

# Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy

---

## Past, Present and Future Projections

Edited by:

Bhagya Senaratne Ph.D.

Sanath De Silva Ph.D.

---

# **SRI LANKA'S POST-INDEPENDENCE DEFENCE POLICY: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE PROJECTIONS**

---

**Edited by**  
Bhagya Senaratne, Ph.D.  
Sanath De Silva, Ph.D.



General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University  
Sri Lanka

## **Publication Design | Editorial Assistance**

Malinda Pathinayake  
Thenuka Karunaratne  
Sahara Weerasinghe  
Kavitha Ihagama  
Chathumini Rajapakshe

**Cover image:** Thenuka Karunaratne

First published in 2023

by  
General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University  
Ratmalana, Sri Lanka  
kdudefence@kdu.ac.lk

© 2023 General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Sri Lanka

ISBN: 978-624-5574-81-0

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording or from any information stored in a retrieval system, without permission in writing from General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Sri Lanka.

# CONTENTS

List of Figures	vii
List of Tables	viii
List of Abbreviations	ix
Acknowledgements	xv
Introduction Dr. Bhagya Senaratne	01
Evolution of Sri Lanka's Defence Policy: Historical Context Professor Amal Jayawardane	11
External Compulsions on Sri Lankan Defence Policy (1977-2009) Professor Gamini Keerawella	33
Changing Dynamics of National Security and Evolving Capabilities of Sri Lanka Army Major General Milinda Peiris	51
Evolving Maritime Security Contours and the Transformation of Sri Lanka Navy Commodore Rohan Joseph	79
Defending the Airspace: Challenges Faced by a Small State Wing Commander Sanka Ranasinghe	101
Role of National Intelligence and Early Warning Systems in Safeguarding the National Security of Sri Lanka Major General Ruwan Kulatunga	119
Ethnic Integration: Configuration of National Security in a Plural Society Dr. Ramya Chamalie Jirasinghe	143
Transnational Organised Crime and its Impact on Sri Lanka Major General Robin Jayasuriya	161
Dangers of Regional Nuclear Proliferation and Sri Lanka's Preparedness at the Borders Dr. Sanath De Silva	179
National Security Policy Framework for Sri Lanka Admiral (Retd.) Jayanath Colombage	203
Notes on Contributors	223

# **LIST OF FIGURES**

---

<b>Figure 1:</b> Defence Expenditure as a Percentage of GDP from 1948-2017	26
<b>Figure 2:</b> Defence Spending from 1949-2017	28
<b>Figure 3:</b> Maritime Boundary of Sri Lanka	180
<b>Figure 4:</b> Indo-Lanka Maritime Boundary	180
<b>Figure 5:</b> Sri Lanka's Foreign Debt Summary	183
<b>Figure 6:</b> Submarines Possess Second-strike Capability of Nuclear States	185
<b>Figure 7:</b> Nuclear Power Plants in India	186

# **LIST OF TABLES**

<b>Table 1:</b> Evolution of Tactics/Techniques/Equipment of the Army during the Pre-Eelam War (1949-1976)	<b>56</b>
<b>Table 2:</b> Evolution of Tactics/Techniques/Equipment of the Army during the Eelam War-One (1976-1990)	<b>58</b>
<b>Table 3:</b> Evolution of Tactics/Techniques/Equipment of the Army during the Eelam War-Two (1990-1995)	<b>59</b>
<b>Table 4:</b> Evolution of Tactics/Techniques/Equipment of the Army during the Eelam War-Three (1995-2006)	<b>61</b>
<b>Table 5:</b> Evolution of Tactics/Techniques/Equipment of the Army during the Eelam War-Four (2006-2009)	<b>63</b>
<b>Table 6:</b> Summary of Intelligence-related Failure Types and Characteristics	<b>125</b>
<b>Table 7:</b> Transnational Organised Crime Transcending Boundaries in South Asia	<b>163</b>
<b>Table 8:</b> Global Organised Crime Index (2018-2022)–South Asia	<b>165</b>
<b>Table 9:</b> Drug related arrest of foreigners in Sri Lanka	<b>166</b>
<b>Table 10:</b> Drug related arrest in Sri Lanka 2016-2020	<b>169</b>
<b>Table 11:</b> Drug Related Arrest 2022	<b>169</b>
<b>Table 12:</b> Nuclear Theft and Sabotage ranking-2018	<b>189</b>

