



INSSSL

2016 -2019

Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka





INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL SECURITY
STUDIES SRI LANKA
(INSSSL)

INSSSL JOURNEY

From
2016 August- 2019 August

MESSAGE

HIS EXCELLENCY MAITHRIPALA SIRISENA THE PRESIDENT OF SRI LANKA



“I am happy to note that INSSSL as the Premier National Security Think Tank in Sri Lanka is striving towards its mandate of providing high-quality research and analysis to improve policy decision making. The institute has provided a platform for research, debate, and discussion for security studies, further augmenting the understanding of national and international security”

INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES SRI LANKA (INSSSL)



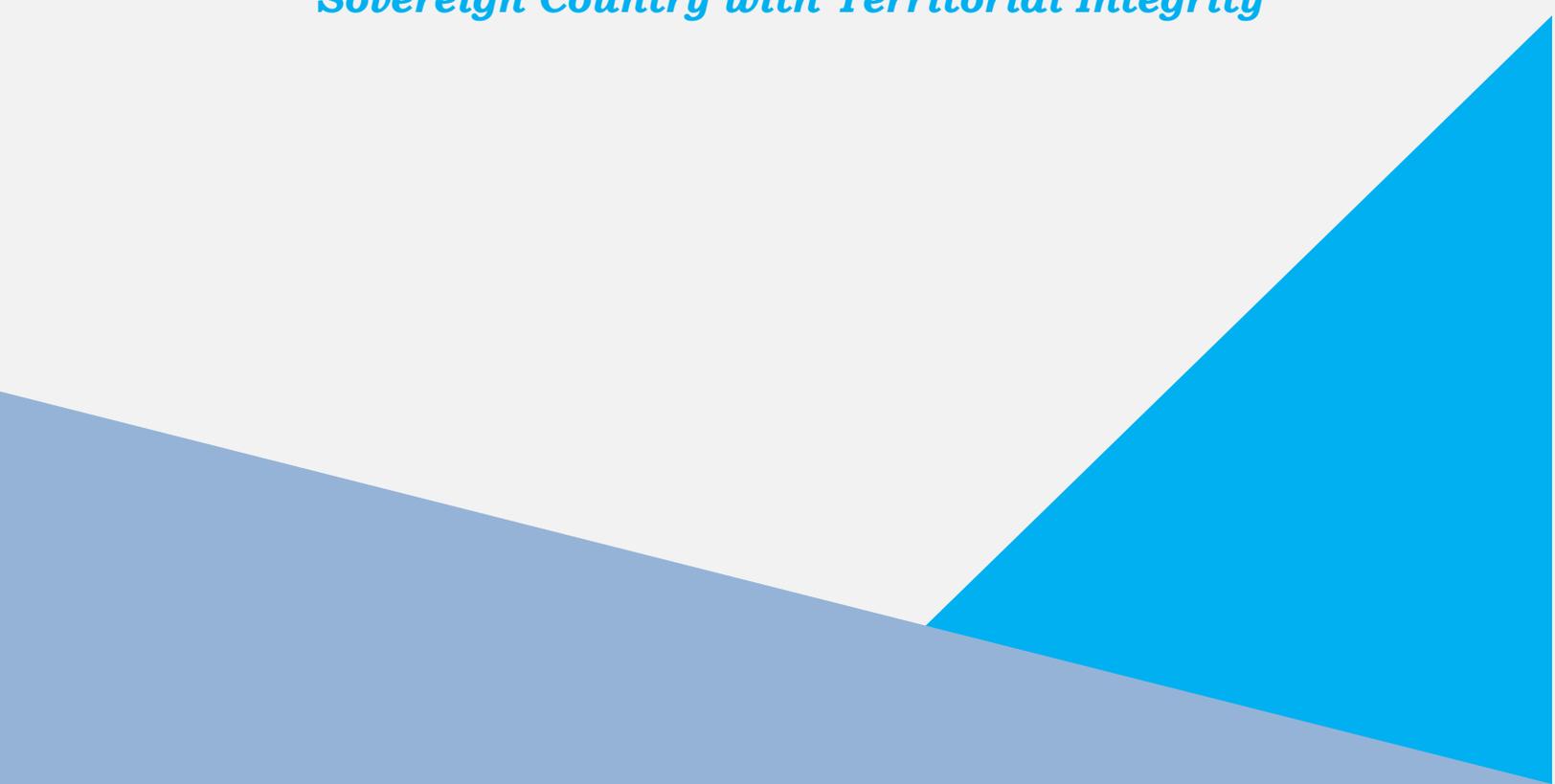
The Institute of National Security Studies (INSSSL) is the National Security Think Tank of Sri Lanka under the Ministry of Defence, established to understand the security environment and to work with the government to craft evidence-based policy options and strategies for debate and discussion to ensure national security. The institute will conduct a broad array of national security research for the Ministry of Defence.

VISION

"To Improve Policy and Decision Making through High-Quality Research and Analysis with Excellence"

MISSION

"From High-Quality Research to Continuously Support the Ministry of Defence in Formulating and Executing Strategic Plans and Policies for a Secure, Safe and Sovereign Country with Territorial Integrity"



OBJECTIVES

- **To Provide Sound and Timely Assessment on Facets of National Security.**
- **To Secure Sri Lanka from Threats to its National Security.**
- **To Serve as a Platform for Government, Private Sector and Civil Society to Collaborate Debate and Discuss Issues Affecting Sri Lanka's Security and Stability to Synergize and Draw from a Spectrum of Thinkers and Planners.**
- **To Serve as a Nucleus for Deliberations and as a Capacity Builder for Strengthening Institutions on National Security Aspects.**
- **To Serve as a Central Repository of Knowledge for Both Scholars and Practitioners Committed to the Nation's Unity and Harmony.**

BOARD OF GOVERNANCE



PRESIDENT

His Excellency the President Maithripala Sirisena



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General S H S Kottegoda (Rtd)
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ndu
Commander of the Navy



MEMBER

Commander of the Air Force
Air Marshal Sumangala Dias
RSP and three Bars, VSV, USP, MSc
(Def & Strat Stu), ndc, psc



MEMBER

Dr. Chandra Embuldeniya



MEMBER

Additional Solicitor General
Yasantha Kodagoda



The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka works on a variety of projects spanning on a variety of themes within National Security.



INSSSL RESOURCE POOL

INSSSL resource pool includes Distinguish Fellows, Senior Fellows, Associate Fellows And Resource Persons. from 2016 to 2019 more than 90 scholars from around the world have joined the institute's resource pool.



Prof Vini Vitharana



Prof Kishore Mahbubani



AMB Nihal Rodrigo



Dr David Drewster



Senior Prof Nayani Melegoda



AMB Dayan Jayathilake



Prof Matteo Legrenzi



Dr Shashi Jayakumar



Prof Swaran Singh



Dr Chandra Embuldeniya



Dr Satoru Nagao



Dr Geetha Madhavan



Ms Ramla Wahab-Salman



Dr Ranga Jayasuriya



Maj. Gen.(Retd.) ANM Muniruzzaman



(Retd.) Udaya Perera

INSSSL NEWS

INSSSL TO HOLD ITS INT'L CONFERENCE IN COLOMBO

The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL), the Premier National Security Think Tank under the Ministry of Defence will hold its inaugural international conference "Colombo Shangri-La Colloquium 2018" on "Towards a collective security theme" for South Asia: building resilience and stability".

The event will be held on Sunday, December 16th at Shangri-La Hotel Colombo with the Secretary of Defence Hemanth Fernando as the chief guest cum keynote speaker. The conference will explore the challenges and opportunities for policy for South, and conference papers would be compiled into a special issue that would be presented to the Head of the INSSSL, Special Maithripala Sirisena.

The Colombo Shangri-La Colloquium is a track II event where distinguished scholars and practitioners from international and regional think tanks from Japan,



China, Maldives, France, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India, Nepal and Sri Lanka will share their perspectives and search for solutions to pressing regional problems. The Colloquium will comprise three panels on key sub-thematic areas: Maritime Security Cooperation, the Indian Ocean (chaired by H. Ambassador Pallikarara), Count Violent Extremism (chaired by Gen (ret) Udaya Perera), and SA Agenda through Regionalism (chaired by Mrs. Ramla Wahab Salma).

Sri Lanka's National Security Think Tank

Ranked in the Global Think Tank Index

The Think Tanks and Civil Societies Programme (TTCSPP) of the Lauder Institute at the University of Pennsylvania ranked world's leading think tanks in a variety of categories. TTCSPP has documented and studied these institutions for more than 27 years with the help of more than 1,796 peer institutions and experts from all over the world. In 2018, Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka, think tank under Ministry of Defence, ranked 101st in the Asia Pacific category.

To mark the global release of the "Global Think Tank Report 2018", TTCSPP requested the major cities around the world including Paris, Beijing, Washington DC, New York, and 150 other cities to conduct a discussion on "Why Facts and Think Tanks Matter in 2018". INSSSL was invited to conduct this discussion from Colombo on 31st January 2019 with the participation of scholars and representatives of other think tanks.



To achieve these objectives, he explained that think tanks needed to be depoliticized and provided more autonomy.

Director General of INSSSL, Dr. Ranga Jayasuriya, shared his inputs with Professor Chandra Embuldeniya, distinguished fellow of INSSSL, Dr. Ranga Jayasuriya, journalist and senior fellow, Ms. Kasumi Ranasinghe, Research Analyst and Ms. Natasha Fernando, Research Assistant who highlighted the importance of the role of think tanks play in government and civil societies around the world.

In his introductory remarks, Director General of INSSSL, Dr. Ranga Jayasuriya, the value of think tanks has been appreciated by many societies in today's volatile geopolitical environment, specially think tanks could assist to design better policy and for predicting future trends. As such, he stressed the importance of think tanks in providing reliable, well researched information to make appropriate decisions on complex and challenging issues. To this effect, he highlighted how Sri Lanka's think

challenge. The Director General compared Sri Lanka to countries like India and Singapore, whose policymakers both invest and consult more extensively with think tanks. He said that with his experience working at foreign policy think tank and security think tank, Sri Lankan government has miserably failed to recognize and invest in research and in think tanks.

Ms. Fernando emphasized that think tanks should act as a bridge between academic and policy making communities, serving in public interest as independent voices and disseminating knowledge to wide audiences. To enhance the quality of research outcomes, Ms. Fernando accentuated the importance of facts and the fact approach for more informed decision making.

Ms. Ranasinghe, highlighted the importance of factual based evidence in decision making and the role of think tanks as shadow leaders providing guidance to the political leaders. She also should utilized think tanks to identify

convince the public about the priorities. For these developments, Ms. Ranasinghe emphasized that think tank should come from its traditional role of "researcher" to the position of "Strategic advisors", having potentials to predate future circumstances.

Dr. Jayasuriya spoke about the vital roles which think tanks play in predicting future political events, and providing the expertise for governments to achieve their objectives. Regarding the latter, from a Sri Lankan context, he spoke of how think tanks could have played a role in helping the government come up with an effective strategy to counter baseless allegations of war crimes levelled against the Sri Lankan military. To achieve these objectives, he explained that think tanks needed to be depoliticized and provided more autonomy. Dr. Jayasuriya argued that this would increase the possibilities of policy makers receiving objective, high quality - advice.

Finally, Prof. Embuldeniya spoke about how think tanks can help solve problems and serve as an asset to state resources. Addressing the issue of think tank proposals largely not being adopted by policymakers, Prof. Embuldeniya suggested establishing a committee that can convey the proposals presented by think tanks to policy makers who can implement it. He introduced a performance evaluation framework for think tanks and requested INSSSL to work with other local think tanks to develop the

Environmental expert warns of larger natural disaster

THE Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) has issued a public warning titled "Climate Change: A Changing Climate" in a report released in Colombo on 14th of February, 2019. The report, which was prepared by a team of experts from INSSSL, warns of a larger natural disaster in the future if the current trend of climate change continues. The report highlights the need for a collective security approach to address the challenges posed by climate change.

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Will Indo-Pak tensions threaten SAARC?

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Water wars and regional cooperation at INSSSL Security Salon

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"Our nation has tossed its cap over the wall of research in security and we have no choice but to follow it"

Following is the speech made by Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) Director General Ranga Jayasuriya at its opening recently.

"I am very pleased to see the inauguration of INSSSL. It is a very important milestone in the history of our country. It is a testament to the commitment of our government to research in security and we have no choice but to follow it."

The Director General of INSSSL, Dr. Ranga Jayasuriya, has expressed his confidence in the institution and its ability to contribute to the national security of Sri Lanka. He highlighted the need for a collective security approach to address the challenges posed by climate change.

Epic of the War Hero Colonel A.F. Laphir

INSSSL inaugural lecture tomorrow

The inaugural lecture of the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) annual memorial lecture series will be held at 3 p.m. tomorrow (7) at the Suhurupaya Auditorium (19th floor), Battaramulla.

The lecture titled "The Epic of the War Hero Colonel A. Fazy Laphir" will be dedicated to Colonel Laphir, the commanding officer of the First Special Force Regiment who was killed in the Mullativu battle on 19 July 1996.

The keynote address will be delivered by Professor H.P. Ranasinghe.

National security think tank launches 'Threat Lens'

The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) has launched a new initiative titled "Threat Lens". This initiative aims to provide a comprehensive overview of the current security threats facing Sri Lanka and the region.

The "Threat Lens" is a quarterly publication that will provide a comprehensive overview of the current security threats facing Sri Lanka and the region. It will cover a wide range of issues, including terrorism, cyber security, and regional security.

The launch of "Threat Lens" is a significant step towards enhancing the national security of Sri Lanka. It will provide a platform for experts and scholars to share their insights and analyses on the current security challenges.



2016

2016

	Event	Topic	Date	Speaker
1.1	Regional Joint Conference, with COSATT (Consortium of South Asian Think Tank)	“Regional Security Perspectives”	26th August 2016	15 scholars from the South Asian region
1.2	Security Salon	"Will Indo-Pakistan Tensions Threaten SAARC"	5th October 2016	Prof. S D Muni
1.3	Security Salon	“Security in the Age of Globalization”	28th October 2016	Dr Imtiaz Ahmed
1.4	Public Lecture	“Violent conflict: Using Theory To Guide Sri Lanka’s Defence Policy”	18 th November 2016	Prof De Soysa
1.5	Publications	Defence Quarterly		

1.1. REGIONAL JOINT CONFERENCE ON “REGIONAL SECURITY PERSPECTIVES” WITH COSATT (CONSORTIUM OF SOUTH ASIAN THINK TANKS)

Secretary to the Ministry of Defence Eng. Karunasena Hettiarachchi chaired the inaugural discussion on "Regional security perspectives" organized by the Institute of National Security Studies of Sri Lanka (INSSSL) with the collaboration of the COSATT at the ministry premises on 26th August 2016.

Secretary of Defence Chairman of INSSSL, Eng. Karunasena Hettiarachchi, speaking on regional security perspectives said "The INSSSL would serve as an important arm in framing issues in a novel perspective, articulating alternative frameworks, identifying and taking the first national steps to bring about change and ultimately helping to shape the security debate in the region. From our president, Sirisena's friendly relationship with the region and India's Modi doctrine which has spelt out clearly the importance of regional integration individual governments struggle to find the time to deal with complex cross-border issues from climate change to digital security, and they cannot be left to deal with these problems alone.



Collaborative think tanks can ensure that governments remain engaged in the multi-stakeholder process, and are essential in ideational processes that the government can apply and other stakeholders can implement. Ranging from the 2016 Dhaka hostage situation to the border conflicts of regional powers that continue to unfold, it is vital to recognize the importance of collaborative integration of the think tanks in the region."

There were fifteen distinguished scholars from the region who participated for the discussion and amongst them Major General (retd.) ANM Muniruzzaman, BIPSS, Dhaka highlighted the importance of Sri Lanka as a major maritime nation in developing maritime security architecture for the security of the South Asian Region.

Dr Nischel Pandey, CSAS, Kathmandu said that this collaboration with the INSSL and COSATT is a great achievement. And we should use this opportunity to strengthen joint research for common challenges.



Dr Beatrice Gorawantschy, Head, Political Dialogue Asia and Pacific, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Singapore stated that "I wish success for this collaboration and it is very important for Think Tanks to work in collaborative research."

The Director-General of INSSSL, Asanga Abeyagoonasekera mentioned that "Think Tanks getting together and collaborating is a great achievement especially to improve the regional security perspective by scholarly thematic papers and discussions we could advise governments to make the right decisions and to create a secure and peaceful world.

1.2. SECURITY SALON ON “WILL INDO-PAKISTAN TENSION THREATEN SAARC?”



The INSSSL Security Salon was launched to provide a space for intellectual and political debate and deliberation on a specific topic by a select audience. The guest speaker at this session was Prof. S D Muni, a distinguished Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses (IDSA), New Delhi. Prof. Muni's remarks were centred on the tense 'Indo-Pak situation' that has arisen as a result of clashes at the Indo- Pakistan border last month. The inaugural Security Salon on INSSSL concluded successfully with positive feedback for its continuance.



1.3. SECURITY SALON ON "SECURITY IN THE AGE OF GLOBALISATION"

In the age of globalization, there are many stakeholders to consider especially in a borderless world where Land, Air-Sea is not the only factors but space has played a pivotal area in the modern-day.

Secretary, Defence, Eng. Karunasena Hettiarachchi chaired the discussion. Director-General INSSSL, Asanga Abeyagoonesekera delivered the opening remarks highlighting the task of INSSSL as a national security think tank that was established with a vision to improve policy and decision making through high-quality research and analysis with excellence. He emphasized its Mission as to continuously support the Ministry of Defence in the formulation and execution of strategic policies and

plans for a safe, secure and sovereign nation with territorial integrity. He also introduced the Security Salon to new participants as a forum created to discuss timely and relevant topics of interest to national, regional and international security and is a space for

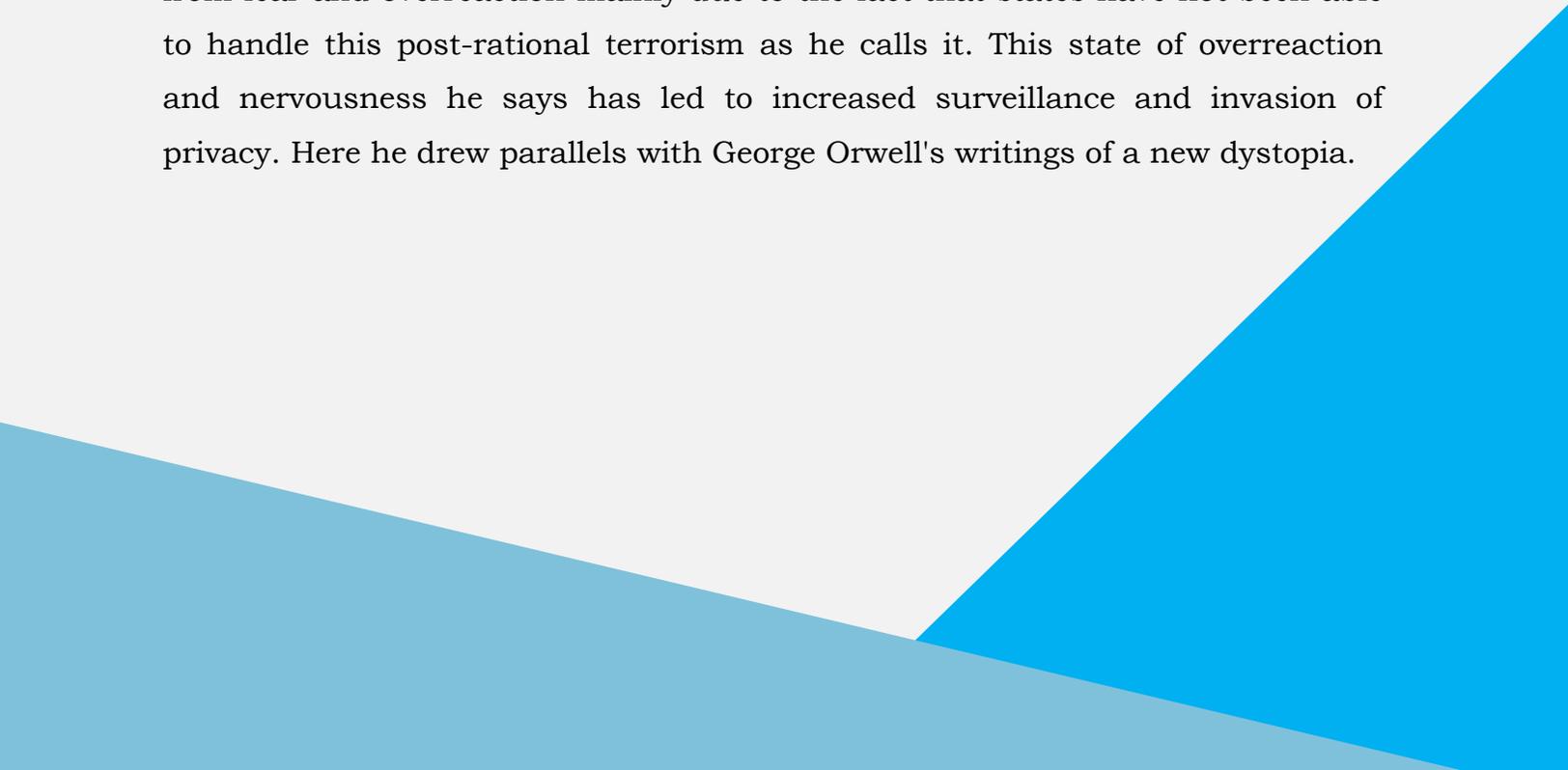


intellectual debate and discussion. Mr Abeyagoonesekera then invited the Guest Speaker Dr Imtiaz Ahmed who is presently the Executive Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS), Colombo to deliver his address on "Security in the Age of Globalisation"

Dr Ahmed spoke on a timely topic that is of much interest to all states and non-state actors in current geopolitics. He was keen to emphasize that the concept of security at present holds a new and different meaning while investigating what has changed and generated so much interest in recent years. In this discussion, he pointed out one phenomenon that immediately comes to the fore as that of violent extremism and it generates interest and concern whether it be in London, Karachi or Tokyo and for the first time the same concept is discussed all over the world.

Therefore as the speaker notes, this appears to be the first time that an issue has implications globally. He went on to say that violent extremism was nothing new categorizing it into two types: one orchestrated by the state for e.g. Nazi Germany and that of non-state actors such as the LTTE who went to the extent of using suicide terrorism but as he sees, in both of these reasons and rationality have played a role. However, in the present wave of violent extremism, he sums up the violence as not 'irrational' nor 'anti-rational' but simply beyond a reason.

Dr. Ahmed posed some interesting figures relating to the number of deaths in a given year showing that although the number resulting from terrorist activity seems negligible compared to deaths due to other reasons, humans now suffer from fear and overreaction mainly due to the fact that states have not been able to handle this post-rational terrorism as he calls it. This state of overreaction and nervousness he says has led to increased surveillance and invasion of privacy. Here he drew parallels with George Orwell's writings of a new dystopia.



As regards the question of addressing this problem, Dr Ahmed provided the "four I's" as a solution. Incarceration, the need for a serious Intelligence intervention, as this violence and technology surpasses those of the 19th and 20th centuries, Intellectual intervention to investigate the workings of the mind of a terrorist or militant and Institutional investment which needs to be done as a means of prevention. He concluded by stating that it is important to keep in mind that humans are all not the same, quoting the Philosopher Aristotle who said humans were homo politicus (political beings) where each and every person has inherent political rights which are non-negotiable and if violated there would be conflict. Quoting Karl Marx he said human beings were homo economicus (economic beings) where everyone has a right to profit, prosperity and productivity which if denied would result in conflict. He added that humans also needed culture and technology but with serious repercussions if denied to certain groups. Lastly, as psychological beings, he believes that all minds can be brought to a common platform through education ending with the quote "War begins in the minds of men and it's in the minds of men that structures of peace have to be built".

This was followed by an animated and interesting discussion. There was a comment from a humanitarian point of view that although numbers related to death by extremism might be small in comparison to others, there is much suffering as can be seen in Syria or Afghanistan. A point that was disagreed on was about the militants not having access to education as was evident in the recent terror attacks in Dhaka where most of the attackers were Western-educated youth whilst the concluding remarks on a comprehensive response which includes justice and equity were commended.

Another important comment was that religious extremism would not be contained until the world community can solve the issues in Kashmir and Palestine as well as other direct and indirect attacks against Islam. "Division creates poverty, union creates wealth" was quoted to say that a nation or region if united, can defeat forces working against them.



Another interesting point of view was that violent extremism was not beyond reason as stated but just beyond the reason for those looking to understand or address it. As such, there is a reason and rationale behind these acts and it is important to find a way to mitigate it being proactive

rather than being eternally reactive. It was agreed that prevention of a violent mind-set by way of holistic education with different responses for different groups was imperative.

1.4. PUBLIC LECTURE ON "VIOLENT CONFLICT: USING THEORY TO GUIDE SRI LANKA'S DEFENCE POLICY"



The speaker's presentation was on the latest research on the causes of civil war that addresses the fundamental question of why people engage in this very costly form of behaviour when less costly bargains are always possible. He began by giving an empirical overview of the patterns of conflict around the world, where the bulk of organized armed violence happens as intrastate wars whereas interstate wars are all but absent.

The speaker laid out the fundamental theoretical precepts and the underlying causes of civil war. He outlined how theoretical logic points to the fact that armed violence occurs because of opportunity or feasibility rather than for reasons of motive alone. Conflict is organized for private gain rather than as a public good. Prof. de Soysa also shows that exogenous factors rather than purely domestic factors are decisive in many civil wars where regional and superpower power politics play a role. Understanding properly the sources of armed violence can lead to intelligent policymaking for securing Sri Lanka's domestic and foreign policy interests.

Interestingly, the speaker challenged the dominant views on conflict such as grievances and lack of social, cultural and political rights by denying the concept of ethnic conflict. Conversely, he supported the theory of opportunity over grievances and other endogenous factors. The opportunity, not the grievance alone being of significance simply because there are many groups that are downtrodden and never rise up, this being relevant to academics and policymakers as they can better apply policies to try to prevent those factors that make violence more feasible. The financial capability was also shown as a binding constraint as the conflict is costly in terms of labour and other resources and plays a decisive role in their 'opportunity of survival' against organized state forces.

It was also interesting that he singled out countries such as India and Sri Lanka that have relative openness in their political processes as more likely, not less likely, to be faced with rebellion or conflict compared to countries such as North Korea that have no political space for organizing dissent, hence a very slim chance of conflict. Low state capacity was also a factor that was said to favour conflict, thus the reason for Sri Lanka being conflict-prone in the 1970s and 80s with relatively low state capacity to counter-insurgency. Financing and training of rebel groups by external powers were also elucidated proving the point those at times exogenous factors outweigh the endogenous ones. Territory and rough terrain is yet another element that contributes to the conflict was highlighted with examples of the Sea Tigers in Sri Lanka and the Al Qaeda in Afghanistan, both groups that favoured territories they were familiar with and considered a safe haven.

The role of geo-politics too cannot be ignored as regional powers and superpowers as a part of their agenda, offer support to rebels fighting civil wars. As reasons for the Sri Lankan government's eventual success in defeating the LTTE, the speaker alluded to high state capacity and the growth of per capita income over the years. In terms of securing peace in the future, Prof. de Soysa ruled out a complete military solution by bringing to attention that the geo-political positioning of Sri Lanka could pose dangers if the country's policies are not aligned with that of superpowers. The far bigger threat to national security as he perceives is a non-violent movement for a cause along the lines of a separate state, which if properly financed and motivated around an objective can pose a serious threat to national security. In this respect, a defence policy of good governance and good political processes that will marginalize or counter any element favouring conflict albeit non-violent.

During the discussion that followed, some of the issues that were brought updated back in history to instances of discriminating the Tamil community by the national language act and standardization of universities followed by the riots in 1983 which was a major turning point in their mistrust of the government. As regards ensuring peace in the present context, there were assurances that the present government was well aware of what needs to be done to address the issues of the people in this country and has already taken necessary steps in this direction, by ensuring that justice is being met in all aspects with equal access to resources, education and other spheres.



The question of the diaspora being more active in Europe and other countries promoting the now obsolete slogan of separatism was highlighted as a cause for concern. However, these activities of the diaspora were branded as what has now become a franchise without which the survival and funding of many interested parties would cease to exist. It was suggested that the more moderate elements of the diaspora could be roped in by the government of Sri Lanka in order to marginalize the radical elements of the same. The creation of a diaspora investment fund was suggested as a means of gaining their trust. Consequently, the need for a new approach to change the discourse of politics to be more aligned with the inclusion of Tamil political leaders was highlighted as something that should form an integral part of the political discussion and processes in the country. The proximity of India and its interest in Sri Lanka's politics was an aspect that was also suggested as requiring the highest priority in Sri Lanka's foreign policy.

Another important comment was that state capacity and the state's ability not to be hijacked by any group of the population should be ensured by applying the rule of law across the board, with the adoption of certain hard political decisions by which the rule of law will be applied to all parties. Through this, the government could gain the trust and confidence of its citizens to ensure that everybody lives with dignity.



1.5. PUBLICATIONS

- INSSSL Defence Quarterly

INSSSL
DEFENCE
QUARTERLY
2016/04/VOL1

INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL SECURITY STUDIES
INSSSL

Message of Director General

As the inaugural publication of the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL), I am pleased to present to you, our newsletter INSSSL Defence Quarterly, in an effort to bring together news and events that transpired during the quarter (September - December) of 2016 since the establishment of the Institute.

As the premier think-tank on national security in the country, the Institute aims to work with the government to craft evidence-based policy options and strategies through debate and discussion, research and expertise.

Identifying the absence of an 'intelligent' body and the need for a think-tank within the Ministry of Defence, President of our Institute who is also the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, His Excellency Maithripala Sirisena launched the initiative to establish this organization to perform research and advocacy on topics related to national security in the regional and international platforms.

