



*“For The  
Motherland  
Forever”*

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# STRAT KDU

Quarterly of the Department of Strategic Studies (DSS)  
Faculty of Defence & Strategic Studies  
General Sir John Kotelawela Defence University

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## SECURITY CONCERNS OF SRI LANKA - *Dr. Sara de Silva reporting*

Secretary of Defence, Mr. Gotabaya Rajapakse addressed on “Sri Lanka’s National Security Concerns” to inaugurate the first lecture on the National Interest Module under the MPhil/PhD Programme of the General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. This lecture highlighted the security challenges that Sri Lanka faces from various sources in the post-war era, and the need to formulate a comprehensive National Security Strategy to deal with the myriad of threat. His lecture was mainly divided in three areas: 1) Sri Lanka’s overall national security context; 2) the primary threat to our national security at present; and 3) strategies that are being formulated in response to these threats.

Starting off with a brief history of the armed forces, the Defence Secretary noted that the defence force was largely a ceremonial entity in the post-Independence Sri Lanka. However, the army gradually evolved to suit the prevailing security landscape of the time. The army successfully confronted the JVP insurrection of 1971 and 1989. Moreover, Sri Lanka saw the emergence of the greatest ever threat to its sovereignty in the form of terrorism by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in the 1970s. As the conflict worsened in the Eighties,

the threat of terrorism loomed all over the country. The second JVP insurrection caused further deterioration of the security situation



**Defence Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa  
RWP RSP psc MSC**

throughout Sri Lanka. The Secretary elaborated on the development of the Eelam Wars over the years by shedding light on the series of peace talks, foreign interference to the conflict, Indian intervention, Humanitarian Operations, and finally, the ultimate military defeat of the LTTE in 2009.

Since peace dawned in the country, Sri Lanka has accelerated its economic development and pushed to bring prosperity to its citizens. Following the end of the war, Sri Lanka must ensure the continued security of the country- as without security and stability, there will be no economic development. Among many, maintaining the Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity of the nation must be the top priority of the national security agenda. National

Security must be understood within a unified, single framework that integrates the nation’s Defence, Law and Order, Foreign Policy and Economic Policy.

The Secretary provided a detailed explanation of the several potential threats that is facing Sri Lanka today. These are: possible re-emergence of terrorism; emergence of other extremist groups; creation of ethnic divisions and communal violence; challenges of maritime security and border control; growth of organised crime; foreign interference on domestic affairs; and non-traditional threats through technology driven new media, including social media. In addressing the aforesaid challenges, he said that it is imperative for the Government to take a holistic view and to develop a comprehensive National Security Strategy that incorporates many of its elements into a single policy framework.

Subsequently, the Secretary described several developments and measures taken to improve internal security. These include the improvement of Intelligence Services coordination; augmenting resources allocated for Intelligence function; continued presence of armed forces in strategic locations throughout the country; improved coordination of National ID Card and border controlled system; increased capabilities of the Air Force, Navy and the Coast Guard. He also stressed the importance of forging a common Sri Lankan identity as a way forward to maintain the National Security of Mother Sri Lanka.

## DEPARTMENT OF STRATEGIC STUDIES-KDU



**“You may not be interested in strategy, but strategy is interested in you”**

**-Leon Trotsky-**

The Department of Strategic Studies (DSS) is a newly added teaching and research arm of the Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies (FDSS) of KDU. The Department of Defence Studies basically deals with the training of Officer Cadets and Day Scholars who are following undergraduate study programmes at the University. The Department of Strategic Studies

At the Department of Strategic Studies (DSS) we emphasise the importance of combining both theory and practice to understand international strategic environment. We have continued to evolve and advance our curriculum alongside the developments in strategic studies as branching off subjects of International Relations and International Political Economy.

specifically focuses on teaching and research in the field of Strategic Studies. Strategic studies is a discipline with an interdisciplinary academic approach concerning military Strategy, Geo-politics, Traditional and Non-traditional Security.

### VISION

To be the national focal point and resource centre for National Strategy towards making a well-informed strategic community in Sri Lanka.

### MISSION

To conduct the best teaching, research and outreach programs on strategic studies with multi-disciplinary approach for KDU students, officers of the Armed Forces, Police, Government and Private Sector officials and others who seek opportunities to learn the subject.

### AREAS WE FOCUS...

The DSS is affiliated and works closely with numerous Universities, Think Tanks and Foreign Policy Mak-

ing Institutions. The key areas that the DSS focuses on

Teaching Strategic Studies as an academic subject area in the KDU programmes.

Conducting researches on issues related to National Strategy.

Providing an alternative thinking on issues related to National Security for policy makers to analyse if and when inquired.

Assisting researchers on Defence and Strategic Studies or related subjects.

Organising seminars and round table discussions and conduct programmes regularly on strategic studies for Officers in the tri services, KDU officer cadets, Government officials, etc.

## OUR AIM

However, with contemporary developments in the field we have also come to incorporate transnational society. The overall objective of the Department of Strategic Studies is to focus and understand the events that are taking place in the international arena which has effects on the National Interest of Sri Lanka.