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

---

ACTC	-	All Ceylon Tamil Congress
ADC&CC	-	Air Defence Command & Control Centre
ADOC	-	Air Defence Operation Centre
AEB	-	Atomic Energy Board
AERC	-	Atomic Energy Regulatory Council
APC	-	All Party Conference
APC	-	Armoured Personal Carrier
APRC	-	All Party Representatives Committee
APV	-	Armoured Protected Vehicle
ARTD	-	Army Recruit Training Department
ARTRAC	-	Army Training Command
ASG	-	Abu Sayyaf Group
AVLB	-	Armoured Vehicle Launched Bridge
AVMB	-	Armoured Vehicle Mobile Bridge
BRI	-	Belt and Road Initiative
BTR	-	Bronetransporty
CA	-	Covert Action
CASEVAC	-	Casualty Evacuation
CB	-	Counter Bombardment
CBRNE	-	Chemical, Biological, Radiological, Nuclear and Explosive
CDF	-	Ceylon Defence Force
CDF	-	Civil Defence Force
CERT	-	Computer Emergency Readiness Team
CFA	-	Ceasefire Agreement
CI	-	Counterintelligence
CID	-	Criminal Investigation Department
CISF	-	Central Industrial Security Force
CLI	-	Ceylon Light Infantry
CNC	-	Ceylon National Congress
CNI	-	Chief of National Intelligence
CNVF	-	Ceylon Naval Volunteer Force
COMCASA	-	Communication Compatibility and Security Agreement
COMINT	-	Communication Intelligence
CP	-	Communist Party
CRNVR	-	Ceylon Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve

CSAR	-	Combat Search and Rescue
CSI	-	Container Security Initiative
DIG	-	Deputy Inspector of General
DMC	-	Disaster Management Centre
DMI	-	Directorate of Military Intelligence
ECCM	-	Electronic Counter Countermeasure
ECM	-	Electronic Countermeasure
EEZ	-	Exclusive Economic Zone
EIU	-	Economic Intelligence Unit
EROS	-	Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students
EU	-	European Union
EW	-	Electronic Warfare
FATF	-	Financial Action Task Force
FDL	-	Forward Defence Line
FOIP	-	Free and Open Indo-Pacific
FTF	-	Foreign Terrorist Fighters
GAM	-	Gerakan Aceh Merdeka
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GMTT	-	Global Maritime Technology Trends
GOC	-	General Officer Commanding
GoSL	-	Government of Sri Lanka
GPMG	-	General Purpose Machine Gun
HADR	-	Humanitarian Assistance & Disaster Relief
HMG	-	Heavy Machine Gun
HSZ	-	High-Security Zone
IAEA	-	International Atomic Energy Agency
IAF	-	Indian Air Force
IC	-	International Community
ICC	-	International Criminal Court
ICTA	-	Information and Communication Technology Agency
IGP	-	Inspector General of Police
IHL	-	International Humanitarian Law
INGOs	-	International Non-Governmental Organizations
INTERPOL	-	International Criminal Police Organization
IO	-	Indian Ocean
IOZOP	-	Indian Ocean Zone of Peace
IPKF	-	India Peace Keeping Force
IR	-	International Relations

IS	-	Islamic State
ISA	-	Industrial Security Agreement
ISGA	-	Interim Self-Governing Authority
ISIS	-	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
ITAK	-	Ilankai Tamil Arasu Kachchi
IUU	-	Illegal, Unreported, and Unregulated
JMI	-	Jamathei Millathu Ibraheem
JVP	-	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
KKNPP	-	Kudankulam Nuclear Power Plant
LEMONA	-	Logistic Exchange Memorandum Of Agreement
LKR	-	Sri Lanka Rupees
LoC	-	Line of Control
LSSP	-	Lanka Sama Samaja Party
LTTE	-	Liberation of Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MDA	-	Maritime Domain Awareness
MEP	-	Mahajana Eksath Peramuna
MoD	-	Ministry of Defence
MOP	-	Mobile Observation Posts
MORC	-	Material Out of Regulatory Control
MoU	-	Memorandum of Understanding
MPMG	-	Multi-Purpose Machine Gun
mSv	-	millisieverts
NAM	-	Non-Aligned Movement
NATO	-	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NBRO	-	National Building Research Organization
NERF	-	North East Reconstruction Fund
NFZ	-	No Fire Zone
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
NTJ	-	National Tawheed Jamaat
NMA	-	Naval & Maritime Academy
NNWS	-	Non-Nuclear Weapon State
NOP	-	National Ocean Policy
NS	-	National Security
NSC	-	National Security Council
nSv	-	nano-Sieverts
NTI	-	Nuclear Threat Initiative
NVD	-	Night Vision Devices
OOTW	-	Operation Other Than War