We have had an eventful first few months at the Institute with the launch of the "Security Sabar" and fruitful meetings and collaborations which I can proudly say will lead to the creation of even greater networks, alliances and partnerships with local and international organizations, all of which will induce the implementation of the Institute's vision and mission.

I am also immensely proud to announce the launch of Sri Lanka's first national defence journal "INSSSL Defence Review" in January 2017, with research papers from renowned international scholars and senior members of the military in Sri Lanka.

At INSSSL, we are also privileged to have experts on security and defence as well as a Research Pool with eminent security analysts and practitioners from the region and beyond from which we will draw in order to better formulate the contributions we envisage towards devising policy and plans that are relevant to the national security of our nation.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that I hope this inaugural newsletter will generate greater interest and discussion on national security issues and encourage further action and collaboration in this important area of study. I thank His Excellency Maithripala Sirisena, President INSSSL, and our Chairman Eng. Karunaseena Hettiarachchi and all others for their tremendous support.

I wish you all the best for 2017!

Aumga Abeyaratne
Director General of INSSSL

Mission
To increase policy and decision making through high quality research and analysis with excellence.
His Excellency Sirisena
President

Mission
To continuously support the security of Sri Lanka through high-quality research for the formulation and execution of strategic policies and plans for a safe, sound and successful nation with sustainable prosperity.
Eng. Karunaseena Hettiarachchi
Chairman

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

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2017

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	Event	Topic	Date	Speaker
2.1	Security Salon	“Disaster Management and Climate Change in South Asia”	19th January 2017	-Dr. Peter Hefele -Dr. Nishchal N. Pandey
2.2	Joint Panel Discussion	“SAARC its Impediments and Way Forward”	6th February 2017	-Dr. Syed Rifaat Hussain -Mr. Ikram Sehgal -HE Maj. Gen. (R) Syed Shakeel Hussain
2.3	Threat Lens	“Large Scale Foreign Projects and Security Implications in South Asia”	9th of February 2017	
2.4	Public Lecture	“Changing US-China Power Balance and the Role of Japan – India – Sri Lanka Co-operation”	15th February 2017	-Dr. Satoru Nagao
2.5	Security Salon	“Sri Lanka in China-India Relations: an Indian Perspective.”	22nd February 2017	-Prof Swaran Singh
2.6	Public Lecture	“Women in Terrorism”	24th March 2017	-Ms. Brooks
2.7	Threat Lens	“Assessing the Threats of Violent Extremism in South Asia with a Special Focus on Sri Lanka”	30th March 2017	
2.8	Regional Conference	“Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism in South Asia”	3rd and 4th April 2017	-COSATT
2.9	Public Lecture	“National Security: Changing Times, Shifting, Paradigms”	5th April 2017	-Major General (Rtd.) Dipankar Banerjee
2.10	Public Lecture	Angampora -‘Sri Lankan Form of Martial Art’	5th of May 2017	

2.11	Threat Lens	“Cyber-security: The Evolving Threat Landscape in Sri Lanka”	18th May 2017	
2.12	Public Lecture	Human Security in a Changing Climate: Addressing Its Impact in Sri Lanka and South Asia”	14th June 2017	-Ms. Anoka Abeyrathne
2.13	Threat Lens	“Managing and Mitigating the Threat of Natural Disasters in Sri Lanka”	16th June 2017	
2.14	Security Salon	“Water challenges and India’s Response: Domestic And Regional.”	14th June 2017	-Dr. Uttam Kumar Sinha
2.15	Security Salon	"United States and Geopolitics in a Changing World Order”	4th of July 2017	-Prof. Shantha Hennayake
2.16	Threat Lens	‘The Current Dengue Trajectory: Framework and Paths to Minimize the Spread of the Epidemic’	26th July 2017	
2.17	Public Lecture	“Siachen – The World’s Highest Battlefield”	12th September 2017	-Mr. Janbaz Khan -Pakistan Defence Attache Colonel Sajjad Ali
2.18	Threat Lens	“The Illicit Flow of Drugs and Its Impact on Sri Lankan youth”	3rd October 2017	
2.19	Workshop	“Australian Defence White Paper”	23rd -25th of October 2017	
2.20	Security Salon	“Strategies of Major Powers in the Indian Ocean Region: Implications for Sri Lanka”	27th October 2017	-Dr. Sithara Fernando

2.21	Security Salon	“The Saudi – Iranian Rivalry and the New Security Landscape in the Middle East”	27th of October 2017	-Prof Matteo Legrenzi
2.22	Round Table Discussion	“Helabasa Surakimu”	3rd November 2017	
2.23	Panel Discussion	“The Role of Armed Forces in Post-Conflict Sri Lanka”	17th of November 2017	Delegation from The Centre of Conflict and Humanitarian Studies (CHS)
2.24	Workshop	“Climate & Resource Security in Sri Lanka”	30th November - 1st December 2017	
2.25	Annual Memorial Lecture	“Lt. Gen Denzil Kobbekaduwa”	8th December 2017	INSSSL together with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS)
2.26	Security Salon	“The Lotus Tower and the Indo-Pacific Region”	11th December 2017	-Prof Patrick Mendis
2.27	Joint Conference	“The Role of Youth in Reconciliation”	12th December 2017	INSSSL and the Ministry of National Integration and Reconciliation.
2.28	Public Lecture	“4 Armoured Regiment; The Untold Story”		-Brig (Retd) Sri Mudannayake
2.29	INSSSL- NESA STRATEGIC FORUM	“Meeting the Challenges of Extremism by Advancing Human Security Centred Policies”	6-7 September 2017	
2.30	Publication	-Defence Quarterly - Defence Review		

2.1 SECURITY SALON ON “CLIMATE CHANGE AND DISASTER MANAGEMENT IN SOUTH ASIA”

The INSSSL Security Salon held on 19th January at the Ministry of Defence saw two eminent speakers on the timely and relevant topic of “Climate Change and Disaster Management in South Asia”. Dr. Peter Hefele, Director of the Regional Project on Energy Security and Climate Change Asia-Pacific at Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and Dr. Nishchal N. Pandey, Director of the Centre of South Asian Studies (SCAS), Nepal, who are both experts on this subject provided the foundation to an interesting discussion that followed with experts from diplomatic missions, the government, Disaster Management Centre and donor agencies.



Secretary Defence Eng. Karunasena Hettiarachchi also provided valuable input on investing in safeguarding mechanisms in facing challenges of climate change. He also referred to the excellent water irrigation systems in the country’s history. However, as he pointed out, the wet zone generally has an abundance of water during the monsoons which

are not preserved and distributed to the dry zone or when there is a drought. Director General, INSSSL in his welcome address, quoted from a speech made by Secretary Defence at a previous conference in 2013, aptly named “A Day Without Water”. He also mentioned His Excellency the President Maithripala Sirisena has highlighted the importance of climate change and has taken measures for speedy action on climate change supporting the COP21.

Dr Hefele specifically focused on energy security and climate change. He highlighted the need for a political foundation enabling space and effective channels of communication to bring out recommendations for the future management of disasters with suggestions of transforming the economy to a non-carbon economy. He also drew on the role of geopolitics with traditional security issues closely related to energy, the core issue of security being the nexus between traditional and non-traditional security.

As for the case of Asia and South Asia, the solutions need to be more pragmatic than theoretical he said. Dr Pandey provided an overview of the Nepal earthquake and response mechanisms. It was noteworthy that social media enabled communication when other channels stopped functioning. Some of the more serious challenges faced was with regard to reconciliation and reconstruction, distribution of aid, food security issues, displacement of persons and resource mobilization. The speaker also brought forth the much-discussed issue of SAARC's lacklustre role in the region, more specifically in disaster management. Furthermore, he stated that South Asia is a disaster zone, SAARC should bridge the gap of knowledge and experience in disaster management.

This was followed by an interesting discussion with views and comments from experts. The case of the 2004 tsunami and how a disaster of that magnitude was managed by the military, other agencies and international donors was shown as an example of an occasion where an integrated response mechanism was reasonably successful.

The importance of maintaining methods of communication in the face of a disaster in order to identify priorities and take necessary action was also highlighted. Difficulties faced by the Disaster Management Centre where legislation is in place without action being taken and provincial mechanisms not being in place to address disasters were also pointed out. In this regard, a suggestion was made that inter-ministerial coordination was vital with a disaster management plan being drafted by each Ministry. Comments from international donor agencies showed mismanagement and lapses in coordination and communication in such a situation. The case of other nations with the capability of a strong response system that is decentralized which makes it easier to rise up to the occasion in managing and mitigating a disaster was provided as an example. This marked the conclusion of yet another successful Security Salon initiated by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL).



2.2 JOINT PANEL DISCUSSION ON “ SAARC ITS IMPEDIMENTS AND WAY FORWARD”

A panel discussion on 'SAARC: Its Impediments and Way Forward' was organized by the High Commission of Pakistan in Sri Lanka and the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) as their first-ever joint venture. This event was held at Hotel Galadari on February 6.



The panel of speakers comprised high profile Sri Lankan and Pakistani experts including Defence Secretary Karunasena Hettiarachchi, SAARC former Secretary-General, Ambassador Nihal Rodrigo, INSSSL Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, Dr Syed Rifaat Hussain, Ikram Sehgal and High Commissioner of Pakistan Maj. Gen. (R) Syed Shakeel Hussain.

The event was attended by a cross-section of diplomatic corps, senior military officers, members of academia and the Pakistani community.

The speakers at the panel discussion urged South Asian states to provide all individuals with the opportunity to live in dignity, and to realize their full potential as enshrined in the SAARC Charter.

They said, in an increasingly developed world, the objectives of peace, freedom, social justice, and economic prosperity are best achieved in the South Asian region by fostering mutual understanding, good neighbourly relations, and meaningful cooperation among the member states which are bound by ties of history and culture. High Commissioner Hussain underscored that unless strong commitment was shown by all nations in the region towards respecting and honouring sovereign equality, the progress of SAARC will keep getting hampered.

It is imperative that India and Pakistan being the biggest economies must solve their bilateral issues, he added.

He emphasized that “the road to peace and prosperity in SAARC lies through Srinagar”.

Defence Secretary Hettiarachchi, in his keynote address, stated that as one of the poorest regions in the world, with the number of people below the poverty line rising every year, we are a long way from reaching the target of poverty alleviation.

Thus, it is imperative for member states to cooperate and prioritize sustainable development goals and further the development agenda, he said. He highlighted that in South Asia, Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan are the worst victims of the affliction of terrorism and given the severity of this issue, it is important to continue and strengthen the relationships among the member states of SAARC to combat terrorism.



SAARC needs to expand its vision and be more inclusive and open to establishing new linkages with interactions among private and informal sectors being important, he said. Rodrigo said it was very unfortunate that the SAARC Summit which was scheduled to be held in Islamabad in 2016, was first delayed and then cancelled due to bilateral

issues between Pakistan and India although, it is mentioned in the SAARC Charter that the organization should not be hostage to bilateral problems.

He said SAARC should adopt a global approach and should focus on a wide range of activities like poverty alleviation, improvement of the health sector, trade and commerce in the region.

Abeyagoonasekera said that the first challenge at the face of South Asia is apprehending the volatile global order. Bringing to the fore a novel concept, technocracy he said, can be argued to be a viable model in resolving the issues besetting the region as Liberal democracy has proven to be a model that does not deliver efficient results.



Asia could drift towards a technocracy – a model operated by technical experts and expert government servants which deliver quick results, he said.

When considering the greatest problem plaguing the region which is poverty, he quoted President Maithripala Sirisena who declared 2017 as the year of eradicating poverty in Sri Lanka.

Dr Hussain, while elaborating on the Indus Water Treaty between Pakistan and India, said that in spite of this Treaty which was signed in September 1960 to settle the issue of water distribution between the two countries, remains a contentious issue.

He highlighted that South Asia is a water-scarce region and it could be the cause of future conflicts with a possible nuclear war between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir issue itself.

Therefore, SAARC countries should cooperate with each other to ensure equitable and efficient utilization of water. Sehgal in his presentation underscored that among the unresolved problems in the region, the core issue of Kashmir must be addressed to ensure the smooth functioning of SAARC and prosperity of the whole region.

He stressed that we have to look at the positivities and emerging economic opportunities in the region and beyond.

2.3. THREAT LENS ON "LARGE SCALE FOREIGN PROJECTS AND SECURITY IMPLICATIONS IN SOUTH ASIA"

INSSSL held its first "Threat Lens", a closed round table discussion at the Ministry last evening with the participation of a number of high-level government officials, scholars, and policymakers.



The topic of yesterday's discussion was "Large Scale Foreign Projects and Security Implications in South Asia". DG INSS Mr. Abeyagoonasekera gave the opening remarks saying so far no input on national security has not been taken for large scale strategic projects and foresight analysis should

be done as a nation thinking long term. Presentations were made by INSS's Research Analyst with a video recording by Dr Rohan Gunaratna from Singapore.

Mr. Ranuk Mendis INSS Analyst pointed out several models used in other nations such as China when deciding on strategic foreign projects as a first step National Security clearance has to be taken. The valuable inputs pointed out by INSS was appreciated by the audience. Following this, there ensued a very productive discussion with useful and informative perspectives and recommendations on the topic, both in favour of and against FDIs. The general idea, however, was that the government should encourage FDIs whilst exercising caution when engaging with foreign investors. A senior Government Servant explained the importance of a guideline and input should be provided by INSS for such projects in the future.

The event was very well received by all those present with feedback to ensure its continuity with similar discussions in the future.

2.4. PUBLIC LECTURE ON “CHANGING US-CHINA POWER BALANCE AND THE ROLE OF JAPAN – INDIA – SRI LANKA CO-OPERATION”



The Institute of National Security Studies, Sri Lanka (INSSSL) organized its first public lecture on Wednesday, 15th February 2017 at the INSSSL premises at Suhurupaya, Battaramulla. Dr. Satoru Nagao from the Gakushuin University, Japan spoke on the topic “Changing US-China Power Balance and the Role of Japan – India – Sri Lanka Co-operation.”

Director-General of the Institute Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera delivered the opening remarks and introduced the guest speaker Dr Nagao who is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute. He is also Research Fellow at the Tokyo Foundation, Lecturer in Security at the Department of Political Studies at the Faculty of Law, Gakushuin University and Research Fellow at the Japan Forum for Strategic Studies.

Dr Nagao spoke on a timely topic that is of much interest in regional affairs and geo politics. The strategic behaviour of superpowers and regional powers in the Asia Pacific and South Asia is one of the most significant study areas within current international affairs.

Dr Nagao commenced his presentation with more focus on the South China Sea and its strategic importance since in recent times there have been several incidents with the involvement of two superpowers. He was very keen to emphasize new ideologies and strategies of security, the balance of power and military power at present held by super powers and regional powers; specifically China, India, and Japan. Furthermore, he focused attention on relations and alliances between key countries such as the United States, China, and India. Dr Nagao noted the difference between old and new alliances in the US, its bilateral relations and how it has affected small powers in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) like Sri Lanka.

More importantly, he spoke of the role of Sri Lanka where he identified it as a very strategically placed nation as a reason of its significant location and he stressed that this has affected its relations positively as well as negatively with Sri Lanka now having to face new security dilemmas.

This lecture was followed by an interesting discussion. To a question on Dr Nagao's views on the security policy of the new US President Trump was that President Trump himself needs more time and experiences to think about new security policy for the USA. Another important point was on the Japanese reaction in regard to China's military assistance to Sri Lanka. The speaker responded emphasizing that the Japanese reaction could be changed depending on types and quantities of military assistance. He further stated that it is very important to have well-balanced relations and policy with every country which will lead to a balance of power in the current world order. The event was attended by scholars, senior officers of the tri forces, special invitees and media personnel.



2.5. SECURITY SALON ON “SRI LANKA IN CHINA-INDIA RELATIONS: AN INDIAN PERSPECTIVE.”



Security Salon in the month of February organized by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) was held on Wednesday, 22nd February at the Ministry of Defence. The meeting was presided by Additional Secretary Defence, Mr Sarath Kumara. Director General-INSSSL Asanga Abeyagoonasekera introduced and invited eminent scholar, Swaran Singh, Professor, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University,

New Delhi delivers a lecture on “Sri Lanka in China-India Relations: An Indian Perspective.”

The presentation was largely grounded on historical baggage in mutual policies and perceptions since their independence and how India has seen itself central to China's engagement with Sri Lanka. Speaker highlighted different policies and practices by successive governments and how these impacted on Sri Lanka's proximity to either of these two big neighbours. The 1950s, he showed began with "advantageous India" due to the shared colonial experience of both India and Sri Lanka where China was not a factor in India-Sri Lanka relations nor was India a factor in China's easement of Sri Lanka.

It was with two visits of Chinese premier Zhou En-lai in 1957 and 1964 that a new era of China's entrenchment in Sri Lanka and "disadvantage India" begin with China becoming the largest Communist donor. As Prof. Singh pointed out, during the next few decades, we could see the pendulum swing between China and India depending on the preferences and policy shifts of the UNP and SLFP governments.

More recently, Sri Lanka in China's eyes has moved from once being a saviour for isolated China to become a staging post for China's strategic game plan. China today values this island's strategic location in the Indian Ocean what, Prof Singh called, becoming a pearl in China's "string of pearls" during the regime of President Mahinda Rajapakse.

The speaker drew attention to the fact that compared to Mongols and Arabic invaders, the modern-day European had come as traders but soon proved worse than invaders. He used this framework to allude to China's smart strategy of converting its debt into equity in case of Sri Lanka's ports and in establishing a special industrial zone in Sri Lanka. He also underlined India's limited leverages in replacing China. India was unable to offer the nature and magnitude of aid that Rajapakse obtained from China. China's massive investment in the Hambantota Port, he said is projected as an economic enterprise but it makes no economic logic given its zero commercial viability in the long term. But it makes strategic sense and brings political influence. India, on the other hand, enjoys 'social influence' and Sri Lanka civil society has often supported India and shows scepticism towards China. This argument was countered later in the discussion with a comment that Sri Lanka has a right to choose which country it engages with at different times irrespective of their intentions. The professor concluded by saying that surely Sri Lanka has the sovereign right to choose its partnerships and that both China and India have unique strengths and weaknesses in engaging Sri Lanka. India, by virtue of its geographical proximity and also historical, cultural and societal links has different strengths than China which has strong commercial and defence cooperation with Sri Lanka.

A riveting discussion followed thereafter with many senior members (serving and retired) of the SriLankan armed forces and other members of the audience contributed their viewpoints presenting various perspectives that allowed Prof Singh to dwell on several more contemporary and current issues on China's engagement of Sri Lanka.

Some of the observations were on the role of India in the protracted armed conflict in Sri Lanka to which the speaker responded with the comment that his presentation was purely an Indian perspective, therefore he did not focus on the negative influence of India in this island nation. He, however, clarified that he was under no illusions that the Sri Lankan side has had no grievances. He specifically mentioned that he wished to focus on the limitations of India in comparison to the economic giant that is China. There was also the concern about India's inaction on the issue of its fishermen encroaching on Sri Lankan seas to which the speaker responded that he too agrees that India needs to do better but also underlined that no nation is perfect but how we respond to such irritants is where mature relationships make all the difference. Prof. Singh's views on the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) was also sought. His response was that legally speaking no nation should not invest in the disputed territory of their country and that India has genuine reservations against China's investments in Pakistan administered Kashmir. The event which was a success was attended by members of the diplomatic community, serving and retired members of the tri-forces and security experts.



2.6. PUBLIC LECTURE ON “WOMEN IN TERRORISM” BY MICHELLE BROOKS OF THE GLOBAL RESEARCH ORGANISATION LTD (UK)



The Institute of National Security Studies, Sri Lanka (INSSSL) hosted a public lecture on “Women in Terrorism” by Security Expert Ms Michelle Brooks on Friday, 24th March 2017 at the INSSSL office. Director General of the Institute Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera delivered the opening remarks and introduced the guest speaker who is a Research Fellow at the Institute.

Ms Brooks is also a Complex Emergencies Specialist and Academic specializing in the area of Counter-Terrorism. As Managing Director of Global Research Organisation Ltd. (UK), her work has taken the form of research-informed training and change management for government institutions, military and academic clients alike.

Ms Brooks’ topic on “Women in Terrorism” is one that is seldom covered in mainstream politics and international relations. In fact, this was one of the subjects of the lecture itself, where Ms Brooks stated that when it comes to terrorism, women are excluded from the narrative.

Ms Brooks illustrated that women in the Middle East and the West are sometimes more vulnerable to radicalization than women in Sri Lanka, through the research that she conducted. As she suggests, the more liberal the society, the lesser chances of women being lured or attracted to radicalization. However, with regards to Sri Lanka, Ms Brooks suggested that legal measures be taken to prevent illegal child marriages, especially of children from the Islamic faith in the country.

Notably, Ms Brooks stated that the attraction to terrorism for women was far different compared to their male counterparts. She stated that the death of a loved one, especially at the hands of the state drove women to take up arms. Ms Brooks evidenced the claim that the pull towards terrorism was biological in nature for women by depicting case-studies where the female counterpart was radicalized through a romantic relationship with their male partner – the agent of the terrorist act. Furthermore, she stated that the subjugation of any woman at the hands of their male partner, whether they are children or adults is almost always conducive to, and manifests in radical indoctrination. The underlying theme of the lecture was therefore that, in order to curb the trend of female terrorist fighters, women must be given a voice and a seat at the table when talking about the concept of terrorism.

2.7. THREAT LENS “ASSESSING THE THREATS OF VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN SOUTH ASIA WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON SRI LANKA”



A threat lens discussion was held at the Ministry of Defence focusing on addressing the root causes of violent extremism in the region, especially in Sri Lanka. The main focus was made on examining the need to strengthen ties between regional and national level in countering violent extremism. The findings from the discussion have been provided below.

Even though Sri Lanka does not have a direct threat by the Islamic Threat, the possibility of a lone wolf attack cannot be completely forgone. The operations of terrorist organizations such as Laskar-e Taviba (Let), Hizbul Mujahideen (Hum) and Al-Qaeda in the Indian subcontinent does create a fair amount of threat to the island. ISIS recruiters operating out of Tamil Nadu and the states are well known “spillover effect” to the north of Sri Lanka may create a threat to the country’s national security.

Within the South Asian region, Indonesia has been hit by a barrage of lone-wolf attacks mounted by different domestic militant groups. Whereas nations such as India and Bangladesh are on high alert for the possibility of a Lone Wolf Terrorist attacks.

National threat Perceptions:

- Influences from different ideologies are causing problems in the Eastern parts of Sri Lanka. A major lack of education on Wahhabi and Salafi ideologies is the root cause of the problem.
- It is determined that the biggest threat of violent extremism to the nation stem from the Maldives.
- Sri Lanka also has been identified as a potential hub and transit route for terrorist and extremists coming from the Maldives and other South Asian nations
- The Sri Lankan Maldivian Corridor could also be used for the flow of drugs in order to finance violent extremism.
- Sri Lanka requires immediate regulations on social media platforms in order to curb the spread of violent extremist ideologies.
- Lack of Big Data Analysis within the country has become a cause for concern.

2.8. COSATT REGIONAL CONFERENCE ON “PREVENTING TERRORISM AND COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM IN SOUTH ASIA”



The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) together with the Centre for South Asian Studies, Nepal and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung are to hold the regional conference on "Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism in South Asia" on 3rd and 4th April 2017 at Hotel Cinnamon Lakeside Colombo.

Sri Lanka's national security think tank, Institute of National Security Studies of Sri Lanka (INSSSL) Together with the Centre for South Asian Studies, Nepal and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung will hold a regional conference on "Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism in South Asia" next week.

The conference will be held on 3rd and 4th April 2017 at Hotel Cinnamon Lakeside Colombo. Secretary to the Ministry of Defense Karunasena Hettiarachchi will grace the occasion as the Chief Guest.

The event is organized under the umbrella of the Consortium of South Asian Think Tanks (COSATT) to discuss and deliberate on best practices in preventing and countering violent extremism in South Asia.

Number of academics, practitioners, and experts in the field of defence and security studies will be participating in the conference.

2.9. PUBLIC LECTURE ON “NATIONAL SECURITY: CHANGING TIMES, SHIFTING PARADIGMS”.

Major General (Rtd.) Dipankar Banerjee was the speaker at a public lecture hosted by the Institute of National Security Studies on 5 April 2017.

Given the speaker’s immense experience in the subject of defence and security, he focused on the very important topic of ‘National Security: Changing Times, Shifting Paradigms’. INSSSL Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera introduced the speaker as a retired officer of the Indian Army with over 27 years of involvement with strategic planning at the national level. He was a Senior



Fellow at the Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi from 1987-1990 and later its Deputy Director from 1992-1996. Subsequently, he was the founder and Co-Director of the autonomous think tank the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), New Delhi from 1996-1999. From May 1999-2002 he was the Executive Director of the

Colombo-based South Asian think tank, the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies. He next spent a year as a Jennings Randolph Fellow at the US Institute of Peace, Washington, DC before reverting to being the Director and Head of the IPCS. During this period IPCS emerged as a leading think tank on strategic and disarmament issues in all of Asia.

The speaker’s association with Sri Lanka, he said, goes back 20 years to 1997, which was the 10th anniversary of the Rajiv Gandhi-J.R. Jayewardene Accord. He credited Sri Lanka with being the only country to attain victory over violent terrorism and the most developed country in South Asia in terms of human development indices and many other factors in measuring security.

However, he noted that in the new era there are new challenges that are emerging. The primary focus of his lecture was how to deal with these challenges. South Asia and Sri Lanka in particular, is located in an area of growing geo-strategic contestations, was shown as a crucial factor when conflicts, especially in Asia, are moving away from land-based conflicts to oceanic conflicts and attention and development will be entered around oceans in Asia.

The situation will be in conditions of global and regional ethno-religious strife. Here, he drew parallels with Samuel P. Huntington's 'Clash of Civilisations' as that factor can be seen playing out in much of Asia with different ideologies between governments that have created conflict with each other. It is to be considered that these are times of international socioeconomic turbulence and possible global protectionism which is manifest in the 'Trump-era' as he calls it.

He pointed out that this phenomenon might also be seen in greater parts of Europe in the time to come. The crucial meeting between President Trump and his counterpart Xi Jinping, he said, would shape the nature of the world order in the immediate future. It is noteworthy that these occurrences take place in times of greater global interdependence. Therefore, Sri Lanka, although with its island status and being secured by the seas around it, cannot remain removed from the larger global dimensions of conflict in a rapidly changing global environment.

In this backdrop emerges what he calls the "new concepts of security". The current world order which was based essentially on the Westphalian treaty in the 17th century has now evolved where countries have decided to lay out the parameters of national sovereignty and how states interact with each other. Therefore, the conflicts more recently have been of a different nature. He further stated that there is now a distinct shift from territorial security to the economic security of individuals and citizens of a nation, moving from physical security to ideals of human security.

The goal of a nation today is not just to secure its territory but to promote economic wellbeing and further the economic interests of the State. Therefore security is becoming more comprehensive, cooperative with emphasis on the human factor, which is a distinct shift which has evolved from nation-states to regional organizations and shared sovereignty.

As regards 'Sri Lanka and challenges to its national security', Gen. Banerjee pointed out that the primary challenge would be to ensure peace and security within the nation. Thus, ensuring development and prosperity; trade and economic growth; high-quality education; acquiring modern-day skills and improved standards of living are present-day challenges facing Sri Lanka and any other nation-state.

In this context, he noted the importance of considering emerging global challenges such as great power contestations, the inward-looking isolationist policies of the West, the rise of Asian giants and Islamic radicalization which could well lead to a clash of civilizations that could fundamentally alter the security of nation-states and finally, environmental issues.

As such, the current global security landscape is one which has evolved from traditional military challenges to that of hybrid threats. The speaker further highlighted a group of 'Emerging strategic challenges'. Today, he says wars are being fought in six dimensions as compared to the three dimensions of the land, sea, air in conventional warfare. The new and considerably more severe

spheres being the dimensions of space with satellites that play a vital role not just in communication but in the deployment and direction of weapons, cyber warfare capabilities which can inflict physical violence to interfere with important systems which govern and control systems.

The unchartered territory deep under the ocean was also shown as a possible sphere for future warfare. Robotics, computers, artificial intelligence and mass casualty weapons such as bio and chemical are also possible future security challenges to a nation-state. These, he pointed out, will require different leadership strategies in governance as the aim of current warfare is to undermine the socioeconomic resilience of a hostile nation.

Several senior members of the tri-forces, academia, and media were among those present at the discussion.

2.10. PUBLIC LECTURE ON ANGAMPORA -‘SRI LANKAN FORM OF MARTIAL ART’

Angampora is a form of Sri Lankan martial art that combines combat techniques, self-defence, sport, exercise, and meditation. This is a Sri Lankan cultural form that can develop into Cultural Diplomacy into an international platform.

As a National Premier Think Tank INSSSL has decided to work on a new project on Angampora – ‘Sri Lankan form of Martial Art’ with Dr Ajantha Mahantharachchi. This is in order to ensure Cultural Security and promote Sri Lankan Cultural Diplomacy to the international level and also to educate the public on the importance of promoting and protecting Sri Lankan form of Martial Art.



2.11. THREAT LENS ON “CYBER-SECURITY: THE EVOLVING THREAT LANDSCAPE IN SRI LANKA”



INSSSL’s Threat Lens on ‘Cyber Security: The Evolving Threat Landscape in Sri Lanka’ was held on Thursday 18 May at the Ministry of Defence with the presence of experts in cyber security and information technology in the country. Representatives from the Ministry of Telecom and Digital Infrastructure, Central Bank of

Sri Lanka, Informatics, Sri Lanka CERT, CICRA, and senior officers of the tri forces were invited for the discussion. Secretary Defence, Eng. Karunasena Hettiarachchi chaired the discussion while Additional Secretary Defence R.M. Sarath Kumara was also present.

