry sector and Sri Lanka government to clarify long term objectives and set goals to Sri Lanka army to achieve in coming decade. Militaries those who have experienced Virtual trainings should involve in introducing VR concepts to Sri Lanka to achieve cost effective training methods with our country. There is a huge knowledge gap between the global VR technologies and military training techniques use in Sri Lanka. Defence sector must plan the training sessions into full time courses regarding modern technologies such as Virtual Reality . The training sessions should start from basic technology level and must continue to advance military digital engineering concepts. The trainer resources must be a experts in modern technology with his knowledge and experience. All trainees must conduct effective research or VR prototypes after the training courses which can develop to use in future trainings.

The military's mindset has to be change from being traditional by conducting above mentioned training programmes and awareness programs. Defence sector should explore the possibilities of use of available technologies to combined with VR technologies. Especially the new resources engaged in military force must have IT and technological knowledge that can be expand with Further, independent technical skills for defence should be developed. There must be sufficient budget allocation for research and development of VR simulators, concept development and resource allocation for training programs. It is ideal to establish

a separate establishment within tri forces for VR Technology development handling and should have a separate technology training institute with all modern equipment and facilities to train soldiers on the field with previous knowledge gain in the abroad trainings.

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RESILIENCE PREDICTS MILITARY PERFORMANCE AND SUCCESSION: A PREDICTIVE VALIDITY STUDY OF RESILIENCE INVENTORY FOR MILITARY (RIM)

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Abstract — Emerging research suggests that personality differences and characteristics might mitigate or exacerbate the impact on individual responses to military succession and war-related experiences. These characteristics could be either risk or protective factors. Resilience Inventory for Military (RIM) scale which focuses on protective factors has been developed and validated with in Sri Lankan military context. The aim of this paper is to present the findings of a longitudinal study conducted to establish predictive validity of RIM scale. Ninety-two officer cadets (tri-service) participated in the study and they were assessed with RIM scale in 2015 and followed them up after 6 months with few outcome variables related to military well-being and performance. Those variables were training satisfaction, turn over intention, newcomer adjustment, training performance and mental health status of the trainees. The results demonstrated that those who score high on the RIM scale have a greater adjustment, good level of mental health, less likely to exhibit turnover intention and more satisfied with the training. However, RIM could not predict academic performance of trainees. The findings can help Sri Lankan military forces identify the most resilient candidates for military service and minimise negative behaviour outcomes among military personnel. The approach might also be of use elsewhere.

Keywords resilience, military recruitment, training, military performance, turnover intention

I. INTRODUCTION

Emerging research suggests that personality differences and characteristics might mitigate or exacerbate the impact on individual responses to military succession and war-related experiences. These characteristics could be either risk or protective factors. Resilience, mental toughness and hardiness are prominent among the characteristics which could contribute to military performance and succession.

A. RESILIENCE

Resilience is a personality characteristic that moderates the negative effects of stress and promotes adaptation. Frequently, the quality of resilience is attributed to

individuals who, in the face of overwhelming adversity, can adapt and restore equilibrium to their lives and avoid the potentially deleterious effects of stress” (Wagnil & Young 1993 p. 165). Resilience functions as a buffering factor that protects individuals from psychological disorders. Those who are resilient possess higher self-esteem, higher self-efficacy, better problem-solving, and skills at maintaining good interpersonal relationships (Rutter 1987; Wagnild & Young, 1993).

The biggest contribution of the resilience concept to the military context was the introduction of the Comprehensive Soldier Fitness programme (CSF) to the US Army by Cornum, Matthews, & Seligman from 2009 to 2013. This programme was based on positive psychology and designed to increase psychological strength and positive performance and to reduce the incidence of maladaptive responses for the entire U.S. Army (Cornum, et al., 2011). Skomorovsky and Sudom, (2011) found that hardiness, which is a main component of resilience, was significantly associated with positive outcomes in Canadian service members. These positive outcomes included psychological well-being and a favourable perception of training. Schaubroeck et al. (2011) studied US Army personnel who had been deployed in Iraq, finding that higher order resilience was strongly associated with better psychological and physical health, particularly amongst those who had been exposed to severe combat experience.

Hourani et al. (2012) found that US Marines who scored higher in resilience assessed in the weeks before retirement from the military had lower odds of demonstrating chronic mental health problems at the follow-up nine months after leaving the military. Also, Elbogen et al. (2014) found that resilience and self-determination were associated with lower levels of violence and aggression in US military deployed in Operation of Enduring Freedom or Operation Iraqi Freedom.

B. MENTAL TOUGHNESS

The term “Mental Toughness” was initiated by Clough, Earle and Sewell (2002). Mental toughness is an extension

of the concept of “hardiness”. Hardiness has three components (3Cs): Control, Challenge and Commitment (Kobasa, 1979). Clough et al. (2002) identified a fourth component (another C) in this psychological concept and they named it as “confidence”. Clough et al. (2002) therefore redefined the hardiness concept as Mental Toughness and provided new interpretations for the 4Cs. They also added two subscales to both the Control and Confidence components. Thus there are six components altogether, and mental toughness is supposed to subsume resilience/ hardiness. Those six components and the definition of a mentally tough person are presented below as Clough et al. explained in 2002. Godlewski and Kline (2012) studied 459 male Canadian Forces personnel. The objective of this study was to develop a model to explain voluntary turnover amongst recruits. They included mental toughness along with few other pre-entry individual characteristics including measures of normative commitment (feeling of commitment to military service) and a desire for a military career. They also assessed some post-entry variables including turnover intention and actual turnover. Mental toughness significantly predicted attitudes: normative commitment, affective commitment and newcomer adjustment. Because mental toughness had a strong relationship with newcomer adjustment, the authors suggest that mental toughness should be included in the military recruitment criteria (Godlewski & Kline, 2012). Hardy et al. (2015) also found that mental toughness measured by MTMTI (6) predicted objective performance and fitness.

C. DEVELOPMENT OF RESILIENCE INVENTORY FOR MILITARY (RIM)

Tools used for risk assessment had been using in the military sector for special screening and some of them have been validated in Sri Lanka. However, there was no such tool to assess protective/resilient factors of the candidates. The Resilience Inventory for Military (RIM), developed by Hettigoda & Hamersley (2017) is the first ever screening tool developed for Sri Lanka military. RIM was designed to measure the level of pre-enlistment resilience of military candidates. This study was conducted with 960 junior military officers from three forces. RIM was developed using three existing scales which are widely used in the military sector in the world. RIM development study was approved by the Ministry of Defence Sri Lanka. RIM consisted with 42 items representing two subscales, namely, resilience and mental toughness. The overall expectation of this scale is to select psychologically resilient candidates for military services. All aspects of internal validity of RIM had been established and demonstrated a very good level of reliability. However, the external validity (predictive, convergent, discriminant validity) of the tool was yet to be established. Predictive

validity is crucial to convince the military authorities to use this tool in the recruitment process. For this reason, a longitudinal predictive validity study was designed.

There were a few predictions of RIM. It was predicted that those who scored high on RIM scale would complete the basic military training successfully. If they were resilient, they also should be able to adjust to the military organisational structure well. Another prediction of resilience is concerned the psychological well-being of the trainees. Therefore, the individuals who score high in resilience should have lower psychological issues or should score low in mental health assessments. Prevention of attrition in the military was another objective of developing RIM scale which means it should be able to predict those who leave the service prematurely. A longitudinal study was designed to test all these predictions.

D. RESEARCH QUESTION

Can RIM and risk factor assessments use at the recruitment predict military performance and well-being?

1.2 Aims of the study

- to determine the extent to which the Resilience Inventory for Military (RIM) predicts military training success and adjustment to the service
- to determine whether RIM can predict psychological well-being of the trainees
- to explore the relationship between pre-enlistment risk factors and training success and psychological well-being

II. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

A Longitudinal cohort study was designed to meet these aims.

A. SAMPLE

Cadet trainees who were in training at that time of the study (2015-2016) in all three forces were the target population for this study. The inclusion criteria for this sample were an officer cadet, with at least six months to go before the completion of the training to allow six-month follow-up. One hundred and forty-seven trainees were tested using the RIM and other demographic and risk assessment questionnaires during October, November and December 2015. Of these 39.5% (n=58) were Army cadets, 39.5% (n=58) were Navy cadets while 21.1% (n=31) represented the Air Force. Only 2.7% (n=4) were female. These trainees were monitored for six months for their training performance, and the predictive criterion was tested at the end of the six-month period (June- July 2016).

Ninety-three cadet trainees were included in the second stage of the study after filtering for suitable candidates. Of

these, 55.9% (n=52) were from the Navy, 23.7% (n=22) were from the Army and the other 20.4% (n=19) were from the air force. Academic performance and other archival information such as examination results were collected only from navy cadets, due to the practical difficulties of obtaining archival information from Army and Air force training sections.

B. MEASURES

1) Resilience Inventory for Military (RIM 42). The main predictor variable in this study was the **RIM which has 42** items 20 Resilience items and 22 Mental Toughness items. Resilience items were rated in 7 point Likert scale and Mental Toughness items were rated in 5 point Likert scale. Composite scores of RIM was standardised to overcome the rating differences.

A few risk factors also considered as predictor variables. Those were antisocial personality, childhood adversities, PTSD Check List and suicide ideation scale. These scales were translated and adapted to military context.

The dependent variables were: newcomer adjustment scale (NCA18); turnover intention scale (TIS6); training satisfaction questionnaire (TS8); general health questionnaire (GHQ 12) and exam performance.

2) Newcomer Adjustment Scale: (NCA18). Newcomer Adjustment/ Learning was measured using the 18 items developed by Thomas & Anderson (2014) which has three main domains: role learning, social learning and organisational learning. This measure is considered as the most parsimonious and least occupationally specific newcomer learning scale (Thomas & Anderson, 2014). Items are rated on a 7 point Likert scale from 1 "strongly disagree" to 7 "strongly agree".

3) Turnover Intention Scale (TIS6)

Turnover intention (the intention to leave or stay) was assessed using a six-item Turnover Intention Scale (TIS-6) validated by Bothma and Roodt (2013). This is the short version of the original 15 item scale which was developed by Roodt (2004). Authors suggest that TIS-6 can be used as a reliable and valid scale to assess turnover intentions or to predict actual turnover.

4) Subjective Training Satisfaction and Attitudes towards Training staff (TSAT)

A questionnaire was developed to assess the satisfaction level of the trainees and their attitudes towards the training staff and environment considering the military training context. This variable included eight items, and the first item was a global measure of overall job satisfaction. This is a single item scale which measures global rating of overall job satisfaction (Thomas &

Anderson 2002; Sackett & Larson, 1990; Scarpello & Campbell, 1983). The single item "How satisfied are you with the decision you made to join with military/" was rated on a 1-5 scale from "not satisfied at all" to "fully satisfied". This item also was included to the subjective training satisfaction scale.

.5) General Health Questionnaire (GHQ12)

GHQ 12 was used as the measure of psychological well-being of the cadet trainees. The General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) is a self-administered questionnaire widely used to detect potential nonpsychotic psychiatric disorders. The original questionnaire consists of 60 items, but subsequently, 30, 28 and 12 item versions have been derived from it. These are used globally. GHQ 12 has been validated for many countries, and claims to have 2-3 factor solutions. GHQ 12 has been validated in the Sri Lankan population (Sinhala language) by Abeysena et al. (2009),

6) Academic performance during the training. One indicator of the success of training is how trainees have performed in their academic courses, which include both theory and practical examinations. Therefore, average of academic performance at the exams was collected for further analysis. However, the full record was obtained only for the 28 trainees of the 54th Cadet Batch of the Navy, who had completed the three years training. Only first year examination results were available for the 56th batch.

RIM 42 and GHQ-12 were already existed in Sinhala. NCA-18 and TIS-6 went through translate and back translate process before using them. The satisfaction scale was developed in English and translated into Sinhala and examination scores were obtained from the training officers' records.