PA	-	People's Alliance
PIA	-	Pakistan International Airlines
PIRA	-	Provisional Irish Republic Army
PLOTE	-	The People's Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam
PMA	-	Pakistan Military Academy
PTA	-	Presenting of Terrorism Act
QUAD	-	Quadrilateral Security Dialogue
R&D	-	Research and Development
R.Cy.A.F	-	Royal Ceylon Air Force
R2P	-	Responsibility to Protect
RABS	-	Rapid Action Boat Squadron
RAP & DW	-	Research Analysis Projection & Development Wing
RAW	-	Research and Analysis Wing
RCL	-	Recoilless (rifle/gun)
RDD	-	Radiological Dispersion Device
RDJTF	-	Rapid Deployment Joint Task Force
RED	-	Radioactive Expose Device
RPG	-	Rocket-Propelled Grenade
SAARC	-	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
SAGAR	-	Security and Growth for All in the Region
SDOMD	-	SAARC Drug Offences Monitoring Desk
SEATO	-	South East Asia Treaty Organization
SIHRN	-	Sub-committee on Immediate Humanitarian and Rehabilitation Needs
SIPRI	-	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SIS	-	State Intelligence Service
SLA	-	Sri Lanka Army
SLAEA	-	Sri Lanka Atomic Energy Authority
SLAF	-	Sri Lanka Air Force
SLFP	-	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
SLMM	-	Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission
SLN	-	Sri Lanka Navy
SLNMS	-	Sri Lanka Navy Marine Safety
SLOC	-	Sea Lanes of Communication
SLR	-	Self-Loading Rifle
SLVNF	-	Sri Lanka Volunteer Naval Force
SOP	-	Standard Operation Procedure
SOPs	-	Special Operational Platforms

SSG	-	Special Strike Group
STF	-	Special Task Force
TAFII	-	Task Force Anti Illicit Immigration
TELO	-	Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization
TOC	-	Transnational Organized Crime
TOSIS	-	Tiger Organization Security Intelligence Service
TULF	-	Tamil United Liberation Front
UDHR	-	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	-	United Nations
UNCLOS	-	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNF	-	United Nations Foundation
UNHRC	-	United Nations Human Rights Committee
UNODC	-	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNP	-	United National Party
VOA	-	Voice of America
WHO	-	World Health Organization
WMD	-	Weapons of Mass Destruction
3D	-	Three Dimension



# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The acknowledgement for this publication is two-fold, as I would like to extend my appreciation to those who helped this publication come to fruition, and those who helped organise the one-day seminar that was the precursor to this publication, Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy: Past, Present and Future Projections.

This endeavour, both the seminar and the publication, would not be a reality if not for the encouragement given by Major General Milinda Peiris, Vice Chancellor-KDU. His enthusiasm ensured that this publication, *Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy: Past, Present and Future Projections* emerged from the minds of the editorial board into reality. The Vice Chancellor was keen on KDU - as Sri Lanka's defence university - organising a seminar that deliberated on various aspects of Sri Lanka's defence policy since independence as previously, the evolution of the armed forces alongside contemporary challenges were not discussed. Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy is the culmination of the Vice Chancellor's encouragement and personal interest in Sri Lanka's defence policy.

The idea for this transpired a few years ago and is the brainchild of Professor Emeritus Amal Jayawardane. The seminar and this publication emerged as it was identified that Sri Lanka has not published a book covering various aspects of Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy. Therefore, I would like to extend my appreciation to Professor Emeritus Jayawardane for identifying this gap and encouraging the Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies to fill it.

Several individuals worked tirelessly behind the scenes to ensure the completion of this publication. Among them, I would like to thank Professor Emeritus Amal Jayawardane who assisted us in reviewing and editing the articles included in this volume. He painstakingly read through multiple drafts of each paper and advised the authors and I on improvements required. I also want to thank my co-editor, Dr. Sanath de Silva and editorial assistance provided by Mr. Pradeep Ranaweera to their commitment and dedication.

A publication of this nature would not have been a possibility if not for the authors who did justice to the topics on a wide variety of areas related to defence and security policy. I am grateful to all authors namely, Professor Emeritus Amal Jayawardane, Professor Emeritus Gamini Keerawella, Major General Milinda Peiris, Commodore Rohan Joseph, Wing Commander Sanka Ranasinghe, Major General Ruwan Kulatunga, Dr Ramya Jirasinghe, Major General Robin Jayasuriya, Dr. Sanath De Silva, and Admiral Jayanath Colombage who patiently addressed multiple revisions of their papers.