In the wake of last week’s ransom ware cyber-attack using the malicious software WannaCry that created mayhem with more than 200,000 attacks recorded in countries such as UK, Russia, India and China crippling several industries, the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka believed that conducting a discussion among experts on this very relevant topic was of the utmost importance. The main purpose of this forum was to obtain expert views to instigate research that will assist in producing a framework for the country’s potential cyber threat to national security.

It is hoped that the framework will provide as assessment mechanism that will enable the Sri Lankan government to determine their cyber security capabilities, set individual goals and establish a plan for improving and maintaining cyber security programs. The framework is also expected to contribute to cyber security awareness and education as it is evident that knowledge is viewed as an important factor that contributes to the cyberthreat.

In recent years, Sri Lanka’s greater dependence on critical infrastructure, industrial automation, and cyber based control systems has resulted in a growing unforeseen vulnerability to a cyber-security threat. Protecting and assuring the availability of critical infrastructure is thus vital to for both the Sri Lankan and South Asian economies. It is therefore crucial that cyber security professionals understand and have the knowledge to address these issues.

INSSSL Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera provided an introduction to the day's theme and its scope whilst the institute's Research Analyst Priyanka Moonesinghe presented the forum with recent data and statistics with regard to cybercrime.

Her presentation focused on what defence strategies and mechanisms can be applied to counter cyberattacks and touched upon a national mechanism; legal mechanisms; an efficient legal framework; as well as intelligence and military mechanisms, the convergence of all of which are required to combat this type of threat.

Several expert views were shared in the discussion that ensued. The fact that a cyberattack can destabilize the whole country including the armed forces, Head of State, a country's electrical grid, communication systems, media, and telecommunication gateways was a point that was highlighted. While Sri Lanka, fortunately, encountered just one attack from ransomware, there is a greater possibility that more severe damage could take place in the future as hackers would keep developing new systems that can penetrate any firewall.

The most sensible and practical approach to such attacks is by educating users through comprehensive and simple awareness training from the user level. It is also important as to how soon an attack can be detected and responded to. There was a suggestion to introduce a national cyber security strategy with inter-agency cooperation and cyber operation command centers. A collaborative effort and an implementation mechanism were recommended as right now in Sri Lanka, different components of cyber security fall under the purview of different ministries. An institute to train youth on this very crucial subject is also of the greatest importance.

On a positive note, it was pointed out that the tri-forces in the country, specifically the Army conducts workshops and sessions on cyber security as it is not believed that this non-traditional threat carries as much security hazards as traditional threats. The fact that implementation of such measures should be top-driven with higher authorities and policy makers making this subject a priority is of paramount importance. Government departments and staff using confidential information that is not secure itself is a threat to security, therefore users themselves and individuals should have adequate knowledge and awareness to be proactive and not just reactive.

It was also pointed out that rather than concentrating on external attacks, it is necessary to pay attention to possible internal threats and leaks. Protecting mobile phones as well as computers is of importance in the present day. A suggestion for the Government to set up a task force in collaboration with the private sector and formulate an action plan which includes sharing of and disseminating knowledge was well received.

Finally, it was reiterated that every institute should have an ICT policy. The new Counter-Terrorism Act proposed by the government to replace the existing Prevention of Terrorism Act consisting of sections on cyber terrorism is expected to be implemented in the near future. Thus, the Government itself has made this security threat a priority.

2.12. PUBLIC LECTURE ON "HUMAN SECURITY IN A CHANGING CLIMATE: ADDRESSING ITS IMPACT IN SRI LANKA AND SOUTH ASIA"



The Institute of National Security Studies of Sri Lanka (INSSSL) held a lecture and discussion on "Human Security in a changing climate - addressing its impact in Sri Lanka and South Asia" at the INSSSL Auditorium at 'Suhurupaya' in Battaramulla today (14th June 2017).

The lecture was organized in order to educate the audience and to acquire knowledge on a timely topic which got additional attention with the recent flooding.

Ms Anoka Abeyrathne Asia Pacific representative to United Nations Habitat, and Policy and advocacy representative of the Common Wealth Youth Climate Change Network conduct the guest lecture during the event.

During the lecture, she spoke on climate change and its impacts and responses including adaptation and mitigation factors for climate change. She spoke of natural disasters in Sri Lanka in particular and the region and the world in general and cautioned on climatic changes and its effects on Sri Lanka and the world.

The Director General of the INSSSL Mr Asanga Abegoonasekara presented a memento to Ms Abeyrathne as a mark of appreciation during the occasion. Scholars, senior tri forces officers, special invitees, and media personnel attended for the event.

2.13. THREAT LENS ON " MANAGING AND MITIGATING THE THREAT OF NATURAL DISASTERS IN SRI LANKA"

The aim of the INSSSL Threat Lens on "Managing and Mitigating the Threat of Natural Disasters in Sri Lanka" which was held at the Ministry of Defence in Colombo last Friday 16th June was to bring together all the relevant stakeholders, in order to manage and mitigate the risk component of future natural disasters in our country. The forum was chaired by Secretary to the Ministry of Defence Eng. Karuansena Hettiarachchi who provided an introduction to the topic using years of experience in water resource management and irrigation. Providing a technical background to managing and mitigating natural disasters, he explained how reservoirs are built to absorb excess flood water which results in minimum retention in catchment areas. He further suggested that the government should obtain the expertise of engineers to regulate the working of reservoirs. With regard to landslides, he highlighted that if there were measures for the drainage of water from the hills, there will be less risk of such catastrophes. Eng. Hettiarachchi recommended that the stakeholders should focus on specific areas related to natural disasters separately and thereby find solutions for policymakers to address.



Researchers of INSSSL presented facts and statistics with regard to the recent disaster in Sri Lanka with a comparison to cases of Nepal and Bangladesh. Director-General of the Institute explained these phenomena in the context of a "Complex System" which has many interacting components.

One of the key areas that were focused on was the implementation of Early Warning Systems (EWS) as a mechanism for disaster risk reduction. Additionally, INSSSL believes that as a nation we must seek to counter the building of illegal settlements near flood-prone areas, deforestation, unregulated mining activities and the thorough lack of contingency planning. By implementing countermeasures, Sri Lanka will be better prepared in terms of its natural and artificial barriers to natural disasters. Practically, this means that both local and centralized systems of government must come together to ensure the enforcement of such mechanisms. Disaster response and mitigation must also be done in collaboration with the private sector, local communities, and the military, who are able to mobilize resources in times of crises.

The response must be dynamic and not static, in that it must consider the primary and secondary implications of natural disasters, the presenters concluded.

In the engaging and informative discussion that followed with the many experts who were present, there was much information that was shared and proposed with regard to improvements in this area. One such was to invite the academia to present their work on this subject which could be shared with ministries and relevant authorities with responses to be translated into a paper to be presented to His Excellency the President.

- Gaps in the existing systems and recommendations

Considerable criticism of relevant authorities was expressed in several areas. The problem in predicting rainfall and lack of technology was highlighted. There was a suggestion to place river basin sensors as science has improved and sensor networks exist with technology in the form of cell broadcasting as a solution which could be the optimum public warning system needed in the country. Another point that was alluded to was relative disregard to the loss of livelihoods. In order to address the destruction of infrastructure, experts recommended that urban planners could create designs to help minimize issues with resilient architecture. Criticism was leveled against authorities for their lack of foresight as regards resource mobilization and preparedness for the effects of climate change. The core reason for natural disasters which is climate change was also addressed with the need to focus on sustainable development.

Two aspects - loss and damages and adaptations were highlighted with regard to disaster management. The tasks of planning, preparation, and enforcement during an after a disaster was proposed to be assigned to local authorities. One of the gaps highlighted with regard to disaster management was not having a central system with the existence of several organizations belonging to different sectors to serve as a central mechanism to collect information and develop disaster preparedness plans. The need for coordination in adaptation plans with vulnerability mapping are also areas that should be focused on. As there are numerous projects with multinational donors, coordinating on related thematic issues in partnership with countries such as Indonesia and Japan that are also disaster-prone was a recommendation.

An expert on complex systems recommended regionalizing resilience and having command centers; centralized funding for hard engineering projects; localized education for people; forestation by planting deep-rooted trees and keeping trees low to reduce wind stress. Due to the cyclical nature of this problem, it should be addressed at the central level and regionalized. As local authorities in vulnerable areas have a vested interest they have to be provided with the tools and necessary funding. A regionalized command unit should include utilities, national grid, and protection for those crucial systems, she said.

One of the most salient points that were revealed was the lack of preparedness for fire evacuation in a large number of high rise developments that are sprouting in and around the city. The fact that the fire department now operates outside the city and is only equipped to control a fire in a construction rising up to 13 stories is an immense cause for concern. This was brought forth in light of the fire that tore through an apartment complex in London leaving 79 casualties.

The discussion was commended for its relevant and timely nature with the suggestion that the ministry together with the institute could conduct training programs for stakeholders as disaster mitigation requires a collaborative effort. INSSSL will take into consideration proposals and feedback from this discussion in preparing a policy brief to be presented to the relevant policymakers.

2.14. SECURITY SALON ON “WATER CHALLENGES AND INDIA’S RESPONSE: DOMESTIC AND REGIONAL.”

Yet another intellectually inspiring Security Salon was organised by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) and held on Tuesday, 25th April at the Ministry of Defence, Colombo. Director General-INSSSL, Mr. Asanga Abeyagoonasekara introduced the guest speaker Dr Uttam Kumar Sinha inviting him to deliver a lecture on “Water Challenges and India’s Response: Domestic and Regional.” Dr Uttam Kumar Sinha is a Fellow at IDSA and holds an adjunct position at the Malaviya Centre for Peace Research, Banaras Hindu University. At IDSA, he is also the Managing Editor of Strategic Analysis published by Routledge.



He is actively engaged in the Track 2 dialogue process and was India’s representative to the CSCAP Working Group on Water Resources Security. He is also the author of the book *Riverine Neighbourhood: Hydro-politics in South Asia* (Pentagon Press, 2016).

Dr. Sinha’s presentation was largely grounded on how water and the riverine system is redefining the national and regional security perspective in the 21st century, South Asia. He drew attention to the fact that this era is defined as a geological Anthropocene period where humans have a direct impact on climate and the environment.



The world is far more interconnected than before with a great emphasis on the environment and eco-system where the supremacy of man over nature is challenged has made food security and water a part of national security. Water, he reiterated, was not just a central element of agricultural policies and food production but vital from an energy security perspective as well.



Dr Sinha, as an expert on waterways and rivers in the region, construed South Asia as a riverine neighbourhood where the stable supply of water, he said, will determine the stability of the region from a resource as well as a security perspective. As the most shared resource in the world, water is also important in-state relationships with rivers being a great engager in state politics. However, in the context of the proverbial rivalry between neighbours India and Pakistan, there have been suggestions of water wars or an “India-Pakistan flashpoint” on water. Nevertheless, it is praiseworthy that South Asia often saw as a region that lacks mistrust sees a great deal of cooperation and has led the way in cooperating over water issues. Here, he drew attention to the Indus Waters Treaty which is a water-distribution treaty between India and Pakistan, brokered by the World Bank in the 1960s. Hydro politics in a real political framework suggests that the preciousness of water translates into possessiveness and at times resource aggressiveness. Therefore, sharing waters, which is a limited resource, he said, is not always viable and generosity, albeit an important element of India’s engagement with its neighbours, does not extend to the sacrifice of national interest and national security. However, it is noteworthy that the Indus Waters Treaty prevails despite Pakistan’s intransigence and betting terrorism.

Dr Sinha also focused on India’s relationship with Bangladesh and Nepal by connecting the three countries through waterways as a source of navigation and trade for economic integration. Dynamics in South Asia being vulnerable to natural disasters, water treaties need to be looked at in a multilateral approach, especially in the context of river basins. China, he pointed out, cannot be ignored in the Hydro-political context although it has not been included in the river context. Thus, India has a memorandum of understanding with China on the Brahmaputra although there’s no water agreement. Nature has made China quiet supreme in water and therefore it does not have the need to enter into agreements with South Asian countries but rather use water as a strategic tool. Politics of aspiration and sub-regional cooperation should be the driving force in the future with rivers playing a very important role, he concluded. Members of the diplomatic community, academics, senior officers of the tri forces and a number of distinguished guests were present at the occasion.

2.15. SECURITY SALON ON "UNITED STATES AND GEOPOLITICS IN A CHANGING WORLD ORDER"

INSSSL Security Salon on 'The United States and Geopolitics in a Changing World Order' by Prof. Shantha Hennayake was held on 4th July 2017 at the Ministry of Defence, Colombo. Prof. Hennayake who is a Senior Professor of Geography at the University of Peradeniya is a Political Geographer with research interests in the areas of Geography of Nationalism, Geopolitics, Philosophy of Geography and has professional expertise in conducting Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) and Social Impact Assessments (SIA).



Prof. Hennayake's presentation at the Security Salon primarily focused on geopolitics and the role the United States plays in shaping the changing world order. He provided a comprehensive overview of the fundamental concepts relevant to modern geopolitics- the State; sovereignty; national interests; boundaries and spheres of influence; and new

actors that also play a role in modern geopolitics such as international organizations and terrorist organizations. In his explanation of these concepts, Prof. Hennayake emphasized the fact that geo-politics is decided by the State and thereby sovereignty is enforced by the State alone.

Integral to Prof. Hennayake's presentation was outlining the boundaries of the current world order. Despite there being no universally accepted conception for the world order, Prof. Hennayake stated that through a geo-political lens the conception of the world order is that of a dynamic one. He suggested that the existing States in this order operate according to the Realist theory of the projection of State power and a balance of power.

Thereafter, the speaker elaborated on the international relations theories that have laid the foundation for the study of the geo-political world order. This included Wallerstein's (1974) "World System Theory", Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" and Kissinger's most recent "Balance of Power". Having contextualized the changing world order, he went on to ground the United States role in this order.

Prof. Hennayake established the fact that the United States maintains the status quo and is the current hegemon. He stated in this regard that the United States system should not be seen as exclusive to the United States itself but rather as the world system in place today. He provided the example of the global financial crisis which emanated in the United States but had repercussions world wide.

The latter part of the presentation focused on explaining the acceptance of United States hegemony in the current world order by regional powers such as India, China, the European Union, and Russia. The speaker evidenced the role of the United States as the creator and shaper of the world order by eluding to the geopolitical hotspots or spheres of influence that the United States currently dictates. These examples included the US countering the growing influence of China in the South China Sea, its interjection into the Russia-Ukraine crisis, its continued role through a military capacity in the Middle East as well as its relations with Europe in dictating the future of NATO.

Thus, Prof. Hennayake's presentation ultimately challenged the liberal or globalist ideology through the lens of the geo-political dominance of the United States in the manifestation and maintenance of the current world order.

The main take-aways from the lecture were the primacy of the nation-state in governing geo-politics and the "America first" policy as the "leader of the free world" which was set up after World War II and continues to be championed by President Trump today, albeit in a different form.

Sri Lanka's role in the changing world order was addressed in the final part of the lecture as being brought into the fold of the geo-political orbit. Prof. Hennayake stated that Sri Lanka's role in geo-politics in the past, as well as the present, is mainly dictated by its neighbour and regional hegemon of India. Sri Lanka's role overlaps between India's and China's spheres of influence in the Asian region and thus he emphasized the need for the island not to equate the choice between China and India as a zero-sum decision, stating that geographical proximity of States to each other is the unchangeable crux that shapes geo-politics.

Thereafter, members of the Diplomatic community, armed forces, and other invitees were engaged in a discussion on the dynamic nature of the world order, the role of individual political leadership in shaping the rise or fall of world power and the rising global terrorism and its role in geopolitics. The round-table discussion also centred around the use of soft-power diplomacy. In this context, Prof. Hennayake stated that Sri Lanka is an expendable small geo-political state and thus we should look to leverage on our strategic location with both China and India. He warned that not adopting this geo-political approach in the current world order may render Sri Lanka as a prime stage for a proxy war between regional and global powers; such was the context of the frontiers of the Cold War between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). The discussion concluded with the agreement that Sri Lanka should continue its stance on being ‘friends of all, an enemy to none.’



2.16. THREAT LENS ON 'THE CURRENT DENGUE TRAJECTORY: FRAMEWORK AND PATHS TO MINIMIZE THE SPREAD OF THE EPIDEMIC'.

The INSSSL Threat Lens on The Current Dengue Trajectory: Framework and Paths to Minimize the Spread of the Epidemic with the participation of stakeholders and experts in the health sector was held at the Ministry of Defence in Colombo on 26th July.

The current state for an emergency in the country as a result of the rapid spread of dengue which has reached epidemic proportions is seen as a threat to national security. The impact on several sectors such as tourism, investments, education and the overall workforce has the potential to



cripple the economy. Therefore, the aim of this meeting was to bring together the relevant State and public health stakeholders to assess the current state of emergency in the country with regards to the dengue epidemic. Specifically, this threat lens aimed at looking at how the armed forces can be mobilized in aiding the mitigation process. The outcome hoped to ascertain from this roundtable discussion was that of a proactive framework on how to minimize the threat of dengue and the paths needed to stop the epidemic from arising in the future. As the current state of the country warrants an immediate response, this round-table discussion also looked at the pervasive effects of the emergency action currently being adopted and their implications for the future of the country.

Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera and researchers at INSSSL mapped the trajectory of dengue and the variant dengue viruses in the country which has been catalyzed by floods and the garbage crisis. In their presentation which depicted a dengue update by epidemiologists in the country, it was disturbing to note that Sri Lanka is facing an "unprecedented" outbreak of deadly dengue fever, with 296 deaths recorded and over 100,000 cases reported in 2017 alone, according to the Red Cross with all state and private health experts stretched to their limits in terms of treating this epidemic which is now a national security concern with government and private hospitals ill-equipped to treat the surging number of patients.

In order to curb this crisis, the researchers pointed out the importance of eradicating the causative organism which is the virus rather than the mosquito which is the vector. As methods, they suggested to seek and destroy dengue breeding grounds; community-led cleanup campaigns; legal action on the public; and equipping hospitals with adequate resources. Therein, attention was focused on how other countries combatted dengue, with examples from Brazil, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, and Australia. They presented a very important case study of the discovery of the Wolbachia bacteria by Professor Scott O'Neill of the Institute of Vector-Borne Diseases at Monash University, which was used in Queensland, Australia.

In conclusion, dynamic solutions to combat dengue in Sri Lanka were expounded. 'Veta', the fight dengue mobile app; locally invented mosquito trap; 'Oxitec' re-engineered mosquitoes; release of dragonflies into the ecosystem and bacteria release by Debug were proposed together with the implementation of a 10-year comprehensive, sustainable dengue eradication plan. The tri forces, the office of the Chief of Defence Staff and Police whose tremendous contribution in this crisis is largely appreciated also made presentations on their operations in dengue affected areas.

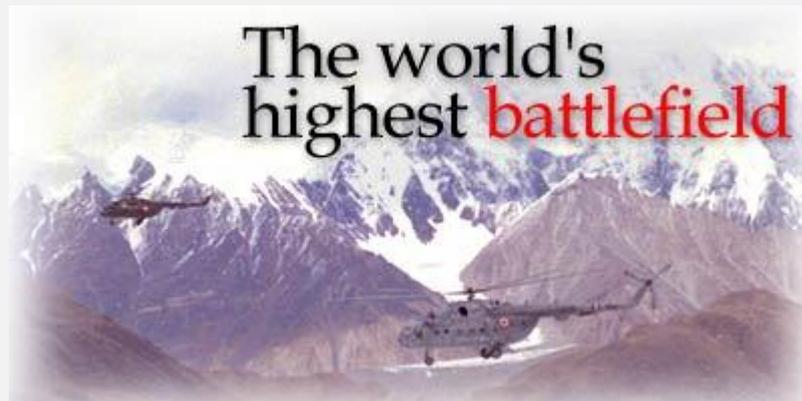
In the discussion that followed, gaps in communication with regard to breeding sites and community participation were disclosed with recommendations that relevant local authorities should coordinate with the armed forces for a more effective outcome with central level assistance in executing plans. The incessant garbage and waste management problem was brought to the fore as a contributory factor for the breeding of dengue mosquitoes. However, an interesting point to note is that the city of Negombo which depicts the highest number of dengue patients globally is not affected by garbage disposal problems.

The significance of entomologists with a scientific approach to this problem and an action-oriented task force monitored by a central location can prevent future crises of this proportion. It was suggested that the public could approach the committee with their proposals so that they will, in turn, come up with plans with practical solutions to be executed with relevant authorized powers. Medical experts in the forum provided some very useful information with regard to understanding and combating the problem.

Recommendations were made with regard to the need to maintain preventive activities when the crisis subsides as well as identifying areas that need strengthening. Reducing mortality is the challenge as the disease which has many dimensions and is one of the hardest to manage. Reducing breeding places, water management, solid waste management, and building management are contributory factors in the prevention of future outbreaks. Most importantly, as the topic suggests, the trajectory should be identified in formulating an operational plan to identify and strengthen capacities to combat dengue.

2.17.PUBLIC LECTURE ON “SIACHEN – THE WORLD’S HIGHEST BATTLEFIELD”

The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) hosted the seventh public lecture on “Siachen – The World’s Highest Battlefield” on the 12th of September. The lecture was attended by Mr Janbaz Khan, the Deputy High Commissioner of Pakistan and Pakistan Defence Attache Colonel Sajjad Ali.



2.18. THREAT LENS ON “THE ILLICIT FLOW OF DRUGS AND ITS IMPACT ON SRI LANKAN YOUTH”



The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) held its Threat Lens on “The Illicit Flow of Drugs and its Impact on Sri Lankan Youth” on October 3rd to coincide with World Temperance Day. The event was held at the Ministry of Defence in Colombo with the presence of key stakeholders including the clergy who are involved in the control of narcotics, experts from the medical profession and members of the armed forces of Sri Lanka.

Addressing the gathering, Director General of INSSSL Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera quoted from His Excellency the President Maithripala Sirisena’s recent speech at the United Nations General Assembly where he pledged: “I underscore the need to implement a broader international response to the threat posed by drugs, and other intoxicants. As I see it, drug prevention and mitigation oriented programs with broad acceptance and consensus are the need of the day.” The Institute whose President is also His Excellency President Sirisena advocates this view and considers the illicit flow of narcotics among Sri Lankan youth as a threat to national security.

To begin with, researchers of the Institute presented a comprehensive overview of the day’s theme with focus on the following areas: world context of illicit drug proliferation; threat landscape of Sri Lanka for the illicit flow of drugs; methods of trafficking; consumption patterns of drugs in Sri Lanka; initiatives taken by law enforcement to criminalize drugs; and the impact of drugs on youth in Sri Lanka. In this, they also addressed smuggling routes and methods of trafficking of narcotics into the country as well as the consumption patterns of drugs. The presentation also focused on success stories from Switzerland and Portugal that were shared in regard to the world context of illicit drug proliferation.

When considering the landscape of the illicit flow of drugs in Sri Lanka, the single most significant problem was seen as the trafficking of heroin from India for local consumption as Sri Lanka serves as a trans-shipment hub. It is significant that apart from Cannabis which is cultivated on a large scale in the provinces of eastern and southern Sri Lanka, all other drugs are imported, not locally produced. Numbers of drug-related arrests have increased by 23% in 2015 when compared with the previous year and of the total drug-related arrests, 32% was for heroin and 63% for cannabis.

It is also a concern that most numbers of drug-related arrests have been reported from the Western province (60%) where Colombo district contributed to 43% of the total.

The presentation also highlighted the legal aspect to counter this issue drawing from drug laws, local and international. In addition to the many internal legal mechanisms such as the Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and the Sri Lanka National Policy for the Prevention and Control of Drug Abuse, Sri Lanka is a signatory to the three UN conventions on drug abuse and trafficking which are the Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961; Convention on Psychotropic Substances, 1971 and the Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, 1988. To counter this problem, there also exists regionally, South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

Furthermore, It is a concern that the drug menace also contributes to related social and security issues such as money laundering, human trafficking, and arms trafficking. To respond to these threats, measures have been adopted by the present government of Sri Lanka. The Presidential task force on drug prevention was established by President Sirisena in 2015 with the aims of reducing the use of Alcohol, Tobacco and other illegal drugs and thus reducing the negative consequences of using such substances. The task force was also created with the people's wellbeing in mind in order to improve productivity and reduce poverty. The primary objective is decreasing the usage, transport, and sale of Illegal Drugs by 80% by the year 2020. Further objectives are that of preventing newcomers from starting the usage of drugs; reducing the hazardous and harmful behaviours of current users; reducing the number of victims admitted to hospitals due to effects of usage of drugs; efficiently and correctly educating the public regarding direct and indirect harm caused by drugs.

Specifically, the impact of narcotics on youth is a disturbing factor with the highest number of users being those in their teens. It is In order to address this concern, several initiatives such as youth engagement activities, awareness programs, and workshops are being held nation-wide at present. As such, the free flow of drugs among youth results in increased crime, adversely affecting mental and physical health, academic performance, relationships, and economic productivity.

Recommendations of INSSSL in this regard were directed towards taking away the stigma of drugs and make a gateway for medical treatment available to all. A requirement for a United Nations institutional training that would assist in the capacity building was also suggested while the government established Centre for Sharing Intelligence on Drug Trafficking being strengthened which will enable sharing of intelligence not only domestically but also regionally.

In the engaging and informative discussion that followed, experts in the area of anti-narcotics and law enforcement shared their views on best practices in drug prevention. In this regard, four steps to consider for drug prevention were how structurally capable the country is in dealing with the drug menace, the mindset of the leadership, law enforcement authorities and the public, challenges in technical and human resources in managing the issue and safeguarding the privacy of individuals.

Herein, as much as the focus is on regional and global methods of trafficking there is still a need to address the internal factors and patterns of drug usage with a more coordinated approach, methodologies, and techniques for its control. Also highlighted was the need to consider the transnational nature of this phenomenon with its high revenue aspect that at times overpowers even the rule of law.

Important proactive (prevention, detection) and reactive (investigation, persecution) measures employed in managing the issue were pointed out by law enforcement authorities. Dynamics of the prisons system where criminals forge links with youth contributing to the distribution of drugs and increased crime was an area suggested for future study.

As regards positive developments, it was noted that there has been a clear policy against the tobacco industry in the country which has resulted in the decline of consumers in recent years whilst the policy on alcohol remains ambivalent. It was suggested that INSSSL should link up with presidential task force to create a comprehensive national policy.

In conclusion, it was suggested by those present that addressing the root causes for the use of drugs should be investigated and further researched. A loss of values resulting in the degradation of society has contributed to the escalation of this problem in recent times. Therefore, it is imperative to seek answers within religion, family, and society.

2.19. WORKSHOP ON “AUSTRALIAN DEFENCE WHITE PAPER”

“The creation of a viable defence policy would allow us to make an appraisal of the security environment we live in and adapt our military capabilities in proportion to what is required’. This was the context in which the Chairman of the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL), the Secretary of Defence, Mr Kapila Waidyaratne, P.C. commenced a workshop from the 23rd -25th of October 2017 in collaboration with the Australian High Commission at the INSSSL premises. The Acting Australian High Commissioner – Mr Tim Huggins, Navy Commander Vice Admiral Travis J.L. Sinniah, Chief of National Intelligence – DIG (Retd.) Sisra Mendis, senior Sri Lankan military officials and senior staff from the Ministry of Defence were all in attendance.



The workshop was conducted by an Australian team comprised of both senior military and civilian officials, led by - Commodore Aaron JamesIngram, Captain Guy Blackburn, Mr Ryan Buchanan, Mr Ben Carroll, and Australian Defence Attaché Captain Jason Sears. The team had previously worked on the Australian Defence White Paper of 2016 and brought it to fruition in the Australian parliament. Their aim was to impart the Australian knowledge and experience to the Sri Lanka defence establishment.

2.20. SECURITY SALON ON “STRATEGIES OF MAJOR POWERS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION: IMPLICATIONS FOR SRI LANKA”

On the 27th October 2017, the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) held a Security Salon on the “Strategies of Major Powers in the Indian Ocean Region: Implications for Sri Lanka” at the Ministry of Defence with guest speaker Dr. Sithara Fernando, who is a senior lecturer at the Kothelawela Defence University (KDU).



The Chairman of the INSSSL and Secretary of Defence, Mr Kapila Waidyaratne, P.C. commenced the proceedings by bringing to light that the topic at hand was an evolving one, according to the changing regional balance as well as through the different perspectives of world actors.

Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera in his opening remarks said “the Security Salon has become the most popular discussion forum in Sri Lanka in a short time with military, academia and diplomatic community due to the timely topics and uniqueness”

Dr Sithara Fernando began by saying that Sri Lanka has a central role to play in the geopolitics of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). This is mainly due to its strategic position being of virtue to the three major powers in the region, the USA, India, and China. The four main topics Dr Fernando touched on were the proposed US strategy in the IOR; India’s security concerns and objectives in the region; China’s expanding maritime strategic vision and finally the implications for all of these issues on Sri Lanka.

In terms of the USA, Dr Fernando shed light on the fact that their main means of spreading influence in the IOR is through their naval bases in various strategic locations throughout the region. Part of the US strategy is to maintain and shape the regional balance of power in favour of their hegemony. He also elaborated on the fact that the US wishes to promote Indian influence in the region in order to counter the increasing influence of China in the region. This is due to the fact that the US Congress Joint Select Committee on Deficit Reduction has proposed close to US\$ 1 trillion in defence cuts. If this proposal is implemented the US Pacific Command’s ability to execute its mission within the Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean would be unfavourably affected.

However, Dr Fernando stated that this aspect of the strategy is based on a recognition that US-India strategic cooperation will stop short of an explicit alliance. It will instead encourage a quadrilateral alignment between the US, India, Japan, and Australia as democratic countries. In this context, India has its own vision for the IOR.