C. PROCEDURES

Data collection: At the first stage, data were collected using RIM 4), demographic data, pre-enlistment vulnerability sub scales (ASB, PCL, childhood adversities, psychological disorder, suicidal attempts and thoughts) during November-December 2015. Behavioural outcomes should be measured within a reasonable timeframe after accepting a position within an organisation. Based on Muliawan et al., (2009), this study used a six to seven month period (during June-July 2016).

The second stage of the data collection was done remotely with the help of the training staff and counselling officers of each military service; the researcher could not attend this stage due to practical issues.

Statistical analysis: Hierarchical multiple regression (MLR) analysis was carried out to see the contribution of predictive factors to the outcome variables. Risk factors (childhood adversities, PTSD symptoms, anti-social

behaviour patterns, and history of psychological disorder) and protective factors (the resilience and mental toughness measured by the newly developed tool) were considered as the independent variables, whereas the NCA, TIS, training satisfaction and GHQ were considered as the dependent variables in this study. RIM was entered in the first block of the MRL, and all the other predictive variables entered in the second block. Reasons for this decision are explained in the results section

III. RESULTS

A. Characteristics of the respondents

One hundred and forty-seven trainees were entered into this study after testing using RIM and other demographic and risk assessment questionnaire during October November and December 2015. However, after six months, only 93 Cadet Trainees completed the outcome measures. Of these, 55.9% (n=52) were Navy cadets representing two training cohorts (54th and 56th), another 23.7% (n=22) were Army cadets representing two training cohorts (83rd and 84th) and 20.4% (n=19) represented the Airforce (58th cohort). There were only two female respondents. Respondents' mean age was 21.5 years (SD = 1.58). As all of them were cadet trainees their minimum level of education was GCSE Advanced Level. Five respondents had achieved diploma level qualifications. All the participants were unmarried.

B. RIM scores for the sample

The main predictive measure of this study was the RIM score of the cadet trainees which was tested six months before the second study. The mean score for the resilience factor of cadet trainees was 109.62 (SD = 23.66) while the mean score for the mental toughness factor was 75.95 (SD = 8.72). These scores were standardised, to minimise the influence of two different point scales.

Anti-social behaviour was assessed with eight true/false items. The mean number of yeses for this sample was 1.48 (SD = 1.67). However, it is worth noting that 38.7% (n = 36) scored 2 or more points on the ASB scale. Raw scores were converted into two categories, ASB positive and ASB negative, based on Felitti et al. (1998). By this criterion 20.4% (n=19) were ASB positive.

Pre- enlistment trauma was measured using the PCL short version, and the mean score was 9.5 with a standard deviation of 3.75. According to the scale authors, an individual can be screened positive if the sum of these items is 14 or greater. The sample was categorised into two categories based on this criterion as PTSD positive and PTSD negative. There were 11.8% (n = 11) respondents who fell into the PTSD positive category.

The next predictive variable was suicidal thoughts and attempts. Ninety-two respondents completed this. Raw data were categorized into two categories: no suicidality, and one or more events. Forty-one per cent of respondents had some suicidality, of whom 9.7% (n=9) reported more than two events. Only 8.6% (n=8) reported a history of psychological disorders, so this variable was not going to be a useful predictor.

Childhood adversity was measured using an 8 item scale. Only 11.8% (n = 11) had been away from their mother more than six months, and 15.2% (n = 14) had been away from their fathers for more than six months. Only two respondents (1.4%) reported living with a mentally ill person, while 10 (6.8%) reported living with a problem drinker.

Twenty-three respondents (25%) had experienced one or more abuses as a child. Three people did not answer this question. Scale responses were categorised into, no adversity reported and at least one adversity reported. Twenty-five respondents (26.9%) have had at least one of the adversity experience as a child.

C. Results of the outcome variables

The results of all outcome variables; Newcomer Adjustment, Turnover intention, Subjective training satisfaction, General health questionnaire and examination performance are presented in table 1. Academic performance of the trainees was obtained only from navy cadet sample due to problem of access to army and air Force records. The subjective training satisfaction scale which included a single item overall job satisfaction scale, was analysed separately to see participants' general satisfaction with the job so far, and the mean score was 3.73 (SD = 1.10, n = 92). Scores ranged from 1 to 5. Raw GHQ scores were converted to standard GHQ scoring format (0, 0, 1, 2), then totalled for each respondent. The reliability of each scale was also measured using Cronbach's alpha and obtained good-to excellent reliability, ensuring the safe use of these scales in the Sri Lankan military context.

Table 1: Results of the Outcome variables

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev	Reliability
Total	93	77	124	103.7	8.876	0.91
NCA				4		
Total	92	6	25	14.39	4.065	0.76
TIS						
Total	92	13	53	38.17	7.875	0.91
TSAT						
Total	92	0	9	2.93	2.301	0.78
GHQ						

Exam score Ave	53	54	73	63.7	4.42
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Source Hettigoda & Hamersley, 2017

One-way ANOVA was conducted to check whether there were any statistical differences between means of these outcome variables in terms of military services and found no significant difference between groups.

D. Correlation between predictive variables and outcome variables

Before multivariate analysis, first order correlations were calculated between all predictor and outcome variables. RIM was correlated with most outcome variables, as shown in Table 4.3, NCA ($r=0.38$), turnover intention ($r=-0.43$), training satisfaction ($r=0.42$) and GHQ ($r=-0.40$), but not with academic score ($r=0.20$).

Childhood adversity was one of the main risk factors looked at in this screening tool. Categorized adversity data were positively correlated with GHQ12 scores ($r = .24, p < .05, n = 89$ non parametric). Individuals who had experienced childhood adversities scored high on GHQ 12, indicating a threat to their psychological well-being. However, none of the other outcome measures correlated with childhood adversities in this cadet sample.

Suicidal acts and thoughts was another risk factor included in the screening tool. However, none of the outcome measures were correlated with suicide acts and thoughts. PTSD was correlated with total GHQ ($r = .22, p < .05, n = 92$). Antisocial behaviour patterns were not correlated with any outcome measures.

E. Correlation among outcome measures

There were some strong correlations among outcome measures. Total newcomer adjustment scores were strongly negatively correlated with turnover intention ($r = -.62, p < .001, n = 92$). Cadets who had adjusted well into the service had no intention to leave the service and vice versa. NCA was positively correlated with subjective training satisfaction ($r = .50, p < .001, n = 92$). Those who were satisfied with the aspects of training also had adjusted to the service culture or vice versa. Correlation between NCA and GHQ also was significant ($r = -.49, p < .001, n = 92$). Turnover intention was negatively correlated with training satisfaction ($r = -.58, p < .001, n = 92$) while turnover intention scores were positively correlated with GHQ scores ($r = .48, p < .001, n = 92$).

F. Testing the military well-being and successfulness in training through RIM and other pre-enlistment risk factors predict?

The main objective of the predictive validity study was to determine whether the pre-enlistment factors assessed by RIM and the other risk scales can predict military well-being and training successfulness measured using five outcome measures (NCA, TIS6, TSAT, examination scores and GHQ12). A series of multiple linear regression (MLR) was conducted to help determine whether the predictor variables could be used to predict military well-being and training success and to find out which predictive variable is the best predictor of the outcome measures. Separate MLRs were conducted to test each outcome measure.

Table 2 summarises the results of MLR conducted for each outcome variable. All the MRL showed that RIM could predict the outcome variables.

1) Newcomer Adjustment (NCA): RIM alone accounted for 14.8% of the total variance of NCA. The total contribution of the model to the variation was 20.06% ($R^2 = .15$ for step 1, $R^2 = .21$ for step 2 ******* $p < .001$, ****** $p < .01$) This means Childhood adversities, PTSD positivity. Suicide act and thoughts, and ASB scores added an additional 6% to the total variance of NCA. The overall model fit was $F(5, 81) = 4.204, p < 0.01$. RIM positively contributed to Newcomer adjustment while ASB, childhood adversities, Suicide thoughts, PTSD positivity negatively contributds to NCA.

2) Turnover Intention (TIS)

According to the model summary, R^2 value indicates that all predictors accounted for 24.2% of the total variance of Turnover intention, whereas the Model 1 alone accounted for 18.2%. (**$R^2 = .18$ for step 1, $R^2 = .24$ for step 2 ******* $p < .001$**). This means Childhood adversities, PTSD positivity, Suicide act and thoughts, and ASB scores have added only an additional 6% to the total variance of turnover intention. Overall model fit was significant $F(5, 85) = 5.20, p < 0.001$. RIM score which is a protective factor had a negative impact on turnover intention and other risk factors had a positive impact on turnover intention of the military trainees.

3) Training satisfaction of military trainees (TSAT). R^2 values in the model summary indicated that all predictors accounted for 25.2% of the total variance of training satisfaction while in Model 1 alone accounted for 18.7%. All the other criterion variables added only an additional 6.5% to the total variance in training satisfaction ($R^2 = .19$ for step 1, $R^2 = .25$ for step 2 ******* $p < .001$, ***** $p < .05$). The overall model fit was significant $F(5, 85) = 5.40, p < 0.001$. The contribution of RIM ($P < 0.001$) to the training satisfaction model was significant and positive. The contribution of ASB was also significant ($p < .05$) while the individual contributions of other variables were not significant.

4)GHQ of military trainees R^2 values in the model summary indicated that all

predictors accounted for 41.4% of the total variance of GHQ, whereas the Model 1 alone accounted for 19.7%. All the other criterion variables added an additional 21.7% to the total variance of GHQ ($R^2 = .20$ for step 1, $R^2 = .41$ for step 2 $***p < .001$, $**p < .01$, $*p < .05$). The overall model fit was significant $F(5, 85) = 11.30$, $p < 0.001$. Table 4.7 presents a summary of the multiple regression models for GHQ. The contribution of RIM to the GHQ model was significant ($p < 0.001$) and it was negative. The contributions of ASB, childhood adversities and PTSD positivity were also significant ($p < .01$, and $p < .05$) while suicide thought was not significant in this model.

5) Training performance. Average examination score was considered as an indicator of training performance. Examination scores were available only for two intakes of the Navy. As noticed in the correlational analysis above, there is no any strong relationship between any of the criterion variable and examination score. To further explore any linear relationship, another hierarchical multiple regression was carried out. However, none of the models were significant, which leads to the conclusion that none of the criterion variables in this study can predict examination performance. This could be due to the nature of the examination and the training.

IV. DISCUSSION

Demographic information of the sample suggests that the sample was homogeneous as they shared common characteristics such as age, education level, and marital status. Due to this reason, subsequent regression analysis did not use them as moderating factors.

This study assumed that those who scored high in risk factor scales should have problems related to well-being and performance. Both childhood adversity and PTSD positivity could predict GHQ, the well-being of the trainee

as expected (Cabrera et al., 2007; Macmanus, 2012; Owens et al., 2009). This finding further confirms the notion that childhood adversity and child trauma may continue to have strong influences on mental health issues in adult life. Suicidal thoughts did not make any significant contribution to any predictive model. Anti-social behaviour traits also could not predict psychological wellbeing of the cadet trainees. However, these assessments measured very sensitive aspects of respondents' pre-enlistment life. Therefore, either underreporting or social desirability may have influenced these unexpected results. The absence of evidence of sufficient relationship between of some pre-enlistment risk factors and well-being and performance models does not indicate that they do not exist. It means the risk assessment measures need to be modified.

The predictive ability of RIM on all the outcome variables was proved to be significant on all the outcome variables except academic performance. RIM contributed significantly to NCA model which proves its role in predicting newcomer adjustment. RIM negatively contributed to Turnover intention and suggested that RIM could screen candidates who will leave the service soon. Contribution of RIM to Training satisfaction model was positive and resilient candidates were more satisfied with their training and training staff. As expected RIM negatively contributed to the GHQ model, which measured the psychological well-being of the trainees. These findings concur with the previous empirical studies done relating to resilience and mental toughness which are two main constructs of RIM (Nicholls et al., 2008; Cohen, et al., 2010; Cornum et al., 2011; Hardy et al., 2015; and Sudom & Lee, 2016).