It further works to derive a strategy to enhance the National power as a small state in the South Asian Region. DSS constantly observes the events happening in geopolitical world and the behaviours of fellow states and non state actors influencing on strategic elements that has an impact on economics, military power, along with intelligence.

## VC'S VISIT TO NEW DELHI



**Vice Chancellor  
Major General Milinda  
Peiris RWP RSP USP  
ndc psc**

*“If money is your hope for independence you will never have it. The only real security that a man will have in this world is a reserve of knowledge, experience, and ability.”*

*-Henry Ford-*

The Vice Chancellor, Major General Milinda Peiris was on a two day visit to New Delhi for a round table discussion organised by the Anglia Ruskin University UK on “Impact of Internationalisation on Student Experience”. During his visit to India on 26<sup>th</sup> April, the Vice Chancellor paid a courtesy call on Dr. Arvind Gupta the Director General Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA),

New Delhi. This visit was organised as a gesture of developing cooperation on academic and research collaborations between IDSA and KDU.

At the IDSA, the Vice Chancellor had a fruitful discussion with the IDSA Director General and a group of Indian scholars. There the two institutions discussed the possible corporation and signing of a

formal agreement on such matters in the future. Dr. Arvind Gupta visited KDU with a group of IDSA scholars on 7<sup>th</sup> December 2012 to deliver a lecture and discuss prospects on future interaction between the two institutions.

The Vice Chancellor also participated in the Conference on *Political and Diplomatic Challenges Faced by Nations during and after Conflict Confined to Borders* organised by the Lakshman Kadirgamer Institute on 11<sup>th</sup> February 2013 and presented a paper titled

*“Sri Lanka - Pakistan Defence Cooperation”*

## PROF. CHEEMA AT KDU



Professor Pervaiz Iqbal Cheema, Dean, Faculty of Contemporary Studies, National Defence University, Pakistan, visited KDU on 10<sup>th</sup> February 2013 and addressed the Officers, Academia and Officer Cadets on the theme *South Asia Security*.

## DVC AT INDIA-SRI LANKA

### STRATEGIC DIALOGUE



The Deputy Vice Chancellor (Defence and Admin) Brigadier ALDM Gunasekara RSP USP psc was a member of the elite military delegation representing Sri Lanka to participate in the India –Sri Lanka Strategic Dialogue held on 24<sup>th</sup> January in New Delhi.

## THE KDU HOSPITAL IS INITIATED

The proposed KDU hospital is going to be a state of the art hospital in Sri Lanka





## EXECUTIVE IN RESIDENCE

KDU organised “DSS Executive in Residence”, a brainchild of Major General MP Peiris RWP RSP USP psc, the Vice Chancellor, KDU. This is a novel research oriented programme initiated with a view to compile insights and experiences of veterans in

### Sharing the Expertise of Maj Gen Denis Perera

the armed services and defence establishments in order to preserve their invaluable individual accounts on defence and strategy related issues for the use of researchers who works on National Security Strategy for Sri Lanka. The inaugural interview was held on 02<sup>nd</sup> March 2013

with General (Late) JED Perera VSV FCMI ndc psc, the Former Army Commander of Sri Lanka at the Kandawala Walauwa. This was one of the last interviews for which the deceased veteran Army Commander attended and the KDU was honoured to have such an interview with him and record his insights on many strategic issues for the benefit of researchers and academia in KDU.

Gen. JED Perera Passed Away on 10th August 2014

*“The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
If ye break faith with us who die We shall not sleep, though poppies grow”  
- In Flanders fields. -*

## DR. ARAVIND GUPTA AT KDU

The Department of Strategic Studies of the General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University (KDU) organised a guest lecture on “The Trends in Indian Foreign Policy” on Friday 07<sup>th</sup> December 2012 at the KDU Auditorium.

The guest speaker was Dr. Arvind Gupta, Director General, Institute for

Defence Studies & Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi, the premier defence think-tank in India.

Dr. Gupta who belongs to the Indian Foreign Service, had served diplomatic missions in Moscow, London and Ankara. Currently, he holds the rank of Additional Secretary to the Government of India.



Prior to joining the IDSA, he was a Joint Secretary at the National Security Council Secretariat from 1999 to 2007. He also worked with the Kargil Review Committee. Dr. Gupta visited KDU with a group of IDSA scholars who are researching on South Asia.