While democratically aligning with the aforementioned countries to curb China's assertions in the region, India also has aspirations of leadership in the very same region. Dr. Fernando outlined the challenges to India's vision as the political rivalry with Pakistan, Pakistan's increased economic and nuclear cooperation with China and the need for India to achieve energy securitization in the region. India's approach to a potential war on two fronts with Pakistan and China is from a position of strength. Thus, to offset India's disadvantage in a continental war, Indian strategists think that India can use its strategic location in the IOR to put pressure on Pakistani and Chinese shipping.

Nevertheless, Dr Fernando forewarned that China's expanding maritime vision is in line with the political thinking of the country's former Presidents, scholars, and naval commanders. The maritime doctrine of the Chinese is such that it has long-term plans of blue-water capability power projections and far-seas defence towards a "global reach".

The discussion then pivoted to the fact that Sri Lanka had a vital role to play amongst these major powers in balancing power projections in the IOR as well as in the island itself. Dr Fernando laid out two strategies for Sri Lanka in this regard. The first was that our small island-nation needed to remain non-aligned in order to retain its relationship with each of the aforementioned countries. As an independent sovereign country which also occupies a central geographical location in the IOR, Sri Lanka must seek to maintain good relations with India, Pakistan, and China as well as the external power – the US. The latter strategy suggested by Dr Fernando was that of defensive- balancing – a countervailing strategy aimed at maximizing all the major power's strategic interests in the island.

The Security Salon concluded with an engaging discussion with Dr Fernando and members of the Diplomatic community, armed forces and other invitees who shared their thoughts on the strategic future of the Indian Ocean Region and its implications for Sri Lanka.

2.21. SECURITY SALON ON “THE SAUDI – IRANIAN RIVALRY AND THE NEW SECURITY LANDSCAPE IN THE MIDDLE EAST”

This commentary is informed by the Security Salon on the “Saudi-Iranian rivalry and the new security landscape in the Middle East”, conducted by visiting scholar to the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL), Professor Matteo Legrenzi, on the 27th of October 2017. The Salon highlighted the new Middle East Cold



War between Saudi Arabia and Iran as well as the proxy-wars being fought by these two regional powers in Bahrain, Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq, and Syria. The speaker illustrated the fact that security in the Middle East is a contested concept and that military power is not always fungible in the region. Professor Legrenzi went beyond the sectarian framework that informs much of the debate on the Saudi-Iranian rivalry, to show how extra-regional powers and external manipulation play a significant role in determining regime security in the Middle East. It is on this latter strand of thought that this commentary seeks to elaborate on.

Firstly, ‘the West’ will be construed as predominately being U.S foreign policy in the Middle East, to illustrate the sphere of influence the U.S has in the region. The author will critically analyze different foreign policy themes in the region and argue that the West’s policy decisions with regards to the Middle East are based on its own liberal security interests and that this is especially true of the Saudi-Iranian rivalry.

The Middle East has long been of geo-strategic interest - given that the region produces 40% of the world’s energy and 96% of world transportation energy - with the sale of the commodity of oil. In fact, 66% of global oil reserves are in the hands of Middle Eastern countries (25% with Saudi Arabia) (OPEC, data source). However, oil is not the main factor that drives U.S foreign policy in the region. As the comparative charts below illustrate, more than half of U.S oil comes from its domestic oil industry compared to Japan and China, which are much more reliant on the Middle East Region for crude oil imports.

In fact, China has taken an interest in the region for this very same commercial reason, such that it is seen “free-riding on the American security role” in the region while benefitting commercially by increasing its energy security. This is also evidenced by the above pie chart that shows that China’s crude oil imports amount to 16% from Saudi Arabia alone.

If we look at the Middle East region as a whole, we can see that the rise of political Islam and its contention with Western liberal values as well as the decade long 'War on Terror' are the main driving factors of the West's engagement in the region. The

U.S military presence since the Gulf War has also meant that the West has had a historic intervening presence in the region.

This viewpoint is consistent with the depiction of the region at the Security Salon, where it was argued that for the foreseeable future when it comes to military security "the offshore balancer in the Gulf is the United States of America". This led GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) countries to depend on American support and leverage the American presence in the region for security in the past.

Let us first look at the case of Israel and U.S foreign policy in supporting Israel historically. The U.S has always been a key ally of Israel, especially since the Six-Day War in 1967. Israel is also the largest annual recipient of direct U.S economic and military aid since 1976, receiving approximately \$2.5billion per year – 1/5 of U.S foreign aid- encompassing mostly military aid (The Cost of Conflict Study Team, Rand Cooperation). In general terms, the relationship shared between Israel and the U.S means that the U.S turns a blind eye to the Israeli nuclear weapons program and has led the U.S not to recognize the Palestinian state, unlike an increasing number of European countries. John Mearsheimer and Stephen Walt have an interesting insight into the American "Israel Lobby" (LRB, March 2006). They stated that "the thrust of US policy in the region derives almost entirely from domestic politics, and especially the activities of the 'Israel lobby'...[which has] managed to skew foreign policy [like no other interest group]". President Trump's announcement that the US will recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel at the time of writing this article is a testament to this fact. Mearsheimer and Walt's main argument, however, is that the US relationship with Israel is contrary to US strategic interest. This argument has some strength because Israel can be seen as a strategic burden in the context of the Gulf War, Lebanon, Palestine and the opposition to the two-state solution.



The threat of Iran is arguably the most important factor that dictates the West's interest in the region currently. The 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran, which saw the rise of Ayatollah Khomeini and the ousting of the US-backed Shah after the CIA sponsored coup in 1953, was a watershed moment in US-Iran relations. This is because the Revolution was succeeded by the 1979-1981 Hostage Crisis, which saw retaliatory economic sanctions imposed by the U.S. The deterioration of U.S-Iranian relations has also had a value-laden aspect to it because the U.S has since branded Iran as having links to the terrorist organizations of Hezbollah, Hamas, and the PLO and during the Bush Administration - links to Al Qaeda. Nevertheless, the Obama administration attempted to have a serious dialogue and engagement with the Iranians on their alleged nuclear program. This represented a proactive policy decision of the West in engaging with Iran, without immediately resorting to military might. However, the resultant JCPOA (Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action) is now being undermined by the current US President. This is evidenced by Trump's move to expand sanctions against Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC). Tehran is also a fundamental actor in solving both the Syrian and Yemeni crises and is crucial to American foreign interests in the Middle East. Yet thus far, the present U.S Executive has only shown cynicism and deep mistrust of Iran.

The situation is further catalyzed by the fact that the Gulf region is transitioning power from Saudi Arabia to Iran and arguably recalibrating eastward. Power relations in the region increasingly depend on non-Arab states: Iran, Turkey, and Israel. Hence, Saudi Arabia has come under increasing pressure to reassert its regional dominance and maintain the status-quo thereby culminating in the Saudi-Iranian rivalry. The American position has been one of weakness in this regard. It has sought to provide assurances to its Arab allies (including Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and the United Arab Emirates), through a sustained maritime presence in the Gulf and also to amplify tensions with regards to supporting Saudi Arabia and neighbouring countries in accusing Qatar of propagating terrorism. The lynchpin of the West's helplessness in the region is Iran as it represents an increasing presence with its militant clients (including Hezbollah, Iraqi militias, and the Houthis in Yemen). Deterring Iran and its proxies is thus central to the West's objectives in the Middle East.

Given more than a decade of the War on Terror framing the security agenda; the Middle East as a region has been established as a permanent threat narrative within the Western and more specifically, U.S foreign policy. Hence, the institutionalization of Middle East policy within the current security agenda renders the region as a permanent sphere of influence for the Western powers. The security landscape of the Middle East today has shown us that the West's choices have resulted in an array of conflicts and threats emanating from the region - thereby rendering the U.S - both cynical and helpless.

2.22. ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “HELABASA SURAKIMU”



A round table discussion on “Helabasa Surakimu” was held on 3rd November at the institute auditorium. The initial aim of the discussion was to improve and preserve the Sinhalese language as a national heritage. The discussion was led by the former speaker of the parliament of Sri Lanka between 2004 to 2010, Hon. W.J.M. Lokubandara, Professor Vini Vitharana and others distinguish scholars and researchers on Sinhala language.

2.23. PANEL DISCUSSION ON “THE ROLE OF ARMED FORCES IN POST CONFLICT SRI LANKA”



The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) conducted a panel discussion on “The Role of Armed Forces in Post Conflict Sri Lanka” to a delegation from The Centre of Conflict and Humanitarian Studies (CHS), Doha on the 17th of November 2017. The delegation, led by Sultan Zuhdib Majid Barakat, comprised of MSc students from 14 countries in the Middle East and North Africa.

The discussion was chaired by Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera Director-General of INSSSL and the panel consisted of Maj. Gen. Rathnayake, Director General of the Bureau of the Commissioner-General of Rehabilitation and Colonel Isadeen, General Staff of the Bureau. Colonel Isadeen briefed the delegates on the role of the armed forces in post-conflict Sri Lanka and provided an overview of the process given during the relief and rehabilitation phases. Further, he outlined the National Model for Post Conflict Development including the 5R (Resettlement, Reconstruction, Rehabilitation, Reintegration, and Reconciliation) which has been successful in Sri Lanka.

The discussion concluded with an engaging discussion between the panel and students who shared their thoughts and insight on reconciliation.

2.24. WORKSHOP ON “CLIMATE & RESOURCE SECURITY IN SRI LANKA”



Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) together with the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), Regional Project Energy The Security and Climate Change (Hong Kong) and the Centre for South Asian Studies (Nepal), jointly conducted a timely and relevant workshop on Climate Change Sector in South Asia, at the Hilton Hotel Colombo, from the 30th November – 1st December and Resources Security: Challenge for Security and the Security.

The workshop hosted a wide range of speakers and participants representing the South Asian nations and also extra-regional partners - the United States of America, the European Union, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Australia. Presenters at the workshop made important representations from their respective countries in relation to climate change and resource security. Discussions amalgamated both local and regional experiences in tackling climate change issues, the role of the military as a primary responder to natural disasters and its wider implications on national security.

The inaugural session commenced with the welcome remarks delivered by the Director-General of INSSSL, Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera. He reiterated the commitment and pledge to combat the adverse effects of climate change made by His Excellency, Maithripala Sirisena, President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, who is also the president of the INSSSL Board of Governors. Mr Abeyagoonasekera stated that, as the national security think tank, INSSSL has provided research and analysis in the area of climate-related security issues to the President's 2030 strategic vision. This vision is being formulated under the guidance of Prof. Mohan Munasinghe, Sri Lanka's Nobel Prize winner for climate change.

Dr Peter Hefele from KAS advocated for a fresh approach in state-to-state relations when tackling climate change, as its consequent issues are not restricted to state boundaries but have spillover effects into neighbouring states and wider regions. It was also mentioned how inspiration could be drawn from the South Asian experience in tackling climate change when addressing issues of similar nature back in Europe.

In his Keynote Address, the Secretary of Defence, Mr Kapila Waidyaratne spoke of how need to be more proactive in their response to climate change. However, he did emphasize the fact that progress in international negotiations on climate change depends on domestic political support for cooperation and therefore this should be a top priority in domestic politics.

The first session of the workshop was on the thematic area of “Reshaping the Security Landscape: Energy, Resources, and Geopolitics in South Asia and beyond”. The sessions were convened under Chatham House rules and the discussion proceeded on a country-based theme.

It was noted that the division of South Asia has undoubtedly led to conflicts between nations in the region, particularly in the case of resource security. For example, it was made apparent that some of the main rivers that flow through India originate in China, which may possibly lead to water supply issues in the future if the situation is mishandled. There was a call for all regional countries to cooperate on such aspects necessary to address questions on climate change.

Nepal has seen both its upland and lowland ecosystems affected by climate change which in turn threatens water, food and energy resources in the country. However, resource-related climate change issues are most prevalent in Bangladesh. In terms of human displacement and migration, 500,000 people have been displaced due to riverbank erosion on its own. Another 400,000 people have moved to Dhaka due to rising sea levels, which also threaten the very existence of the country.

A 1-meter rise will submerge 20 percent of the country and displace more than 30 million people. It has been assumed that Chittagong will be underwater in 100 years. Hence, these figures signal the fact that the effects of climate change are in the lifetimes of our generation. Sri Lanka also faces the threat of climate change as it can be a driver for instability and therefore an issue of national security. In this context, Sri Lanka must work towards training its military to combat environmental security issues as well. There was also a call for a doctrine on military relief responses to be developed for the country. In this regard, the encouraging of research to strengthen science-military cooperation was put forth and here the importance of think tanks came into play.

Thereafter, representations made from extra-regional countries such as the US highlighted how though the country has pulled out of the Paris Agreement, it was still very much involved with climate change initiatives. It was also mentioned how the US military is the primary climate combatant for the US in recent times. In this regard, the Arctic and the Indo-Asia Pacific regions were identified as hotspots of climate change and the US have thus deployed military and civilian operations in these areas.

On the other hand, the European Union experience shared at the workshop was that the biggest challenge was to change the perception of citizens on the issue of climate security. This is because climate security is currently over-shadowed by other security factors such as migration, terrorism, and extremism, etc. The practice of climate diplomacy to tackle the spillover effects of climate change-related disasters was also put forth as a solution.

The first two sessions ended with a discussion on how sharing of climate data between countries could aid States in taking more unified action in the face of climate change as a majority of its consequences are not confined to state boundaries. In relation to this, the role of international organizations such as the World Bank was commended.

The Australian experience shared was similar to their South Asian counterparts, in that they faced the threat of energy security. It was highlighted that the immediate domestic challenges for Australia in terms of climate change were being met by the Australian Defence Force, thereby propelling the theme of the day – the fact that the military and security sectors are intrinsic to combating climate change. The first day of the workshop successfully drew to a close and will re-commence tomorrow for the concluding sessions.

The concluding session focused on the need to view climate change as a definite threat to a country's national security. South Asia's response to climate change-related issues suffers from a general lack of coordination between states and leaders. Enhancing information sharing among the military and civil authorities as well as capacity building and disaster management training were underlined as a crucial step towards combatting this issue.

The workshop was a success in that it illuminated the issues in the South Asian region with regards to Climate Change and Resource Security. However, the greatest achievement was that it brought together critical thinkers from the diverse defence, academic and civilian backgrounds and united them resolutely in discussing solutions to this issue.

2.25. LT GEN DENZIL KOBBEKADUWA ANNUAL MEMORIAL LECTURE



The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) launched an Annual Memorial Lecture Series in honour of Lieutenant General Denzil Lakshman Kobbekaduwa. The inaugural lecture in the series was delivered by General G H de Silva (Rtd.), on the “*Life and Times of Lt. Gen. Kobbekaduwa in the contemporary context*”, on 8 December 2017, from 15.00 – 17.00 pm, at INSS premises - SUHRUPAYA Auditorium (19th Floor). The event was graced by the Secretary of Defence, Mr. Kapila Waidyaratne P.C, Secretary - State Ministry of Defence, Mr. Sunil Samaraweera, Mrs. Kobekadduwa and Family, Commander of the Army Lt. General N U M M W Senanayake, Retired Senior Military Officers, distinguished military officers, members of the diplomatic core, civilian scholars and academia.



On behalf of INSS, the Director-General – Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera delivered the opening remarks. He stated the motivation behind launching this event in honour of Gen. Kobbekaduwa: *“to invoke the memory of a great military strategist and discuss an important strategic topic for our nation”*. In this regard, he thanked His Excellency the President Maithripala Sirisena of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka for establishing INSS, as the first civilian-military national security think tank. *“It is fitting that we can bring together both the military and civilians to honour this valiant military strategist”*.

An *“In Memorium”* video of the life and times of Gen. Kobbekaduwa was shown to the audience in an attempt to delve into the past of this stoic military strategist. Thereafter, Mrs Lalini Kobbekaduwa garlanded the portrait of her late husband – Gen. Kobbekaduwa. The opening remarks were then delivered by the Secretary of Defence, Mr Kapila Waidyaratne P.C. As the Chairman of INSS, the Secretary stated that *“it was of utmost importance to reflect upon the visionary legacy and strategic depth [of Gen. Kobbekaduwa] in forging a military strategy for our country during the war years”*. The Secretary addressed the defence establishment in the audience stating that: *“the best blood of the land here should be encouraged to follow in the steps of their illustrious predecessors”*.

Thereafter, the speaker – General Gerry de Silva (Rtd.) took the stage to deliver his lecture on his friend and comrade Gen. Kobbekaduwa. He was introduced by Brigadier Sri Mudannayake who is providing volunteer service at INSS. The aim of the lecture was to do justice to the memory of a fallen war hero as well as commemorate his legacy and his strategic thinking on the battlefield.

The lecture began with a foray into General Denzil Kobbekaduwa's early childhood and adolescence gathered from military records. General de Silva illustrated how Gen. Kobbekaduwa rose to prominence in the military – surpassing records in a promotion that were *“unprecedented in the annals of recent Sri Lankan military history”*. General de Silva explained that in 1989 Gen. Kobbekaduwa received another rare honour in that he attended the Royal College of Defence Studies in England and became the only Sri Lankan Army officer to be trained entirely in the UK, commencing with his officer cadet training in Sandhurst, followed by the Technical Transport officers course, the Young Officers course of the Armoured Corps in Bovington and the Staff College course in Camberley.

According to General De Silva, this training and Gen. Kobbekaduwa's character building during the early war years, contributed to "the acquisition of a dominant Battle Space Knowledge" which was invaluable during the formidable challenge that lay ahead in terms of the height of the armed conflict. Gen. Kobbekaduwa's "foresight, approach, and 'out-of-the-box' thinking brought the desired results for success in all endeavours". This was no more apparent than in the major combat operations that Gen. Kobbekaduwa conducted against armed Tamil Militancy since 23rd July 1983 ["Black Friday"].



General De Silva, having served alongside Gen. Kobbekaduwa, stated that he was of the personal opinion that Operation "Balavegaya" was the crowning glory in the battle span of Gen. Kobbekaduwa. He elaborated that during this combat operation Gen. Kobbekaduwa coordinated a total of 6000 soldiers and "*true to his military character projected his strategic and tactical acumen to its finest, which in the end brought victory*". It is this strategic depth that led others to observe that "*Kobbekaduwa was a person who could obtain the maximum advantage from minimum resources and was therefore known as an excellent strategist*".

Despite his untimely demise at Araly Point in the Kayts island on 8th August 1992, Gen. Kobbekaduwa's legacy still lives on today. This legacy not only encompasses his strategic acumen, but rather General de Silva was able to enlighten the audience on "the Hearts and Minds" approach of Gen. Kobbekaduwa in battle, which showcased his leadership from the heart. This was evidenced by the fact that Gen. Kobbekaduwa "*was trusted, admired and highly respected by Tamils of every political tincture for his sterling qualities of Fairplay, honesty and integrity*". It is what made the lecture so edifying. General de Silva was able to capture the essence of Gen. Kobbekaduwa's character and illustrate it in a contemporary context for the next generation or the armed forces to garner valuable knowledge from.

2.26. SECURITY SALON ON “THE LOTUS TOWER AND THE INDO-PACIFIC REGION”



The Institute of National Security Studies of Sri Lanka (INSSSL) organized an intellectually stimulating 'Security Salon' on December 11th at the Ministry of Defence. Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, the Director-General of the Institute, introduced the invited guest Professor Patrick Mendis to deliver the lecture on “The Lotus Tower and the Indo-Pacific Region.”

Professor Mendis is an alumnus of the Harvard Kennedy School of Government, the University of Minnesota's Humphrey School of Public Affairs, and the University of Sri Jayewardenepura's Faculty of Management Studies and Commerce. He is a former American diplomat and a NATO and Pacific Commands military professor during the Clinton and Bush Administrations and has been serving as a Commissioner of the US National Commission for UNESCO at the Department of State. The views expressed at the Ministry of Defence are his own and do not represent the institutions of his past or current affiliations.

The discussion was chaired by Additional Secretary of Defence, Mr R. M. S. Sarath Kumara, and attended by members of the diplomatic community, academic leaders, senior officers of the tri-forces of Army, Navy, and the Air Force of Sri Lanka.

Professor Mendis primarily grounded his presentation on the construction of the \$104 million Chinese-invested Colombo Lotus Tower, which invoked the Lotus Sutra in Buddhism, and its significance for the Indo-Pacific region and other countries.

Professor Mendis drew attention to the long-relished commercial and spiritual relations between China and Sri Lanka that have lasted for more than two millennia. Colombo has become a key interlocutor to this Indo-Pacific dialogue as the “New Era” of President Xi Jinping's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) gains greater influence in the "Buddhist Kingdom of Lion," as the celebrated Chinese monk Fa-Hien described the island-nation in the 5th century. The BRI and the Buddhist legacy are now being signified and

manifested by the “Peaceful Rise” of the Lotus Tower. Guiding this relationship for the betterment of the people, however, will prove to be a challenge for Sri Lanka in the future as the debt service on Chinese-led massive projects becomes a reality.

Beijing's grand strategy is intended to create a new “Pacific” world order, with far-reaching implications not only for Sri Lanka but also for the US and India in the next 99 years, as the two parcels of land in the Colombo Port City and the Hambantota Harbour are leased for China. He believes that such projects can have an impact on national security. However, he is also with the view that even with or without the Tower, our communications are already intercepted.

The visiting professor further highlighted that Sri Lanka is at the crossroad in the geopolitical and geo-economic context of the Indo-Pacific region.

Professor Mendis recalled that the White House under the Trump Administration has reinvented the concept of "Indo-Pacific region" to include the Bush administration's notion of the "arc of democracies" of Australia, Japan, India, and South Korea. According to him, this quadrilateral approach is reportedly designed to prevent China's rise in the region. However, China, on the other hand, through its soft loans and smart diplomacy has managed to build close ties with many of the countries in the Indo-Pacific region. Professor Mendis also believes that there is a possibility for Sri Lanka to be a military base for China in the future. In this regard, the greatest challenge for Sri Lanka in the years to come would be how to maintain its current policy of “trade with all, ally with none”. This concept by Thomas Jefferson, an American founding father, and the 3rd US president is applicable to Sri Lanka as the island deals with China, India, the United States, and other countries as stated by the Harvard scholar. In essence, Sri Lanka's “Asia-centric but balanced foreign policy” should be strengthened for future relations with other countries. However, he doubts that the current trajectories would leave room for Sri Lanka to follow that policy, instead of leaving no choice but to form an alliance with China.

Professor Mendis concluded his presentation by stating that if Sri Lanka desires to progress and further develop, it is imperative for the policymakers and strategists of the globalizing island to retrospect on its own history and culture to look for a more peaceful and prosperous future.

A lively discussion followed by a question-and-answer period with many distinguished members of the military, academic, and diplomatic audience. Professor Mendis provided them with his personal perspectives on several other contemporary issues and prognostic analysis of China's engagement with Sri Lanka.

Professor Patrick Mendis is an Associate-in- Research of the Fairbank Center for Chinese Studies at Harvard University.

2.27. JOINT CONFERENCE ON “THE ROLE OF YOUTH IN RECONCILIATION”



Secretary to the Ministry of Defence Mr Kapila Waidyaratne PC, attended as the Guest of Honour at the opening session of a one day conference, on the Role of Youth in Reconciliation at the Sri Lanka Foundation Institute in Colombo 07, today (12th December).

The conference held under the theme; "Together to Peace, Respect, Safety, and Dignity for all" is organized jointly by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) and the Ministry of National Integration and Reconciliation.

Attending the inaugural session as the Chief Guest, State Minister of National Integration and Reconciliation, Hon. A. H. M. Fowzie delivered the keynote address.

While making the opening remarks, Secretary Waidyaratne said that youth as leaders of the future will carry the message of peace to the world tomorrow and help sustain the peace we achieved, for generations to come. The ravages of the war were immense and it took many of our nation's youth and thus it is this demographic that must take up the mantle to forge a meaningful and lasting peace, he said.

Further speaking he said that we are all engaged in a continuous learning process relating to reconciliation. The country must foster a national conversation on reconciliation thereby supporting reconciliatory efforts and peacebuilding initiatives.

Noting the importance of education in promoting reconciliation he said that it is of vital importance that our younger generations are educated to cohabit in a multi-ethnic, multi-dimensional society, to accept the ideas and practices of others and most importantly to resolve their differences through dialogue and not through violence.

Highlighting the government's commitment to reconciliation he said that the President has a particular interest in promoting peace and reconciliation in our motherland. He also mentioned the establishment of related government bodies to aid in reconciliation initiatives which are currently engaged in tremendous work to make permanent peace a reality in the country.

Secretary to the Ministry of National Integration and Reconciliation, Mr V. Sivagnanasothy, Director General of the INSSSL Mr Asanga Abegoonasekara, members of the diplomatic corps, senior tri forces officers and invitees were present at the occasion. A group of rehabilitated beneficiaries is also attending the conference.

2.28. PUBLIC LECTURE ON “4 ARMoured REGIMENT; THE UNTOLD STORY”

The sixth “Public Lecture” on “4 Armoured Regiment; The Untold Story”, delivered by Brig (Retd) Sri Mudannayake. The lecture was based on his book of the same title, which is a powerful reflection of the author’s experience during the war. The crux of the book lies in the instrumental role Brigadier Mudannayake played in introducing the Armoured tank regiment to the Sri Lanka Army thereby modernizing the state of warfare in Sri Lanka.



2.29. INSSSL- NESA STRATEGIC FORUM

The Institute of National Security Studies of Sri Lanka (INSSSL) hosted its first strategic forum together with the Near East South Asian (NESA) Center for Strategic Studies at its premises from 6-7 September.

The forum addressed a prevalent topic common to South Asia, that of 'Meeting the Challenges of Extremism by Advancing Human Security Centred Policies'. There were papers presented by academics from six South Asian countries, relevant to the challenges that have arisen due to violent extremism.

This strategic forum was of great significance as it represented the convergence of intellectuals and experts to discuss a challenge that is endemic to the region. On an institutional level, this forum also represented the collaboration between INSSSL, the premier national security think tank under the Sri Lankan Ministry of Defence and NESA Center which is part of United States Department of Defence.

At the helm of this forum, Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, Director General of INSSSL and Dr Roger Kangas, Academic Dean of the NESA Center guided the dialogue towards enhancing human security centred policies in the South Asian region. Such dialogue was supplemented by experts from academic, military and diplomatic backgrounds, who contributed their expertise and experiences to counter violent extremism in their respective countries.

The strategic forum was inaugurated with the opening remarks by Acting Secretary of Defence, R.P.R. Rajapaksa, underlining the importance of the forum as violent extremism is a problem that has escalated rapidly in recent years and it cannot be countered with aggression and military strength alone. The Director General of INSSSL stressed the need to take different actions to address different problems as there is no 'one-size-fits-all formula' for combatting extremism.

The session that followed highlighted the countering violent extremism (CVE) policies implemented in Afghanistan by both the states and civil society organisations. The main challenges ascertained were the lack of good governance, rule of law and corruption that represented impediments to countering extremism.

The radicalisation of youth was also brought up as a human security-oriented challenge. The importance of the rule of law in purporting human-centred policies against violent extremism was also underscored. Intra-state and inter-state communal violence was attributed to South Asia's colonialist past and speakers emphasised the need to address this issue that has prevailed till today. It was apparent that the true cost of extremism and its spillover effects are being borne by the Indian and Pakistani peoples.

The issue of terrorism and thereby radicalisation of youth in Bangladesh was also highlighted as a challenge. Furthermore, the influx of Rohingya Muslims into the country has proven to be a key human security dilemma.

The underlying theme common to South Asia is the fact that there is little understanding of the concept of human security itself which was underscored from the Sri Lankan perspective. On the other hand, an expert from Nepal sought to explain how human security is incorporated in dealing with natural disasters, especially given that Nepal, as well as the wider region of South Asia, is prone to such calamities.

Speakers from the aforementioned countries provided their perspective on countering extremism through human security in their respective countries. Thus, the forum built on the foundation of the need to advance human-centred policies especially in South Asia, where orientation around securitising the individual or collectives is not integrated into the governing structure.

Speakers from Pakistan, Sri Lanka and the Dean of the NESAC Center provided insights into their country perspectives of CVE at the concluding session. Radicalisation and extremism in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in Pakistan which are home to many militant groups was a point of interest for many which also led an engaging discussion. The presentation from Sri Lanka explored the interesting fact that human security has always been part of State policy since historical times.

In the concluding session, organisers of the forum summed up proceedings and discussed the way ahead following on from this event. Establishing a network of South Asian experts to make regular contributions to regional security perspectives marked the successful conclusion of the event. The convening of the best minds in such forums is important towards producing recommendations for policy makers.

2.30.PUBLICATIONS

DEFENCE QUARTERLY

INSSSL

DEFENCE

QUARTERLY

2019Q3/ISS 01

Message of Director General

As the inaugural publication of the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL), I am pleased to present to you, our immediate INSSSL Defence Quarterly, in an effort to bring together news and events that transpired during the quarter (September - December) of 2019 since the establishment of the Institute.

In the previous think tank on national security in the country, the Institute aims to work with the government to craft evidence-based policy options and strategies through debate and discussion, research and expertise.

Identifying the absence of an intelligent body and the need for a think tank within the Ministry of Defence, President of our Institute who is also the President of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, His Excellency Maithripala Sirisena, has directed us to establish the Institute of National Security Studies in order to research and disseminate information to inform research and analysis on topics related to national security in the regional and international platform.

We have had an eventful first few months at the Institute with the launch of the "Security Index" and finalised report and publications which can provide us with lead for the creation of such further research, analysis, and partnerships with local and international organisations, all of which will reduce the implementation of the Institute's plans and vision.

I am also immensely proud to announce the launch of Sri Lanka's first national defence journal "INSSSL Defence Review" in January 2017, with research papers from renowned international scholars and senior members of the military in Sri Lanka.