Table 2: Summary of MLR and ANOVA table of predictive and outcome variables

	NCA		TIS		TSAT		GHQ	
	Variance	R ² F (5,85)Beta	R ²	F (5,85)Beta	R	F (5,85) Beta	R	F (5,85) Beta
Step 1	14.8%		18.2%		18.7%		19.4%	
RIM Score		4.20 .39**		5.20 -.43***		5.40, $p < .43***$		11.30, $p < -.44***$
						0.001.		0.001
Step2 R ²	20.06%		24.2%		25.2%		41.7%	
RIM score		.41***		.48***		.43***		-.43***
ASB		.24*		.14		-.25*		-.39*
Suicide		-.13		.21		-.04		.00
Adversity		-.02		.08		.04		.21*
PTSD		-.10		.12		-.12		.24**

Source: Hettigoda & Hamersley, 2017

RIM could not predict academic performance due to lack of data for this variable as data from the Army and Air force could not be obtained for this variable. Only 53 navy participants were entered into the average

examination score variable, and of these, final marks were available only for 28 trainees, and the balance was

from the end of first year scores. Due to these data collection limitations, the absence of a relationship between RIM and academic performance cannot be concluded until confirmed with a good set of data. On the other hand, average examination score is not a good measure of military personality, and it will not predict military performance and/or well-being.

V. FURTHER RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

There is abundant research that has looked at resilience as a predictor of mental health. The military is one of the contexts which has utilised the term "resilience" extensively. One big project is Comprehensive Soldier Fitness (Cornum et al., 2011). This project has started in 2009 and was supposed to finish by 2015. Under this project, compulsory resilience training was recommended, and small unit leaders were trained to help their subordinates. There are some vital criticisms against this project (Eidelson & Soldz, 2012). Critiques have mainly criticised the methodological flaws of the project. However, these criticisms have not been able to disapprove that resilience is important in the military. A similar kind of resilience training programme has been adopted by the Australian military to train their soldiers in resilience. This training is called "BattleSMART" (Self-Management and Resilience Training). The main objective of this resilience training is to create awareness of psychological and physiological reactions to adverse and stressful events and teach trainees how to minimise maladaptive behaviours in reaction to stress (Cohn, et al., 2010). Another project in which the resilience concept is used is the Technical Cooperation Program in US Military (Sudom & Lee, 2016). According to this report, some studies have considered resilience as the absence of psychological symptoms such as PTSD and depression. This finding is in line with the finding of the current study, which confirmed that the RIM could predict GHQ, which is the well-being of the military trainees. With that light implementing further research on military resilience in Sri Lankan context seems to be very useful. The possibility of replicating Comprehensive Soldier Fitness programme in Sri Lanka need to be further explored.

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Indo – Lanka Fishery dispute: Transnational Maritime Crimes – A Threat to Traditional and Human Security

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Abstract— Sri Lanka and India are two neighbouring states in the Indian Ocean, separated by the narrow strip of water that consists the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar. India – Sri Lanka friendly relations have been governed by geo-strategic aspects, international politics and diplomatic relations as well as social commonalities. The fisheries poaching dispute between the two states is a persistent problem that has caused much conflict and concern involving this area of waters. Even though maritime demarcations are not as straightforward as land demarcations, the territorial waters between India and Sri Lanka was demarcated and designated in 1974 and 1976 by a bilateral agreement between the two countries to establish the International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL). Accordingly, transgressing the IMBL into Sri Lankan waters and to fish illegally and worst still, using banned methods of fishing are recognized as illegal and violation of these agreements between the two states, governed by the United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea (UNCLOS). However, the Indian fishermen crossing into Sri Lankan waters for illegal fishing, using banned and illegal fishing methods such as bottom trawling has been persistent to date. Indian fishermen illegally crossing the IMBL into Sri Lanka waters also gives rise to transnational maritime crimes. Transnational organized crimes are those self-perpetuating associations of individuals who operate illegal activities across state borders via ground or sea for the purposes of obtaining power, influence or monetary gains illegally. Transnational crimes vary and they strive to protect their illegal activities through cross-border organized structures and crime syndicates, which exploit established systems and disrupt legitimacy of states and state institutions.

The sea region of Indian Ocean between India and Sri Lanka also remains a controversial and known area for transnational crimes and is made worse due to the illegal crossing of Indian fishermen into Sri Lankan waters. Various types transnationally organized crime can take place in the guise of fishing especially illegal poaching and stealing maritime resources belonging Sri Lanka. Definition of Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing per se amounts to an activity of transnational crime as most of these

poaching activities are done in significantly large scale and by transnational organizations of stakeholders. The unresolved and persistent fishery problem between the two states and associated transnational crime pose threats to states as well as humans, causing grave traditional and human security threats to both India and Sri Lanka. The objective of this study is to identify prime areas of transnational maritime security threats to Sri Lanka, analyze and critically evaluate this in the backdrop of Indo- Lanka fishery dispute. This study would be guided by the exploratory research methodology and data collected through qualitative interviews of stake holders to the problem, available credible literature and Grounded theory to be used for data analysis.

Keywords— Fishery Dispute, Transnationally Organized Crime, Traditional and Human Security

I. INTRODUCTION

The maritime environment of India and Sri Lanka contribute to national interest and security of both states. The Indian Ocean is the third largest water body and it is of strategic importance to all states within, amounting to almost 30 nations and historically played an active part in civilizations of the region in navigation and fishing (Srilatha, 2013). The ocean amounts to 71% of earth's surface and as much as the land, the Ocean too is rich in resources, to the extent the ocean is called "our last frontier" (Kohli, 1993, P: 28) as the ocean is a source of hope for human kind in aspects of survival.

India and Sri Lanka are two neighbouring states, geo-strategically located in the Indian Ocean and separated by the narrow strip of water that consist of the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar (Jayasinghe, 2003). These two states have been sharing many commonalities one of them being fishing, on both sides among the coastal people that depend on Indian Ocean for livelihoods in India as well as Sri Lanka, however, disputing over this narrow strip of water regarding fishing issues, and more significantly, on illegal or banned fishing methods used by the Indian Fishermen poaching in Sri Lankan waters. To date this fishing dispute remains unresolved, causing security

concerns of traditional as well as non-traditional security to both states.

Even though historically there has been evidence that fishermen from Tamil Nadu and North of Sri Lanka have been fishing in this contested area of sea and called it historic fishing grounds. A clear demarcation of boundary was established in 1974 and 1976 through bilateral agreements between the two states, which has been governed by the United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea (UNCLOSIII). This agreement demarcated and designated the waters between the two states and the International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL) was established, with Kachchativu island falling within Sri Lankan waters. Even though these two agreements gave provisions for innocent passage in this controversial waters and access of Kachchativu for Indian fishermen to dry their nets and attend the St. Anthony's church festival, it never gave any provisions for illegal fishing activities within the IMBL in Sri Lankan waters to Indian Fishermen (Bogolagama, 2017).

Poaching takes place within the Sri Lankan waters, in and around Palk Bay, Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar, Indian fishermen transgress the established International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL) into the Sri Lankan waters for a lucrative harvest of fish. The worst part of poachers transgressing the IMBL into Sri Lankan waters is engaging in illegal and banned method of fishing known as bottom-trawling (De Silva, 2008). Bottom trawling is considered to be a detrimental method of fishing that Suriyanarayan's study states as "hoovers of the shelf bottom" and "Bulldozers mowing down fish and other benthic species". This has led to a conflicting situation between the fishery communities of Northern part of Sri Lanka and of South India, Tamil Nadu. Fishing is the livelihood of the northern community and is of economic importance as the "province contributed to over a third of the total catch of the country's total catch of fish" (Suriyanarayan, 2016).

Conflicts have arisen over fishing dispute between the transgressors and the Sri Lanka Navy (SLN), as well as the Northern fishery community are many. Conflicts have arisen between Northern fishermen using traditional methods of fishing with the Indian trawlers using mechanized methods. There is a clear indication that many trawlers cross the IMBL into Sri Lankan water for trawling and poaching activities" (Suriyanarayan, 2016).

Even though the Indian side of interpretation depicts this crossing over of Tamil Nadu fishermen as

traditional fishermen accidentally crossing the IMBL, it has been proven otherwise. Many apprehensions of Indian fisherman by the Sri Lankan Navy has been recorded, these fishermen have been tried in Sri Lankan courts for trespassing and their boats confiscated and later released with little or no penalty. Yet the transgressing of Indian fishermen continues to be a recurrent problem to date. It is established that

The Indian side of the waters are fish depleted due to over fishing. Hence, Tamil Nadu fishermen poach in to Sri Lankan waters causing damage to the fish resource as well as our marine eco system. However, if such poaching with banned bottom-end trawling continues within Sri Lankan waters, it will also cause similar over-fishing and unsustainable damages to marine eco-system, with disappearing fishing populations for Sri Lanka.

This fishery dispute does not remain a dispute over fishing or illegal crossing over to Sri Lankan waters, but it closely linked to Transnational Maritime Crime. Many and grave criminal activities are carried out in the guise of fishing which is causing serious security implications to Sri Lanka. The problem remains unsettled due to political reasons mostly on both sides India and Sri Lanka, while the transnational maritime crime rate continues to rise.

A. The Indo – Lanka Fishery Dispute

The fishery conflict between India and Sri Lanka has been continuing and poaching takes place within the Sri Lankan waters, in and around Palk Bay, Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar. The IMBL, which was agreed upon based on the agreements of 1974 and 1976, governed by the UNCLOS demarcates and designates the waters between India and Sri Lanka, in the Palk Bay, Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar, with Kachchativu Island within the Sri Lankan side of the International Maritime Boundary Line (IMBL).

However, considering the traditional and historical fishing grounds enjoyed by the Indian fishermen around the island of Kachchativu, certain rights were ceded to the Indian fishermen to dry their fishing nets and perform religious rights on this island, however without any fishing rights.

Despite the clear demarcation of the IMBL, violations and illegal fishing takes place within the Sri Lankan waters daily, posing a threat to the security of the country. Indian fishermen and their trawlers enter the Sri Lankan territorial waters, which is the main cause

towards the Indo – Lanka fishery conflict (de Silva, 2008).

As per the Marine Conservation Institute, “bottom trawling is an industrial fishing method where a large net with heavy weights is dragged across the seabed, scooping up everything in its path—from the targeted fish to the incidentally caught centuries-old corals” (Colombage, 2016). However, given the good relations between New Delhi and Colombo, most often apprehended fishermen are released on friendly negotiations.

B. Security: Traditional and Human Security

Security is a contested concept says Buzan. In spite of its dominance in state concerns, security is yet to be given one single definition (Buzan, 1991), however, security is of profound importance to humans and states alike. Traditional security is directly linked to state, state security and to national interest of a state, while human security is linked to human beings or citizens of a state. As much as there is renewed awareness of human security in the present context, it is also of paramount importance that traditional or state security is upheld, given the various contemporary security threats to states and state security. According to Manisha Pasquel, when the state is protected, automatically its people are protected from external threats initially and also human interest at large, as well. Shantha Henanayaka held the same view concerning security and traditional security, he specifically stressed that “one cannot be detached from the other in all practical sense”. Former Secretary Defense, Mr. Gotabaya Rajapakse, in an interview given to 360 degrees of Derena TV, very profoundly stated in the aftermath of the recent Islamic Extremist terror attack of 21st April, that national security should be upheld and protected through traditional security means, without which all other areas including economic freedom of a country would collapse. According to Warna Hettiarachchi, all developed nations invest heavily on upholding national security through traditional security means, this is not only to safe guard the state alone, but also to safeguard economic assets and trade, which are of human security interest. This clearly goes to show as much as human security needs, traditional security too is of paramount importance to a state to ensure overall comprehensive security is maintained. For example, Singapore spent over USD 2,300 per capita on military and national security despite being a small nation, providing human security and protecting its market economy assets, its main transport hubs being the infamous Changi Airport and main Sea Port. This provides human confidence in economic systems that

they and their assets are protected through a stringent national security and law enforcement.

Traditional security gained momentum during the Cold War and views the state as the single actor to ensure her own survival in the International system. Walter Lippmann who coined the term ‘Cold – War’, also defined security which fell in line with the Cold-War which had a traditional focus of security (Hough, 2008). “A nation has security when it does not have to sacrifice its legitimate interests to avoid war and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by war” – Walter Lippmann (Wolfers, 1952).

