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About Us Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) is the premiere national security think tank of Sri Lanka under the Ministry of Defence.

The National Security Think Tank Holds Discussion On: "Violent Extremism in Sri Lanka"





Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) held its 'Threat Lens Discussion' titled "Easter Sunday Terrorist attacks: Countering Violent Extremism in Sri Lanka" at the Ministry of Defence Auditorium on May 16.

INSSSL researchers presented their analysis on three interrelated areas: geopolitical dimension of the Easter Sunday terrorist attacks, radicalizing drivers of Islamic extremism in Sri Lanka and the economic fallout of the terrorist attack.

Director General of INSSSL Asanga Abeyagoonasekera outlined competing geopolitical explanations on the Easter Sunday attack and observed that 'Sri Lanka was staged' for the attack. He proposed security and intelligence reforms in the age of big data in order to proactively counter violent extremism and terrorism.

Senior Fellow **Dr Ranga Jayasuriya** argued that violent attacks on Easter Sunday were only a tip of the iceberg of a much larger non-violent extremism spearheaded by the spread of Wahhabism and Arabization of Sri Lankan Muslim community. He noted that in order to prevent the recurrence of future attacks and the self- alienating of the Muslim community, the government should strive to reverse the Wahhabi phenomenon.

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INSSSL Holds a Public Lecture on: "Why the Stabilization of Afghanistan Matters For Ensuring Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean"



Afghanistan is a prime example: over the past forty years, geopolitical tensions have imposed destructive conflicts on what is one of the most naturally endowed countries at the heart of rising Asia.

On Monday the 8th of April 2019, various academics, diplomats, military officers and distinguished guests met for a public lecture on 'Why the Stabilization of Afghanistan Matters for Ensuring Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean'. This was organized by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) and attended by guest speaker HE M. Ashraf Haidari, Ambassador of Afghanistan.

After a warm welcome from the Director General of INSSSL, Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, **HE M. Ashraf Haidari** spoke extensively about Afghanistan and how it matters to the maritime security in the Indian Ocean.

Coming from a landlocked but increasingly land-sea-air-linked country, Afghanistan's many difficulties facing maritime security are land-based and their resolution requires an inclusive approach which promotes cooperation and partnership between littoral and landlocked countries to address their shared problems. Indeed, maritime security, on which much global economic growth depends, is interconnected with events in landlocked countries.

In absence of peace in Afghanistan to enable sustainable development that secures the future of the youthful population, poverty permeates the society, and this provides an enabling environment for such maritime security challenges as terrorism, drug trafficking, arms smuggling and human trafficking—among others. These threats have been thoroughly examined and discussed, which directly relate to the challenges that confront Afghanistan and international partners.

Over the past 18 years, Afghanistan has been a victim of external aggression in the form of terrorism. As a proxy of a coastal state, the Taliban have daily killed and maimed innocent Afghans, while destroying the infrastructure that should help connect and integrate Afghanistan with their surrounding resourceful regions in the North and South for increased trade, business and investment.

The Taliban insurgency has enabled several terrorist networks with global and regional reach to operate out of Afghanistan. At the same time, this imposed insecurity has enabled a permissive environment for mass drug cultivation and production in Afghanistan, which now



provides more than 90 per cent of regional and global demand for drugs.

In turn, revenues from the drug trade finances terrorism and fuel dysfunctional corruption that undermines governance and rule of law, which together destabilize drug producing and transit countries alike.

Sri Lanka is a victim of increased drug addiction while serving as a transit country, through which narcotics are trafficked elsewhere.

Because of the interconnectedness of these imposed security challenges, Afghanistan is facing a complex humanitarian crisis with diminishing human security. Hence, this makes our country a major source of refugees and asylum seekers, who are often ferried by human smugglers to Europe, Australia and elsewhere. As we see, what is imposed on and happens in countries like Afghanistan directly affects maritime security.

This dangerous situation necessitates that littoral and landlocked states no longer pause but join hands, pool their resources, and share intelligence to pursue and implement a common counterterrorism strategy—one that doesn't make any distinction between terrorist networks. Alongside this effort, they must work together to free their nations of abject poverty, knowing that a lack of human security allows terrorists, extremists, and state-sponsors of terrorism to recruit among the jobless, destitute youth to radicalize, brainwash and exploit them in conflicts of their choice.