At INSSSL, we are also privileged to have experts on security and defence in Sri Lanka who are also well-versed in security analysis and practitioners from the region and beyond from which we will draw to create further knowledge. The contributions we envisage towards devising policy and plans that are relevant to the national security of our country.

In conclusion, I would like to reiterate that I hope this inaugural publication will generate greater interest and discussion on national security issues and encourage further actions and collaborations in this important area of study. I thank His Excellency Maithripala Sirisena, President, INSSSL, and our Chairman Eng.Kanishka Herathachchi and all staff for their tremendous support.

I wish you all the best for 2019!

Ajanta Abayasinghena
Director General INSSSL

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DEFENCE

QUARTERLY

2019Q3/ISS 02

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QUARTERLY

2019Q3/ISS 01

National Security Think Tank hosts its first Regional Conference on "Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism in South Asia"

The CSIRT Regional Conference on Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism in South Asia was hosted by the Centre for South Asian Studies (CSAS) and Institute of National Security Studies (INSSSL) in cooperation with the National Security Studies Centre (NSSC) at the Centre for Strategic Studies, National Defence Academy, Sri Lanka, in Colombo. The event which featured distinguished high ranking officials from the regional defence and security forces in South Asia brought together Sri Lanka's practitioners and experts in the field of terrorism and counterterrorism activities.

The Secretary to the Ministry of Defence and Chairman of INSSSL, Eng. Kanishka Herathachchi, commenced the proceedings with his address as Chief Guest of the conference. He later addressed the attendees on the current terrorism scenario in South Asia which has led to the major security crisis in the region around the border of South Asia - the Indian subcontinent. Eng. Herathachchi and his security forces through the South Asian region, and need to be great partners for prevention of terror, emphasizing human security issues as one of the important President Maithripala Sirisena's message in 2015 in the year of International Democracy Day.

Mr. Rajan Abayasinghena, Director General of INSSSL, in his capacity as Chief Guest of the conference, addressed the attendees and that this is an area of expert in pursuit of INSSSL as it encompasses collaboration and joint strategic national security but also promotes the security issues. With regard to the importance of cooperation and collaboration, Eng. Abayasinghena stated that the security of the region is not only a matter of the countries to be, but also the view of the most robust terrorist threats in the world.

The initial session of the conference was moderated by the Director of South Asian Studies, Ms. Gayatri Anand Arangan, Director of the Centre for South Asian Studies, INSSSL, who moderated the session of the Regional Conference on Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism in South Asia. Eng. Herathachchi and Eng. Arangan moderated the session and moderated the session of the Regional Conference on Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism in South Asia. Eng. Herathachchi and Eng. Arangan moderated the session and moderated the session of the Regional Conference on Preventing Terrorism and Countering Violent Extremism in South Asia.

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2019Q3/ISS 01

INSSSL Establishes Strategic Link with Leading Chinese Think Tank

The Institute of National Security Studies in Sri Lanka (INSSSL) entered into a strategic partnership with the Chinese Institute for International Strategic Studies (CIISS) by signing a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on 27th June 2019 in Beijing, China. The MoU is a landmark event for the Institute as it marks the first time that INSSSL has been successful in establishing strategic links with a Chinese think tank.

The Chinese Institute for International Strategic Studies was established in October 1978 under its original name, Beijing Institute for International Strategic Studies (BIISS). It is a leading research and think tank in the field of international strategy, security, and defense. The Institute has a long history of research and analysis on international security, international politics, and economic cooperation. The MoU is a landmark event for the Institute as it marks the first time that INSSSL has been successful in establishing strategic links with a Chinese think tank.

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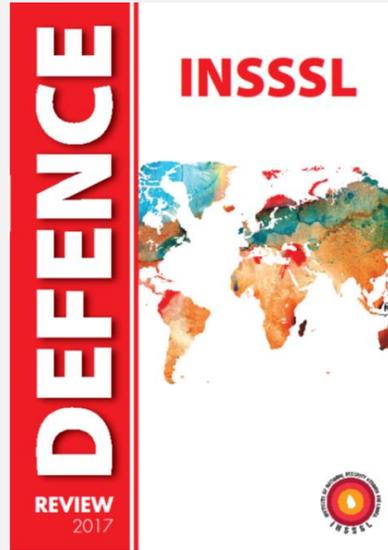
INSSSL

DEFENCE

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- **DEFENCE REVIEW 2017**





2018

2018

Event	Topic	Date	Speaker
3.1	Threat Lens	"Ensuring Food Security in Sri Lanka"	23rd January 2018
3.2	Security Salon	"Oceanography as a Strategic Tool"	29th of March 2018 -Commodore Y N Jayarathna
3.3	Round Table Discussion	"Trends in Regional Security Environment in South Asia"	31st May 2018 -Dr Mallika Joseph
3.4	Symposium	"Managing Fake News and Misinformation"	14 th June 2018
3.5	Security Salon	"Fake News, Disinformation, and Subversion: A Singapore Perspective"	5th July 2018 - Dr Shashi Jayakumar
3.6	Joint Workshop	"Sustainable Blue-Green Economy in Sri Lanka and the Indian Ocean"	18th - 19th July 2018 - MIND-Munasinghe Institute for Development
3.7	Annual Memorial Lecture	'Legacy of Maj Gen Vijaya Wimalaratne and His Vision for a Professional Military'	8th August 2018 Major General Udaya Perera
3.8	INSSSL Conducted a Presentation for Bangladesh Delegations	"National Security of Sri Lanka to South Asia"	18th September 2018
3.9	Round Table Discussion	"Sri Lanka's Role in the BIMSTEC"	20th September 2018 -Mr.Kithmina Hewage - Mr.Rohan Masakorala - Prof. Hemanthi Ranasinghe - Commodore Sanjewa Dias -Ms.Natasha Fernando

3.10	Public Lecture	“Marine Environment Pollution in Sri Lanka”	12th October 2018	-Dr Terney Pradeep Kumara
3.11	Public Lecture	“Battle of Narambedda”	1st November 2018	-Mr Prasad Fonseka
3.12	Round Table Discussion	“One Belt One Road Initiative in South Asia: Trade, Culture And Security”	15th November 2018	-Prof Swaran Singh -Dr Priyanga Dunusinghe -Commodore DMLA Dissanayake -Commodore Y.N. Jayaratne -Ms Ramla Wahab Salman -Dr Ranga Jayasuriya, -Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe - Ms Savithri Sellapperumage
3.13	Colombo Shangri La Colloquium 2018	“Towards a Collective Security Policy for South Asia: Building Resilience and Stability”	16th December 2018	- Prof Swaran Singh - Dr Satoru Nagao - Dr Huang Yunsong - Captain P K Warnakulasooriya - Dr Rasheeda M Didi - Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera - Ms Savitri Sellapperumage - Amb Amjad Majid Abbasi - Dr Ranga Jayasuriya - Maj Gen A N M Muniruzman (Rtd) - Maj Gen G V Ravipriya WWV RWP ndu IG - Dr Françoise Nicolas

				- Ms Nathasha Fernando - Dr Uttam Sinha - Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe
3.14	Public Lecture	“India’s Selected Participation in China’s Belt And Road Initiative”	24th December 2018	- Prof Swaran Singh
3.15	Publication	-Defence Quarterly - Defence Review		

3.1. THREAT LENS "ENSURING FOOD SECURITY IN SRI LANKA"

The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) hosted a "Threat Lens" roundtable discussion on the topic of "Meeting the Challenges and Ensuring Food Security in Sri Lanka" on the 23rd of January 2018 at the Ministry of Defence. The program was conducted with the aim of organizing a discussion in which to propose sustainable mechanisms to ensure food security in Sri Lanka by using inputs from different stakeholders in food cultivation and agrarian research and development work at the policy-making level. The discussion was chaired by Mr R.M.S Sarath Kumara, Additional Secretary of Defence. It was attended by the Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture, Mr B. Wijayarathne who, in his remarks, advocated a fresh outlook on the effects of climate change, the need for high technological cultivation as well as an improved system of water management. In addition, there was the participation of several experts from private and government organizations, including military institutions, involved in the area of food security as well as the advisory council members of INSSSL.

The researchers of INSSSL presented facts and statistics with regard to the challenges of food security in Sri Lanka. Recent statistics released by the Disaster Management Centre indicate that nearly 900,000 people in the North-Central and Eastern parts of the country have faced serious food insecurity issues in 2016 due to the island's worst drought in 40 years. This situation was further worsened by severe floods in May 2017 in the South Western parts of the country. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) estimates that about 4.7 million people of the 21 million population of Sri Lanka, or over one-fourth of the population, do not have sufficient food to sustain a healthy life. In the case of food production, paddy harvest has decreased since 2015 in 'Maha Seasons'. Production in 2015 was estimated at 756,000 metric tons (MT) and by 2017 it has decreased to 543,000 MT.

The presenters revealed that the causes of food insecurity in Sri Lanka included adverse weather, chemical usage, destruction of arable land, inefficient farming methods, changes in policies and a host of other opposing reasons. While commending a number of initiatives with the intention of alleviating this challenge, such as the Presidential Task Force on National Food Production and the Waga Sangramaya (Food Drive), the researchers put forth several deliberations and areas of improvement.

Notably, to place greater emphasis on research and development for the creation of weather-resistant varieties of food, changing social perceptions to promote farming and agriculture, regional and international cooperation with countries facing similar threats to food security as well as demographically targeted farming: youth and women empowerment. The presentation concluded by advocating the use of indigenous knowledge, the promotion of domestically grown alternative food variants and self-sustaining models.

The engaging and informative discussion that followed, involving the many experts who were present, resulted in the sharing of a considerable volume of information with regard to improvement in the area of food security. One such piece of advice was to refrain from restricting the analysis to food products, as the concept needs to be viewed from a much broader perspective. Sri Lanka is expected to be more vulnerable to droughts and floods in the future and the agriculture sector needs to be more resilient to the adverse effects of climate change.

There was a suggestion to implement mechanisms for farmers to possess immediate access to information on agriculture. One such mechanism was to connect universities and farms with the objective of increasing productivity by means of higher education. The severity of the decreasing nutritional value of food was also discussed. Many experts suggested prioritizing raising awareness of the need for a diverse nutritional diet among consumers, especially school children.

Revisiting the recent ban on pesticides was also recommended, given the decline in tea export. There were experts in the view that the decision was redundant as Sri Lanka is in compliance with the Stockholm convention. Another point for consideration was improving warehouse management. Although there are stocks available, it is imperative to prepare for the threat of scarcity. The decrease in the contribution of agriculture to the country's GDP was also discussed as there is an indication of workers moving away from farming and resulting in an escalation of costs. It was suggested that this could be controlled by investing in technology where the corporate sector could play a significant role.

The discussion drew to a successful conclusion with all participants unanimously agreeing that food security should be viewed as a national priority to mitigate the arising challenges. Government and private initiatives on this subject need to be supported by all actors and cooperation among domestic stakeholders are paramount in taking a proactive approach towards ensuring food security.

3.2. SECURITY SALON ON “OCEANOGRAPHY AS A STRATEGIC TOOL”



The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) organized a ‘Security Salon’ on “Oceanography As A Strategic Tool” on 29th of March 2018 at the Ministry of Defence. The discussion was chaired by the Additional Secretary for Civil Security and Development, Mr N.G. Panditharathna. Dr Chulanee Attanayake, Research Director of INSSSL introduced and invited the eminent speaker, Commodore Y N Jayarathna, Deputy Director-General of the Sri Lanka Coast Guard to deliver his lecture on “Oceanography as a Strategic Tool: How Marine Science Integrate Geo-Politics”.

The lecture was primarily grounded on the application of oceanographic data in implementing military-strategic. The speaker began his lecture with a brief description of “Oceanography “which comprises of five branches, namely, physical, geological biological, chemical and hydrography. This was followed by a synopsis of the historical use of hydrography as an early strategy for overseas exploration during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Hydrography, he explained was used by many prominent explorers in that era including Christopher Columbus, Vasco Da Gama, and Bartholomew Diaz to name a few.

It was used mainly for the purpose of sketching sea charts which proved to be an invaluable asset for many countries invested in exploration in that period. Further, this was used by Portuguese and Spanish Colonists to identify strategic locations to construct outposts and settlements as well as to demarcate colonial lines between countries. The latter stages of the 19th Century saw a shift in the strategy from territory to acquiring ocean-based resources. An important example was the Challenger Expedition that took place between 1872 and 1876 which is believed to have set the foundation of modern oceanography.

More recently, oceanography has been used to identify and predict weather patterns using various systems to gather and analyze data. In the Bay of Bengal region, Tropical Revolving Cyclones (TRC) are predicted by using oceanographic systems including Air-Sea Interactions in the Northern Indian Ocean (ASIRI) and Research Moored Array for African-Asian-Australian Monsoon Analysis and Prediction (RAMA). Moreover, oceanography was used in the survey conducted by Dr Fridtjof Nansen on the sub-divisions of the Sri Lankan shelf during the late 1970s.

This survey was used to gather data on coastline lengths, shelf width as well as to identify the biomass of demersal and semi-demersal fish.

In his effort to explain the evolution of ocean science as a strategy, the speaker put forth several interesting case studies to the audience. One such case study he offered was the Battle of Normandy that took place on June 1944 where the Allied invasion was briefly delayed due to a harsh weather forecast. Another was the delay of an amphibious invasion at Inchon during the Korean war in September 1950 due to unfavourable tides.

It is important to note that Oceanography is used of late by many countries to determine their respective maritime strategies. It is used to ascertain warfighting readiness, partnership building between countries and the ability to carry out humanitarian assistance and disaster response.

In a matrix developed by the speaker on Oceanography and National Security, he was of the view that Sri Lanka has minute knowledge and awareness on the subject with minor avenues of investment to improve the current scientific status which he believes is an undesirable position given that Sri Lanka is an island nation. In his recommendations, Commodore Jayarathne stressed on the necessity of state patronage and the need for streamlining marine science research. Moreover, he pointed out the importance of prioritizing the improvement of our understanding of national interest and national security in the context of marine science as it of increasing relevance to the current security environment in the region.

The lecture was followed by a stimulating discussion between the speaker and participants. The salon was attended by representatives of the tri-forces, Ministry of Fisheries, Ocean University as well as academics and Diplomatic Community.

The discussion which was interactive and engaging brought into the table varying points of discussion including the pending Article 76 UNCLOS application, instalment of oceanography radar at the Ruhuna University in collaboration and Adam's bridge. The discussion stressed the importance of understanding the behaviour and phenomena of the ocean, lingered on the importance of this knowledge on Sri Lanka as a strategic utility. It was further discussed that the actual knowledge of Sri Lanka on its oceanic and marine resources is inadequate and this prevents effective governance of the Exclusive Economic Zone.

Addressing a question on generating necessary oceanographic knowledge for education and research, Commodore Jayarathna questioned the effectiveness of various measures taken by the country over the years to facilitate 'ocean centred thinking'. While recognizing the importance of ocean centric education to the strategical importance island, he further stressed on the need for new revision and a top-down approach in addressing the lacuna in education. While Sri Lanka has the capacity and the necessary technical expertise to advance its oceanographic education, there is a lack of interest and ignorance among generation 'Y' which reduces efficiency.

The salon was concluded with the underlying note accentuating the need for state patronage and revision of education policies to include the importance of oceanic studies in Sri Lanka, its strategic value and the need to expand our expertise, technical and professional.

3.3. ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “TRENDS IN REGIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IN SOUTH ASIA”

On 31st May 2018, The Institute for National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) hosted a round table discussion on ‘Trends in the regional security environment in South Asia’ with a keynote speech by Dr Mallika Joseph. She is a Senior Fellow at INSSSL and currently serving as the policy advisor of The Hague-based Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC).

She addressed the round table chaired by Prof. Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, Director-General INSSSL, along with the researchers at INSSSL, academics, and practitioners attached to the Sri Lanka Air force, Navy, Army, Kothalawala Defence University, Journalists, representatives of International Maritime Organization and representatives from foreign missions. The participants discussed the key points of her research. This article summarizes the discussion.

In her Keynote speech, Dr. Joseph highlighted seven trends that have the potential to impact regional security. These trends were ‘interrelated, yet each distinct’.

These were:

- Rise in anocracies
- Democratic backsliding
- The constant erosion of our understanding and acceptance of the quality of democracy
- Erosion of global and regional institutions of governance
- Rise in countries reeling under fundamental and radical narratives
- Demography and large scale movement of people
- The gap in understanding and responding to terrorism and violent extremism

In recent times there has been a trend in the rise of anocratic governments. Anocratic governments are democratically elected but authoritarian in conduct. In Asia, examples can be found in Thailand, Myanmar, and Cambodia. In South Asia however, some of these countries are not explicitly anocratic but masquerade as Right-Wing nationalistic governments.

They entrench majoritarianism resulting in populist politics, promoting their brand of nationalism, which results in deepening ethno religious divides pushing societies to violence and conflict. The social contract which formed the basis of the state is under constant threat is continually being weakened.

Paradoxically, governments that are democratically elected are legitimate owing to a majority of people electing them to power but they abuse the power bestowed on them by serving just their constituencies instead of all the people the government is elected to serve. This is because the understanding of democracy has reduced to just elections, and elections indicate rule by the majority. The continuing reliance on the constituencies to preserve power has alienated the rest composed of the 'other'. Joseph pointed out that 'overlapping identities make divisions sharper and more prone to conflict'. Although India's federal structure, for example, has diluted divisions along with lingual identity, many issues relating to identity still remain.



Many of these unresolved issues, along with dilution of democratic principles result in terrorism, violent extremism and radicalization. Politicians, unfortunately, keep these issues alive and simmering by labelling and isolating radicalism along religious lines – most often belonging to one religion alone, though radicalization among other religious communities is rampant. Although most countries are performing better in their counterterrorism efforts, their counter-radicalization efforts are weak.

Terrorism and counterterrorism according to Joseph have 'centrifugal effect' while radicalization and violent extremism have a 'centripetal effect'; which is why it is all the more important to arrest the rise of radicalization.

However, in practice, the state-centric approach in countering terrorism is ineffective in preventing radicalization and countering violent extremism which requires inclusive and human security and citizen-centred approaches.

Countries could cooperate on developing such strategies but the erosion of global and regional institutions of governance preclude this. Failure of SAARC, for example, had developed a tendency for South Asian countries to work with extra-regional powers rather than strengthen and develop the mandate of regional organizations. Although recent governments in India and Sri Lanka have increased diplomatic gains; the lack of political stability, lack of liberal policies, erosion of justice, weak security architecture, widening gap in understanding and responding to radicalization, reeling on fundamentalist narratives have compounded persisting problems.

Popular claims such as 'unity in diversity' have faded away while ungoverned spaces such as social media are being misused by aggressors on religious or ethnic fault lines. Though SAARC by itself remains ineffective, some of its specialized organizations, like the ones on energy continue to perform well. Perhaps, this points out to the success and cooperation possible among epistemic communities. In drawing lessons for Sri Lanka from what was discussed, we may want to inquire on how far existing bilateral or trilateral agreements are operationalized and what role Sri Lanka can play in ensuring regional security and cooperation.

Today promoting democracy has been counter-intuitive as it does not necessarily bring instability. And whatever stability that eventually emerges, is not legitimate. Although it is the state's duty to ensure justice, security, and rule of law; they have failed on this front. A persisting question is on why conflicts occur? Joseph opines that conflicts occur due to horizontal inequality and not vertical such as preferential treatment accorded to members of the community on the same social/economic standing.

This makes problems complex and policies should be inclusive with more debate on why conflicts occur and why radicalization takes root. In conclusion, we may reiterate that these issues demand policy makers to create strong inclusive democracies and invest in effective regional security architectures.

3.4.SYMPOSIUM ON “MANAGING FAKE NEWS AND MISINFORMATION”



The Institute of National Security Studies in Sri Lanka (INSSSL) organised a symposium on ‘Media and Democracy: Misinformation, Fake News and its Impact on National Security’ on the 14th of June 2018. This was held at the Ministry of Defence with most stakeholders present. INSSSL has so far developed 13 policy recommendations and briefs. We look at the long term and gather public opinion and expert thinking from discussions to develop policy briefs for the Government. The objective of this forum was to make an independent observation by gathering perspectives from government, private sector, media, and plural sector on reforms to current media practices. Summarized in this press release are the salient points of the discussion.

- Spread of misinformation

Themed session moderated by Mr Asanga Abeygoonasekara. Speakers Present were: Professor Gihan Dias from the University of Moratuwa, Mr Harindra Dissanayake, from President’s Media Unit, and Dr Harinda Vidanage from Bandaranaike Center for International Studies. The points of discussion were:

- ✓ Discerning truth from fact in fake news.
- ✓ ‘Attention Economics’ and ‘Information Overload’.
- ✓ Developments in technology to create fake news such as video and audio synthesizing.
- ✓ The wide circulation of poor versions of political engagements of citizens.
- ✓ Declining trust in social media as a source of news.
- ✓ Dangers of weaponised narratives leading to political polarization and highly partisan news sites.

- How to regulate Social Media?

The Second Session on ‘managing misinformation’ was moderated by Mr Yasas Abeywickrema from the Computer Society of Sri Lanka. Speakers included: Professor Rohan Samarajiva of ICTA, Group Captain MDAG Seneviratne, Mr Roshan Chandragupta of CERT.

“There are 6 million Facebook users in Sri Lanka and Facebook doesn’t pay taxes here. Also, the lack of country-specific data makes it difficult to analyze and get a comprehensive picture of Sri Lanka’s Facebook activity. Among the corpus of Facebook users, the Sinhala language is a minority community which makes content moderation an issue against Facebook community standards” – Harindra Dassanayake

Regulation can happen in several ways:

- ✓ Looking into international law, standards and best practices.
- ✓ Domestic laws of countries.
- ✓ Social norms to fight fake news which can be more resilient in the long term than just laws.
- ✓ Administrative remedies such as ‘Norms of Journalistic Conduct and Code of Ethics’ and ‘Broadcasting Standards’.

International regulatory efforts to draw lessons from:

- ✓ Germany’s ‘Facebook law’.
- ✓ Estonian Defence League’s Cyber Unit.
- ✓ The Chinese approach to governing its social media space.
- ✓ Malaysian Anti-Fake News Act.

“Regarding the option of criminalization: in the case of Sri Lanka, Article 14 (1) (a) grants every citizen the right to freedom of speech and the need to balance this right with regulating fake news, hate speech, and incitement to violence via media platforms” – Rohan Samarajiva.

- Who should be Arbiters of the truth?
 - ✓ Government - The possibilities of co-regulation of social media by an independent commission such as the constitutional council.
 - ✓ Self-regulation.
 - ✓ The fact-checking mechanism on fake news is neither difficult nor time-consuming. Fact-checking can be done fast if a proper mechanism is set up.
 - ✓ Group Captain MDAG Seneviratne brought in the Military Perspective: “misinformation directed at the military is a national security concern... Regulation is needed on misinformation in the public domain. There has to be a long term solution to censorship. Inter-agency groups, Defence Ministry’s Cyber Security Unit, Filtering mechanisms on harmful content are options that should be explored” Mr Roshan Chandragupta from CERT brought in the Technical Perspective: “It is difficult to identify individuals behind certain accounts on social media, track IP addresses and obtain court orders to do so. We need to balance data privacy and privacy of users against the need for regulation”
 - ✓ Most of the discussion revolved around politicization of narratives on media; some narratives on ethnic, racial and religious frontlines can be dangerous to democracy. While accessibility and speed of information have increased, accuracy and objectivity have declined. In the event of unrest, there was a general agreement by participants that temporary social media blocks are not a permanent solution. It was concluded, long-term resilient solutions must be in a place that balances regulation with the right to free speech and privacy of users.

3.5. SECURITY SALON ON “FAKE NEWS, DISINFORMATION AND SUBVERSION: A SINGAPORE PERSPECTIVE”



This presentation begins with a survey of the international landscape on fake news, disinformation, and subversion. The survey includes some sense of what key countries have been trying to do to fight disinformation and subversion. Some of the measures taken are legislative in nature. However, there is also the recognition that legal solutions do not provide a silver bullet and that other

means are needed in order to shore up the will and resilience of the people.

The presentation then considers Singapore, which is in many senses a unique country – it has no resources except its people. The people itself live in one of the most diverse and cosmopolitan countries on the Earth. Chinese, Indians, Malays and other races mix and commingle easily. Various religions (Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhists, and Taoists) are present too. This diversity is a strength. However, in an era where fake news and rumours that can stoke up communal and religious tensions are prevalent, the cosmopolitan nature of Singapore society can easily be targeted, from within and from without.

The presentation takes the audience through some of the steps taken by the authorities to examine the phenomenon of fake news (not least, the Parliamentary Select Committee that considered the views of various experts in-depth earlier this year). The presentation also takes the audience through likely future developments (including, but not limited to, legislation) that the Singapore landscape is likely to see in the coming months and years.

3.6. JOINT WORKSHOP WITH MIND –“SUSTAINABLE BLUE GREEN ECONOMY IN SRI LANKA AND INDIAN OCEAN”



The conference focused on sustainable management of the resources of the Indian Ocean around Sri Lanka, as an important element of the national sustainable development strategy. The international conference was organised jointly by the Munasinghe Institute for Development (MIND) Colombo, The School of Advanced Studies (SOAS), UK, and the Institute of National Security Studies (INSS), Sri Lanka, to bring together key researchers and stakeholders, interested in the topic. The volume describes the expert presentation made and wide-ranging discussions that took place among the participants of the workshop. It also contains a valuable set of conclusions and an action plan, including pilot studies to be undertaken, followed by more extensive applied research studies that will help to provide practical solutions to the various issues identified in the workshop. The ultimate objective would be to formulate policies and measures to develop the blue-green economy and sustainably manage Indian Ocean resources and to have them implemented by decision-makers and leaders in government, business and civil society.

3.7. ANNUAL MEMORIAL LECTURE ON ‘LEGACY OF MAJ GEN VIJAYA WIMALARATNE RWP RSP psc AND HIS VISION FOR A PROFESSIONAL MILITARY’



‘Determination and Patriotism drive military commanders to victory and political leadership maintain the national will’ – Maj Gen Udaya Perera.

The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka hosted its Annual Memorial Lecture Series 2018 on 8th August. This lecture was delivered by Major General Udaya Perera (Rtd) RWP RSP VSV USP USA WC psc.

INSSSL as the National Security Think Tank conducted this lecture to honour the late Maj Gen Vijaya Wimalaratne and his contribution as a brilliant strategist and leader to Sri Lanka’s armed forces, defence and security. This was in remembrance of his 26th Death Anniversary. The aim of this Annual Memorial Lecture was to commemorate the war hero and to educate the future generations on our great military strategists. The knowledge sharing through this lecture was aimed at instilling strategic thinking and building professionalism in the next generation of the armed forces.



The event was attended by chairman of INSSSL, the Secretary of Defence Mr Kapila Waidyaratne PC, senior officials of the Ministry of Defence, distinguished military officers, academics, Mrs Wimalaratne, Lieutenant colonel medical doctor Hiran Wimalaratne, his spouse Dr Nishanthi Wimalaratne, and extended family of the late major general Vijaya Wimalaratne.

The participants included officers from the army, navy, air force, police, academia and civilians. The Director-General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera in his opening remarks reflected on the lack of military literature documenting the strategic depth and military insight of all the great military leaders of the country for future reference. This Annual Lecture was hence quintessential in paving the pathway for such analysis and documentation. Director-General said, “Today our national commitment to reconciliation and peace, our claim to build a nation with a strong national identity to be a proud Sri Lankan- now this claim is written on our soil by the blood spilt from our war heroes, one such hero we commemorate today is Major General Vijaya Wimalaratne”.



Major General WIVKM Wimalaratne, RWP RSP psc was killed in action at Araly Point Kayts Island in the Jaffna Peninsula along with Major General Denzil Kobbekaduwa in 1992. At the time of his death, he was the Security Forces Commander of Jaffna serving in historically significant battles such as Vadamarachchi Operation during the early Eelam wars.

Major General Udaya Perera was selected as the keynote speaker on account of his academically distinguished background and experience working with the late Major General Vijaya Wimalaratne. Major General Udaya Perera is educated from the National Defence University USA.

Major General Udaya Perera in his lecture spoke on violence, war and peace making insightful comments: “In the communication age, security is provided through bridges connecting communities and not raising walls to disconnected communities. Trust in the military revolves around professionalism and deterrence. In the security sector, when the trust increase between the military, community, government and the society, dividends of peace are more and the conflict is less. When the trust decrease, dividends of peace are less, and the conflicts increase”

Major General Udaya Perera in his lecture praised General Wimalaratne’s leadership as someone who encouraged learning from the highest levels of the regiment to the lowest: so that everyone was updated on the latest developments within the militaristic sphere, to face the external threats without fear. This was a good trait in a leader and he had never held any grudges with junior officers under his command, but gave all equal opportunities and commended them based on merits.

Major General Udaya Perera warned that lessons can be learnt from his leadership providing an example from Major General Wimalaratne’s strategic fore sight. ‘At a time when the government attempted to disband the Rajarata Rifles... he suggested the amalgamation of *Rajarata Rifles* with *Vijayabahu* regiment because disbandment could bring in long term consequences to the military’

General Wimalaratne was the founding father who raised, trained, and nurtured the Gajaba Regiment, which carries a high number of gallantry awards throughout the war. Major General Udaya Perera in his lecture reminded the audience that Major General Wimalaratne left behind a lasting legacy for the future. Military leaders of that calibre are a rare gem in the military history of our Defence forces.

3.8. INSSSL CONDUCTED A PRESENTATION FOR BANGLADESH DELEGATIONS ON “NATIONAL SECURITY OF SRI LANKA TO SOUTH ASIA”



The Director-General Asanga Abeyagoonasekara of Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka conducted a presentation on “National Security of Sri Lanka to South Asia” at the Ministry of Defence on 18th September 2018 for Bangladesh delegation to Sri Lanka.