It was a common notion at the end of the Cold War that traditional security alone cannot provide security for all, states as well as humans, thus, rethinking of the concept of security emerged in the 1990s. A salient aspect of rethinking of security was based on the physical, human dignity and development of the human being (Subur, 2003) to protect the core and values of human beings. Thus, the relatively new concept of human security was put forward in 1994.

Both traditional and human security together formulated what is popularly known as Comprehensive Security that emerged in the 21st Century and the late Swedish Prime Minister Olaf Palme is most often credited for having pioneered the concept of Comprehensive Security (Schmid, 2007). Comprehensive security advocates a shared security culture to encompass a broader understanding of security and it extends beyond state-centric military aspects of traditional security to amalgamate human security that concern people-centric security (Schmid, 2007).

Comprehensive Security also considers security within a state as well as outside a state, and as stated by Hsiung, “various components of comprehensive security are intertwined” (Hsiung, 2004) and a “Convergence of all aspects of security culture” (Schmid, 2007), where security is understood and practiced in a more comprehensive manner.

Convergence of traditional and human security into comprehensive security therefore defines that a state need to have both aspects of traditional and human security in a powerful balance, that these two security concepts are not one against the other but two sides of the same coin, that converge towards the greater importance of security at large for state and people alike.

C. *Fishery dispute and the rise of Transnational Maritime Crimes and threats to Security in Sri Lanka*

Transnational Maritime Crime has direct or indirect affiliation to Transnational Organized Crime (TOC) with direct implications on Maritime Security. Even though there is no international consensus on the definition for maritime security, it remains a contested concept. However, it draws conceptualization from the prevalent challenges in the maritime domain. Hence, maritime security is best understood in the backdrop of maritime safety, blue economy and resilience. Maritime security threats arise from areas like interstate disputes, terrorism, ideological conflicts, piracy, trafficking of narcotics and humans, illicit and dangerous goods, arms proliferation, IUU fishing, and smuggling, all of which have direct links to transnational maritime crime (Bueger, 2015).

Yuri Fedotov, the Executive Chief of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC) in his address at the 8457th Security Council stated that “transnational maritime crime is becoming increasingly sophisticated” meaning that there are criminal kingpins involved and protected also by transnational organizations. Seas are open to navigation, commercial, travel, fishery and related industries, deep sea mining and many more. It then becomes the responsibility of the stake holders and all concerned including governments of states, not to make the sea and its usability a threat to security (Traditional as well as Human Security). Fedotov also stated that “these crimes as an immediate danger to people’s lives and safety, undermining human rights, hinder sustainable development and threaten international peace and security”.

Sea and the maritime domain being a vast area that comes under jurisdiction, it remains a complex challenge to apprehend perpetrators of transnational maritime crime. Though such crime is covered by conventions such as Law of the Sea, convention against transnationally organized crime, International Maritime Organization (IMO) and supported by International Criminal Police Department (INTERPOL), it still remains a challenge and a task to the navies, coast guards and all law enforcing agencies (UN Security Council, 2019).

The Sri Lankan situation with regard to the prevailing Indo – Lanka fishery dispute also has been reported as a situation of IUU fishing, while linking to transnational maritime crime. This needs to be addressed as a matter of priority due to severe

implications on security of Sri Lanka. This goes on to show that this fishery conflict is much more than management of a fishery dispute, posing grave security concerns to Sri Lanka.

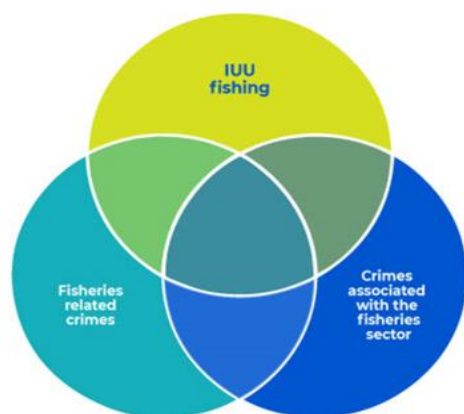
There are traditional and human security implications due to Indo-Lanka fishery conflict, with direct relevance to transnational maritime crime. Traditional security is threatened when the sovereignty of Sri Lanka is challenged when fishermen cross the already demarcated IMBL, disrespecting the agreements of 1974 and 1976 and get into confrontations with the Sri Lanka Navy. According to Admiral Colombage’s study, a large number of Indian fishing trawlers coming very close to Sri Lankan coast can have serious traditional security implications should the LTTE try to reorganize their violent movement and transnational crime. Even though LTTE is not prevalent today however, there still is an active diaspora-instigated reorganization of its movement, giving rise to ideological terror and related activities.

According to Wijegunaratne, “the international security environment is dynamic and uncertain, with the enemies dynamic, irregular, networked and unorthodox”. The following Transnational Maritime challenges posing traditional and human security threats are prominent to Sri Lanka and the region.

D. *Illegal Unreported and Unregulated Fishing (IUU) Fishing*

There can be direct relations between IUU fishing and transnational organized maritime crime. Fisheries related crimes are closely linked to fishing operations, as confirmed by Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations. Most often this type of crime takes place in guise of fishing, however these criminal activities may not actually have anything to do with IUU fishing, but connected to various forms of sea-based nefarious activities across borders, organized and carried out as transnational maritime crime (UN FAO).

“Crimes associated with the fisheries sector are without direct connection with fishing operations but take place on fishing vessels, or during a fishing operation and using the fishing operation as a cover, opportunity or means to commit such crimes”.



Links between IUU fishing and other crimes
“Illegal, Unreported and Unregulated (IUU) fishing”
Food and Agricultural Organization of the United
Nations

Besides bottom trawling, use of illegal fishing nets, use of explosives, poisons and illegal crossing of the IMBL remains a traditional and human security challenge for Sri Lanka.

E. Maritime Terrorism and Ideological Extremism

Absence of maritime safety mechanisms in the region and also in the Indian Ocean has seen a rise in maritime terrorism and related activities since mid-1980. It has been observed that South Asia is expected to be the hub of terrorist activities. These terrorist groups have greater connectivity, networking as well as organizational skills to use the sea to move from place to place and country to country. LTTE, was one of the terror organizations that maximized on the use of the sea for their operations with even a “Sea Tiger” wing, where they trained cadres for sea combat and to smuggle arms and military hardware.

The Mumbai attack carried out by the militants of Lashkar-e- Toiba is said to have traveled by sea from Karachi across the Arabian Sea and reached a fishing village called Machchmaar Nagar in Mumbai to carry out the attack which was carried out on November 26th 2008.

The present context of Ideological religious extremism is on the rise, especially Islamic Radicalization. It has also been learnt that these are transnational organizations with the radicals moving from country to country (Wijegunaratne, 2016).

E. Drug Trafficking and Arms Smuggling

Drug Trafficking and Arms Smuggling are other common areas of Transnational Maritime Crime and a lucrative business to many criminal groups, given

the financial gains and profits. Large portions of such funds are reinvested again in illegal operations like terrorism and spreading of Islamic extremism. Massive funding is required to penetrate non-Islamic societies and to radicalize the converts. The funds are most often raised through illegal dealings of narcotics and weapons. This has become a security threat to Sri Lanka being geographically located in close proximity to the ‘Golden Triangle’ and ‘Golden Crescent’, especially as Sri Lanka being a transit point to the Europe and other Western states. Wijegunaratne states that “Heroin is routed via Sri Lanka from Pakistan or India on a large scale by sea through containers and mechanized fishing crafts”. This is clear evidence of transnational maritime crime in the guise of the Indo – Lanka fishery issue, even Sri Lanka Navy cannot distinguish which trespassing fishing craft are involved in malicious operations (2016).

Gunrunning and smuggling of military hardware are the fastest and easiest via-sea operations, causing traditional security threats to states including Sri Lanka, as this would almost always cause interstate conflicts and disputes. The drug traffickers and arms dealers are often linked. Trafficking of small arms can create domestic security unrest, causing fear and threat to civilian life, which amounts to a human security threat and pose an issue for aiding and abetting in domestic crimes to be on the rise (Wijegunaratne, 2016).

F. Human Smuggling

Sri Lanka has been used as an origination point as well as a transit point for human smugglers. These smugglers can vary from economic reason passage, terrorism or even for criminal activities as humans being smuggled for medical sale of organs. Sri Lanka’s geographical location and centralized positioning makes it lucrative transit point for human smuggling. This is a traditional and human security concern. There have been many arrests by the Sri Lankan navy of fishing boats packed with illegal migrants to Australia (Wijegunaratne, 2016).

G. Research Problem and Objectives

Indo-Lanka fishery dispute is an ongoing problem of Indian fishermen transgressing the IMBL into Sri Lankan waters for poaching and bottom trawling. Research Problem: It has been observed that this fishery issue is also closely linked to Transnational Maritime Crime causing Traditional and Human Security concerns to Sri Lanka.

The objective of this study is to identify and analyze various aspects of the Indo- Sri Lanka fishery conflict,

and its association with Transnational Crime causing security threats to Sri Lanka.

To highlight the importance of the fact that, a lasting solution to the fishery dispute is needed if transnational maritime crime is to be curbed in the Sri Lankan waters.

II. Methodology and Research Design

Since the study is designed to examine the long drawn out fisheries conflict between Sri Lanka and India, along with its transnational maritime crime, it is going to be of exploratory in nature. The problem is not clearly defined and hence the exploratory research method is considered as the most suitable one for this research. The researcher wants to locate herself in the social world to understand the perceptions and the views of people who are stakeholders to the problem. Therefore, hopes to select the qualitative research design over a quantitative one.

Qualitative Research can be considered as the pathway of pragmatic curiosity by exploring the research interests. It can also satisfy the investigative curiosity and provide effective procedural choices. Qualitative research methods focus on discovering the experience, perceptions and thoughts of participants. Most likely qualitative research methods can be named as Exploratory, Naturalistic, Subjective, Inductive, Ideographic and Descriptive/ Interpretive. Exploratory research can be described as a researcher's tool to understand an issue more thoroughly. Exploratory research will provide rich quality information that will help identify the main issues that should be addressed. Since this Indo-Lanka fishery associated with transnational crime is a very complex and unspecified one which involves traditional as well as human security implications to people and state the researcher will use exploratory research method for this study.

III. Theoretical Background

Securitization theory put forward by the Copenhagen School and theorized by Buzan, Waver and de Wilde, takes the approach of social discourse to security issues. According to Huysmans (1997) "possibly the most thorough and continuous exploration of the significance and implications of widening security agenda for security studies". Securitization, stresses the importance of "dialogue & speech act" in looking beyond traditional security in "deepening and widening of security". Therefore, securitization can be used in seeking solutions to problems covering areas military, political, environmental, economic and also societal and can be extended to develop solutions to

the fishery dispute related transnational crime (Buzan et al, 1998).

Securitization also attempts to bridge traditional and human security as it goes beyond traditional security to aspects of human security to comprehensive security and also, focuses on negotiated settlement to problems. The researcher therefore hopes to adopt Securitization Theory in the study of the case of Indo – Lanka fishery issues and transnational maritime crime research with a view to analyze the threats and solutions to the Indo-Lanka fishery issues related transnational maritime crime.

IV. DISCUSSION

The Indo- Sri Lanka fishery conflict has been an unresolved issue in spite of demarcation agreements of 1974 and 1976, (governed by UNCLOS III) which has even affected the bi-lateral relations between the two countries. This agreement does provide rite of passage but not trespassing into Sri Lankan water for illegal fishing. Indian fishermen deliberately cross over to Sri Lankan waters for a "better catch" (Fonseka, 2017). Although there had been many political, diplomatic and societal initiatives, there had not been a solution so far and the situation is aggravating. There is sufficient evidence that the fishery problem has affiliation to transnational maritime crime which makes the situation worse. Then it becomes not only illegal trespassing and an IUU fishing concern but also concerned to various crimes that pose grave threat to traditional and human security of Sri Lanka. Traditional security is threatened when all forms of crime negotiated and handled that threaten the state security like aiding and abating terrorism in various forms and smuggling of terrorist across borders while human security is threatened at a level of fishery where the livelihood of the fishery community is threatened and at a transnational crime the civil society is threatened at various levels like in the case of drug and various narcotic trafficking, small arms and also in the case of human smuggling.