Indeed, the best way to fight poverty that feeds terrorism is to foster political and security confidence-building through regional economic cooperation. The latter can serve as an important enabler in deepening connectivity, enhancing competitiveness and productivity, lowering transaction costs, and expanding markets in any region.

How can this be done?

In fact, Afghanistan has already put forth a number of strategic solutions for support, adoption and implementation by our coastal and landlocked neighbours. These include:

- The Heart of Asia–Istanbul Process (HOA-IP)
- The Regional Economic Cooperation Conference on Afghanistan (RECCA)

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- The Kabul Process for Peace and Security Cooperation
- The Joint Counter-Terrorism and Counter-Narcotics Strategy
- The Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS).

Afghanistan has worked hard to establish these Afghan-led processes to help secure regional cooperation for Afghanistan's stabilization and sustainable development. It goes without saying that a stable Afghanistan at the heart of rising Asia will help ensure stability and prosperity throughout our surrounding regions. That is why it is in the best short- and long-term interests of coastal and non-coastal countries to participate in and to double and triple their efforts to achieve the shared goals of regional security and development of cooperation mechanisms.

Every tangible step these countries take toward using these processes will help minimize their (and other countries') vulnerability to terrorism and its state sponsors. That is why time is of the essence and they must reaffirm their often-pledged commitments to the implementation of the projects, programs, and policies, proposed under these mechanisms of regional cooperation.

In November 2017, the 7th Regional Economic Cooperation Conference on Afghanistan (RECCA) took place in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan.The conference focused on "Deepening Connectivity and Expanding Trade through Investment Infrastructure and Improving Synergy." RECCA remains a major opportunity for Afghanistan's littoral and landlocked neighbours to take stock of the progress made so far, and, besides working together to address the challenges and bottlenecks, they should move on to commit the financing and investment needed with respect to the priority projects in the key areas of energy, transport networks, trade and transit facilitation, communications, and business-to-business and labour support.

To name a few, the full, unimpeded implementation of the Chabahar Port—which involves Afghanistan, India, and Iran—deserves a mention, as it will further enhance connectivity through Afghanistan and facilitate our integration with the regional and global markets. "As work continues on this and other land and sea connectivity projects, we have launched air-corridors for trade, exporting Afghan products to markets near and far in the "region".

"Over the past few weeks, I have met with the Honorable Prime Minister of Sri Lanka Ranil Wickremesinghe and relevant Sri Lankan cabinet ministers and the private sector to help jumpstart bilateral trade between Afghanistan and Sri Lanka, utilizing the Chabahar Port and extending the commercial air corridors to Colombo. Indeed, increased connectivity and trade between our two countries will help diminish poverty—creating jobs for our peasants, youth, and professionals. And this would have a direct, positive impact on stability in Afghanistan and the rest of the region" Moreover, in December 2017, the 7th Ministerial Conference of HOA-IP, with its political, security, and economic confidence-building measures implementation mechanism, took place in Baku, Azerbaijan. Afghanistan aims at deepening synergies and complementarities among the interconnected projects of RECCA and HOA-IP, maximizing their impact on sustainable development not only in Afghanistan but also throughout our surrounding regions. This should encourage the country-participants to assess their shared security and development needs and to bolster their engagement with Afghanistan accordingly, in order to initiate the implementation of the proposed projects with win-win benefits.

Because sustainable development is impossible without durable stability, in 2017, we re-launched the Kabul Process for Peace and Security in Afghanistan. Through this Afghan-owned and Afghan-led process, a results-oriented peace strategy has been laid out, the key purpose of which is to engage in unconditional, direct talks with the Taliban. H.E. President Mohammad Ashraf Ghani convened the first meeting of the Leadership Council on Reconciliation, as well as finalizing a list of 22 Afghan representatives, who would engage in peace talks with the Taliban.

Afghanistan peace strategy aims to separate reconcilable Taliban insurgents from transnational terrorist networks. But to succeed in this endeavour, they rely on honest and tangible regional cooperation, foremost on the closure of the sanctuaries and other forms of support, which the Taliban enjoy in the region.