3.9. ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “SRI LANKA'S ROLE IN THE BIMSTEC”

The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka on 20 September, conducted a round table discussion on “Sri Lanka’s Role in the BIMSTEC”. The panellists were Kithmina Hewage, Research Officer at the Institute of Policy Studies of Sri Lanka, Rohan Masakorala, CEO of Shippers’ Academy Colombo, Prof. Hemanthi Ranasinghe, Dean of Faculty of Graduate Studies University of Sri Jayewardenepura, Commodore Sanjeewa Dias, Director of Naval Operations and Natasha Fernando, Research Assistant at INSSSL.

The discussion was moderated by Director General INSSSL, Asanga Abeyagoonasekera and graced by the presence of the Chulamane Chartswan, the Ambassador of Royal Thai Embassy to Sri Lanka and M. Riaz Hamidullah, the High Commissioner of Bangladesh High Commission to Sri Lanka and other interested participants.

The Chair of the panel Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera highlighted the importance of Sri Lankan President Maithripala Sirisena receiving the Chair of the BIMSTEC this year in Nepal and said, “This is a golden opportunity for Sri Lanka to work towards strengthening multilateralism in this region which is one of the least integrated regions of the world. BIMSTEC is no longer purely seen as a development forum due to its security agenda, think tanks such as INSSSL has a big role to play.”

Hewage highlighted that Sri Lanka as the Chair of BIMSTEC should go forward in opening trade avenues, in being economically proactive in the region. He brought out the importance of Bilateral Agreements as opposed to the FTA currently proposed by BIMSTEC. He explained that BIMSTEC creates the platform in making value chains which Sri Lanka has failed to plug into and it could be sought after as a replacement for SAARC in creating trade relations.



In the process of building trade relations, RCEP or Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership was mentioned as a positive coalition and a developing countries' response to TPP. He concluded his remarks adding a sceptical note on BIMSTEC, particularly on its FTA which has been in process of negotiation since 2004, yet has not been concluded or executed. Natasha, as the second panellist, brought "security cooperation through BIMSTEC" into the discussion. Through her presentation, she analyzed BIMSTEC as a sub-regional organization, regional security cooperation, its role in countering terrorism and transnational crime sector. She highlighted the significance of intelligence sharing among the members of BIMSTEC in addressing the security issues of the region such as terrorism and transitional crimes. She further proposed the need for an authoritative, legal institution from within BIMSTEC, listing comprehensive specifications in sharing intelligence.

Commodore Sanjeewa Dias, focusing on marine security, explained the increased occurrence of non-traditional security threats such as, maritime terrorism, piracy, Illegal migration, Illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing, trafficking of narcotics, marine pollution in the region that has affected maritime security. He also added the risks of weapon smuggling and the dangers of hybrid threats (ships are used as bombs) that can affect not only the seas but also the shores, and hence even pose a threat to the tourism industry of the country. Hence he highlighted the need to consider maritime security as a top priority in BIMSTEC.

Natasha from NISSSL and Commodore Sanjeewa Dias from Sri Lanka Navy, both emphasized the importance of intelligence sharing in controlling and mitigating the traditional and non-traditional security threats to the region. And further proposed the establishment of an infusion centre in Sri Lanka enabling intelligence sharing among the members of the BIMSTEC.

Prof. Hemanthi Ranasinghe emphasized the significance of the environmental sector in ensuring the security and sustainable development of the region. She proposed linking of the three concepts of BIMSTEC, SDG's and environment together to engage in collaborative exercises in achieving development. In realizing sustainable development, BIMSTEC can contribute by enabling technological transfer, formulating common policies across borders, assistance in disaster situations and in overcoming common development challenges. As a region with common environmental issues such as deforestation and land degradation, she stressed the importance of collaboration and cooperation in realizing and alleviation of these issues.

Rohan Masakorala, engaged in bringing the areas of shipping and connectivity into the discussion. He described this era to be the "Asian century" and emphasized that Sri Lanka has not yet become successful in joining the development process along with other Asian countries such as

South Korea, Singapore, and India. He presented the prevailing nature of protectionism as the main reason holding back Sri Lanka from becoming a shipping hub in the region. Hence he stressed the need to open up the country to create trade relations, attract investors in the long run of becoming a transshipment location.

Chinese presence in Hambantota port was explained as a threat and in competing with a major power such as China to control the ports and shipping industry of the country, Colombo Port faces a grave challenge. Hence in balancing the Chinese influence, and also with only a small market (of 20 million) in the country, it is necessary to maintain and build connections with neighbouring countries especially with India and to balance the Bay of Bengal. In balancing the Bay of Bengal, he projected the increasing value of Trincomalee port hence stressed the need to keep it in possession of the country is becoming a regional player in BIMSTEC region which will also ensure the national security of Sri Lanka.

3.10. PUBLIC LECTURE ON “MARINE ENVIRONMENT POLLUTION IN SRI LANKA”



A Round Table Discussion on “Marine Environment Pollution in Sri Lanka” was organized by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) on 11th October. Dr Terney Pradeep Kumara, the General Manager-Marine Environment Protection Authority (MEPA) at the Ministry of Environment and Renewable Energy, highlighted the gravity of marine pollution in Sri Lanka.

“If Kenya banned plastic bags in one night and Rwanda followed it, why not Sri Lanka? we need to change the existing norms and culture in our society to instil values to protect our marine environment if we don’t our future generations will have to face the consequence”, said Dr Terney Pradeep Kumara.

The discussion was moderated by Director General INSSSL, Asanga Abeyagoonasekera and the event was attended by scholars, distinguished military officers, Police officers, and many academics and researchers. At the opening remarks, Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera appreciated His Excellency President Maithripala Sirisena for declaring a marine protection week and his commitment towards the protection of the marine environment which was spelt out in the Presidents Expert committee report on sustainability 2030 Agenda released recently.

Dr Kumara's insights were significant. There are five large gyres: whirlpools of water trapping huge collection of trash in their currents, which would not allow any animal to live in the specific area. The ocean is the largest carbon sink, a source of protection on which more than one billion people depend, a source of energy, medicine, and mineral, etc. The question lies as to why Sri Lankans have not yet comprehended the importance of marine protection and how Sri Lanka became the 5th in Worst Plastic Offenders in 2015 according to Climate Desk.

Dr Kumara mentioned that 80% of tourists left Mirissa in one night due to bad odour and pollution. The beautiful beaches in Trincomalee, Mirissa, Kudawella, and Mannar are no longer so, with plastic moving on the waves, oil spills and dumping solid waste and chemicals. “Going for a swim in Mt. Lavinia today is like taking a bath in a sewage pit”

He further noted that Japan treats more than 90% of raw sewage whereas Sri Lanka treats only 2% of it. As a result, the entirety of Sri Lanka impacts harmfully on coral reefs, seagrass beds, deep sea, beaches, lagoons, and estuaries.

Action has already been taken under the Marine Pollution Environment Act No. 35 of 2008, including the creation of Beach Parks, the ban on polythene products such as High-Density Polythene and further goals are set for Sri Lanka to become “Pollution-free” by 2030. Yet there is a grave concern that this cannot be realistically achieved. According to Dr Kumara, the use of dynamite by fisherman poses threats and makes marine animals vulnerable.

He said, “Dynamiting a reef is like dynamiting a kindergarten. You dynamite the future”. While sharing a picture with the audience photographed two weeks ago which depicted the state of pollution in Kudawella fishery Harbour, Dr. Turney warned the negligence of authorities of their duty to keep the harbour premises clean. The main issue lies in the implementation of policies and legal action.

Dr Kumara further noted, “people are not willing to change the education system to teach children how to protect the environment and gradually create an environmentally-friendly mindset. Throwing the bus ticket has become a tradition and a culture and going out of it seems going out of the culture”.

We have limitations even when taking actions against oil spills which we have to admit. During the discussion, it was suggested to have a higher fine than the existing penalty of 5000 LKR, and compulsory community service to the offenders to be implemented, as the polluter has to pay for their actions.

Dr. Kumara recommended the 6R concept of (Recycle, Reuse, Reduce, Refuse, Rethink, Repair) and the promotion of ‘zero-plastic houses’ would be a solution. Out of many initiatives taken by MEPA banning of single-use plastics, promoting glass bottles, beach parks, coastal schools plastic-free zones and Lassana gama(village) are among them.

It was concluded that all citizens of Sri Lanka should contribute at an individual level and there is a responsibility to coordinate and bring all stakeholders to forums such as this is of national importance and INSSSL the national security think tank’s role of bringing environment security to the forefront is commendable

3.11. PUBLIC LECTURE ON “BATTLE OF NARAMBEDDE, THISARA SANDESHAYA, AND DEDIGAMA KING PARAKRAMABAHU.



On 1st of November, 2018, Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka holds a public lecture on “the Battle of Narambaddha, Thisara Sandeshaya and Dedigama Parakkramabahu” conducted by the Mr Prasad Fonseka, addressing a number of unresolved issues in Sri Lanka's history from Dambadeniya to Gampola at INSSSL auditorium.

Director-General Mr.Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, Prof. Vinnie Witharana, officers of three armed forces and a large number of literary experts participated in this event. Prof.Vinnie Witharana did the keynote speech.

1.12.ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “ONE BELT ONE ROAD INITIATIVE IN SOUTH ASIA: TRADE, CULTURE AND SECURITY”



A round table discussion under the theme ‘OBOR in South Asia: Trade, Culture and Security’ concluded on 15 November at the INSSSL premises. Professor Swaran Singh from Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, Dr. Priyanga Dunusinghe from University of Colombo, Commodore DMLA Dissanayake from Sri Lankan Navy, Commodore Y.N. Jayaratne from Sri Lankan Navy, Ramla Wahab Salman from International Centre for Ethnic Studies, Dr. Ranga Jayasuriya, Kasuni Ranasinghe and Savithri Sellapperumage from INSSSL were engaged as panellists and the discussion was moderated by Director General Asanga Abeyagoonsekera of INSSSL. The occasion was graced by the Defence Attachés and representatives from the embassies.

The opening remarks were delivered by the Director General Asanga Abeyagoonsekera, who discussed the status of China-Sri Lanka relationship in the context of One Belt One Road initiative. Reminding the first inaugural OBOR conference in Sri Lanka in 2014 at Lakshman Kadirgamar Institute during the regime of former president Rajapaksa, he observed the role played by Sri Lanka facilitating discussion on the topic.

He noted the flux of Chinese Investment in Sri Lanka under this massive project which involves around 68 countries.

The discussion commenced with the presentation by Kasuni Ranasinghe from INSSSL, who emphasized the economic impact of OBOR in South Asia. She identified three parameters: Trade regulation, good governance, and technical innovation, from which the economic impact of the said initiative could be measured. Further, a statistical analysis of the capacity of seaports and airports, the average cost of handling a container and the average time to export were presented. She expressed her optimism towards such an initiative and supported her contention based on the increasing trade in the region.

Dr Priyanga Dunusinghe who identified OBOR as an economically viable initiative expressed his views on 'impact of OBOR in inter and intra trading in South Asia'. He directed the attention of the audience to a few considerations unique to the said initiative given the economic realities of the region. He observed that OBOR operates on the hypothesis that supply creates its own demand, where it is believed that once the infrastructure is established, the demand will be created.

Commodore DMLA Dissanayake brought in a maritime security dimension to the discussion. His presentation commenced with a brief explanation on the origins of One Belt One Road initiative and moved on to a discussion on maritime security implications of the infrastructure projects initiated by China.



Dr Ranga Jayasuriya commenting on the geo-politics of OBOR observed that any project at regional or international level will have a geo-political dimension to it. Raising a few concerns on geo-political tension concerning OBOR he opined that the primary driver of OBOR is the later support of China. Comparisons were drawn with the previous 'going abroad' strategy of china and he identified OBOR initiative as representing the

fourth era of the said strategy. In his concluding remarks, he stated that the domestic imperatives of China are a key focus in the OBOR initiative. Commodore Y.N. Jayaratne who presented under the theme: 'The BRI and the Strategic Security Thoughts', commenced his discussion by comparing the OBOR initiative with the European recovery program. He observed that Sri Lanka's strategic location in close proximity with countries with massive populations has not been effectively utilized due to the inadequacy of knowledge and strategic vision on the part of decision-makers.



Ramla Wahab Salman emphasized on the significance of history in understanding the OBOR initiative by China. Presenting her paper on 'Transnational History and Heritage Along the 21st century maritime Silk Road' she observed that it is important to "place the contemporary context of the Belt and Road initiative and understanding China's role in pre-modern, pre-industrial, cosmopolitanism". Bringing in a historical perspective to the

discussion she identified the historical links between countries which engaged in the maritime silk route.

Savithri Sellaperumage drew the attention of the audience to research and development as a source of projecting and creating power in OBOR initiative and identified the trend of China increasingly investing in research and development. Observing we live in an age of information, she noted that



"apart from having access to information it is necessary to use this information effectively and create value out of it and cause positive change". She recognized the necessity of Research and Development to boost the economies and the overall advancement of the nations engaging in OBOR initiative.

Professor Swaran Singh highlighted the unavoidable intervention of politics in the learning processes of OBOR. He observed that despite its lucrative outlook, the implementation of OBOR has been problematic. In support of this contention, he

points to the looming trade deficit of the countries involved in the OBOR which has posed a formidable challenge in the implementation of such initiative.

Attributing such deficit to the unilateral nature of trading relationships within OBOR, he noted that "states cannot grow in one-sided trade relationships and they usually grow in balanced economic relationships". Further, he observed, it is important that South Asian countries provide feedback to China based on their experience and engagement in the OBOR initiative.

3.13. COLOMBO SHANGRI LA COLLOQUIUM 2018



INSSSL organized its inaugural international conference “Colombo Shangri La Colloquium” under the theme of “Towards a Collective Security Policy for South Asia: Building Resilience and Stability” on 16th December 2018 at Shangri-la Hotel Colombo Sri Lanka. The Secretary of Defence Mr Hemasiri Fernando was the

chief guest and he delivered the keynote speech at the event. The event was a platform for several distinguished academics from Sri Lanka, India, China, Japan, Maldives, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and France. The colloquium comprised three sub thematic areas; Maritime security cooperation in the Indian Ocean, Countering Violent Extremism and Promoting Security Agenda through Regionalism.

The moderator of the first panel was Mr H.M.G.S. Palihakkara: former Ambassador to Thailand while the panel consisted of Prof.Swaran Singh; Professor of Diplomacy and Disarmament, at School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi) and visiting fellow at INSSSL, Dr Satoru Nagao; Visiting Fellow at Hudson Institute, Dr Huang Yunsong; Professor of Law, Coordinator of China Center for South Asian Studies and Associate Dean at School of International Studies, Sichuan University, Captain Prasanna Warnakulasooriya RSP & Bar, USP, psc, BSc (DS) Mech Eng, MHS; the Director Hydrographic Operations at the Naval Hydrographic Service, Dr Rasheeda Didi; freelance educator and a part-time lecturer at the Maldives National University, Asanga Abeyagoonasekara; Director General at the INSSSL and Savithri Sellaperumage; Research Assistant at INSSSL.

The scholars participated to discuss subjects such as maritime security cooperation in the Indian Ocean, China and India in Indian Ocean, Escalating US-China confrontations, China’s maritime Silk Route, Sri Lanka Navy’s contribution towards maritime security cooperation, Maldivian perspective of China’s rise in the Indian Ocean and Sri Lankan perspective of geo-politics of Indian Ocean.

Dr Nagao noted that between 2000 and 2017, the USA acquired only 15 submarines while China acquired at least 44. China's maritime expansion has been based on the military presence and therefore countries like Japan, Sri Lanka, and India must prioritize maintaining a military balance with China. The US will likely to deal with problems in other parts of the world in order to make a military balance, requesting its allies to work more on their own security. Unfortunately, obstacles prevent Japan, India and Sri Lanka from responding to the US's demands in the current scenario. "Sri Lanka has a chance to improve its defence capabilities with the support of the US and its allies Japan and India". Sri Lanka should not depend on China. There's also an opportunity to prepare for a tightening of long term relations based on defence interests.

In contrast Dr Huang Yunsong noted that between 2009 and 2018; 422 warships from 27 navies had arrived in Sri Lanka's ports on operational, training, formal visits and India tops the list with 83 visits, Japanese naval ships undertook 69 while China made 33 visits followed by Bangladesh with 29 and Russia and Pakistan 27 and 24 visits, respectively. The Indian Ocean is highly militarized but the region blames China for the One Belt One Road initiative (OBOR), which is unfair. Pointing out that China is branded as Debt-Trap diplomacy by Mike Pence, Vice President of the US but in the case of Sri Lanka, Hambantota port project concept was in place in 2008, even before the OBOR.

China wants to become an oceanic power; India wants to protect its regional sphere of influence.



Prof Swaran Singh, speaking on China- India maritime cooperation in the Indian Ocean states that there remains a wide variance in China-India maritime perspectives. There is a continuing distrust often causing confusion. India and China's traditional security challenges continue to negatively impact their cooperation in non-traditional security issues such as piracy in the Indian Ocean. He further emphasized that the components of traditional and non-traditional security issues often overlap and this compounds their confusion about perception variance, but after Doklam standoff last year, their informal Xi- Modi Summit in Wuhan in April 2018 is believed to have cast a reset China- India question. "The expanding China-India interface in the Indian Ocean, it is by underlining their overlapping interests that both sides can enhance their mutual trust and understanding to build new geopolitical imaginations about ensuring peace and prosperity of the Indian Ocean region".

In the second panel on Countering Violent Extremism, Major Gen Udaya Annesley Perera RWP RSP VSV USP USAWC M.Sc.(Ind) M.Sc.(USA) NDU-CT(USA) psc(SL) psc(Ind) was the moderator, with former Ambassador Amjad Majid Abbasi, Ranga Jayasuriya; a journalist and a resident Senior Fellow at the INSSSL, as panellists.



The observation of Major General Ravipriya was that ethnic groups and other minority groups are supporting international terrorism out of sympathy. “The absence of democratic governance and rule of law, the inability to come to terms with more secular conditions of governance and extreme corruption does

not help the situation to improve. Nature and political economy have become instrumental in creating the current crisis. This is worsened by poverty, corruption and the insufficient political leadership to take drastic measures against violent extremism.



The records indicate Hindu nationalism in India, Buddhist extremists in Sri Lanka and Myanmar, Islamic separatists in Sunni Shia majority states. From 2006 to 2016, deaths from terrorism increased by 67% while battle deaths increased by 66%. Violent extremism is rapidly increasing in South Asia. According to

the 2016 Global Terrorism Index, South Asia is the second most affected region with countries such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India with the highest impact of terrorism. Focusing more on defeating terrorism via military means stands as one of the main reasons for failed counter-terrorism.



According to Dr Ranga Jayasuriya, governments in South Asia are complicit in majoritarian extremism. The ruling elites often resort to religion, ethnicity as a tool of regime legalization as in the case of Sri Lanka from S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, J.R. Jayewardene to Mahinda Rajapaksa.

The primordial instincts of ethnic exclusivism are harnessed, expounded by print capitalism and the new media. “In conservative social structures in South Asia such tactics are often designed to place ultra-nationalism/ religiosity/ bigotry/ homophobia, blasphemy laws/ islamophobia/ ultra-Sinhala Buddhist nationalism.” Strong independent institutions can provide a better counter-weight against populist elites, majoritarian populism, and extremism at the grass-root level and take punitive measures against the violators of the law.

Major General Muniruzzaman agreed with the rest of the panellists that the extremism and radicalization are spreading in South Asia. Students are misled with an education system of parroting which contributes to high unemployment. Economic deprivation is a motivation for becoming a part of terrorist organizations. He noted that “the huge number of unemployed youth is a ticking time bomb for any country, as they would disrupt the socio-economic stability and this is detrimental for the country.” Cyber radicalization is another issue which involves much-unemployed youths. With high technological advancements, the terrorist attacks have become more sophisticated and the resolution lies in the hand of both state and non-state actors.



The speakers on the panel on Promoting security agenda through regionalism spoke in detail on a niche area of regionalism studies which is security cooperation. The speakers included: Dr Françoise Nicolas of the French Institute of International Relations (IFRI), Dr Uttam Kumar Singh of The Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses, New Delhi (IDSA), Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe and Ms Natasha Fernando of the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka. This panel was moderated by Mrs Ramla Wahab Salman.

Dr Nicholas Françoise spoke of China's Belt Road Initiative (BRI) from a European perspective. She highlights the Belt Road Initiative is more than just an initiative; it is a systemic and strategic project that has expanded geographically and sectorally. BRI will succeed in promoting a new form of globalization with Chinese characteristics or BRI will face increasing resistance and slow down as a result. Yet, it will be in conflict with other forms of globalization leading to two rival poles; one led by China and the other led by the USA.

Dr Uttam Singh spoke on sub-regionalism as a functional driver in South Asia. We need to pull out from the historical understanding of India and re-conceptualize South Asia by bringing the element of the geophysical. He warns that perceiving India as a 'hegemon' is prejudicial; that India is a cooperative state and India is central to a multicultural narrative of the region. According to Singh, regionalism in the 21st century is a product of a multilateral spontaneous process.

Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe, the analyst of INSSSL spoke about the economic



dimension of globalization asserting globalization increases economic growth through increased efficiency in trade facilitation. She speaks of inherent political conditions and economic disparities in the SAARC region as negatively affecting the process of globalization. According to her findings, SAARC countries are performing poorly in economic stability. Bhutan, on the other hand, is the only country that is performing well in many of the indices, since 2017.



Ms Natasha Fernando presented on security cooperation through the BIMSTEC, as Sri Lanka has assumed the chairmanship of the organization. Fernando highlights security is a relatively new 'agenda' that has emerged due to India deliberating the security dimension of the organization. She identifies both possibilities and limitations for security cooperation and concludes regional organizations should be equipped with resources, manpower and should be properly coordinated for more efficiency.

Today's world is increasingly multipolar with varying interests and therefore cooperation should be characterized by defined mandates and strong communication.

Colombo Shangri-La Colloquium 2019, the inaugural regional conference by the Institute of National Security Studies ended in a high note with great success.

3.14. INSSSL Conducts a Public Lecture: "India's selected participation in China's Belt and Road Initiative"



Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka conducted a public lecture on “India’s selected participation in China’s Belt and Road initiative “by Prof. Swaran Singh, senior fellow of INSSSL on 24th December 2018 at INSSSL auditorium. Speech of Professor Swaran as follows.

South Asia is one of the least integrated regions in the world. But there are visible signs of change both within South Asia and in the way the world looks at the region, avers Dr. Swaran Singh, Professor at the Center for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and currently a Senior Fellow at the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL). According to him, there is an increasing realization, both among the constituent countries of the region and the world powers that South Asia has to be seen as a whole in strategic, economic and developmental terms.

He addresses how changes in regional political and economic dynamics have facilitated closer integration. The rapid economic rise of India enables larger volumes of regional trade and incentivizes stronger regional economic links.

The economic, political and social changes brought about by empowerment have created a vast market for goods and services, making South Asia a region attractive for outsiders with wares to sell, services to provide and money to invest.

The Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multi-Sectoral Economic and Technical Cooperation. (BIMSTEC), set up in 1997, coordinates policies towards issues of common interest. These include trade and investment, counter-terrorism and poverty alleviation. Turning away from the India-Pakistan conflict, he indicates that the world is now envisaging a role for Pakistan in the peace process in Afghanistan. Given the already existing Indian outreach in Afghanistan and China's growing interest in that country, China now wants India to jointly execute development projects there.

Terrorism is identified as a notable challenge to the region; specifically, the threat of Islamic-jihadist terrorist groups like Lakshar-e Taiba and Jaish-e Mohammed. In recent times, India has made it very clear to Pakistan that it needs to do more to counter these terrorist organizations if talks in other sectors are to proceed.

There are Indian concerns with respect to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) activities in the South Asian region. China is also present in Bangladesh, China, India, Myanmar Forum (BCIM). One concern is the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) utilizing disputed territory in the Kashmir region. China has ports in Sri Lanka and Pakistan and is planning one in Myanmar. Another concern is China's use of debt-trap diplomacy, where Chinese loans put countries into debt that can be leveraged to gain control of strategic assets in the region.

However, India's objection to BRI is restricted to CPEC, India's attitude towards BRI softened when Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed that India is welcomed to take up joint projects with China in third countries. There is already a proposal for India and China to jointly engage in development projects in war-torn Afghanistan. It is best that India and China are exploring spaces for cooperation.

• **DEFENCE REVIEW 2018**





2019

2019

Event	Topic	Date	Speaker
4.1	Joint Regional Conference	“Dealing With The Missile Threat in South Asia”	15th January 2019 European Union and Foundation for Strategic Studies- France. Regional seminar
4.2	Round Table Discussion	“Fallacy of The Peace Process in Afghanistan”	16th January 2019 - Dr Omar Sadr
4.3	Threat Lens	“Small Arms Proliferation Case Study of Sri Lanka”	30th January 2019 -Ms Nathas Fernando
4.4	Round Table Discussion	“Why Facts & Think Tanks Matter”	31st January 2019 -Prof Chandra Embuldeniya -Dr Ranga Jayasuriya, -Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe, -Ms Natasha Fernando
4.5	Public Lecture	“Election 2019 and The Role Of Dravidian Parties on the National Policies and the Impact on Sri Lanka Relations”, FakeNews, Disinformation, & Subversion: A Singapore Perspective”	7th February 2019 - Dr Geeta Madhavan
4.6	Round Table Discussion	“World Future Day” Millennium Project Washington, The Global Futures Study, and Research program	1st March 2019 - Dr Chandra Embuldeniya, -Mr Rathindra Kuruwita -Dr Ranga Jayasuriya

4.7	Round Table Discussion	Government to Co-sponsor 2019 Geneva Resolution	7th March 2019	-Mr Nevil Laduwahetty
4.8	Delegation- Unit Command Course of Officer Career Development Centre Buttala	- “National Security Strategy and Present Challenges” - “Current Security Situation in Sri Lanka”	14 th March 2019	- Maj D P A S A Witharana - Officer from DMI
4.9	Security Salon	“French Perspective on the Indo-Pacific Region”	19th March 2019	-Dr Frederic Grare
4.10	Round Table Discussion	“Russian Interest in the Indian Ocean’	19th March 2019	- Ms Ksenia Kuzmina
4.11	Public Lecture	“Positioning India - ASEAN Relations in a Transformed Asian landscape”	29th March 2019	- Dr Reena Marwah
4.12	Security Salon	“Why the Stabilization of Afghanistan Matters For Ensuring Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean”	8th of April 2019	- HE M. Ashraf Haidari
4.13	Delegation- Pakistan National Defence University	- “Geopolitics of Indo-Pacific Region in Realm of Great Power’s Competition Sri Lanka” - “Economic Impact of BRI”	16 th April 2019	- Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera -Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe
4.14	Threat Lens	“4/21 Terrorist Attack in Sri Lanka: Countering Violent Extremism”	16th May 2019	- Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera -Dr Ranga Jayasuriya, -Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe

4.15	Round Table Discussion	“Sri Lanka: Caught in an Indo-China ‘Great Game’? A Blueprint for Sri Lanka’s Foreign Policy”	23rd May 2019	-Mr Shakthi De Silva
4.16	Joint Conference	“Complexities of Connectivity in Central and South Asia” NESA South Asia/Central Asia Working Group Meeting In Bangkok, Thailand, 2019	27th to 29th May 2019	<u>INSSSL Team</u> -Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera - Dr Ranga Jayasuriya - Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe - Ms Lucy Stronach - Maj D P A S A Witharana - Wg Cdr R M K D Ranasinghe - Cdr H A De Zoysa
4.17	Delegation- Unit Command Course of Officer Career Development Centre Buttala	-“National Security Strategy and Present Challenges” -“Current Security Situation in Sri Lanka”	11 th June 2019	- Maj D P A S A Witharana - Officer from DMI
4.18	Round Table Discussion	“Indo-Pacific: Security, Geopolitics, and Connectivity”	21 st June 2019	-Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekara, -Dr.Satoru Nagao, -Rear Admiral Noel Kalubowila -Ms.Lucy Stronach -Ms.Ruwanthi Jayasekara
4.19	Round Table Discussion	“The Defence White Paper: Assessing Necessity and Analysing Structures for Sri Lanka’s Next Strategic Priority”	19th July 2019	-Ms Lucy Stronach

4.20	Security Salon	“The Interaction between Environmental Security Challenges and Strategic Competition”	23rd July 2019	-Dr David Brewster
4.21	Complying National Security Policy and National Defence Policy	National Security Policy National Defence Policy	Handover policies to His Excellency the President of Democratic Republic of Sri Lanka by the end of August 2019.	
4.22	Annual Memorial Lecture	“Epic Of A War Hero Colonel Aslam Fazly Laphir PWV RWP RSP”	7 th August 2019	- HP Ranasinghe RWP RSP. -Maj Gen Gamini Hettiarachchi
4.23	Round Table Discussion	“The Transnational Security Issues in South Asia: Bilateral Cooperation between Sri Lanka and Bangladesh”	9 th August 2019	-HE Riaz Hamidullah -Prof Shahab Enam Khan -Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe
4.24	Publication	- Indo- Pacific: Security, Geopolitics and Connectivity -Honour to War Heros Book -Defence Quarterly - Defence Review - Shangri La Colloquium 2018- Conference Book		

4.1. JOINT CONFERENCE WITH EUROPEAN UNION AND FOUNDATION FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES- FRANCE. REGIONAL SEMINAR “DEALING WITH THE MISSILE THREAT IN SOUTH ASIA”



The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka will jointly conduct South Asia Regional Seminar “Dealing with the missile threat in South Asia” with Foundation for Strategic Research, France and European Union External Action Service on January 15, 2019. This explainer on ballistic missile proliferation

explains a few key aspects of the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation (HCoC) in relation to small states with special reference to Sri Lanka.