If this fishery conflict is not resolved, and trespassing continues by the Indian fishermen into Sri Lankan waters it could lead to drastic consequences for traditional maritime security concerns for both the countries and, human security issues mainly for Sri Lanka's northern fishermen. On an overall, affecting comprehensive security.

Security is of profound importance to states and humans alike, Indo – Lanka fishery conflict shows eminent signs of infringement of comprehensive security more so in concerns of Transnational

Maritime Crime which leads to threats at many aspects concerning traditional security which is a matter for the state and human security amounting to human insecurities.

The question arises as to why this conflict remains unresolved and a persistent one given the many threats and challenges it pose both to Sri Lanka as well as India.

V. WAY FORWARD AND CONCLUSION

This unresolved fishery dispute bears much impact on comprehensive security of both states. More so on Sri Lanka being an island state and the coastal people depending on the sea for a livelihood.

This research therefore, will analyse the association and effects Transnational Maritime Crime with Indo – Lanka fishery dispute and threats to Security of Sri Lanka, Traditional and Human Security. The researcher is also of the view that a lasting solution to the Indo-Lanka fishery dispute should be sought to eliminate security threats to Sri Lanka through Transnational Maritime Crime and to a larger gamut comprehensive Security of Sri Lanka that includes traditional and human security.

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Rohingya Refugees in Nepal: Going Beyond the Discourse on Integration

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Abstract— *Refugee is a person who flee from their own country due to the well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinions. Customary laws and treaty obligations which are practiced by states play an important role in managing these refugee influxes and regulating repatriations. In the case of Nepal, due to persecutions done by the Burmese government against the Rohingyas since early 1784, they have been moved into Nepal by crossing the borders. Even though 1948 Union Citizenship Act which was introduced after the Burma's independence from the UK provided citizenship for limited number of Rohingyas who could prove that they had resided in Burma before 1823, subsequent legal principles came to function along with the 1982 immigration law led to deprive their right to obtain the citizenship. As a non-signatory to the 1951 Refugee convention and the 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, the absence of recognition for Rohingyas within Nepal has become an impediment to ensure their survival. However, though the Refugee Status Determination (RSD) process of the United Nations (UN) have granted temporary shelters for them in the areas like Kathmandu and Kapan, the claims of these urban refugees has been neglected by the host community mainly because of the xenophobic perceptions. Along with this understanding, this paper concludes that the repatriation and re-integration within their home country is the only long term solution which help them to enjoy their entitlements. But the perpetual challenge then remains is identifying lapses of the existing coordination between both countries in strengthening, welcoming their returns and granting basic rights. In this context, qualitative research method is employed in this research to suggest appropriate mechanisms to tackle these so called challenges.*

Keywords: Citizenship, Integration, Re-Integration, Repatriation, Refugee Status Determinations

The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees which was signed in 1951 has indicated that a refugee is a person who flees from their own country due to the well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinions. In the context of Myanmar, the Rohingya community who belongs to the Indo-Aryan ethnic group has crossed their borders to enter into their neighboring countries including Nepal, Bangladesh and India. The main reason for that is the consideration of Rohingya as illegal migrants who came from Bengal and settled in Myanmar after the first Anglo-Burmese War. As a result of that communal violence and human rights violations against Rohingya were emerged in the country. Further this issue links to the problem of losses and deprivation of nationality. The loss of nationality signifies the automatic withdrawal of nationality by operation of law (*ex lege*), while deprivation refers to situations where the withdrawal is initiated by the authorities of state. It means discriminatory citizenship laws which were imposed since 1948 have resulted to deprive their human rights. The 1948 the Union Citizenship Act declares Arakanese, Burmese, Chin, Kachin, Karen, Kayah, Mon and Shan race as citizens of Myanmar except Rohingyas. Since then, all the subsequent constitutions which were introduced in 1974 and 2008 followed the same provisions. The citizenship laws in Myanmar have not addressed both *Jus soil* and *jus sanguinis* legal principles. *Jus Soil* refers to granting of citizenship on the basis of birth in the country and *jus sanguinis* defines the process of giving citizenship based on the parents' origins. Within this situation, Rohingyas cannot call for both types of nationality due to the constitutional barriers. However, along with these provisions, three different types of certificates were introduced namely full, associate and naturalised to individuals of national races, individuals with mixed ancestry and Individuals who were able to speak one of the national languages accordingly. But these certificates were issued more than 20 years ago.

I. INTRODUCTION

II. WHY IS REPATRIATION NEEDED?

It is a noticeable fact that the ethnicity of the Rohingyas has become a main factor in depriving their rights in Nepal. As an example, Tibetan and Bhutanese refugees are having much better life there than Rohingyas. Nepal has tightened its border with India to stop Rohingyas from using the porous border between India and Nepal. In 2017, Nepal's Home Ministry has mentioned that Nepal has increased surveillance at its border to stop Rohingyas from entering the country as they cannot bear any more crisis. On the other hand, Nepal has not yet signed the 1951 Refugee Convention or 1967 Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees. In this regard, the author was able to visit a Rohigaya refugee camp in Kapan which was organised by the Asia Pacific Refugee Rights Network on 15 June 2019. As highlighted by the Rohingya community there, they are being neglected because of the absence of a national policy to integrate or repatriate them to their own country. The absence of a legal recognition for them under Nepalese law has led to create depressions among them. There are restrictions imposed on their mobility outside Kathmandu's geographical area severely limits their economic opportunities. As pointed out by them, there is limited access to clean drinking water and refugee children have limited access to education. The annual support received from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for them is NPR 12,000 per child, which is not sufficient as the annual costs borne for each child is NPR 25,000. Further, the Rohingya community in the Kapan Camp has highlighted that they have to pay a collective rent of NPR 4,800,000 for two years to their landlords, which the community cannot afford to pay. Though they are employed in informal jobs, they are vulnerable to exploitation by their employers. In addition, the neighbours surrounding the lands have shown their suspicions and hostility towards the Rohingya. For instance, they have installed surveillance cameras to monitor their activities and behaviours. Some Rohingya children were injured from stones being thrown by the neighbours. According to them, more actions are needed to take by policy makers in the government and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to ensure their human rights. Particularly, the absence of any documentations on their citizenship has resulted to grow up their generations in exile. Therefore, the author suggests that the repatriation is the most viable approach to tackle this situation.

III. IS AN EFFECTIVE REPATRIATION ACHIEVABLE?

Repatriation is a complex process which includes the involvement of both international and national actors. An effective repatriation is often deals with responses of both host Country and the home country. It is well known reality that there is ethnic violence against them in Myanmar. According to the principle of non-refoulment in 1951 Refugee Convention, no one shall expel or return to a country against his or her will, in any manner whatsoever, to a territory where he or she fears threat to life or freedom. Therefore, it is essential to ensure their protection in Myanmar. With this regard, diplomacy plays a huge role. The bi-lateral agreements between the two countries can create immense impact on an effective repatriation. The significant fact is that the safety, dignity and absence of freedom of fear of persecution should be guaranteed after their returns. In the case of citizenship, as noted by St.Thomas Aquinas, No law is above eternal law and should not violate eternal law as it is the basis of eternal law. Hence, law should safeguard the rights of humans. But as the author discussed above, human rights of the Rohingyas has been deprived in the name of ethnicity. In 2014, the UN General assembly adopted a non-legal binding resolution A/RES/69/248 to call on Myanmar to grant full citizenships for Rohingya community. This indicated the responsibility of Myanmar government to assure that no child is ever made stateless. But, to achieve that status, the amendment of the citizenship act is mostly required. Article 15 of the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) says that everyone has the right to gain nationality and prohibits the arbitrary deprivation of nationality or denial of the right to change nationality. Myanmar is not a party to the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights yet. In September 2019 the Pyithu Hluttaw (Lower House) rejected a motion from the ruling National League for Democracy for Myanmar to sign the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Article 24 of the convention mentions that every child shall be registered immediately after birth. Along with the repatriation, there should be a mechanism to give their original lands and properties back. Until these demands are fulfilled, an effective repatriation cannot be achieved. Moreover, as most of the Rohingya refugees have not registered with the UNHCR, a fair and efficient Refugee Status Determination should be carried out prior to the repatriation process.

A. The Role of ASEAN

It is a known fact that the Myanmar is a party to the convention on the Elimination of all Forms of

Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). These two conventional approaches are totally intertwined with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) mechanisms. It means the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights and commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) focuses on the enhancement of rights of people. Within this context, the enhancement of rights including citizenship rights of Rohingya women and children cannot be considered as a difficult task. However, there are allegations made by the International community against the lack of commitment of Myanmar to safeguard the livelihood of Rohingya community. As an example in 2019 Eva Sundari who is a board member of the ASEAN Parliamentarian for Human Rights has pointed out that ASEAN need to avoid turning a blind eye to the reparation without the addressing the causes of their displacement. In June 2019, ASEAN chairman issued statement which highlighted Myanmar's commitment to ensure safety and security for all communities in Rhine state. Therefore, ASEAN can make more influences on the Myanmar government to assure the rights of Rohingya community after their returns. In the context of regional setting, China wants the stability of the region to initiate One Belt and One Road Initiation (OBOR). Since Myanmar is depending on China, China can be a mediator to ensure the status of returned Rohingyas.

B. A lesson to Nepal

In the case of repatriation, the initiations which has been taken by Bangladesh government provides a good lesson. Bangladesh is currently engaged in making decisions on the repatriation of Rohingyas by conducting discussions with Myanmar authorities. However, there are pluses and minuses can be learned from this process. At the initial stage, China introduced a new three step solution to address the Rohingya issue in Bangladesh namely creating a ceasefire on the ground, formulating bilateral dialogues between Bangladesh and Myanmar and taking footsteps to alleviate poverty among the Rohingya community. However, this plan was rejected by Bangladesh government. As a result of the long term discussions held between the two countries, in 2019 Myanmar government had been agreed more than 3000 Rohingya to be brought back to the country. Along with that a four points proposal was introduced by Bangladesh government in 2019 at the 74th United Nations General Assembly session. In this proposal, the country highlighted the fact that a transparent process should be carried out by both

parties. But there are demonstrations are going on against the proposed repatriation process. It means the repatriation announcement made by the UNHCR made a surprise to camp refugees due to few factors. Initially, ASEAN proclaimed that they are going to carry out a coordinated approach with the contribution of both governments, UNHCR, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Rohingya community leaders to work on the repatriation process. The United Nations aid agencies and NGO partners have already launched a Joint Response Plan (JRP) to raise USD 920 million to meet the demands of Rohingya in Myanmar. But the final repatriation list was made without getting inputs or views of Rohingya community. As an example a signature campaign was led by Rohingya camp refugees in Bangladesh by bringing the fact that there will be no any repatriation without talking to them as home is about their rights, so they must be included. It shows that a transparent process is needed to process an effective repatriation.

IV. CONCLUSION

The above mention discussion has proven that even though Rohingyas have sheltered in Nepal, Nepal government does not protect the human rights of them on humanitarian grounds. The most imperative fact is that Rohingyas are vulnerable for deprivations during their stay in host countries as well as for insecurity in their home country. In this context, as the author highlighted earlier, Nepal government can use her diplomacy to make strong connections with Myanmar to ensure an effective repatriation scheme.

It has also proven that the temporary protection is a just a legal concept than a pragmatic answer. Moreover, though number of initiations have been taken by the number of governments to repatriate Rohingyas, there is no actual effort taken by any of these governments to end the conflict and violence in Myanmar. Hence, these lapses should be countered before a repatriation process is implemented.