*“I will develop and implement an operational plan to make this country a local and international research and training centre for knowledge”  
— Mahinda Chinthanaya\_*

## THE DISCIPLINE CALLED ‘STRATEGIC STUDIES’

Strategic studies or the strategic thinking is an interdisciplinary field of study which is primarily developed on military strategy. It also covers diplomacy and politics, intelligence and security, international relations, geopolitics and business. The purpose of strategy or strategic thinking is widely understood to achieve or manage the futuristic goal with an inten-

tion of winning. Generally, the definitions and the terms of strategy and strategic approach are concerned with long-range objectives and ways of pursuing them that affect the system as a whole. According to Digman (1990), strategy is concerned as the organisation’s pre-selected means or approach to achieving its goals or objectives, while coined with current and future external conditions. Similarly, the recent definition given by the U.S “strategy is the art and science of developing instruments of national power in a synchronized and integrated fashion to achieve theatre, national, and /or multinational objectives”. -



By S. Satheesmohan -

**weigh the situation, then move. Sun-Tzu**



## TAMIL NADU PERSPECTIVES ON SRI LANKA

Mr. N Sathiyamoorthi, Director of the Observer Research Foundation, Chennai Chapter joined as a guest with

Mr. Sathiyamoorthi, the Chennai journalist who is also popular in Sri Lanka for his writings on bilat-

KDU academia in a Roundtable Discussion titled *Tamil Nadu's Perspective on Sri Lanka* on 15<sup>th</sup> May 2013 as media is painting a souring picture, what is nevertheless otherwise, according to the outspo-

eral issues brought out several measures that could be taken to further improve people to people relations between Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka.

He further pointed out that there should be collaborative research opportunities between Tamil Nadu and Sri Lankan Universities.

*“Terrorism is the intentional use of, or threat to use violence against civilians or against civilian targets, in order to attain political aims”*

## A LECTURE ON TERRORIST FINANCING

A renowned scholar on terrorists' networks' modus operandi of LTTE Financing conducted a closed door roundtable discussion on ***"LTTE Financing - How they collected funds and where is it now"*** at the Vice Chancellor's Conference Room on 12<sup>th</sup> July, 2013.

The lecture was based on Chatham house rules of non attribution. The guest who is an expert on terrorism financing focused on LTTE overseas

networks in the aftermath of its military defeat and according to him the LTTE financing structure has been segmented and being controlled by three main groups. He further elaborated that the funding network has been not dismantled.

Major General Milinda Peiris RWP RSP USP, the Vice Chancellor KDU, Brigadier ALDM Gunasekara RSP USP psc, Professor Susirith Mendis Deputy Vice Chancellor academics were also among the participants.



## KDU INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH SYMPOSIUM 2013

The 6th annual International Research Symposium of the General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University was held on 22nd and 23rd August 2013. The theme for this year's symposium was "Sri Lanka as a Hub in Asia: The Way Forward". Mr. Lalith Weeratunge Secretary to HE the President was the chief guest of the inauguration and among the other distinguished invited

guests where Mr. Gotabaya Rajapakse Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and Urban Development, the Chief of Defence Staff, the Tri Forces Commanders, High commissioners, Defence Attaches and diplomats from various countries, chairperson of the UGC and Vice Chancellors of national universities. Mr. Lalith Weeratunge, in his key note address elaborated as how Sri Lanka can achieve hub status in the South Asian region.



The scholars of the Department of Strategic Studies presented four academic papers on Terrorism, Maritime Security, Public Diplomacy and conceptualising strategy.

# MARITIME SECURITY IN SOUTH ASIA: STRATEGIC IMPLICATIONS



On 08 July 2013 the second National Security Advisor-level Meeting on Trilateral Cooperation on Maritime Security between India, the Maldives and Sri Lanka was held in Sri Lanka at the Ministry of Defence. At this meeting the process of negotiations between the three countries over the last couple of years involving several senior official and technical level consultations culminated in the signing of a document detailing specific areas of cooperation in the maritime security sphere.

Speaking at the December 2012 Galle Dialogue Sri Lanka's Defence Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa revealed that a key objective this trilateral maritime security

**The Small boat concept developed by the SL Navy**

cooperation initiative was information sharing aimed at increasing Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA). The Maritime Domain Awareness Plan proposed by the Concept Paper on a National Maritime Security Strategy for Sri Lanka produced by the Kadirgamar Institute in 2008 calls for the laying of a foundation for an effective and comprehensive understanding of the maritime domain and its impact on the security, safety, economy or environment of Sri Lanka. According to it MDA is heavily dependent on information sharing both nationally and internationally. Hence, the information sharing envisioned by Para-

graphs 1-3 and cooperation in training identified by Paragraph 4 of the above mentioned document can play an important role in augmenting Sri Lanka's MDA. From the point of view of Sri Lanka and the Maldives this cooperative initiative provides an opportunity to draw on India's substantial maritime capabilities for enhancing their national maritime security. For example, the sharing of naval assets for EEZ surveillance provided for in Paragraph 6 of the above mentioned document would enable Sri Lanka and the Maldives to make use of Indian vessels for effectively and comprehensively policing their large EEZs, albeit on a case by case basis, for which by themselves they simply do not have the required capabilities in sufficient quantities. From India's point of view this initiative can go some way towards neutralizing its fears of 'encirclement' by China in South Asia such as those that have been expressed over China's alleged 'string of pearls', even though ultimately it is only greater strategic understanding between India and China themselves that can pave the way for getting beyond this threat perception.