In parallel to the peace strategy, Afghanistan is pursuing a joint counter-terrorism and counter-narcotics strategy. The two strategies mutually reinforce one another, as counter-terrorism and counter-narcotics efforts not only contribute to similar efforts at the regional and global levels but also advance Afghan peace efforts by increasing the number of reconcilable Taliban, who otherwise would refuse to discontinue violence.

Sri Lanka can help Afghanistan in this joint effort both by initiating counter-narcotics law enforcement cooperation with the counter-narcotics police and exchanging counter-insurgency and counter-terrorism expertise and operational experience with our army, as we continue battling these dangerous threats.

In addition to these and other peace and war-fighting efforts, Afghanistan has striven to engage with Pakistan on a state-to-state basis to secure the country's cooperation both in fighting terrorism with no distinction and in persuading the Taliban leadership to participate in the intra-Afghan peace process for a politically negotiated settlement. In this regard, the inaugural meeting of the Afghanistan-Pakistan Action Plan for Peace and Solidarity (APAPPS) took place in Kabul last July, as the APAPPS five working groups discussed issues of counter-terrorism, intelligence-sharing, peace efforts, trade and investment, and refugees.

For our part, the Afghan side firmly committed to work with relevant Pakistani institutional stakeholders to implement the key goals of the five working groups, in line with the core principles of the APAPPS agreed between Afghanistan and Pakistan. However, Pakistan remains reluctant to tangibly reciprocate our overall efforts, bilateral or multilateral in collaboration with others like the United States and NATO with forces in Afghanistan.

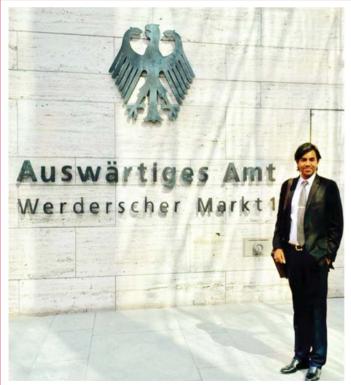
Considering these major opportunities for regional security and development cooperation, Afghanistan welcomes and strongly support the South Asia Strategy of the United States. The Strategy has followed a conditions-based approach to help stabilize Afghanistan, and its key objective is to have Pakistan crack-down on terrorist sanctuaries on its soil and use its undeniable leverage over the leadership of Taliban in Pakistan to engage in direct, resultsoriented peace talks with the Government of Afghanistan.

At the same time, the US Special Representative for Reconciliation Zalmay Khalilzad has been meeting with Pakistan and other regional *Continued on page 6*

INSSSL Conducts a Round Table Discussion on: "Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy Dynamics: An Exploration of the National Unity Government from 2015-2018"



On Thursday the 23rd of May 2019, various academics and distinguished guests met for a round table discussion on '*Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy Dynamics: an Exploration of the National Unity Government from 2015-2018'*. This was organized by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) and attended by guest speaker Mr. Shakthi De Silva, Associate Research Fellow of INSSSL.



Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera Of INSSSL Spoke about the Security Situation in Sri Lanka And the Indo Pacific; a Sri Lankan Perspective At the German ministry of Foreign Affairs On 7th May 2019

After a warm welcome by Dr. Ranga Jayasuriya, Senior Fellow of INSSSL, Mr. Shakthi De Silva spoke extensively about the Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy dynamics from 2015 to 2018 with an underlying notion of his article published in The Diplomat on "Sri Lanka : Caught in an Indo-China 'Great Game'?" on 23rd February 2019.

Mr.Shakthi opened his segment by quoting Hon. Lakshman Kadirgamar Hanzard Debates Vol.150, No.09 "For a small country as Sri Lanka, it is imperative that we should deal as evenhandedly as possible with the rest of the world. There have been, and there will no doubt be in the future, occasions when our national interest demands that our foreign policy be nuanced in one direction or another, but a nuance is something quite different from a substantial deviation which seeks to place us firmly aligned with the foreign policy dictate of any one country or group of countries."

Then he described 6 recommendations he published on his article on the diplomat, including Foreign Policy White Paper, Defence White Paper, 5-10 year medium-term plan on infrastructure priorities, multi-actor approach, misinformation and policy uncertainty.

After the policy recommendation, Mr. Shakthi De Silva moved to discuss the relevance of the arguments he has made under 3 parameters of clarity of policymaking, accountability and clearly delineated hierarchy.