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Militarisation of Outer Space: Threats, Challenges and Way Forward for Sri Lanka

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Abstract— *With the rapid development of the three dimensions of modern warfare (land, air and sea), many nations have commenced to concern towards space, as fourth dimension of future warfare. Outer Space is considered globally for deployment of weapons: both offensive and defensive. Militarisation of outer space would be an opportunity, for developed countries like US, China and Russia but would be a huge challenge for many under developed countries like Sri Lanka. At present there is a debate at United Nations level, whether outer space should be weaponised, only allowed to placement of defensive weapons, or kept free from all type of weapons. Presently, there are approximately sixty countries that are active in utilizing space for various purposes. The country which controls space has a real time presence and persistence over the globe with a definite edge and dominance in the battlefield as well. The future battle field will be very unimaginable without an effective interface from space-based technology. Space based assets can be used indirectly and directly, and targeting an adversary's space assets through anti-satellite (ASAT) weapons could be a key feature of future warfare. ASAT weapons, Directed Energy Weapons (DEW) would be considerable trends of space militarisation. Successful military operations on ground, air and sea would depend heavily on how efficiently space resources are exploited.*

Keywords—Outer Space, Satellite, Militarisation of Space, Weaponization of Space, Anti-Satellite (ASAT) weapons

I. INTRODUCTION

Earliest signs of space exploration began in 20th century as the United States and USSR began their race to dominate the space frontier. Military applications of space technology were researched and surveillance, navigation, reconnaissance, weather forecast, etc... were found to be force multipliers in modern wars (Deblois et al., 2003). Missile and space technology showed great potential of being a war winning factors. According to the Sheehan and Bormann (2012) militarisation of space is not limited to weapons only and can include placement and development of military technology for other tasks as well. Unimaginable dividends of ultimate high ground made outer space a must avenue for contemporary militaries around the globe to be exploited (Lalitendra, 2010).

Weaponization and militarisation of space are two different concepts, weaponisation means deployment of weapons in space where as militarisation is a broader term dealing with all kind of use of space for military purposes i.e. use of satellites for communication, navigation or reconnaissance (Rathgeber et al., 1999).

Foregoing in view, analyse the progress made so far in militarisation of space by the contemporary countries in general while highlighting the related threats and challenges for Sri Lanka with a view to recommend viable way forward.

II. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What is the progress made in militarisation of space by contemporary countries?
2. What is the progress of space programmes in South Asia?
3. What is the viable way forward for Sri Lanka to remain relevant?

III. TAXONOMY OF SPACE

It is important to develop an understanding of taxonomy of space before focus on militarisation of space.

A. Outer Space

Outer space, or just space, is the expanse that exists beyond the earth or outside of any astronomical object. Outer space does not begin at a definite altitude above the Earth's surface. However, the Kármán line, an altitude of 100 km (62 miles) above sea level, is conventionally used as the start of outer space (Sharp, 2017).

B. Militarisation of Space

Militarisation of space involves the use of space and related technology to support military operation (Jaspal, 2008).

C. Weaponization of Space

Weaponization of space is development and deployment of weapons to be used in and from space for defensive or offensive purposes, thus turning space into a conflict zone (Mowthorpe, 2004).

D. Satellite

In the context of spaceflight, a satellite is an artificial object which has been intentionally placed into orbit. Types of Satellites with respect to their application are given below:

1) *Communication Satellites*: It is a satellite that transmits the signals such as telephone, television, radio, internet signals over long distances using light signals or electromagnetic waves. Communication satellites are of two types: active satellites and passive satellites (Liu et al., 1999).

2) *Navigation Satellites*: It is a constellation of satellites which indicates/identifies geographic location of ships, aircrafts or any other object on earth or in space and thus help in navigation. The United States Global Positioning System (GPS) is operational since 1978 and globally available since 1994, GPS is the world's most utilised navigation system (Ahmed, 2002).

3) *Earth Observation Satellites*: Earth observation satellites are mainly used to observe the earth from its orbit. These satellites detect the changes in the earth vegetation, ocean colour and radiation from the earth surface. These satellites are also used to map the terrain (Gary, 2007).

4) *Astronomical Satellites*: An astronomy satellite is basically a really big telescope floating in space. Astronomical satellites are used to observe the distant galaxies, stars, planets, natural satellites, and other objects in the space. Astronomical satellites are mainly used to find the new planets, stars and galaxies (Neugebauer et al., 1984).

IV. PURPOSES OF SATELLITES

Using the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) update 2019, the main purposes for the operational satellites are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Main purposes for the operational satellites

Ser	Satellites	Number
1.	Communications	777
2.	Earth observation and science	735
3.	Technology development / demonstration	223
4.	Navigation / positioning	137
5.	Astronomy	85
6.	Total	1957

Although, it should be noted that some of the satellites have multiple purposes. These satellites are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Satellite users

Ser	Used By	Number
1.	Commercial users	848
2.	Government users	540
3.	Military users	422
4.	Civil users	147
5.	Multiple uses	279
6.	Total	1957

V. PROSPECTS OF OUTER SPACE MILITARISATION

A. Communication Satellite

Besides civil applications of communication satellite, these are also used for military communications. The communication satellite provides the capacity for instant, secure, hardened and survivable communication between operational forces and their national command authorities (Whalen, 2002). Hence communication satellites are extensively used for strategic applications to gather information for military support missions.

B. Battle Space Awareness

Due to following applications of remote sensing satellites, they are effective in improving battle space awareness of forces:

- i. Intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance.
- ii. Target identification and analysis.
- iii. Terrain analysis.
- iv. Mapping of military assets.
- v. Monitoring new military developments.
- vi. Detects disposition of forces.
- vii. Battle damage assessment.
- viii. Illegal border crossing & ship detection.

C. Navigation

Global navigation satellites systems like GPS (US), BeiDou (China), GALILEO (European Union), GLONASS (Russia) and IRNSS (India) provide following benefits to the user countries:

- i. Missile guidance.
- ii. Coordination and navigation of military troops.
- iii. Target tracking.
- iv. Reconnaissance.
- v. Nuclear detonation detection system.
- vi. Anti-ballistic missile systems.

- vii. UAVs/ military aviation.
- viii. Search and rescue of downed pilots.

expenditures for space programmes are shown in Figure 1.

D. Anti-Satellite Weapons (ASATS)

These space weapons can incapacitate or destroy satellites for strategic military purposes. There are two approaches i.e. kinetic kill and disabling satellites without destruction like energy/ laser directed weapons. Countries like US, Russia, China and India possess this technology.

World's space nations can be classified into advanced, space faring and emerging countries considering their space budget, satellite launch capabilities, space stations, moon bases and inter planetary travels, etc. as shown in Table 4.

VI. MILITARISATION OF SPACE BY CONTEMPORARY COUNTRIES

According to United Nations Office for Outer Space Affairs (UNOOSA), there were 4987 satellites orbiting the planet at the start of year 2019 including 1957 operational satellites (Union of Concerned Scientists, 2019). Only twelve countries (USSR, USA, France, Japan, China, UK, India, Russia, Ukraine, Israel, Iran and North Korea) and one regional organisation (the European Space Agency, ESA) has capability to launch satellites on their own indigenously developed launch vehicles. Six government space agencies i.e China National Space Administration (CNSA), European Space Agency (ESA), the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency (JAXA), National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and Russian Federal Space Agency (RFSA or Roscosmos) have full launch capabilities. These include the ability to launch and recover multiple satellites, deploy rocket engines and operate extra-terrestrial probes. Thirty-one satellite launch sites are operational worldwide (Andy, 2019). Summary of space programmes of contemporary countries are shown in Table 3.

Table 4: Space nations

Ser	Classification	Country
1.	Advanced	USA, China, Russia
2.	Space Faring	Brazil, France, Germany, Italy, India, Iran, Israel, Japan, South Korea, UK
3.	Emerging	Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Egypt, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Vietnam

Source:

VII. SPACE PROGRAMMES IN SOUTH ASIA

A. India

India initiated her space program in 1962 with setting up Indian National Committee for Space Research (INCOSPAR). During the following decades India has progressed tremendously in space technology (Isro.gov.in., 2019). Indian space program touched its peak in 2017 when she made a record of most satellites launch in one mission by launching 104 satellites (including 101 foreign satellites, one each from Kazakhstan, Israel, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Arab Emirates (UAE) and 96 from United States of America). While with the success of anti-satellite (ASAT) missile test which was named Mission Shakti on 27 March 2019, India now has registered its military presence in space. The militarisation of space by India through establishing credible space deterrence has posed new threat to peace in the region and has a potential to initiate a new arms race in space.

Only three currently operating government space agencies in the world (NASA, RFSA and CNSA) are capable of human spaceflight. Currently there is only one manned space station orbiting the earth known as International Space Station (ISS). It is a multi-national project which is continuously evolving. Its basic structure was completed between 1998 and 2011 and has been occupied since November 2000. As of March 2019, 230 individuals from 18 countries have visited the International Space Station. Top participating countries include the United States (145 persons) and Russia (46 persons). The ISS includes contributions from 15 nations. World government

B. Pakistan

Pakistan's space program is fairly wide-ranging and diversified. It covers many fields of space science, technology and their applications. Pakistan's space programs are being implemented through its national space agency, Pakistan Space and Upper Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO). It is mandated at furthering research in space science and technology by

Table 3: Summary of space programmes

Ser	Capability	USA	RUSSIA	China	UK	India	Israel	Turkey
1.	Space programme started	1958	1950	1959	1959	1962	1982	2005
2.	1 st Satellite Launched	1958	1957	1970	1971	1980	1988	2011
3.	1 st Human flight	1961	1962	2003	No	No	No	No
4.	Satellite Launch capability	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
5.	Total active Satellites	830	150	280	12	47	12	10
6.	Military Satellites	168	104	100	10	3	6	8
7.	Space Budget in 2016 (USD Mn)	35957	5182	4909	743	1500	155	110
8.	Earth observation spatial resolution	0.31m	1m	0.8m	6m	1m	0.5m	2.5 m
9.	Nav sys, accuracy	GPS	GLONASS	Beidou	No	IRNSS	No	No
10.	ASAT cap	1-5 ms	4.5-7.4 ms	0.1 – 10 m	No	10 m	No	No

WORLD GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES FOR SPACE PROGRAMS (2016)* TOTAL \$62.2 BILLION

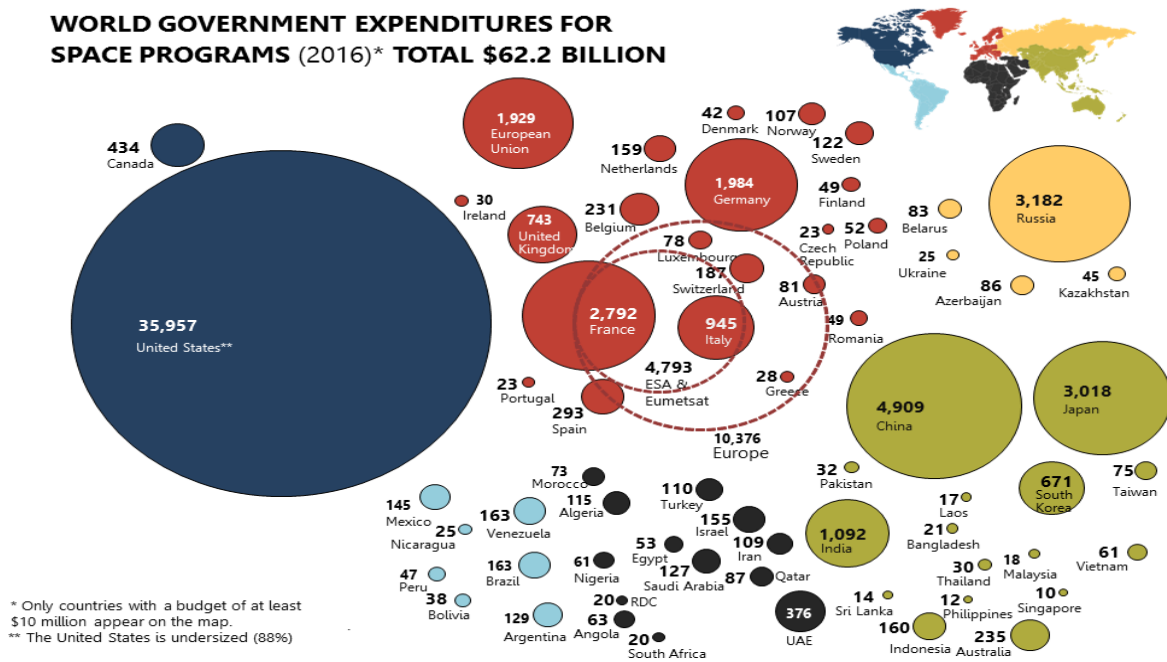


Figure 2. World government expenditures for space programmes

Source: <http://euroconsult-ec.com>

enhancing capabilities and capacities in the related fields for achieving the ultimate objective of self-reliance and socio-economic development of the country (Albatross, 2012). On 07 June 1962, first sounding rocket Rehbar-I was successfully launched by SUPARCO. With this launch Pakistan had the honour of becoming the third country in Asia and the tenth in the world to conduct such a launching. Pakistan’s Space Program 2040 is a satellite development and launch program of SUPARCO. Under this program five geosynchronous earth orbit (GEO) (35,786 kilometres above earth) satellites and six low earth orbit (LEO) satellites will be launched between 2011 and 2040.