*By Dr. Sithara Fernando*

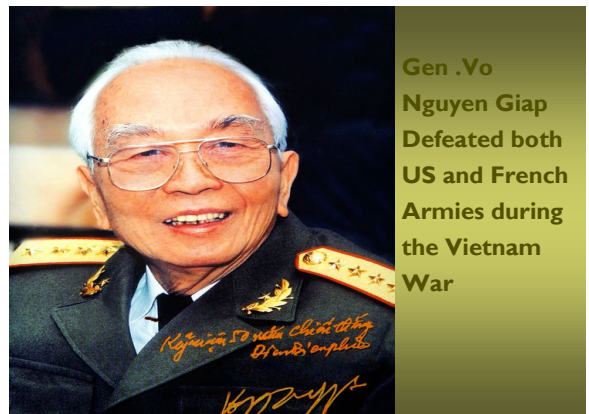
# GUERRILLA WARFARE GURU GEN. VO NGUYEN GIAP, DIES AT 102

Gen. Vo Nguen Giap, who led the out-gunned Vietnamese to victory first over the French and then the Americans, died Friday. He was 102, the last of the country's old-guard revolutionaries.

Giap, a national hero, take pleasure in a legacy second only to that of his mentor, founding President and independence leader Ho Chi Minh.

Known as the "Red Napoleon," Giap died in a military hospital in the capital of Hanoi, because of illnesses, according to a government official and a person close to him.

Gen. Giap is regarded as a theorist who contributed majorly for the development of the concept of guerilla warfare in Strategic Studies. -NY Daily -



**Gen .Vo Nguyen Giap Defeated both US and French Armies during the Vietnam War**

# MAHABODHI TEMPLE ATTACKS: IMPLICATIONS TO SRI LANKA'S NATIONAL SECURITY



The serial blasts that rocked the holy Mahabodhi temple in Bodhgaya on July 7<sup>th</sup> were not a mere tragedy for India, but for Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. It is unclear whether the suspected Indian Mujahideen (IM) operatives specifically targeted Sri Lankans or Buddhists in general. Some initial speculations pointed to a possible involvement of pro-LTTE or anti-Sri Lankan elements. Surely, Colombo has ample reasons to be concerned as a result of the temple blasts. Looking at the bigger picture, Sri Lanka can very well become the next target of Mahabodhi temple-like terrorist attacks in the near future in her own soil.

According to reports, the blasts were most likely conducted by the jihadists as a reprisal attack against the plight of Rohingya Muslims in Burma. If so, Sri Lanka—more than India—possesses ample conditions to become a prime target of such attacks by external forces. Apart from the obvious fact that the Sri Lankan population is predominantly Buddhists, the recent developments have attracted Sri Lanka to become a vulnerable target of reprisal attacks. Domestically, religious and communal extremism are being advocated by

**Buddhist  
Monk at  
Bodhgaya**

certain groups. Internationally, this has been projected in an exaggerated manner that Sri Lanka has been put on a par with the crisis in Burma. A protest organised by the British Muslims was held in London in April in front of the Sri Lankan Embassy, calling for a Jihad against Muslim oppression and 'genocide' in Sri Lanka. In the following month, Dalai Lama publically expressed his dismay that the Buddhist monks in Burma and Sri Lanka are destroying Muslim mosques or families, and implored the monks in respective countries to end violence towards Muslims. While the magnitude of religiously-motivated violence in this country is nowhere near what we witness in Burma, we cannot entirely dismiss the possibility of retaliation attacks on our soil for what is happening in Burma.

The indigenous home-grown elements are unlikely to unleash terrorist attacks independently at this point in time. The most likely threat is a small-scale low intensity attack perpetrated by external elements that manage to infiltrate the Sri Lankan borders and perhaps collaborate with certain domestic elements for logistical purposes. In fact, we should not dismiss a potential collaboration of pro-LTTE and jihadist elements in the near future. While ideological differences exist between the two entities, the objective of undermining Sri Lanka's national security is a strong common ground. Accordingly, an all-inclusive national security strategy is required to combat the threat and mitigate potential damages.

At operational and tactical levels, the security establishments need to remain vigilant and continue their efforts in intelligence collection and foiling potential incidents. Sri Lanka cannot afford intelligence lapses and failures as seen with the Bodhgaya incident. The law enforcement agencies must maintain a state-of-the-art international and regional intelligence sharing mechanism. This is paramount because the threat is likely to emanate from offshore; thus, domestic intelligence alone is insufficient to counter the menace. At a strategic level, first and foremost, seeds of extremism must be eliminated from within. Second, increasing community engagement and national resilience as a counter-terrorism tool is paramount. The different communities regardless of faith and ethnicity must be unified to build resilience against external threats. National resilience consolidates the Sri Lankan identity, as well as deters communal violence following terror attacks. To this end, it is imperative for the government to look beyond the immediate security implications of the Mahabodhi temple blasts.