Finally, he highlighted three important ways that government can use to enhance the foreign policy decision making; foresight, proper coordination and participatory, inclusive policymaking and the floor was opened for the discussion.

Speaking at the Shangrila Dialogue 2019 Asanga Abeyagoonasekera questioned General Wei Fenghe on China's role in anti-terrorism and CVE in the global arena.



Asanga Abeyagoonasekera

National Security Think Tank INSSSL Holds Conference On: "Indo-Pacific Geopolitics and Connectivity"



The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) hosted a round table Discussion on "Indo Pacific: Security, Geopolitics and Connectivity" at the INSSSL auditorium on the 21st of June 2019.

The discussion incorporated the Sri Lankan, Japanese and Australian perspectives on the emerging strategic environments of the Indo-Pacific region with regards to security, geopolitics and connectivity. It also analyzed the Indo-Pacific Strategy Report (IPSR) by the United States Department of Defense.

The discussion was moderated by Dr. Ranga Jayasuriya, Senior Research Fellow at the INSSSL, and panelled by Prof. Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, Director General of the INSSSL, Dr. Satoru Nagao; Visiting Fellow at Hudson Institute, Rear Admiral Noel Kalubowila, Ms. Lucy Stronach; Research Assistant at INSSSL and Ms. Ruwanthi Jayasekara; Research Assistant at INSSSL. Distinguished Officers from Embassies and High Commissions and officers of the Army, Navy and Air Force attended this event.



Dr. Ranga Jayasuriya, the moderator of the panel, opened the discussion by illustrating the relationship between security, geopolitics and connectivity with regards to the Indo-Pacific region, with a particular emphasis on the directives taken by China to enhance connectivity with the region. He observed that the contemporary great power competition is waged not so much through weapons, but through connectivity in the form of large foreign funded infrastructure projects. He noted that Chinese funded connectivity projects translates into geopolitical influence, effectively causing a classic security dilemma for other regional states, which in turn has led the regional states to act to increase their own security, thus leading to covert and overt means of balancing initiatives and regional alignments.

The first panelist, **Dr. Satoru Nagao** initiated the discussion by drawing attention to as to how Japan, India and Sri Lanka should respond to the US-China confrontation. Adopting a Japanese perspective, Dr Nagao traced Japan's own tragic history of confrontation with the US.Juxtaposing technological, economic and

defense superiority of US vis a vis China, He argued that the US will emerge the 'victor' in the US-China confrontation in the long-term, and concluded that therefore, it is 'wise' for Sri Lanka, Japan and India to support US attempts at re-balancing China in the Indo-Pacific region. He implored on the regional states to reduce economic dependence on China while enhancing their own defence capabilities for the short term in cooperation with US and with each other.



Ms. Lucy Stronach analyzed the role of Australia in the Indo-Pacific under the five pillars of Economic, Environmental, Educational, Cultural and Security. Ms. Stronach drew on Australia's various attempts at wielding soft power in the region and pointed out its shortfalls due to Canberra's policy on climate change and asylum seekers.

She commented on its recent attempts at cooperating on defence, regionally with Sri Lanka, and globally with US. She concluded that Australia has, however, underestimated the influence of China in the region, and must invest more in the Indo-Pacific region and in countries like Sri Lanka.



Prof. Asanga Abeyagoonasekera followed up the discussion with his remarks on China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Indo-Pacific Region. Commenting on the first-ever release of a report on the Indo-Pacific region by the US, he noted that the IPSR contained explicit concerns of the US about the Chinese "Revisionist" threat to US and to the global order as it attempts to re-arrange the power structure of the region.

He seconded Dr. Nagao's view of the BRI as the "only game in town," and remarked its importance in South Asia with poor infrastructure. He commented that India, critical of the Chinese measures is increasingly partnering with the US, while counter-balancing China Continued on page 6

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also happens through "quadrilateral grouping" (US, India, Japan and Australia). He also contended that the overly distrustful view on BRI by Japan, India, US, is at times merely based on speculation. Recognizing Sri Lanka as a multi-aligned nation, "a tight rope walker" he noted that Colombo should strike a balance between US and China while advancing Sri Lanka's own national interest.