VIII. WAY FORWARD FOR SRI LANKA

Struggling economies coupled with limited capacity in space development like Sri Lanka, cannot afford to indulge in this expensive arms race. Therefore, Sri Lanka must ardently support the initiatives of banning all sorts of military activities in outer space. However, at the same time, Sri Lanka cannot afford to remain aloof of developments taking place in domain of space militarisation. Hence, proposed way forward for Sri Lanka are as follows:

A. Global Partnerships

Sri Lanka will require considerable time to be mature in the field, till then reliance on global partners will have to be resorted to. Turkish model of collaborating with space faring countries and simultaneously developing own public and private sector expertise for space is recommended to be adopted. Following

recommendations are proffered to garner support from global partners:

- i. Use of an alternative Navigation System. Sri Lanka currently operates only on US GPS navigation system, which can be unreliable in times of dire need. Therefore, as a short-term measure to ensure reliability, it is recommended to use another system such as GLONASS or BEIDO.
- ii. Sri Lanka should use its diplomatic and scientific institutes for propagating their own space program in order to gain support and investment in space domain. In this regard can gain support from USA, China, India, Pakistan and other technologically advanced countries like Turkey.
- iii. India is known to have inducted a large number of experts from Russia, Yugoslavia and Czech Republic. Sri Lanka should also adopt a similar assistance by hiring foreign experts for its space program.
- iv. Collaboration with Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS), Indian and other Chinese universities in training and educating future Sri Lankan space scientists and researchers.

B. Awareness Programmes

Awareness about space in the country is found wanting and requires a deliberate effort at all levels. Following recommendations are proffered in this regard:

- i. Government Level
 - (1) National media and social media networks should be harnessed to promote awareness about space applications amongst the masses.
 - (2) Dividends of adopting space sciences as a professional career be made public to attract more people joining the profession.
 - (3) Government must plan to create a Space Park with the aim of creating awareness and encouraging students and private sector.

- ii. Armed Forces Level. Followings are recommended to create awareness on the subject in Armed Forces:
 - (1) At Security Force Head Quarters level, study periods and symposiums be organised to create awareness about militarisation of outer space.
 - (2) Topic of outer space militarisation be introduced to all types of training establishments.
 - (3) At Command & Staff College, followings are recommended:
 - (a) Militarisation of outer space be introduced as a subject in future warfare package.
 - (b) A tutorial or tutorial exercise should be introduced on the subject in final term.
 - (c) More number of specialist guest speakers be invited to deliver talks on different avenues of space militarisation.

C. Policy Initiation

Dedicated organisational structures are being created in order to efficiently utilize the space-based capabilities in support of military operations. i.e. China's New Strategic Support Force (SSF), Integrated Space Cell (ISC) of India etc. These organisational arrangements assist in specific management and integration of space-based data, technologies & services on singular platforms. Effective system architecture would help Sri Lanka to shape the security environment, protect critical infrastructure, borders and coastlines. Following steps are recommended in this regard:

- i. Organisational Framework. A higher policy level forum may be formed at Ministry of Defence with reps from Arthur C. Clarke Institute, Centre for Research and Development, Resource personals from Universities & tri-services for formulation of Space Power doctrine that enumerates various active and passive measures to minimize the emerging threat to national security along

with a tangible plan for enhancement of Sri Lanka's space programme through program level objectives.

- ii. Expansion of Arthur C. Clarke Institute. It is required to be expanded this valuable organization by introducing new fields which are essential to create credible space workforce.

D. The Doctrine

Main pillars of the doctrine recommended to be formulated are as under:

- i. Sustained Government Support. Government needs to display its sustained support to the concept through adequate funding and acceleration of the process. In order to achieve this, a strong support to the socio-economic development process through space-based technologies, information and services is mandatory. This would not only resolve one of the core impediments i.e. the funding issue but will also generate a broader support and acceptance of Space Power in public sector.
- ii. National Acceptance. Attainment of Space Power requires immense acceptance as a national objective and wide acceptance amongst masses. Basic know how of the subject must begin from the school level and important topics in the field of space technology to include satellites basic functioning principles and laws involved in the flight of missile. At higher level more details be added, thus, making it a progressive learning process about the field.
- iii. Establishment of Space Science Faculties in Universities. A dedicated space science faculty in each university is suggested to be established, initially at national level and subsequently at other training institutes to increase the indigenous expertise in space sciences.

E. Miscellaneous

- i. Budget Allocation. Sri Lanka needs the basic technological wherewithal to further its space program; however, budget constraint is one of the main impediments. To help resolve this issue, private sector like local TV and radio channels, communication networks can be motivated to invest for developing an indigenous satellite.
- ii. Cost Efficiency. Sri Lanka needs to accelerate research and development and focus on minimizing the cost of space programs. It will increase international relevance of its space program and attract international investment. It is recommended to research on Nano satellites, which are cost effective and be replaced quickly to ensure continuous operations. Indian capability of cheap satellite launching facility is a case in point.

iii. Miniaturisation of Satellites. Sri Lanka must not follow the previous designs of military satellites as they carry colossal price tags. Instead, smaller and cheaper satellites must be worked out which has the potential to be replaced quickly.

iv. Passive Countermeasures. The application of camouflage, concealment and deception to hide military forces and to obstruct the overhead viewing of other strategic assets will provide some protection against satellite reconnaissance. During peacetime the important radars, weapons and communication systems should be provided camouflage and concealment with adequate radiation absorption materials. The innovative camouflage/concealment techniques need to be adopted to conceal strategic facilities, like stealth plates, IR shields and camouflage paint.

IX. CONCLUSION

Initially, space programs and technologies were used for communication, reconnaissance and navigation but due to changing patterns of future wars, the use of space for military purposes is exponentially expanding. Countries like USA, Russia, China, India and numerous others are committed to enhance their sphere in outer space including its military applications. Militarisation of space is an emerging trend which is likely to be used immensely in future conflagrations. South Asia, home to two nuclear armed nations is also witnessing progress in militarisation of space. Therefore, Sri Lanka should initiate its space programme with the collaboration of friendly nations in order to remain relevance with emerging trends in militarisation of space.

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Role of Military Professionals in Dealing with Construction Industry of Sri Lanka

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Abstract — *Construction industry is one of the main industries which contributes to the national economy. This paper is focused to identify the role of military professionals such Civil Engineers, Architects, Quantity Surveyors and Surveyors in dealing with the construction industry in Sri Lanka. This study is purely based on a case study which is in the progress of military construction project in Sri Lanka. Generating information on the civil-military construction environment, contributing the military professionals to the project, increasing the quality and the neatness of the project were considered as the major factors of this project. There were some civil labors and professionals involved in this project. But this study was mainly based on the military professionals and the data collection was done through the primary methods as questionnaires and the interviews. Data analysis was done by using the both qualitative and quantitative techniques. According to the opinions of the experts who are involved in this project, they can achieve the expected results of the time, cost and the quality of the project than the involvement of the civil professionals. Working under the military environment is giving a significant impact on the higher performance of the project than under the civil environment. This case study reveals that there should be a serious involvement of the military professionals in the construction industry. Then the construction projects will be cost effective, timely and high quality with the involvement of the military professionals. Finally, It is strongly recommended to have a proper mechanism to get the involvement of the military professionals to the construction industry of Sri Lanka for its sustainability.*

Keywords: Construction Industry, Military Professionals, Sri Lanka

I. INTRODUCTION

The building and construction industry is dynamic, diverse and of critical importance to the country's economy and our way of life. The Sri Lankan construction Industry increased construction projects after the year 2009 because there were no construction projects during the conflict situation in the North and East provinces (Dharmapala, Thilakarathna and Bandara, 2017). After the culmination of the conflict, government and private sector (local and foreign) attention was focused towards investing in mega projects such as high-rise buildings, airport, harbour, roads, highways, towers, port city. Further, the current government has a development plan for the country's future. This situation affects the Sri Lankan construction industry and it will be a valuable opportunity as well as a great challenge. Among all the challenges, lack of human capital is the biggest challenge (Silva, 2018).

There is an extra demand in the construction industry job category, such as craft, basic occupations, machinery

operators and assemblers. Furthermore, this indicates there is a vast skilled labour shortage in the Sri Lankan construction industry (Basnayake and Premathilaka, 2015).

To meet these targets the industry cannot rely on recruiting only from the traditional workforce. Indeed, it is said that the fact that major obstacles are being hacked to recruit the best people is largely ignored (Green, 2005).

In order to identify the need for different training and development activities for military-men in the construction industry, an exploration of factors that lead to the success of their careers is vital. Therefore, this paper details which career success factors have enabled professional military-men in the Sri Lankan construction industry to get their career advancement.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The construction industry plays an important role in the national economy. It also plays an important role in the direct and indirect growth of the country's GDP. It generates tax revenues for direct investment, income, large investments from local and international sources and good for the country's economy.

A. How will military professionals contribute to improving the construction process in Sri Lanka?

This research selected an on-going project and have done a case study and the results obtain are being analyzed both quantitative and qualitative methods. There are Army, Navy, Air Force and Construction Support Teams. Fifty military professionals from Army, Navy and Air Force were selected for this research. As per the feedback received given from these professionals, it was mentioned that criteria such as value for money, professionalism and quality, trust, flexible attitude, building local capacity, process transparency and force protection and local participation can be fulfilled by themselves as well as the civil professionals. Criteria such as

As to whether the military force is responsible for construction and reconstruction in a conflict scenario is debated. In this research an assumption was made that the military force is responsible in facilitating the other instruments of national power i.e. Diplomatic, Informational, Military, and Economic (DIME). The military construction professionals will, therefore, continue to play a crucial role in mitigating the gap between the tactical and the strategic level and the military and the civil actors in the future operation environment.

The military engineering discipline that is focused on affecting terrain while not in close support to maneuver forces. Tasks that are most frequently performed under general engineering conditions include the construction, repair, maintenance, and operation of infrastructure,

facilities, Lines of Communications (LOC), and bases, protection of natural and cultural resources, terrain modification and repair, selected explosive hazard activities, and environmental activities. These are the primary focus for general engineer units.

B. Construction workforce in Sri Lankan construction industry

With respect to the construction workforce, it has been found that a significant portion of them is casually employed and have had no proper training in any trades (Jayawardane, 1998). A survey on 3300 construction workers and 56 direct construction related agencies by Jayawardane et al (1998) revealed that the workforce consisted of 51% unskilled workers, 33% masons, 10% carpenters and 1-2% each of plumbers and electricians.

Professionals employed in the military are and the required skills and practices are being given to them. This training improves their working capacity and mainly focuses on the productivity and saving of government resources.