**Deliberate killing of innocent civilians is terrorism,  
not a war against terrorism.**

**-Noam Chomsky -**

*By— Dr. Sara de Silva*

## RETHINKING THE MILITARY AND MEDIA RELATIONS IN THE POST CONFLICT SRI LANKA



The victorious “Humanitarian Operation” that decimated the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam by the Sri Lankan armed forces at the time revealed successful military-media relations in the battle front. Nevertheless, certain segments of the Tamil Diaspora connected to the LTTE are now active in the aftermath of the conflict, being domiciled offshore. In this context, global media have provided them an ideal platform to continue with LTTE slogans despite the military defeat. Therefore, Sri Lankan military should continue with proper

military media relations in order to counter the threat.

The Post conflict Rehabilitation, reconstruction and reconciliation process in Sri Lanka has been a tremendous success. People live in a normal life now. Peace has dawned in the country. A political process is also moving in the right direction to address the core issues of the conflict. Post conflict military-media relations in Sri Lanka should therefore, focus to bring such miracles to light of the wider global community in order to counter the LTTE adverse propaganda. This has been an area which Sri Lanka

is yet to focus on. Failure to do so will have serious implications in the post conflict resolution process despite the notable success Sri Lanka has achieved in the aftermath of the conflict.

Armed conflicts are a source of news. What we now witness is the blatant use of media by the adversary and the apathy of reporting violence and poverty in the globe by many media giants to catch the media market. They do not see the realities of a South Asian small nation coming out of the ashes. They are still reluctant to witness the unfolding scenario in Sri Lanka as opposed to an armed conflict. What is lacking in them is reporting the status quo in perspectives of development journalism. This is what a small nation would really want to stand straight.

In this context, Sri Lankan media apparatus also should understand a few points. In the post armed conflict, military media relations should take a new shape; change its courses of action, strategies and even the way of reporting if it is to efficiently cope up with unfolding challenges towards a lasting peace in the country.

*By : Maj. Hemantha Dayaratne*

## MASTER OF DEFENCE AND STRATEGIC STUDIES to be commenced on 15th February 2014

The Department of Strategic Studies in collaboration with Faculty of Graduate Studies (FGS), KDU, has introduced a Masters of Defence and Strategic Studies (MDSS), which will be commenced on the 15th of February 2014.

MDSS envisions developing a strategic community and broadening their horizons in order to serve the National Interest of Sri Lanka. The Masters Programme is in line with the view to educate participants, on established and emerging knowledge in Defence and Strategic Studies as a interdis-

iplinary field of Study. Further it will also analyse various theories, concepts, methodologies and techniques related to Strategic Studies in order to broaden their knowledge.

In the end of the course the participants will be educated on the contemporary global and regional Defence and Strategic settings and its relevance to Sri Lanka. The Faculty expects to attract applicants for the MDSS from Officers in the Armed Services including Police Diplomatic Community Government and Private

Sector Officials, Academia and any eligible individual who seeks opportunity to learn Strategic Studies

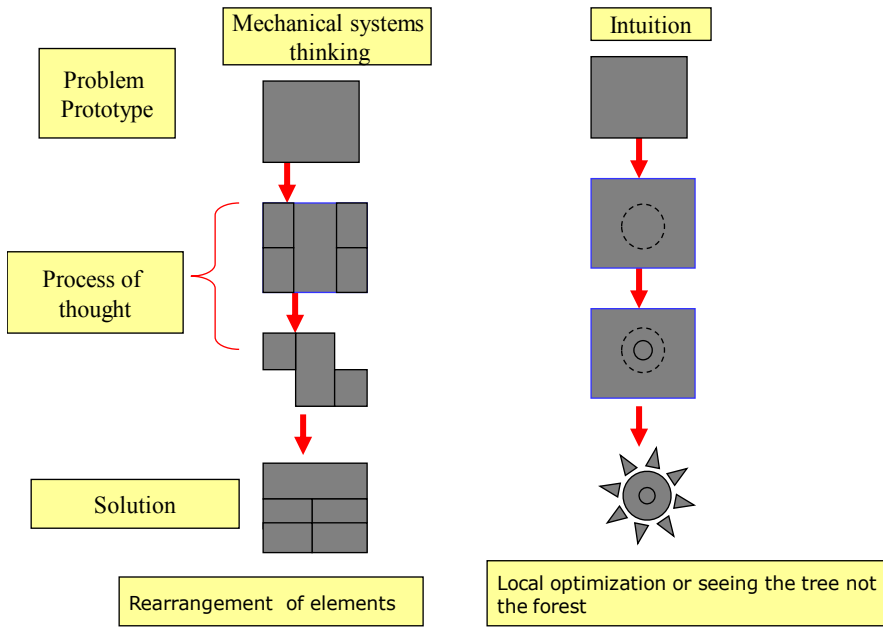


**MDSS will be a Masters Programme on Strategic and Defence Studies open for public**



# THE IMPACT OF NON RATIONAL ELEMENTS ON STRATEGY AND WARFARE

**Figure : Rational Versus Non – rational (intuitive) Perspectives of Strategy**



The main argument in the proposed research proposal is that strategies of war cannot be studied accurately as in the case of a scientific analysis. Further, the research assumes that the study of war is more of an art than a science. As the world famous critic of strategy and warfare, Clausewitz (1984) suggests much could be learned about strategies of warfare from a careful analysis of war; it could always be a highly unpredictable affair shaped by factors such as friction, uncertainty and chance as well as by non – rational factors such as psychological, moral and creative forces that influence the strategists (Clausewitz, 1984; Handel, 1989). Unlike those who are convinced that the strategy will ultimately be transformed into an accurate, predictable discipline, many critics assumed that theory – and therefore the practice of war could be influenced by certain limitations (Mintzberg, 1976; Clausewitz, 1984).