Ballistic missiles are rocket-propelled weapons systems capable of carrying high explosives and also chemical, biological and nuclear munitions. Ballistic missiles fall into several categories such as strategic missiles (capable of being launched by land or sea), submarine-based fleet ballistic missiles, and intercontinental ballistic missiles, etc. Currently, there are several states that have developed nuclear weapons: the United States, Russia, United Kingdom, China, France, India, North Korea, Israel, and Pakistan.





The ballistic arms race could be traced back to the Cold War period between the former Soviet Union and the USA. Most other countries have not developed missile capability to the extent of these two States. However, the technology of manufacturing these weapons have transferred to less developed countries.

Ballistic missiles with chemical warheads are now a danger to third world countries. Hence the Hague Code of Conduct becomes an important instrument to create transparency on issues pertaining to ballistic missile proliferation.

4.2.ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON THE “FALLACY OF THE PEACE PROCESS IN AFGHANISTAN”



Dr Omar Sadr, a Senior Researcher at the Afghan Institute for Strategic Studies (AISS), conducted a public lecture on the ‘Fallacy of the Afghan Peace Process,’ based on his publication with the AISS on 16 January. The participants included members of the military and distinguished academics. The author began his discussion with a brief history of the Taliban in Afghanistan. The author mentioned how in the aftermath of the US intervention of Afghanistan in 2001, the US and Afghan Governments had different

strategies in dealing with the entity.

While in the aftermath of 9/11 the Bush administration took a more hard-line militaristic stance, the Karzai administration took a decidedly softer approach by calling the Taliban “disadvantaged,” and forged secret contacts with the military group.

By 2007, the author mentioned that fighting had come to a stalemate and that the US and Afghan Government looked to negotiate with the Taliban. In line with this, the United States laid out three principles for negotiations including insurgents should accept constitutional order as the framework, renounce violence and renounce affiliation with international terrorist groups.

- Different types of talks

The speaker mentioned that there had been different types of talks with the Taliban in order to achieve these objectives. One type of talks were high-level talks. These talks comprised negotiations between the Afghan and US governments with the Taliban. A second approach has been ‘talks for talks’ mandated High Consul of Peace. The purpose of these talks had been to serve as a precursor to more formal negotiations. A third approach was known as the reintegration of low-level Taliban rank and file. This entailed economic incentives for low Taliban operatives to defect. The speaker mentioned that all these three approaches had failed because the Taliban rank and file had largely maintained a very hard-line ideology.

A fourth approach has been track 2 efforts by research think tanks. These talks had been more effective in ascertaining the nature, stance, and demands of the Taliban. The fifth type of talks had been local peace deals with individual Taliban units at regional levels. These talks had not led to a tangible outcome since the rank and file of the Taliban have largely refused to compromise.

- Different proposals offered

The speaker also outlined the different proposals offered to the Taliban during the course of the talks. These include Ashraf Gani's peace proposal in 2017 for the Taliban to renounce violence and establish a new political party and Hamid Karzai's offer for the Taliban to join the Afghan government at an executive level.

Other offers the speaker spoke of included settlement for the Taliban in exchange of rights and democracy. However, the author mentioned that all of these proposals were rejected by the Taliban.

- What the Taliban wants

The Taliban rejected the peace overtures by the Afghan Government because its demands were incompatible with the interests of the US and Afghan Governments. The speaker mentioned that the Taliban wanted a withdrawal of international troops, which the US may have been willing to accommodate.

The speaker also mentioned that the Taliban wanted to transform Afghanistan's existing constitutional system in order to reflect its own ideology and interests. At present, they will not even negotiate with the Afghan Government. This indicates that the goal of peace is a "fallacy" because the Taliban is unwilling to give up extremism and adhere to a constitution that is accepting of democracy and pluralism.

- Perception of attitudes of people

The speaker also spoke of measuring public attitudes to the peace process. From a survey carried out among over 2,000 people, he made the following points. Regarding cognitive orientation (knowledge of different aspects of the peace process,) Afghans do not know much about the peace process, such as the stance of the Taliban or the stance of the US. When it comes to governance of Afghanistan awareness is slightly higher.

Regarding effective orientation (how they feel about the process), most Afghans have negative views of the Taliban and believe that they are associated with Al Qaeda and ISIS. In addition, very few people hold the Taliban to be legitimate due to ties with Al Qaeda and ISIS.

Notably, over 60% of the population feel that the peace process has failed due to a combination of weak governance, negative influences by neighbouring countries, lack of transparency in institutions, and the unwillingness of the Taliban to give up their extremist terrorist ideology. Consequently, many people have become resigned to the failure of the peace process.

Finally, the author notes that the majority of the Afghan people wants peace, and is willing to compromise in terms of providing amnesty or power-sharing. However, they are not willing to live under the Taliban's ideology and amend the Constitution to that effect. Another important detail is that the Pashtun ethnic group is more likely to hold favourable views about the Taliban compared to other ethnic groups.

4.3. THREAT LENS PROGRAMME- “SMALL ARMS PROLIFERATION CASE STUDY OF SRI LANKA”



Came up with a range of recommendations included:

Embarking on a legislative review and reform including:

- Increasing penalties for offences resulting from arms proliferation and the illegal use of weapons.
- Introducing tougher laws to curb underworld criminal operations and political patronage.

Developing small arms policy and practice by:

- Introducing effective stockpile management and record-keeping systems
- Introducing stricter controls on the use of weapons by the police and military officials
- Establishing regular monitoring of the use of weapons in possession of politicians and their security personnel
- Strengthening controls on the trafficking of small arms at national and international levels
- Reclaiming weapons issued to politicians and disallowing the use of armed private security guards for politicians
- Putting in place mechanisms to protect the identities of informants who provide information in relation to the illegal proliferation of small arms

Conducting more research including:

- A study on small arms issues and the humanitarian impact
- Providing information to divisional secretariats on issuing of weapons to civilians, including politicians
- Maintain a registry of firearm licenses issued

4.4. ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “WHY FACTS & THINK TANKS MATTER”

The Think Tanks and Civil Societies Programme (TTCSP) of the Lauder Institute at the University of Pennsylvania ranked the world’s leading think tanks in a variety of categories. TTCSP has documented and studied these institutions for more than 27 years with the help of more than 1,796 peer institutions and experts from all over the world. In 2018, Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka, think tank under Ministry of Defence, ranked 101st in the Asia Pacific category.

To mark the global release of the “Global Think Tank Report 2018”, TTCSP requested the major cities around the world including Paris, Beijing, Washington DC, New York, and 150 other cities to conduct a discussion on “Why Facts and Think Tanks Matter in 2019”. INSSSL was invited to conduct this discussion from Colombo on 31st January 2019 with the participation of scholars and representatives of other think tanks.



Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera of INSSSL chaired the discussion. The panellist who shared their inputs were Professor Chandra Embuldeniya, distinguished fellow of INSSSL, Dr Ranga Jayasuriya, journalist, and senior fellow, Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe, Research Analyst, and Ms Natasha Fernando, Research Assistant who highlighted the importance of the role of think tanks play in government and civil societies around the world.

In the introductory remarks Director General Abeyagoonasekera spoke of the value of think tanks has been appreciated by many societies in today’s volatile geopolitical environment, especially think tanks could assist to design better policy and for predicting future trends.

As such, he stressed the importance of think tanks in providing reliable, well-researched information to make appropriate decisions on complex and challenging issues. To this effect, he highlighted how Sri Lanka's think tanks are underfunded; primarily through lack of attractive wages to researchers is a key challenge. The Director-General compared Sri Lanka to countries like India and Singapore, whose policymakers both invest and consult more extensively with think tanks. He said that with his experience working at a foreign policy think tank and security think tank, Sri Lankan government has miserably failed to recognize and invest in research and in think tanks.

Ms. Fernando emphasized that think tanks should act as a bridge between academic and policymaking communities, serving in public interest as independent voices and disseminating knowledge to wide audiences. To enhance the quality of research outcomes, Ms Fernando accentuated the importance of facts and the fact tank approach for more informed decision making.

Ms Ranasinghe highlighted the importance of factual based evidence in decision making and the role of think tanks as shadow leaders providing guidance to the political leaders. Leaders should utilized think tanks to identify the priority needs of a country and then to convince the public about the priorities. For these developments, Ms Ranasinghe emphasized that think tank should come out from its traditional role of "researcher" to the position of "Strategic advisers", having potentials to predate future circumstances. "To achieve these objectives, he explained that think tanks needed to be depoliticized and provided more autonomy"



Dr Jayasuriya spoke about the vital roles which think tanks play in predicting future political events and providing the expertise for governments to achieve their objectives. Regarding the latter, from a Sri Lankan context, he spoke of how think tanks could have played a role in helping the government come up with an effective strategy to counter baseless allegations of war crimes levelled against the Sri Lankan military. To achieve these objectives, he explained that think tanks needed to be depoliticized and provided more autonomy. Dr Jayasuriya argued that this would increase the possibilities of policymakers receiving objective, high quality - advice.

Finally, Prof. Embuldeniya spoke about how think tanks can help solve problems and serve as an asset to state resources. Addressing the issue of think tank proposals largely not being adopted by policymakers, Prof. Embuldeniya suggested establishing a committee that can convey the proposals presented by think tanks to policymakers who can then implement it. He introduced a performance evaluation framework for think tanks and requested INSSSL to work with other local think tanks to develop the proposed framework.



4.5. PUBLIC LECTURE ON“ELECTION 2019 AND THE ROLE OF DRAVIDIAN PARTIES ON THE NATIONAL POLICIES AND THE IMPACT ON SRI LANKA RELATIONS”



Dr Geeta Madhavan, Advocate and President and Founder of Chennai-based think tank International Law and Strategic Analysis Institute (ILSAI) spoke on ‘Election 2019 and the Role of Dravidian Parties on the National Policies and the Impact on Sri Lanka Relations’ at Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka on 7 February.

She presented her analysis to an audience of highly-distinguished academics, researchers, members of the diplomatic core, and officials from the Foreign Ministry, and representatives from the tri forces of Sri Lanka: Army, Navy and Air Force. Dr Geeta Madhavan delivered her lecture at the invitation extended to her by the Director-General Prof. Asanga Abeyagoonsekara.

Dr Geeta Madhavan set the context for her lecture by explaining the fall of the Congress party during its second term in politics by failing to deliver executive action due to poorly constructed decisions.

She then spoke of the change in government to Modi led Bharatiya Janatha Party (BJP) of India. She recalled the expected change was that BJP would bring in an era of BJP governance as once under Atal Bihari Vajpayee. Dr Madhavan described Vajpayee as an erudite and gentleman politician. Unfortunately, the Modi-led BJP government failed to deliver their promises due to the disastrous decision of de-monetization that was supposed to address three main issues that had plagued India: black money, terrorism, and corruption. When nothing changed, and the government enthused with strong Hindu nationalism, it eroded established constitutional structures which threatened the secularism values of India.

The above issues have presented a frightening image to the minority population of India (around 25% of the population) which is a sizeable constituency in a country of nearly 1.7 billion people. She spoke about Tamil Nadu in particular which is a federal-state with a proud Dravidian Culture and heritage. The people of Tamil Nadu feel ignored and threatened by the strong Hindu nationalist rhetoric and are unhappy that issues pertaining to Tamil Nadu are not addressed by the BJ government at the Centre.

India's elections and the formation of the government at the Centre, according to Geeta Madhavan are a numbers game. The Five Southern States and the Union Territory namely: Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, and Pondicherry have indicated they would most likely vote out the BJP-led alliance which is reinforced by the anti-Modi "save India" campaign of Mamta Banerjee of West Bengal.

Tamil Nadu is currently in crisis owing to several highly contentious matters: Constitution Amendment Bill to provide 10% reservation to economically backward, centralized education and national eligibility entrance exams (NEET) for medical and engineering schools, environmental poisoning by the Sterlite Copper plant in Thoothukudi, Neduvasal protest on hydrocarbon extractions, and devastation of crops after the Gaja Cyclone.

Geeta Madhavan explains "economically backward is a condition but socially backwards is a terrible anathema, to equate the two is a dangerous thing". She highlights how this negatively impacts on social upliftment and speaking of these issues would help the DMK win instead of the AIDMK which is currently allied with the BJP; mainly because the BJP is seen by the voters of Tamil Nadu as an anti-Tamil party.

The crux of her argument is the issues in Tamil Nadu and the Centre-periphery disconnect are so problematic to the extent, the DMK alliance would rather concentrate on raising issues concerning Tamil Nadu at the Centre and would not be inclined to bring up Indo-Lanka issues for discussion. At least in the short term, this alliance would not make a direct impact on Indo-Lanka relations.

While fringe parties such as that of Vaiko's would make noise, irrespective of their concerns on Sri Lankan issues the Dravidians "have no time to shed tears for others", when their issues are of greater immediate concern.

The participants at the discussion raised questions on the fishermen issue of the Palk Strait, that has soured Indo-Lanka relations but Geeta Madhavan opines this would not strain the bilateral relations as long as there are resilient and practical solutions and initiatives from both sides.

Another question was on the citizenship issue for Sri Lanka Tamils that have sought refuge in India, which Geeta Madhavan points out, is not as grave as the current Rohingya Crisis or the Afghan refugee crisis. She highlighted the only Indian Parliamentarian to have raised the need for a Refugee Bill to deal with the constant refugee inflow into India was Shashi Tharoor, to no avail. She warns in the future, the government will need a coherent law on refugee management in the likely event of spread of Rohingya refugees all over India and the dangers of them being infested with radical ideology.

Her final remarks were on the idea that India is misconceived as a regional hegemon. She opines that Indian military modernization and expansion of the Navy is to protect India's interests in the Indian Ocean and India's exclusive economic zone (EEZ) and not for a showdown with China. India according to Geeta Madhavan remains a cooperative state and future elections in India would not bring in a drastic change in Indo-Sri Lanka relations. The Indian establishment is a democracy with no hegemonic designs.

4.6.“WORLD FUTURE DAY”-WITH THE MILLENNIUM PROJECT WASHINGTON, THE GLOBAL FUTURES STUDY AND RESEARCH PROGRAMME

INSSSL partners with the Millennium Project to discuss ‘foresight’ on World Future Day On March 1st; World Future Day was celebrated across the globe with a particular focus on foresight analysis. The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) and the Millennium Project partnered to host a round table discussion on long-range strategies to address issues in education, investment, and demographics. The discussion, chaired by Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, was attended by distinguished guests Dr.Chandra Embuldeniya, former Vice-Chancellor of Uva Wellessa University; Mr Rathindra Kuruwita, Deputy News Editor of The Island; Dr Ranga Jayasuriya, Visiting Fellow of INSSSL; esteemed academics; and members of the Sri Lankan military.

Ruwanthi Jayasekara, Research Assistant (Intern) opened the discussion by stating; “If we are getting ready to make a decision with far-reaching, strategic implications, the results of our course of work will affect the scope of outcome.. This will indeed affect the whole country...Yet unfortunately; many national governments often find it much harder to use foresight as a tool for strategic planning and risk assessment...”



Foresight analysis is a tool for understanding the risks, challenges, and issues that may arise from future planning in an array of fields. In the Government, foresight analysis is of particular importance in order to combat the threat of a growing population, climate change, and transnational organized crime, amongst others. As the world grows in acknowledgement of this field, more and more states are adopting measures to implement foresight analysis such as Finland's Committee for the Future and Singapore's foresight officers. Foresight should underpin all decisions made in the public and private sectors; without, planning becomes guesswork and does not compliment real-life scenarios.

Ms Jayasekara's comments were followed by remarks from Mr Abeyagoonasekera who welcomed guests, stating foresight analysis is a priority for most nations bar Sri Lanka, who has a serious limitation on the strategically planned policy. He mentioned 15 challenges the world and Sri Lanka will face in the coming decades, ranging from sustainable development to global ethics. Each of these challenges requires foresight to address, and Mr Abeyagoonasekera questioned why Sri Lanka lacked designated foresight analysts or studies, suggesting a 'Futures Ministry' to tackle these issues.

Dr Embuldeniya began his segment by discussing the faults of the education system, which fails to use foresight to understand the importance of breaking down barriers and integrating STEAM (science, technology, engineering, art, and mathematics). As the number of STEAM-related jobs increases globally, children need to keep up with this demand by learning them at a young age, however, schools and universities often fail to do this. The segment was concluded with reference to a cartoon which was compared to the "absolutely unsuccessful" education system in Sri Lanka that places incredible emphasis conformity and assessment, rarely focusing on finding the talent and skills in each individual child.

Dr Jayasuriya followed up the discussion with commentary on foresight in investment, describing the plausible future of the Port City project as debt pressure and Chinese strategic leverage in Sri Lanka. He followed by emphasizing that to attain the preferred future (Port City to represent a global financial hub on par with Dubai) the Government must ensure policy reforms occur with increased strategic cooperation with other countries to lessen Sri Lanka's dependency on China. However, as Dr Jayasuriya stated, "we (Sri Lanka) are not good at reforming", therefore this may prove difficult.

Mr Kuruwita concluded discussions by stating “the population has a huge impact on the future” by underpinning all strategic and policy planning. Sri Lanka has a rich body of demographics to draw from, however, they are severely under-utilized, a serious oversight. Mr Kuruwita mentioned the ageing population combined with the predicted increase of young males. Having a young population isn’t necessarily a bad thing, stated Mr Kuruwita, but Sri Lanka needs to plan for this by having a purpose and role for them, as the country cannot afford “unhappy, angry kids” once again.

Talks were concluded with an open discussion on these issues, and it was found that guests agreed Sri Lanka must begin using foresight analysis now to strategically and successfully plan for the future.

Millennium Project Sri Lanka conducted its introductory workshop under the theme "Sri Lanka 2050: Foresight Analysis". Node Chair, Mr Asanga Abeyagoonasekera introduced the Millennium Project to the participants. Thereafter, node member Dr Chandra Embuldeniya spoke on the importance of futures studies in Sri Lanka followed by a group discussion lead by node member Mr Lasantha Wickremesooriya. The participants discussed China's One Belt One Road initiative and the opportunities and challenges to Sri Lanka and its economy.

4.7.ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “GOVERNMENT TO CO-SPONSOR 2019 GENEVA RESOLUTION”



INSSSL has conducted a round table discussion on “Government to Co-Sponsor 2019 Geneva Resolution” on 2nd March 2019. Mr.Neville Ladduwahetty, Senior Fellow of the institute was the guest speaker of the event. Following are the key arguments he tabled during his discussion.

According to The Island of March 7, 2019, the Foreign Ministry issuing a press release stated: "Sri Lanka will seek an extension of the timeline of resolution 30/1 of October 01, 2015 through a co-sponsored rollover resolution at the ongoing 40th session of the UN Human Rights Council. This initiative will further attest to Sri Lanka’s ownership of the implementation process..."

As far as furthering the "ownership" of the provisions of the resolution is concerned it is absolute hogwash, since practically all the commitments in the resolution are undertakings voluntarily agreed upon by the Sri Lankan government, further ownership is simply not possible.

The reason for seeking "an extension of the timeline" is to fulfil the remaining provisions of the original UNHRC Resolution 30/1 of 2015. However, the Government, starting with the Prime Minister, is aware that certain provisions such as "establishing judicial mechanisms with a special counsel to investigate allegations..." (Paragraph 6); "Provincial Councils are able to operate effectively" (Paragraph 16) etc. are not possible without amending the Constitution.

Furthermore, while other provisions require introducing new legislation, others such as "security sector reforms" amount to a degree of interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state that would be unacceptable to most States; as is reported to have been stated in no uncertain terms by the British Prime Minister when she declared that the British Government would never subject a British soldier to an investigation of any sought.

For these and other reasons, the majority in Sri Lanka are opposed to the position taken by the Foreign Ministry to co-sponsor the UNHRC Resolution first in 2015 and now again in 2019. A regular columnist to The Island of March 9, 2019, states: "Many who are from the Sinhala majority and are supportive of pro-Sinhala Buddhist policies in governance strongly oppose it. It is their democratic right. There are also many, especially those from the Tamil minority and also from Sinhala majority who are supportive of it, again a democratic right". According to this view, the decision by the Foreign Ministry to first co-sponsor the resolution in 2015 and now in 2019 is contrary to the view of the majority.

Does it then mean that the Foreign Ministry knows what is in the best interest of Sri Lanka and that the majority are a bunch of nobodies who could be ignored because they do not know any better? If that is so, what about the temple of Democracy that operates on hallowed words such as "will of the People" however dumb they are considered to be. The stand taken by the Foreign Ministry reflects the degree of disconnect that exists within the ranks of the government.

This disconnect is the reason for the President to send a three-member delegation to Geneva. They possibly cannot be going to Geneva to endorse "further ownership" of the resolution. Instead, it has to be to present a stand that is at variance with those in the government and their agents in the Foreign Ministry who seem to hold views that are vastly different to that of the President.

The country is paying a heavy price for the inability to develop consensus between the President and those members of the government who determine policy, not only in respect of Geneva but also in respect of other key issues. What the country is experiencing is the continuation of a policy in regard to Geneva set by the first Foreign Minister, notwithstanding that there have been three others since then. Despite the fact that this policy is not acceptable to the President, he is unable to institute a course correction at this stage of the game because of the unwillingness of those in the Foreign Ministry to recognize the need for such a change based on indisputable facts such as that of Lord Naseby. The tragedy is the absence of accountability for policies that run counter to the interests of the many.

The President in his last address to the UN General Assembly requested that Sri Lanka should be left alone to develop its own arrangements to heal based on its own civilizational values, some of which are not "an eye for an eye". Recently, the Prime Minister suggested an approach of "forgive and forget". Despite all this, what the foreign ministry is pursuing is its own agenda that has no resemblance to both what the President and the Prime Minister have advanced. The policy of the Foreign Ministry is said to be for "constructive

engagement and dialogue with a UN entity that in the opinion of the US is a "cesspool of political bias not a place of conscience, but a place of politics" that "makes a mockery of human rights".

The Foreign Ministry press release further states that "Sri Lanka will join hands with the core group leader, UK, in co-sponsoring this rollover resolution". One wonders whether the Foreign Ministry is aware that it is joining hands with one - the UK - that got its hands soiled by the ruling of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) for having evicted about 2000 inhabitants from the Chagos archipelago in the 1960s and 1970s so that the US could build a military base in Diego Garcia. A report in *The Guardian* of February 25, 2019, states: "The UK has been ordered to hand back the Chagos Islands to Mauritius "as rapidly as possible", after the United Nations' highest court ruled that continued British occupation of the remote Indian Ocean archipelago is illegal.

"Although the majority decision (13 to 1, the latter being from the US) by the international court of justice in The Hague is only advisory, the unambiguous clarity of the judges' pronouncement is a humiliating blow to Britain's prestige on the world stage" (See also Ranjith Soysa, *The Island*, March 9, 2019). Such humiliations do not seem to deter countries such as the UK or the US to initiate charges of human rights and humanitarian law violations based on mere allegations, despite violations in the case of the UK being indisputable.

The strategy advocated by the Foreign Ministry is based on a flawed notion that it would serve to prevent international war crimes allegations being continuously levelled against Sri Lankans. This is an extension of the falsely held notion that "engaging" with the UNHRC would be in the best interests of Sri Lanka as far as war crimes allegations are concerned.

Since all that 'engagement' has meant from the day Sri Lanka first co-sponsored Resolution 30/1 has been to commit Sri Lanka to fulfil provisions that involve revisions to the Constitution, enact fresh legislation and directly intervene in its internal affairs without even the approval of the Cabinet or reference to Parliament, it is clearly evident that what matters is how a country engages and not engagement for the sake of engaging.

Instead of trying to hoodwink all concerned and asking for time to implement the rest of the provisions in Resolution 30/1, the three-member delegation should go to Geneva and tell the truth for the first time. Telling the truth means telling the UNHRC and the core group that considering the prevailing political formations in Sri Lanka, constitutional changes and/or the introduction of fresh legislation are not possible. Furthermore, that war crimes are not and were not committed by the Sri Lankan nation or by its security forces.

If there were any breaches in international humanitarian law which is the only law applicable to the armed conflict in Sri Lanka, they were committed by individuals, and if anyone has clear and irrefutable evidence of such crimes, current judicial mechanisms have the capacity to address them. Any attempt to find the so-called Truth as to what happened would end up in nothing but narratives without substance to bring charges or confessions in the hope of qualifying for amnesty; an experience that failed to live up to expectations in South Africa. Therefore, engagement should mean telling the UNHRC and the core group straight out what is possible and what is not, and if they do not like what they hear, at least they would know the truth that there are limits to 'reconciliation' depending on the context.

4.8. DELEGATION- DELEGATION-UNIT COMMAND COURSE OF OFFICER CAREER DEVELOPMENT CENTRE BUTTALA

The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka facilitated the study visit of student officers of Unit Command Course No 3 at the Officer Career Development Centre Buttala at INSSSL Board Room on 14 March 2019.

As part of a study visit to the Ministry of Defence 32 officers which comprised of Head of the Training Team, Directing Staff and Student Officers visited the INSSSL. Major Suranga Witharana psc, Military Research Officer has conducted the lecture on National Security Strategy and Present Challenges and officials representing the Directorate of Military Intelligence conducted the lecture on Current Security Situation in Sri Lanka.

4.9. SECURITY SALON ON “FRENCH PERSPECTIVE ON THE INDO –PACIFIC REGION”

On Tuesday the 19th of March 2019, various academics, diplomats, military officers, and distinguished guests met for a security salon on ‘French Perspectives on the Indo- Pacific’. The salon was organized by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) and hosted at the Ministry of Defence and attended by guest speaker Dr Frederic Grare, Charge de Mission at the Centre for Analysis, Planning, and Strategy.



After a warm welcome from the Director-General of INSSSL, Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, Dr Grare spoke extensively about the French perspective and interests in the Indo-Pacific, with an underlying notion that to mitigate threats in the region states must change the conversation about security by focusing on interstate cooperation and collaboration.

Dr Grare opened his segment by firstly describing the Indo-Pacific, stating that there is no geographical reality of this area, and the term is used merely as a framing device. He quoted Australian Allan Gyngell, who believes “the Indo-Pacific is simply a way for governments to frame the international



environment to suit their policy objectives...” This is a very valid and applicable definition that France utilizes, said Dr Grare, with mention of the ambiguous and ever-changing definitions that exist globally, particularly in the US.

Dr Grare then moved to discuss France's specific interests in the region, explaining that militarisation is at the core of the French perspective. He mentioned that France focuses on specific countries and not specific states for Indo-Pacific relations. There shouldn't be a system of favouring certain states or reacting to state interests. Instead, a system with better dialogue and increased cooperation should be created in the Indo-Pacific, he said.

The particular objectives of France in the region were discussed next, with reference to preserving freedom of navigation, sovereignty, and the natural environment. According to Dr Grare, France is no different to other states that depend on the Indo-Pacific sea lanes, and hence France is ready to assume its share of responsibilities to maintain this freedom and has been doing so for years.

Furthermore, states must actively work to preserve the notion of sovereignty in territories and populations, with specific reference to the impact of certain activities such as illegal fishing in sovereign waters.



In the same vein, Dr Grare stressed the threat of climate change in the Indo-Pacific, mentioning rising sea levels, the displacement of populations, the impacts of overfishing, and the aftermath of natural disasters. These new security threats may create serious change in the security and political landscapes and need to be addressed through state cooperation.

Dr Grare concluded by stating that the way in which France views the Indo-Pacific is cooperative; that the region is inclusive of a range of states from across the globe who must work together strategically.

The floor was then opened to questions from attendees with a focus on the need for Sri Lanka to take initiative and reach out to other nations for assistance with security and strategy. Dr Grare mentioned that Sri Lanka need not work alone and that there are definite possibilities for cooperative security endeavours, but the country does need to take the first steps to ensure this in the Indo-Pacific.



4.10. ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “RUSSIAN INTEREST IN THE INDIAN OCEAN’

‘Russian Interest in the Indian Ocean’ was the overarching theme at the latest round table discussion held at the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) on 19 March. Guest speaker, Ksenia Kuzmina, Program Manager for South Asia and the Asia Pacific for the Russian International Affairs Council (RIAC), spoke in detail on this topic, with attendees from academic and military fields.

Kuzmina opened her insightful and in-depth piece by stating that Russia does not have an imaginary role in the Indian Ocean region and has serious interests despite often being disregarded as a major player.



One of Russia’s primary interests is to promote the zone of peace in the Indian Ocean, as any threats that influence this area could easily reverberate all the way to the Russian homeland. Kuzmina discussed that strategic rivalries and conflict in the area are against Moscow’s interests as the Indian Ocean is

crucial for Russian trade, security, and communication.

Threats to the region include climate change and marine pollution, emerging technology such as artificial intelligence, cyber-attacks, piracy, terrorism, and advanced weapons. In order to combat these problems, said Kuzmina, Russia must forge bonds with smaller states and islands in the region, including Sri Lanka. She stated that these nations need to begin promoting their own security and interests rather than following major players.

One way to do this is through Russian cooperation, with Kuzmina stating, “Moscow can provide great input to the regional security and to some extent serve as the regional security provider.”

Kuzmina explained that Russia can play a significant role in providing expertise, sharing knowledge and data, training states, and sharing personnel and business. This process of interconnectedness helps states bolster their security and protect themselves from threats which in turn protect Russia from issues encroaching on their territory through Asia.

She stated that these new and emerging threats require closer cooperation from all involved including regional and global powers, and Moscow can assist in developing dialogue and forging successful multilateral relations.



According to Kuzmina, peace and respect are Russia's foremost desires in the Indian Ocean, promoted through positive interstate relations. However, to achieve this ambitious task, states must acknowledge and accept this on all levels, from academia, business, the government, and education.

Kuzmina's discussion was concluded by questions from attendees before stating that developing cooperation is a two-way process that demands initiative from both sides of the party. Russia has something to give, and hence Sri Lanka need only ask.