Rear Admiral Noel Kalubowila spoke about maritime security of the Indo-Pacific region and noted that the US-China confrontation has become the main security dynamic in the region. Analyzing the recent defense policy papers and security measures undertaken by the regional states, he observed that China's investment to establish a maritime port network through its Silk Route Project has triggered regional reactions such as Australia's strategic interest in the region, Japanese interest in tightening maritime security through cooperation with the US, and changing its longstanding no-war posture in the constitution. Remarking that the US was traditionally the extra-regional influence in the Indo-Pacific region, he pointed out that it is now being confronted by China, which has led to a

Student Officers of Pakistan National Defence University made a Courtesy Visit to INSSSL on 16th April 2019.

The delegation comprising of senior officers of Pakistan Army, Navy and Air Force, Pakistan Civil Police, Senior Government Officers, Officers representing Bangladesh and Nepal attended the lectures conducted by the **Dr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera**, Director General of INSSSL and **Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe**, Research Analyst. An interesting topic on the Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific Region in the Realm of Great Power's Competition and Economic Impact of BRI was presented and deliberated.

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stakeholders to build strong support for the Afghan peace process to bear fruit. Success in this necessary endeavour should help reduce violence across Afghanistan, compelling the Taliban to opt for peace through a negotiated political settlement for sustainable and dignified peace, an outcome, which every Afghan desires and demands.

"That is why Afghanistan believes that the full execution of the US South Asia Strategy, in partnership with and support of coastal and littoral states that share Afghanistan's security and development interests, will not only help stabilize our country but it will also ensure security as a precondition for sustainable development across our wider region—including the Indian Ocean—in the Asian continent"

heightened US maritime deployment. Underscoring the overarching importance of ensuring maritime security, he urged all regional states to resolve their competing territorial and maritime claims abiding by the Maritime Law and the Law of the Sea Convention.



Delivering her presentation on'A Global Perspective of India's Stance on Indo-Pacific' **Ms Ruwanthi Jayasekara** noted that Indo-Pacific region is widely perceived as the core framework of India's foreign policy, also considered as its extended Eastern neighbourhood."The Indian foreign policy has become more muscular under PM Modi", she noted.

Ms Jayasekara drew attention to India's participation in multilateral forums in the Indo-Pacific, and its build-up of relations with the US, Japan and Australia. She, however, noted that such balancing initiatives are nonetheless of questionable value due to fragmentation and absence of a consensus in these state's strategy and objectives vis a vis the rise of China.

Commenting on the geopolitical significance of the region to India in terms of security, economy and technology, she commended how India has adopted a rational approach to court all the regional states as means of counter-balancing rising China.

> Student officers of Unit Command Course No 4 and the Officer Instructors at the Officer Career Development Centre Buttala Visit the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka

As part of a study visit to the Ministry of Defence, a delegation of 36 student officers, Senior Instructors, Head of the Training Team and Directing Staff visited INSSSL. **Major Suranga Witharana psc**, Military Research Officer delivered a lecture on National Security Strategy and Present Challenges and officials representing the Directorate of Military Intelligence conducted the lecture on the Current Security Situation in Sri Lanka. **The National Security Think Tank Holds Discussion ...** Continued from page 1



Research Analyst, **Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe** observed that the economic impact of the attacks is profound, as expressed in an estimated US \$ 1.5 billion loss in tourism earnings, investor uncertainty and stock market sell-off. She noted the economy was already vulnerable before the terrorist attacks, and subsequent anti-Muslim attacks have further eroded investor confidence. The stock market that had been stabilizing after the Easter Sunday attacks suffered further losses in the aftermath of anti-Muslim riots in the North Western Province.

In the subsequent discussion, participants from military, police, government and civilian stakeholders shared their insights and recommendations. INSSSL would formulate a set of comprehensive recommendations based on these discussions and submit it to the Secretary of Defence. The discussion was chaired by Secretary of Defence, General (Retd) Shantha Kottegoda and was attended by senior officers of the Army, Navy, Airforce, Police, intelligence services, government and the members of the civil society.