Critics of war, strategy and intelligence argue that the logic of war and its paradoxical nature are best understood through the study of military history with cautious reference to personal experiences of the upper echelons of leadership in war (Hendel, 1989). In view of the suggestions made by the leading critics of

strategy and warfare, this proposal underlines the importance of studying the theoretical and practical insights of the upper echelons of military leadership who confronted the critical battles launched against terrorists of Sri Lanka.

Professor D.S Withane of the DSS , KDU and Peter Voyer of the Odette School of Business, University of Windsor, Ontario will carry out the empirical analysis to test the above hypothesis by administering a set of 241 higher echelons of Sri Lankan Military and 152 senior officers of Canadian armed services. The findings of the study will be published towards the end of 2014.

By: Prof DS Withane

## DSS TO PUBLISH FOUR BOOKS ON STRATEGIC ISSUES

There are four volumes edited by the DSS to be published in the year 2014. They are namely *Countering Terrorism in Sri Lanka : Challenges and Lessons Learned*, edited by Dr. Sara De Silva, Senior Lecturer, DSS.

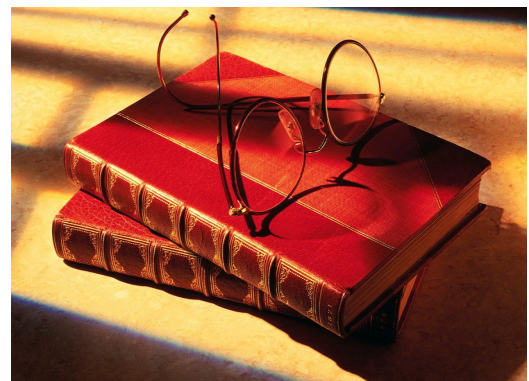
*Non-Traditional Security Studies in the Indian Ocean Region: Challenges and opportunities*,

*Traditional Security Studies in the Indian Ocean Region: Challenges and opportunities* edited by Dr. Sithara Fernando, Senior Lecturer, DSS.

*Introduction to Strategic Studies* as a manual for Officer Cadets and other interested parties who are pursuing their career in strategic studies

Various scholars representing their expertise in thematic issues will be contributing to these books and KDU will be publishing them as

lending hand to the development of the research and development activity of the Strategic Studies discipline.



**There is no Loyal Friend as a book**  
-Ernest Hemingway -

## SECURITY OF NON NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES IN SOUTH ASIA

It is very rarely that a country's nuclear doctrine enters in to public discourse. Even within the contours of the state level nuclear debate, the issues of minimizing the chances of nuclear war and the chances of nuclear survival remain unsolved. However States possessing nuclear weapons against the global security issues; attach themselves an element of glamour to such possession. In the international scenario, the entire permanent member states of the *Security Council* of the *United Nations*; who are bestowed with decision making power on ultimate security threats to the globe; legally possess nuclear weapons. The nuclear weapons they possess are recognized by the *Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty* (NNPT) or in other words International Law. This kind of recognition might have created an anxiety in the minds of states that do not possess nuclear weapons, and may pave the way to enter into nuclear weapons culture and increase the demand for nuclear weapons.

The Nuclear Deterrence as a concept has been drastically changed since the end of the Cold War. Therefore, how to survive from a nuclear catastrophe is a new dilemma faced by Non Nuclear Weapon State (NNWS).

However when there are two states (India and Pakistan) developing nuclear weapons in the neighborhood; who work outside the authority of *Nuclear Non Proliferation Treaty* (NPT), it definitely poses a serious threat to the security of NNWS in the region. It is obvious that any interventionist policy by a state under the backdrop of nuclear weapons power may create a great misery to NNWS.

Keeping IAEA safeguard mechanisms apart; concerns about the safety of nuclear power plants that weapon states possess have played a major role in safety of the region. Big expansion of nuclear power has lead to new safety concerns. New suppliers like South Korea, China, and India could enter the field to meet expanded energy demand, and there is some evidence that some of the existing plants of these countries have not met the expected level of quality control standards.

In addition, countries that are not using nuclear power may also implement a complex set of regulations and also foster the development of resilient safety and security cultures and laws depending on the close proximity to and level of vulnerabilities to nuclear facilities. This could be quite challeng-

ing for some developing countries. Finally, in states with existing power plants, the extension of reactor operations beyond their initial lives could potentially result in new problems of safety if construction materials age in unanticipated ways.