The roundtable discussion was closed by INSSSL Director General Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, who shared his wishes to continue the positive dialogue and further close discussions with Russian international affairs council (RIAC).

4.11. PUBLIC LECTURE ON “POSITIONING INDIA - ASEAN RELATIONS IN A TRANSFORMED ASIAN LANDSCAPE”



INSSSL Public Lecture: ‘Positioning India- ASEAN Relationship in a transformed Asian landscape’ by Dr Reena Marwah, Senior Fellow ICSSR, Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India

India has had to re-imagine its relations with ASEAN states in the wake of China’s expanding footprints in South and Southeast Asia, an Indian foreign policy expert opined, delivering a public lecture at the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka, the premier national security think tank under the ministry of defence.

Dr Reena Marwah of Ministry of Human Resource Development, Govt. of India noted that driven by geo-strategic and geo-economic reasons, the engagement between ASEAN and India has expanded into strategic areas, culture and connectivity, and Indo-ASEAN cooperation has grown in intensity under the Modi administration.

Dr Marwah, who is a Senior Fellow of Indian Council for Social Science Research (ICSSR), was delivering her speech, titled Positioning India-ASEAN Relations in a transformed Asian landscape, on 29th of March 2019 at the INSSSL.

She observed that in light of increasing tensions between the United States and China, there is an atmosphere of uncertainty in the global arena. Same factors have also created a strategic necessity for India to engage with big powers and with ASEAN. Yet, she noted India’s ASEAN engagement dated back long prior to the strategic uncertainty in the global, and especially Asian regional system; India’s 'Look East' policy was initiated by the Narasimha Rao government in 1991.

At that time, the new policy was facilitated by the end of the Cold war and also partly due to New Delhi’s frustration at the lack of progress in SAARC, through which it sought, with limited success, to evolve a closer linkage with its South Asian neighbours.

This coincided with India's economic reforms and liberalization policy, leading to higher economic growth rates, thus aiding its vision to engage outside the limited sphere of South Asia.

Under the current government of Prime Minister Narendra Modi, the Look East policy has been re-named as 'Act East' policy, with a view to signal ASEAN states that India is turning its words into deeds in terms of enhancing Indo-ASEAN connectivity and integration.

2017 marked 25 years of their partnership, 15 years of summit-level interaction, and five years of strategic partnership. Multiple events were organized during the year, including the visits by all the heads of States of the ten ASEAN member countries to India to mark India's Republican Day.

First, ASEAN's strategic importance for India is underscored by several factors, including the location of the ASEAN countries, both on the continental shelf and the maritime space, providing access through the Malacca Straits. Both Myanmar and Thailand open the gates for India to South East Asia. The geopolitics of this region has also been impacted by the opening up of Myanmar as well as the resolution of territorial conflicts within the ASEAN member countries.

As a Full Dialogue Partner of the ASEAN, India participates in a number of dialogue mechanisms including the annual summits, ARF, PMC+1, East Asia Summit, ADMM+, SOMs and meetings of experts. Secondly, India also seeks a deeper engagement with a more globally integrated ASEAN Economic Community (AEC). With rising per capita incomes in countries such as Singapore, Vietnam, Laos, Philippines and Thailand, India will have greater trade and investment opportunities in the east. Over the period from 1993 to 2003, India- ASEAN two-way trade had risen by more than 11% annually, and crossed the US \$ 80 billion in 2017-18 and is expected to cross the US \$ 100 billion marks by 2020. Bilateral trade has made progress in trade relations after the ASEAN- INDIA FTA came into effect on Jan 1, 2010, however, the bilateral trade volume pales in comparison to China-ASEAN trade which is ten times larger.

ASEAN countries, China and India are also negotiating a Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), which despite more than twenty rounds of negotiations continues to be on hold, here too, it is due to the threat of mass inflows of Chinese goods into India.

Third, the China factor has also motivated India not only to strengthen its infrastructure in the North East but also to engage more deeply with Southeast Asian countries. At the same time, in terms of the post-Cold War geopolitical sphere and its own strategic positioning, there is an imperative for India to balance against China's expansion in its neighbourhood.

Fourth, India's 'Act East' policy, during the Modi government, has led to its growing involvement in India's East Asian neighbourhood especially in the field of maritime affairs. It has also led India to acknowledge its security responsibilities. More generally, India's recent advances in maritime domain awareness, its interest in enhancing joint patrols and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR) cooperation, as well as its efforts to contribute to the maritime security of its neighbours, including through weapon transfers, reflect that India is emerging as a net security provider.

Fifth, India seeks the cooperation of ASEAN countries on strategic issues such as in developing the concept of the Indo-Pacific, under which New Delhi is aiming to position itself along with the United States, Japan, and Australia. (These three countries are also partners in the 'Quad' configuration).

However, public and elite opinion within ASEAN on the Indo-Pacific concept (as gauged by a survey conducted by ISEAS) reflects the ambiguity of the concept. ASEAN countries expect greater clarity on the concept and India's role within it.

Dr Marwah concluded by explaining that the given ASEAN's increasing importance for India, strategic cooperation has to be strengthened. As India seeks rules-based partnerships and maritime cooperation much more remains to be done 'if we are to achieve our vision of shared values and common destiny'.

Both China and the United States are jostling for influence in the Indo-Pacific, with China increasingly becoming more assertive through its Belt and Road Initiative which has already expanded to more than 65 countries. ASEAN countries are well aware that they can succeed in leveraging their position in terms of asserting themselves if they are united. Together ASEAN and India can contribute immensely in shaping the regional architecture, by working together in the Indo-Pacific. India is seen as a benign power by ASEAN states and most countries are keen to expand strategic ties with India for a safe, secure and peaceful environment, which is conducive for development.

4.12. LECTURE ON “WAY THE STABILIZATION OF AFGANISTAN 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.

Following is the speech delivered by HE M. Ashraf Haidari.

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Coming from a landlocked but increasingly land-sea-air-linked country, Afghanistan, many of the 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 the absence of peace in Afghanistan to enable sustainable development that secures the future of the youthful population, poverty permeates 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 our 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 % of regional and global demand for drugs.

In turn, revenues from the drug trade finance 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 affect 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 off 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);
- 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).

We have 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 these regional security and development 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 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. Just yesterday, 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, the afghan is pursuing a joint counter-terrorism and counter-narcotics strategy. The two strategies mutually reinforce one another, as our 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 working 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, be them 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 welcomed and strongly support the South Asia Strategy of the United States. The Strategy has followed a conditions-based approach to helping 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, results-oriented 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 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 demand. That is why Afghanistan believe 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.

4.13. DELEGATION-PAKISTAN NATIONAL DEFENCE UNIVERSITY

Student Officers of Pakistan National Defence University made a courtesy visit to INSSSL on 16 April 2019.



The delegation comprising of senior officers of Pakistan Army, Navy and Air Force, Pakistan Civil Police, Senior Government Officers, Officers representing Bangladesh, Nepal attended the lectures conducted by the Dr Asanga Abegoonasekara, Director General of INSSSL and Ms Kasuni Ransinghe, 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.



4.14. THREAT LENS DISCUSSION”4/21 TERRORIST ATTACK IN SRI LANKA: COUNTERING VIOLENT EXTREMISM”



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 inter-related areas: the 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 the importance of national defence policy and security reforms in the age of big data in order to pro-actively counter violent extremism and terrorism. Director-General referred to the previous 2017 Threat Lens conducted on countering violent extremism which INSSSL clearly pointed out the growing extremist threat to Sri Lanka.

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





Research Analyst 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. A 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, and Police, intelligence services and government and the members of the civil society.

4.15. ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “SRI LANKA: CAUGHT IN AN INDO-CHINA ‘GREAT GAME’? A BLUEPRINT FOR SRI LANKA’S FOREIGN POLICY”



Mr. Shakthi de Silva is the guest speaker of the INSSSL round table discussion on “Sri Lanka: Caught in an Indo- China ‘Great Game’? A blueprint for Sri Lanka’s foreign policy”, which was held on 23rd May 2019.

The discussion was into two sections. The first section briefly investigates the prevailing political environment in the island and underscores 6 recommendations for Sri Lanka so that it can pursue a utilitarian policy approach in line with its national interests. In that sense, this section succinctly summarizes my core argument from *The Diplomat*.

The second part of his talk was on the practical application of the following mentioned recommendations. It looks at the present-day foreign policy research and decision-making apparatus in Sri Lanka and breaks down adverse impacts from the

- Absence of policymaking clarity
- Lack of clearly delineated hierarchy
- Acrimony between the constituent members of the government On the policy-making process of the country



4.16. INSSSL TEAM ATTENDED NESA SOUTH ASIA/CENTRAL ASIA WORKING GROUP MEETING IN BANGKOK, THAILAND

Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka, a premier national security think tank under the ministry of defence has conducted a joint international conference with Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Studies (NESA) on “Complexities of Connectivity in Central and South Asia” from 27th May to 29th May 2019, in Bangkok, Thailand.

Key features of three days meeting were borders issues, maritime security, regional tensions, and non-regional powers, among others.



Mr. Asanga Abeyagoonasekara, Director General of INSSSL, Maj Gen GVDUA Perera (Rtd) Senior Fellow, Dr. Ranga Jayasuriya Senior Fellow, Ms. Kasuni Ranasinghe, Research Analyst, Ms. Lucy Stronach Research Assistant and three military research officers at the institute: Commander Anura De Zoysa, Wing Commander Kosala Ranasinghe and Major Suranga Witharana presented their experiences and research outputs in the meeting.



researches have shared 30 years of Sri Lankan experience in countering terrorism with the participated regional and international experts.

Key security dilemmas in South and Central Asia have been mainly tabled on the first day. “Connectivity challenges” was the key topic in the next two days. Further, INSSSL research team has presented the consequences of the Easter Sunday attack in geopolitical, economic and ideological perspectives. Also,

4.17. DELEGATION- UNIT COMMAND COURSE OF OFFICER CAREER DEVELOPMENT CENTER BUTTALA

Student officers of Unit Command Course No 4 and the Officer Instructors at the Officer Career Development Centre Buttala visited the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka on 7 July 2019 as part of a study visit to the Ministry of Defence. A delegation was comprised of 36 student officers, Senior Instructor, Head of the Training Team and Directing Staff. In view of enlightening their knowledge, Major Suranga Witharana psc, Military Research Officer has conducted the lecture on National Security Strategy and Present Challenges and officials representing the Directorate of Military Intelligence conducted the lecture on Current Security Situation in Sri Lanka.

4.18.ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “INDO-PACIFIC: SECURITY, 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 last week.

The discussion incorporated the Sri Lankan, Japanese and Australian perspectives on the emerging strategic environs of the Indo-Pacific region with regards to security, geopolitics, and connectivity. It also analyzed the Indo-Pacific Strategic Report (IPSR) by the United States Department of Defense, which was released just a fortnight ago.



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

Dr.Ranga Jayasuriya, the moderator of the panel, opened the discussion by illustrating the relationship between security, geopolitics, and connectivity with regards 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 translate 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 panellist, 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 the US and with each other.

Ms. Lucy Stronach analyzed the role of Australia in the Indo-Pacific under the four pillars of economic, environmental, educational and 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 the 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 Abeygoonasekara followed up the discussion with his remarks on China's Belt 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 the 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 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. Analysing 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 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 on 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 that how India has adopted a rational approach to court all the regional states as means of counterbalancing rising China.

4.19. ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION ON “THE DEFENCE WHITE PAPER: ASSESSING NECESSITY AND ANALYZING STRUCTURES FOR SRI LANKA’S NEXT STRATEGIC PRIORITY”

The absence of a well-developed defence white paper could hinder Sri Lanka's strategic response to a changing security environment, Ms. Lucy Stronach, Australian researcher at the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) observed last week.

Delivering her presentation on the ‘The Defence White Paper: Assessing necessity and analysing structures for Sri Lanka’s next strategic priority’ on July 19 2019, she observed that Sri Lanka still lacks a defence white paper, and implored that authorities develop a strategy that clearly spells out Sri Lanka’s national security objectives, appraisal of security environment and an overall defence policy.



Ms. Stronach noted a defence white paper is important for Sri Lanka for several reasons. Firstly, it reflects state pro-activeness in responding to a changing security environment. A Defence white should also ideally be formulated with civilians, as this civilian-military partnership enhances the democratic process and

transparency. Furthermore, clear budget allocations given in a defence white paper enhance government accountability and legitimacy in spending and thereby increases the public’s trust in state security forces. Finally, a defence white paper reduces the uncertainty of the security posture of Sri Lanka and helps to forge stronger bilateral and foreign relations.

Ms. Stronach noted that Sri Lanka’s security environment has changed dramatically over the last years and months, and new conventional and unconventional security threats have emerged. Thus a white paper should develop targeted and planned responses to a range of security challenges such as organized/transnational crime, terrorism, nuclear armament, cybercrime, great power competition, and climate change.

She stressed that a Sri Lankan defence white paper should present the Government's position on defence policy, objectives and strategies, with specific mention to the security environment and threats, future defence directions, and military doctrine. Further, "a clear budget and distribution of resources to tangible goods and/or services aligning with financial realities is crucial to keep the government accountable and disciplined". Civilian oversight and scrutiny of the military structure are also important to ensure transparency and help the public understand and trust the security forces of their country. Public insight and civilian expertise in the formulation of a long-term national security strategy is also crucial, according to Ms.Stronach, as each party has unique insights and expertise that will help create a well-rounded document.

She also noted that a white paper should have a solid structure, yet it should be flexible enough to accommodate inevitable changes in the security environment. According to Ms.Stronach, "All strategies that are made must be evidence-based in nature [rather than influenced for political or personal gain], and decisions should be made as cost-effectively as possible whilst adhering to core government objectives and policy."

Finally, like other already available defence white papers, the Sri Lankan defence white paper must be made available to the public. Without promoting this document, many of the aforementioned reasons for production become redundant. The strategy needs to be 'owned by the people', and if they are, and other states, are unable to access the final product, Sri Lanka will miss out on many benefits.

4.20. SECURITY SALON ON THE INTERACTION BETWEEN ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY CHALLENGES AND STRATEGIC COMPETITION

On Tuesday the 23rd of March 2019, various academics, diplomats, military officers, and distinguished guests met for a security salon on 'Traditional and Non-Traditional Security Challenges in the Indian Ocean'. The Number (ex10th) security salon was organized by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) and hosted at the Ministry of Defence, attended by guest speaker Dr. David Brewster, Senior Fellow at the National Security College, Australian National University.



After a warm welcome from the Director-General of INSSSL, Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, I said include Australia-France report which was released three weeks ago on Environment Security of Indian Ocean which has come top with a risk map and Dr. Brewster's contribution on the second section was appreciated and Sri Lanka is an Island prone to many environment security challenges should try to engage in such future initiatives.

Dr. Brewster opened his presentation by introducing two broad areas of discussion: growing major-power competition and environmental security challenges in the Indian Ocean.

For the first section of his discussion, Dr. Brewster mentioned the changing environment of the world from a unipolar to a multipolar system. The implication on various states was mentioned, including growing Chinese presence, extended rivalries, a decline of US predominance, and a change of networks and power structures for the many middle powers in the Indo-Pacific region.

After these insights, Dr. Brewster moved to the second area of discussion, primarily regarding non-traditional security challenges in the region. "The Indian Ocean is one of the world's least governed maritime spaces in the world", said Dr. Brewster, and hence a range of transnational and environmental security threats have, and will continue to, emerge. According to Dr. Brewster, climate change, population growth, and violent extremism are just some of the threats that exist or will be amplified in the coming decades.



His discussion had a specific focus on overfishing, which he considered to be one of the most problematic issues of the region. Sri Lanka, who relies on fish for 57% of animal protein, needs to be aware of threats that may cause significant food and economic insecurity. Climate change (specifically acidification of waters, marine heat-waves and life dead zones), Chinese

vessels being pushed further into foreign waters, and illegal fishing are likely to increase conflict and competition in the region.

Dr. Brewster then explained how many of these significant threats are interconnected and has a 'cascading influence'. Threats can work to amplify each other, exacerbate themselves and may even create new issues. Examples include synergies between the activities of criminal and terrorist groups, the successive consequences of transnational threats (such as the decline of Somali fishing grounds leading to piracy), the threat of combination events (such as the Japanese earthquake and tsunami of 2011 causing the meltdown of the Fukushima nuclear facility), the complexity of actors in this sphere, and the unpredictable consequences of singular events (such as the 2004 tsunami leading to the settlement of separatist conflict in Aceh).

Before concluding, Dr. Brewster gave the audience three key takeaways: the Indo-Pacific is coming into a period of strategic competition and instability; non-traditional/environmental security threats are just as, if not more important, than traditional threats; and non-traditional and traditional security threats cannot be thought of separately, as there is significant potential for interaction and escalation between the two.

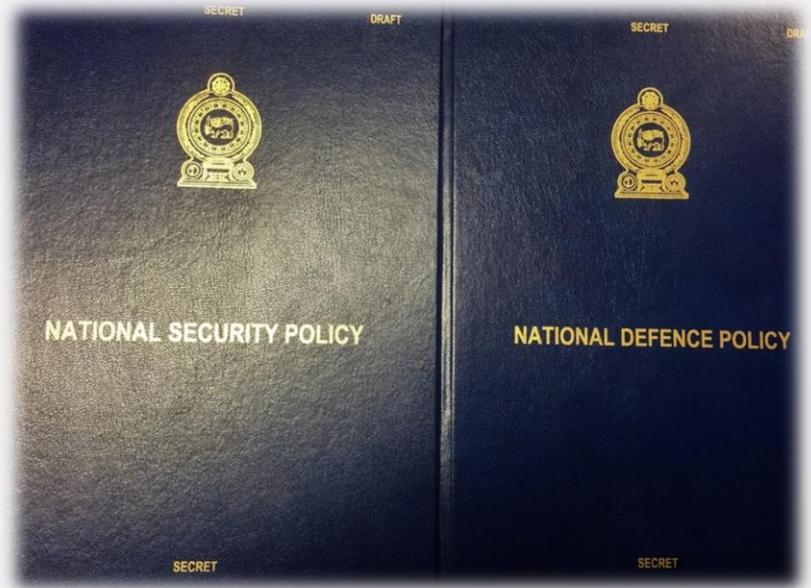


The floor was then opened to questions from attendees with a focus on how states can work to mitigate these aforementioned threats.

Dr. Brewster gave salient examples such as the planning procedures of key actors in foreign aid during natural disasters. He mentioned that Australia needs to promote longstanding norms in the region and should perhaps focus military efforts away from the Middle East and to the Indo-Pacific.

4.21.COMPLYING NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY AND NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY

Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka has compiled both National Security and National Defence policies with expertise from tri forces and civil society. Secretary Defence led the committee and proposed to handover policies to His Excellency the President of Democratic Republic of Sri Lanka by the end of August 2019.



Names of the Committee Members:

1. S H Kottegoda , Secretary Defence
2. Mr. Asanga Abeyagoonsekara , DG INSSSL
3. AVM A M De Zoysa
4. Maj Gen H J S Gunawardena
5. Maj Gen P R Wanigasooriya
6. Maj Gen D A P N Dematanpitiya
7. RAdm W A S S Perera
8. Maj Gen K R P Rowel (Rtd)
9. Brig H K A C R Kodithuwakku
10. Cmde P D S Dias
11. Cmde G E W M A N Ekanayake
12. Cmde U S Senevirathna
13. Air Cdr D K Wanigasooriya
14. Air Cdr C B Labrooy
15. Air Cdr R S Wickremeratne
16. Col L C R Jayasuriya
17. Cdr H A De Zoysa
18. Wg Cdr R M K D Ranasinghe
19. Maj D P A S A Witharana
20. Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe

4.22. ANNUAL MEMORIAL LECTURE: EPIC OF A WAR HERO COLONEL ASLAM FAZLY LAPHIR PWV RWP RSP



Another segment of the Annual Lecture Series of the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) was conducted at the Auditorium at Suhurupaya in Battaramulla, today (07 August 2019).

The lecture, this year was conducted on late Colonel Fazly Laphir PWV RWP RSP, Commanding Officer of the 1st Special Forces Regiment of the Sri Lanka Army who laid down his life leading a daring operation to relieve the besieged Mullaithivu Army base on 18th July 1996. The late Colonel Laphir volunteering to lead the rescue mission was airdropped under heavy enemy fire. He was severely wounded during the operation but continued to lead his men but later sacrificed his life due to an explosion in the battleground.



His courageous act on that day to save the lives of 1500 comrades, he was awarded the “Parama Weera Vibhushanaya”, the highest award for valour in Sri Lanka and posthumously promoted to the rank of Colonel.

The lecture programme commenced with the observing of a moment of silence in memory of all fallen War Heroes, which was followed by a video presentation on the late Colonel Laphir. The message of the Secretary Defence was read by the Coordinating Secretary & Advisor to the Secretary Defence, Mr Suren Dayaratne.





The lecture was delivered by Brigadier HP Ranasinghe under the theme “Epic of a War Hero Colonel AF Laphir PWV RWP RSP”. Founder of the Special Forces Major General Gamini Hettiarachchi (Rtd) also spoke on the occasion.

Mrs. Anoma Laphir, Director General of the INSSSL Mr. Asanga Abeyagunasekara, senior Tri Forces officers including the Army Chief of Staff Major General Shavendra Silva and Air Force Chief of Staff Air Vice Marshal SK Pathirana, Commandant of the STF SDIG MR Latheef, past commanders, members of the diplomatic corps and special invitees were also present at the occasion.



4.23. Round Table Discussion “The Transnational Security Issues in South Asia: Bilateral Cooperation between Sri Lanka and Bangladesh”

On the 9th of August 2019, His Excellency Riaz Hamidullah, Bangladeshi High Commissioner, Professor Shahab Enam Khan, and Ms Kasuni Ranasinghe spoke at the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) on transnational security issues in South Asia and the importance of bilateral cooperation between Bangladesh and Sri Lanka.



The discussion was held under the Chatham House Rules and hence the names of the speakers below have not been disclosed.

Three major issues plaguing the region were discussed, including transnational security issues, the legal and international frameworks to address them, and the narratives being perpetuated by the media, wider society and the government. The primary transnational issues included narcotics smuggling, violent extremism, maritime security and cyber-security.



The regional and domestic mechanisms that exist to combat these issues were questioned, with mention of the operational capabilities and functionality of SAARC, BIMSTEC and IORA, before a discussion on the issue of narratives, particularly evolving discussions from political and social spheres regarding peace, stability, tolerance and inclusion. Particular

reference was made to the past failures of Bangladesh to construct a positive narrative in these areas and that the nation ‘learnt the hard way’ the impact of ethnic tension, separatism and conflict.

The discussion then moved to the importance of the growing relationship between Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, particularly the role of Sri Lankan workers and entrepreneurs in Bangladesh in developing the nation's economy. The Bay of Bengal was highlighted as a region of increasing volatility and also prominence, seen as an integrative factor for countries economically and commercially.



States need to examine the common security issues of the region, particularly terrorism, with reference made to Bangladesh's post-attack rebuild which saw the country protect the autonomy of intelligence services by not allowing international assistance. Problems with ethnic ideological differences were raised, and it was recommended that states need to overcome security threats from conflicting ideologies through the use of technology and potentially web monitoring.

Finally, an outline of Bangladesh's community-based response to extremism was given. Bangladesh made a stark transition to community engagement and people-to-people intelligence-gathering post-attack, which has seen great success in lowering rates of radicalisation and helping establish a more peaceful society.

An outline of the development, progress and role of BIMSTEC was also presented, including an overview of the transnational security threats faced by the multilateral organisation. An examination of the performance of BIMSTEC states was undertaken, specifically in terms of the global terrorism index, human development index, economic freedom, rule of law and doing business index. Prior to concluding the main presentations and discussion, it was revealed that BIMSTEC nations tend to perform poorly in all of these areas and there needs to be a focus on enhanced infrastructure, security and cooperation in order to reach the true potential of the region.

4.24 PUBLICATION

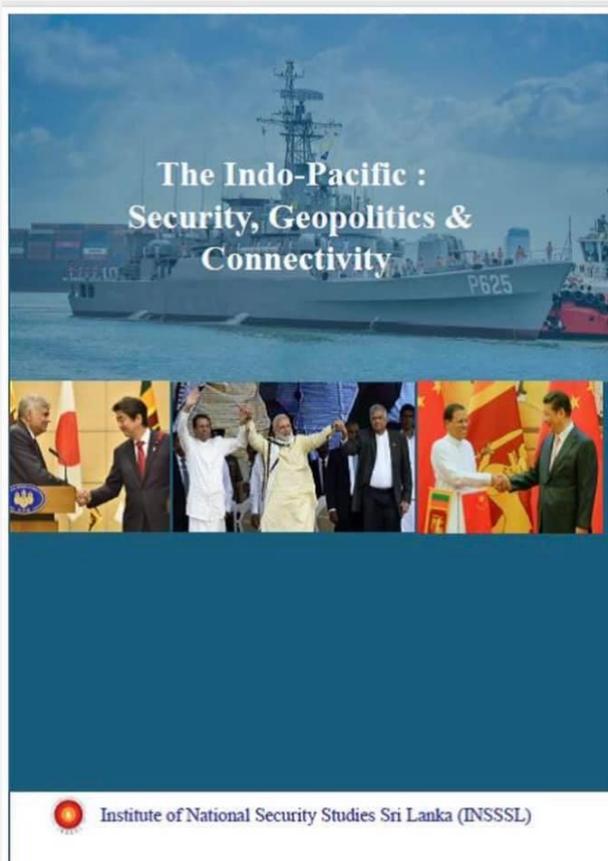
- **INDO- PACIFIC: SECURITY, GEO-POLITICS AND CONNECTIVITY**

On August 15th, The Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka(INSSSL) launched its report on 'Indo-Pacific: Security, Geopolitics and Connectivity', the initial report was presented to the Speaker of the Parliament of Sri Lanka Hon Karu Jayasuriya by the Director-General of INSSSL; Prof.Asanga Abeyagoonasekera and the co-editors; Ms.Ruwanthi Jayasekara, Research Assistant and Ms.Lucy Stronach, Research Assistant. Honourable Speaker of the Parliament recognized the significance of the timely report and the research work done by the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka.



The Indo-Pacific is a highly contentious and diverse region spanning across much of the Asian continent and beyond. Home to over half of the world's population, the Indo-Pacific is currently, and will likely to continue to be, the area of primary strategic concern for states in political, economic, environmental

and social realms. As more states continue to set their sights on the Indo-Pacific, it is important that nations in the region are well prepared to address a range of challenges and opportunities that may emerge.

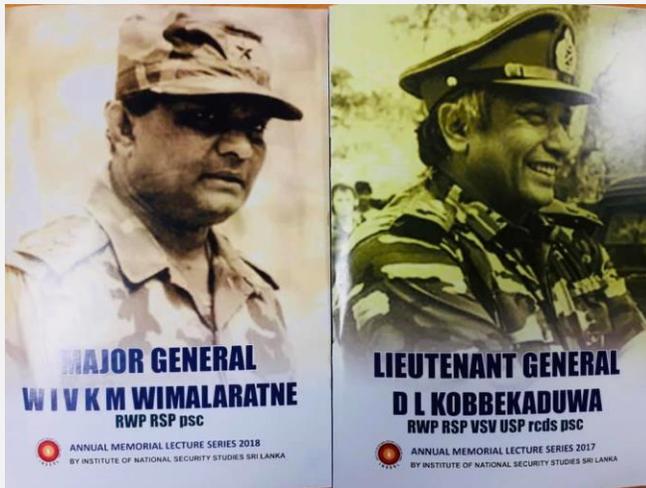


On the 21st of June 2019, the Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL) hosted a range of scholars, military personnel and government officials for a Round Table Discussion on the topic of 'Indo-Pacific: Security, Geopolitics and Connectivity'. Presented by five panellists including Prof.Asanga Abeyagoonasekera, Rear Admiral Noel Kalubowila, Dr.Satoru Nagao, Ms.Ruwanthi Jayasekara, and Ms.Lucy Stronach, this event offered a unique insight into these threats and opportunities.

“Indo-Pacific: Security, Geopolitics & Connectivity” consists of research papers from each of the panellists, presenting deeper analysis into the aforementioned discussion. Each

paper tackles a different yet interconnected issue under the broad topic of the Indo-Pacific, spanning a great many areas including maritime security, climate change, transnational crime and growing economies.

• MEMORIAL LECTURE PUBLICATIONS



INSSSL launched two publications to honour our War Hero's for their 27th death anniversary(8th August 2019) of Lt Gen D L Kobbekaduwa RWP RSP VSV USP rcds pscwas and Maj Gen W I V K M Wimalaratne RWP RSP psc.

The publications were the lectures delivered reflecting their strategic leadership and dedication to our nation.

- Lecture of Lt Gen D L Kobbekaduwa delivered by Gen G H de Silva (Rtd) RWP VSV USP
- Lecture of Maj Gen W I V K M Wimalaratne delivered by Maj Gen Udaya Perera RWP RSP USP USAWC pcs

Books were released at the Col A F Laphir Memorial Lecture, which was held on 07th August 2019.



Chief of Staff of Sri Lanka Army
Major General L H S C Silva
WWV RWP RSP VSV USP ndc psc



Chief of Staff of Sri Lanka Air Force
Air Vice Marshal S K Pathirana
RWP and Bar, RSP and three
Bars, USP, MSc (MOA) USA, MSc
(Def Stu) in Mgt, Mphil (Ind), MIM
(SL), ndc (Ind), psc,qfi



Senior Deputy Inspector of
Police, Special Task Force
Mr. MR Latiff



The Institute of National Security Studies (INSSSL) is the premiere national security think tank of Sri Lanka under the Ministry of Defence, established to understand the security environment and to work with government to craft evidence-based policy options and strategies for debate and discussion to ensure national security. The institute will conduct a broad array of national security research for the Ministry of Defence.

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