Pakistan National Defence College Delegation Visited INSSSL on 16th April 2019 to Discuss Geopolitics of South Asia



INSSSL Research Team Attended the South Asia/ Central Asia Working Group Meeting" NESA - INSSSL Joint Conference at Bangkok, Thailand. INSSSL Joined NESA US Department of Defense to Discuss with Regional Scholars from South and Central Asia







Book Review: "The Unassuming Legend: Ravindra Wimal Jayawardene alias Ravi"

"The Unassuming Legend: Ravindra Wimal Jayawardene alias Ravi," written by Ms. Indu Perera and published by the Police Special Task Force.

Ravi Jayawardene was a man who was not crowned. As the son of Sri Lanka's first executive president, J.R. Jayawardene, Ravi had the opportunity to land in a political career. But he shunned it. He was a regular social worker and lived a simple life.

Ravi Jayawardene was a tough guy; he dreamed of being a cowboy. His first job was as a dancer at a well-known club in Colombo. Politics and law were not his intended world, and he, like his grandfather, had a passion for joining the military. As a result, Ravi joined the Army as a cadet officer and was trained as a Second Lieutenant in the Army Volunteer Corps. Then, he got married at 23 without parental consent.

In 1962, the then government sent Ravi on compulsory leave for his father being a prominent figure in the opposition. Then he took up a job as a pilot of the Air Ceylon. He represented Sri Lanka in the Olympics and was crowned as the best shooter in Asia in the 1970s.

However, disappointed with the intricacies of life, he took the flight to Thailand and entered to monastic life as Bhikkhu Aryavansa. Then, he abandoned his monastic life to become a car mechanic in Australia while his father, J.R. Jayawardene was the elected President of Sri Lanka.

The killing of 13 soldiers in Jaffna in 1983 triggered an ethnic tension, and soon a Tamil insurgency raised its ugly head. Ravi returned to Sri Lanka to help his father.

Anti-Tamil riots in July sent Tamil youth into the hands of the LTTE, and the army was confronted with a terrorist campaign that was gaining momentum day by day. Therefore, the reorganization of the Presidential Security Force was urgently needed. Thus Ravi became the Presidential Security Advisor, and also helped to design a number of combat training courses.

Ravi was a military strategist. Recognizing the special circumstances of the domestic security challenges, he was cognizant of the need for the formation of Special Forces that most countries have adopted to confront such security exigencies. Thus he founded the Special Task Force (STF). Though the STF was set up with the best-trained commandos in the army, it was formed within the police force.

Accordingly, under the strategic planning and visionary leadership of Ravindra Wimal Jayawardene alias Ravi Jayawardene, Special Task Force was established to ensure the



Udeshika Jayasekara Research Assistant

national security of the motherland and to ensure public order. It continued to operate, earning respect both in Sri Lanka and internationally. In addition, he established a village security service to train Sinhalese villagers in the North and East in basic warfare to wade off against brutal terrorist attacks by the LTTE.

He was the Commanding Officer of the Special Task Force and recruited officers from the British Special Task Force who had experience in various counter-terrorism operations in the world. On October 5th, 1984, the first team of the Special Task Force (STF) travelled to Batticaloa to quell the terrorist activities in the East. The normalcy in the area was quickly restored. The presence of the Special Task Force in the area was recognized and appreciated by the public. Through "Wikaba" operations in Batticaloa and Ampara, he introduced the strategy of small groups and proved them to be successful.

He also saw the need to provide modern equipment and other facilities for the security forces and police. He took steps to set up a fully-fledged military training camp and a Special Task Force Headquarters.

Ravi Jayawardene was keen to provide good training, regular supervision and good leadership to enable the STF to function in Sri Lanka. Over time, the STF gained a reputation in Sri Lanka and abroad as a powerful and capable counterterrorism force.

Following his father's death, he spent the last years of his life working for animal protection, conducting religious observances and engaging in social service. This nobleman sat in deep meditation for three days on April 3rd, 2017 and breathed his last. But his mission will remain immortal.

After the defeat of the LTTE, the STF is now assisting the police in suppressing organized crime, narcotics and counterterrorism. Ravi Jayewardene's dedication and leadership exemplified the excellence that the STF has achieved today as a workforce.

The writer is a Research Assistant of the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL), National Security Think Tank under the Ministry of Defence. The opinion expressed in this article are her own and not necessarily reflective of the INSSSL



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