South Asia is one of the most focused geographic areas with regard to contemporary global security. Political and economic instability



inherited by long years of colonialism and the possession of nuclear weapons have threatened South Asia's regional security to a greater

extent. The security of the region depends to a large extent on the mechanics of nuclear deterrence; but non-adherence to deterrence by hostile nations i.e. India and Pakistan may result in large scale destabilization.

People and political entities of South Asia possess distinguishing characteristics that reflect their security perceptions. South Asia is also regarded as one of the most populated geographical areas which are vulnerable to many violent conflicts. Some countries of South Asia are considered as breeding grounds for most dangerous terrorist organizations. The irritating problem for NNWS is that the nuclear safety of the region is not secured by the popular international treaty mechanisms on nuclear disarmament.

By: Sanath de Silva

*At the start of 2012 eight states possessed approximately 4400 operational nuclear weapons. Nearly 2000 of these are kept in a state of high operational alert. If all nuclear warheads are counted—operational warheads, spares, those in both active and inactive storage, and intact warheads scheduled for dismantlement—the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, China, India, Pakistan and Israel together possess a total of approximately 19 000 nuclear weapons*

## POST- CONFLICT SRI LANKA: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Since the colonial paradigm shifted to an autonomous island nation, Sri Lanka had been struggling to maintain its unitary form of state where the multi-ethnic nature seemed controversial. Its consequences continue even after the long-run civil conflict ended in May, 2009. The total elimination of the LTTE known as the world's ruthless entity from the island nation, gave utmost legitimacy to the government of Sri Lanka to manage its internal and regional security concerns, and also created a solid space for a unitary state where every single citizen could enjoy peace and live in ethnic harmony.

Four years since the conflict ended, no one can claim that a single terrorist attack occurred in Sri Lankan soil or that the Northern Tamils had a single issue related to their transport in order to access the Embassies and to visit their relatives who live across the capital of Sri Lanka. Also, it is imperative to mention that the country had a great challenge to deal with its massive IDP population, which was nearly a three hundred thousand, who had been trapped in the conflict. Almost all of them have been resettled to their homes. Similarly, nearly 12000 ex- LTTE combatants who fought against the sovereignty of the state had been re-integrated into the society with an adequate vocational skill in which they find betterment than their ruthless regime in the past. Likewise, the post-

conflict effort particularly in the North and the East shifted to a paradigm where the new generation of the respective provinces could enjoy the prosperous and fearless atmosphere that never existed before.

Further, the positive impact of the development is seen across the island nation since the war ended in 2009 and the role of the military in the post-conflict nation-building is further witnessed as a vital contribution in the process. In this regard, the entire Sri Lankan population enjoys the absence of war, zero- tolerance of terrorism, plurality and the democratic gateway in day to day life. Being a peaceful and also a strategically important island nation, Sri Lanka plays a crucial role as a hub in the Indian Ocean. Hence, the greatest opportunities are met in order to enhance its global trade and commerce far better and to maintain both internal and regional security much effectively. Therefore, it is imperative to mention that Sri Lanka is on board towards a wonder of Asia and a shining pearl of its regional water.

Meanwhile, there are certain concerns that threaten national integrity and ethnic harmony. For instance, the ethnic politics in the North and the East bring into a mainstream for Tamil ethnic nationalism and its self-determination. Likewise the religious extremism which takes place across the country could damage its cohesion in a plural society.

Also, the world interference in terms of so-called upholding human rights and human

liberty boosted the platform for separatism and ethnic divisions in the country. With this regard, the Tamil National Alliance (TNA)'s manifesto for Northern Provincial Council (NPC) elections 2013 is significant as the reviving phenomenon of separatism with a form of so-called internal self-determination which had been already mentioned by Anton Balasingham, the chief negotiator of the LTTE. Alternatively, the Tamils have the right to exercise the self-determination through a federal structure within a united Sri Lanka.

There are also serious concerns that TNA is showing their temptation to re-merge the North and the East in order to strengthen votes and its nationalist politics. This is again seen as a beachhead to a secessionist temptation or for Pan-Tamil nationalist politics.

Against this backdrop, despite Sri Lanka is stepping forward into a new era that is believed to be a non- armed society, there are indeed challenges that the country is facing in terms of its ethnic politics from the North and East and certain international interferences that is heavily infringing upon the sovereignty of our nation. It is widely understood that this condition may also boost certain groups of people who seek benefits by destabilising the sovereignty of the state for their own gain.

In the meantime, the TNA's leading victory in the NPC election in 2013 is hopeful as the way forward for sustainable peace within a unitary democratic framework. Therefore, the TNA must co-exist with the central government and use this greatest opportunity for the unity of our motherland.