C. Impact on plants and materials

While the Sri Lankan construction industry is primarily a labour-intensive sector, trends in plant utilisation have emerged in road, telecommunication water supply and sanitation projects. The availability of plant and machinery has marginally improved. Contractors have moved away from labour-intensive construction methods to the use of capital-intensive operations such as the use of prefabrication systems, and ready-mixed concrete in high-rise buildings. This trend has been prompted by the demand for private housing as well as commercial and industrial buildings. The marginal increase has been mainly

due to contractors finding it difficult to invest in such equipment due to the devaluation of the local currency against the US dollar, and high interest rates in Sri Lanka (ICTAD, 1997).

D. Productivity of Military professionals

Productivity improvement in the construction industry is a deliberate process to improve the capacity and effectiveness of the industry to meet the demand for building and civil engineering products, and to support sustained national economic and social development objectives. However, building construction industry in Sri Lanka, these difficulties and challenges are present alongside a general situation of socio-economic stress, chronic resource shortages, institutional weaknesses and a general inability to deal with key issues in human resources. There is also evidence that the problems have become greater in extent and severity in recent years.

When it comes to the militaries, they are tends to deal with the job in a different manner than the others which will received from their initial training in respective training school so that will become a key factor on which supporting to mitigate the strength and withstand the stress factor in an efficient way and that will enrich to improve a construction productivity at this scenario.

In order to full fill the identified problem the objectives which were formulated as to identify the role of military professionals such Civil Engineers, Architects, Quantity Surveyors and Surveyors in dealing with the construction industry in Sri Lanka, To identify need of different training and development activities for professional militiamen's in the construction industry, To discover factors which are helped for professional militiamen in the Sri Lankan construction industry to get their career advancement.

III.METHODOLOGY

Primary data collection was primarily used for data collection. A questionnaire was developed for professionals in Sri Lanka who are involved in construction activities. Several questionnaire were conducted to confirm the data obtained from the questionnaire. There, data triangulation has been used. Hampson et al (2014) mentioned that questionnaires and interviews are recommended to study for the actual issues in the industries and the findings can construed from the actual experience and views.

These questions are based on research problems, research objectives and related literature. The research included construction professionals ranging from staff to a high management level in both military and civil field. Using simple random sampling systems to distribute the questionnaire, 50 professionals from the construction industry were selected. Conduct interviews with 5 professionals with clear knowledge in this area. Generally, professionals cover Civil Engineering, Surveying, Quantity Surveying and Architecture from military professionals also.

As per the results, the collected data was analyzed. Bhangale(2013) mentioned that they above methods are prominent for quantitative analysis. The questions were formed based on the main objectives 20 questions were developed for that.

Scale type questions developed for addressing the variables based on the following five points scale, 05 = Strongly Agree, 04=Agree, 03=Disagree, 02 =Strongly Disagree, , 01=Neutral. The limitation in the application of military professionals priorities are shortened under the following categories.

Table 1: The priorities of the questionnaire for Average Frequency Analysis

Average Index	Priorities of the issues
0.00 < Average Index 1.00	Strongly Disagree
1.00 < Average Index 2.00	Disagree
2.00 < Average Index 3.00	Neutral
3.00 < Average Index 4.00	Agree
4.00 < Average Index 5.00	Strongly agree

Source:

The relative index used to rank and priorities the questionnaire. This is calculated by the following formula,
 Relative index = $\frac{\sum 1 X1+2 X2+3 X3+4 X4+5 X5}{5 \sum X1+X2+X3+X4+X5}$

The following table is the brief discussion of the responds for the questions which were prepared based on objectives and further the results ranked based on the relative index and used to identify the immediate action to be taken for the application of research and development in construction.

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Table 2: Roles of the Architect in the Sri Lankan construction industry

	SA	A	N	DA	SD	Rel Inde x	Rank
1. Nowadays construction industry is more effective with the professionals in military field.	21	09	08	08	04	0.33	20
2. Military involvement in the construction industries of developing countries and development of the construction industries.	18	08	12	10	02	0.36	15
3. Prioritization of construction projects within the military chain of command and the military department.	16	09	10	09	06	0.34	19
4. With the involvement of military field, it can reduce the future labour shortage in construction industry.	18	11	13	04	04	0.37	12

5. Military construction professionals contribute to the defeat of the future threats in industry	19	12	09	06	04	0.37	12
6. Easy to obtaining of materials and plants will be easier gain from government properties.	18	12	07	08	05	0.36	15
7. Military construction professionals will be crucial when developing the civil-military relationship in the construction industry.	18	11	08	09	04	0.36	15
8. Establish a qualitative pace it is essential to mitigate the gap, or erase the border between military and non-military actors in construction field.	22	14	08	04	02	0.40	7
9. Military construction project need an authorization and a separate appropriation for each construction project.	17	16	11	05	01	0.39	10
10. Increasing the quality of the construction project, when involvement of military side.	21	16	08	03	02	0.41	5
11. Productivity of Military professionals are higher than that of civil professionals.	18	17	11	03	01	0.40	7
12. Since SL is a developing country and it should maximize the amount of resources which can being used from military.	19	15	8	07	02	0.39	10
13. Lack of resources and technology affect to the present market	12	15	16	05	02	0.36	15

with the other competitors.								
14. The experience of military professionals is enough to involve for the complex projects such as civil professionals	24	16	07	02	01	0.42	4	
15. Experience of the military professionals will be based on decision making.	21	17	08	03	01	0.41	5	
16. More preciously health and safety are been adapted by military professionals rather than others	15	17	10	05	03	0.37	12	
17. Neatness, trustworthiness is higher than in military professionalism.	23	21	04	01	01	0.43	1	
18. Effectiveness is the working capacity of the military workers is higher.	24	21	03	01	01	0.43	1	
19. Ability to handle large number of project at same time.	20	17	08	03	02	0.40	7	
20. Scheduling of work is on time.	26	15	07	01	01	0.43	1	

Source:

In our research we are tried to identify factors which are related to the construction industry with military professionals in Sri Lanka. Out of our questionnaire we tried to express the important of involving military professionals for construction industry. This research questionnaire had 20 questions.

According to the results of the questionnaire, out of our sample in 50 professionals in industry were delivered progressive answers for that.

A. Architect

Table 1 identified the various roles of an Architect among the Military professionals in the construction industry and the ranking of the factors through the use of Relative Significance Index (RSI).

	S	A	N	D	S	Rel	Ra
	A			A	D	Ind.	n.
	A						
1. Preparing application for planning and building control	3	6	3	6	32	0.832	3
2. Producing detailed working drawing and specification	0	1	0	1	34	0.928	1
3. Cost analysis and land-use study	4	30	10	3	3	0.484	5
4. Turning the client brief into drawing	0	1	1	1	33	0.920	2
5. Final construction plans	1	2	10	2	15	0.792	4

Source:

The survey revealed that Producing detailed working drawing and specification ranked first with RSI value of 0.928 among the roles of the architects in the Sri Lankan construction industry. Turning the client brief into drawing ranked second with RSI value of 0.920. Preparing application for planning and building control ranked third with RSI value of 0.832. These are followed by Final construction plans (0.792), and Cost analysis and land-use study (0.484). The result also showed that all the roles are significant with the least role having 48.4 (0.484) percent significance.

B. Engineers

Table 2 identified the various roles of an Engineer among the professionals in the construction industry and the ranking of the factors through the use of Relative Significance Index (RSI)

	S	A	N	D	S	Rel	Ran.
	A			A	D	Ind.	
	A						
1. Calculation of load and stresses the construction will safely withstand	0	0	1	3	46	0.980	1
2. Factorizing the qualities and strength of building materials	0	3	0	24	23	0.868	4
3. Incorporating structural members and foundation	0	7	3	15	25	0.832	5

4. Determining the suitability of the earth for construction	0	3	17	11	19	0.784	6
5. Organization and delivery of materials and equipment for construction	1	21	10	3	15	0.641	7
6. Management and supervision of on-site labour	3	16	12	6	13	0.640	8
7. Installing and maintain mechanical machinery, tool and component in a building	0	1	1	1	47	0.976	2
8. Installing and maintaining electrical control system	0	3	0	10	37	0.924	3

Table 2: Roles of the Engineers in the Sri Lankan construction industry

The roles of engineers in the Sri Lankan construction industry revealed that Calculation of load and stresses the construction will safely withstand ranked first with RSI value of 0.980, Installing and maintain mechanical machinery, tool and component in a building ranked second with RSI value of 0.976, and Installing and maintaining electrical control system ranked third with RSI value of 0.924. These are followed by Factorizing the qualities and strength of building materials (0.868), Incorporating structural members and foundation (0.832), Determining the suitability of the earth for construction (0.784), Organization and delivery of materials and equipment for construction (0.641), and Management and supervision of on-site labour (0.640). The result also showed that all the roles are significant with the least role having 64.0 (0.640) percent significance.

Surveyors

Table 3 identified the various roles of land surveyors among the professionals in the construction industry and the ranking of the factors through the use of Relative Significance Index (RSI).

	S	A	N	D	S	Rel	Ran.
	A			A	D	Ind.	
					A		
1. Building location survey	0	0	1	7	42	0.964	1

2. Foundation location	3	10	10	13	14	0.700	3
3. Preparing construction layout	1	18	5	8	16	0.656	4
4. Providing proposed site plan	1	11	13	7	18	0.720	2

Table 3: Roles of the Surveyors in the Sri Lankan construction industry

The roles of land surveyors in the Sri Lankan construction industry and revealed that Building location survey ranked first with RSI value of 0.964. Providing proposed site plan ranked second with RSI value of 0.720, Foundation location ranked third with RSI value of 0.700, and preparing construction layout ranked fourth with RSI value of 0.656. The result also showed that all the roles are significant with the least role having 65.6 (0.656) percent significance.

1) Quantity Surveyors

Table 4 identified the various roles of quantity surveyors among the professionals in the construction industry and the ranking of the factors through the use of Relative Significance Index (RSI).

	S	A	N	D	S	Rel	Ran.
	A			A	D	Ind.	
					A		
1. Preparing bill of quantity	0	0	0	2	48	0.992	1
2. Schedule of materials of building of project	1	7	4	19	19	0.792	4
3. Estimate cost relating to construction materials, time and labour and cost adviser	0	1	0	11	38	0.944	2
4. Variation of work in progress and materials on site for interim payment	0	1	7	15	27	0.872	3
5. Cash flow payment	3	11	5	13	18	0.728	5

Table 4: Roles of the Quantity Surveyors in the Sri Lankan construction industry

The roles of quantity surveyors in the Sri Lankan construction industry revealed that Preparing bill of quantity ranked first with RSI value of 0.992. Estimate cost relating to construction materials, time and labour and cost adviser ranked second with RSI value of 0.944, Variation of work in progress and materials on site for interim payment ranked third with RSI value of 0.872, Schedule of materials of building of project ranked fourth with RSI value of 0.792, and Cash flow payment ranked fifth with RSI value of 0.728. The result also showed that all the roles are significant with the least role having 72.8 (0.728) percent significance.

V. CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The development of the Sri Lankan construction industry has closely followed the economic changes during the past decade. According to the research findings, the involvement of Military Professionals in construction industry is important to the future of construction industry in Sri Lanka. So it would be the better if Sri Lankan construction industry, concern about the military involvement for the construction projects. As a result, civil professional participation in construction industry expected to dominate the industry with the involvement of expatriate contractors as service providers rather than traditional contractors.

A successful project is very much depending on the construction professionals to act as an effective manager. They should act as a generalist and a facilitator when coordinating projects. Normally military professionals are good at handling mediation, managing conflicts and negotiating terms with various other parties in the projects and so on. In fact, there are many kinds of relationships in construction projects. The milestone and pressure on the construction project is higher than the other industries. That way the relationship between them is needed to be clarified based on duties and responsibilities to achieve the objective of projects. The requirement for the professional in construction project becomes increasingly popular so governments requirement becomes success when this spot is being occupied by military personnel. The professionals in the construction industry have to provide their service to the client with accordance to the professional code of conduct to ensure that negligence not occurred in the consultant services. In handling disciplinary case that involve professionals of construction projects several legal guide lines to be obey by the party that handle disciplinary matters. Military professionals are under the two law they maintain high dignity and responsibility for their profession which keen to full fill the requirements of a professional in construction industry.

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