*By: S.Satheessmohan*

### THE BROWN BAG SESSION

The Brown Bag Session -a research based initiative organised by the Department of Strategic Studies (DSS)- is progressing well. This year the DSS conducted eight sessions. The inaugural session was conducted by the initiator of the idea, Prof. DS Withane and the title of the presentation was *The Impact of Non-Rational Elements on Strategy and Warfare*. Mr. Wasantha Premaratne, Senior Lecturer, Management, Social Sciences and Humanities made a presentation under the title *Factors Affecting the Adoption of Internet Banking in Sri Lanka*. Dr. Charitha Gunasekara of the Faculty of Medicine spoke on *The Development of Low Cost Molecular Based Diagnostic Method for Tuberculosis* in April this year. Prof. Ranjith Perera made a futuristic presentation on *Nuclear Power Generation: Is It An Option for Sri Lanka*. Dr. Prathibha Mahanamahewa, Dean of the Faculty of Law was the fifth speaker and he talked about *Cyber Security*. Prof SK Karunananda, Research Dean presented a very interesting presentation on *Sharing of Research Experiences: Pitfalls and Flag Posts*. Prof. Susirith Mendis, Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academic) conducted a lecture on *Stress Management*. For the October session, Brigadier ALDM Gunasekara, Deputy Vice Chacellor (Defence & Administration) delivered a presentation with a regionally important security aspect titled *SAARC and Security Concerns of the South Asian Region*.

# CONCEPTUALISING NATIONAL POWER AND STRATEGY

Power has always been an interesting notion and a concept in Politics and International Relations. According to the realist political thought, nations are struggling with each other for power. Morgenthau (1948) describes political power as mutual relations of control among the holders of public authority and between the latter and the people at large. Political power is a psychological relation between those who exercise it and those over whom it is being exercised. The diagram below illustrates a comprehensive map of national power. According to realists, Nation is an abstract concept that is represented by its members, and power is defined by strategic plan, goals, means and ends.

From ancient authors like Kautilya and Machiavelli to the contemporary scholars like Kenneth Waltz, all have

stressed the importance of power as a concept and it serves as the core objective in the Realist approach to International Relations.

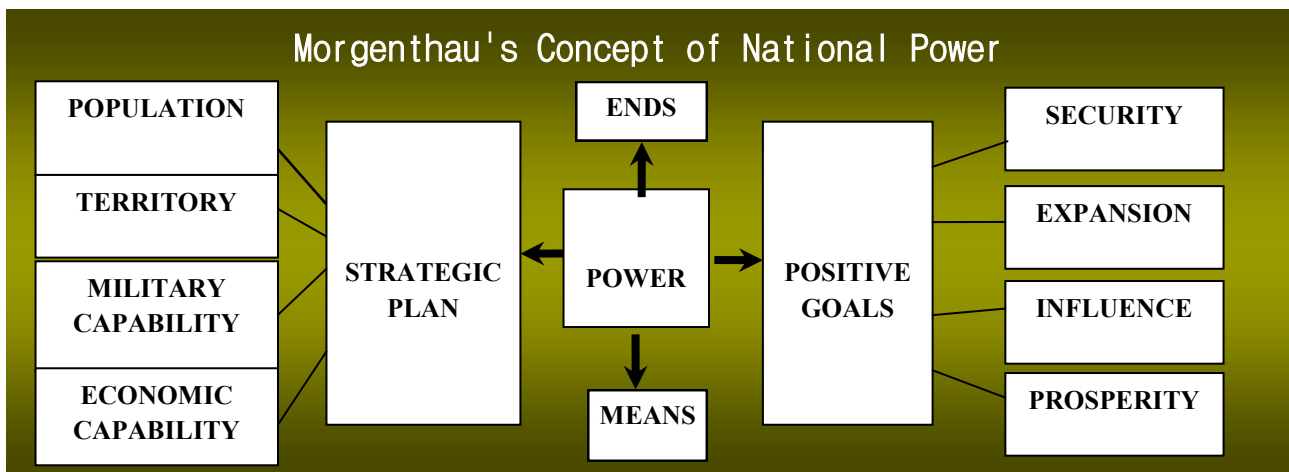
In the contemporary world, National Power of a state is not solely determined by military capability/capacity. There are other elements such as population, territory, economic capacity which contributes greatly to achieving this status. All these elements together contribute and determine the security and the strategic direction of the country. Population is one of the key factors in determining the power of a country. The concept of power has its origins within the notion of Social contract. Population is an essential party to this so-called social contract. The size of the population will have both negative and positive attributes and in most occasions it supports a nation to become

powerful in many areas.

Throughout history, military capacity along with the territory was the key to success and to rise above others. Nation with a stronger army tends to conquer more lands and expands its territory and draw all the resources to become powerful than the rest. When analysing the intentions of the conquerors in history from Genghis Khan to Napoleon and from Bismark to Hitler, the commonality among them all is the rise and use of military capability in expanding the size of the territory. Based on the strengths of these elements, the strategic architecture, the principle road map of any sovereign nation, is designed.

The strategic architecture of any nation is aimed at safeguarding the territorial security whilst expanding its influence among the others and to become prosperous. The strategies adopted in achieving these goals vary from nation to nation and sometimes they rebound and destroy the very essence they aimed to uphold.

By: *Lt Col Chandana Wickramasinghe*



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