I am grateful for the printing team, those at Serenity who did a wonderful job designing the inner pages and providing editorial assistance of this publication and the KDU Press for the beautiful final product that is in your hands. I must also place on record that the cover page of this publication was designed by an International Relations undergraduate of Intake 39, Mr. Thenuka Karunarathne.

The second component, the seminar would not have been a possibility if not for Vice Chancellor, KDU - Major General Milinda Peiris who guided us, giving us moral support and encouraging us throughout the two years we had planned to hold the event, but could not, due to unavoidable circumstances. Former Deputy Vice Chancellor (Defence and Administration) - Brigadier Wipula Chandrasiri was a pillar of strength as he ensured that the Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies has the wherewithal to organise the seminar. In the same tone, I would also like to express my gratitude to the present Deputy Vice Chancellor (Defence and Administration), Brigadier Chinthaka Wikramasinghe, for his continuous guidance in making this publication a reality. New to his role, Dean, Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies - Colonel Pradeep Rathnayaka shouldered this mammoth responsibility after having assumed only a month before the seminar. I would be failing in my duties if I do not acknowledge the motivation provided by former Dean, FDSS - Colonel Enoj Herath as well. I would also like to acknowledge Head, Department of Strategic Studies - Dr Harinda Vidanage for the support extended in organising the seminar and in coordinating the requirements for the publication.

Teamwork, unity and cooperation are some phrases that come to mind when I think of the Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies I represent. None of this would have been possible if it were not for the dedication, commitment and support rendered to me by every officer, academic staff, supporting staff and the undergraduates following the BSc in Strategic Studies and International Relations. I would like to thank the Central Committee of the seminar that comprised of Lieutenant Colonel Lasitha Amarasekara, Major Eranga Rathnayaka, Mr. Viran Maddumage and Captain Nalinda Adikari, the heads of committees and their teams for a wonderful team effort. I am profoundly grateful for your support in organising the Defence Policy Seminar. I would like to also thank the student committees that volunteered to compare and provide technical support for the event.

I hope you bear with me as I am unable to name everyone who assisted in making the seminar and the publication a success individually. However, I know how hard you worked and this publication, *Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy: Past, Present and Future Projections* is the culmination of all those efforts.

Bhagya Senaratne, Ph.D.  
Co-editor

# INTRODUCTION

*Dr. Bhagya Senaratne*

The bond between the state and its citizens is determined by the capability of the state to provide security for its citizens. The publication of *Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy: Past, Present and Future Projections* comes at a phenomenal time in Sri Lanka's history, as certain aspects of Sri Lanka's security are challenged, and the need to strengthen the bond between the state and the citizen is emphasised. This year, in 2023, Sri Lanka celebrates its 75th Independence Day. It is a celebration of an event that is marred with challenges for the government, the country, and its people (Presidential Secretariat, 2023; News-Wire, 2023).

Despite its independent status, Sri Lanka has had to undergo many struggles over the past 75 years to ensure that its borders are safe from those threats that emanate from within the state and from outside the borders (see de Silva, 1993; Jayarathna, 2015; Jayawardane, 1995; Jayawardane, 2003; Samaranayake, 2011; Senaratne, 2017; Senaratne, 2020; Senaratne, 2023). Some of these threats were perceived threats whilst others had profound consequences on Sri Lanka's development as an island, and to its international image (Keerawella and Siriwardena, 1992). The separatist war that waged close to 30 years, is a prime example of how Sri Lanka was unable to develop, despite being bestowed with a sound economy at the time of independence in February 1948 (Wilson, 2005). At the time of independence, Sri Lanka was one of the fastest growing economies in Asia with social indicators second only to that of Japan's (Coomaraswamy, 2023).

Professor Emeritus Amal Jayawardane contributes the second chapter of this publication, titled Evolution of Sri Lanka's Defence Policy: Historical Context. He has observed many changes that the defence policy underwent during different political regimes that came to power since independence. However, a noteworthy similarity between various regimes until the end of the 1970s was the significantly low allocation of budgetary resources for defence. This lack of resources was acutely felt during the 1971 JVP insurrection and the initial stage of the separatist war, as the armed forces did not have the wherewithal to manage these situations. The equation between the 'ends' and 'means' is one of the perennial questions that

the policymakers and defence planners are faced with in any country in formulating a balanced defence policy. Sri Lanka as a small country without having its own defence capabilities, faced this crucial problem at the very beginning of its post-independence period. Jayawardane lays out three questions in his paper: “What was D.S. Senanayake’s choice in overcoming this difficulty? What were the measures taken by the successive rulers in the country to ensure military preparedness of the armed forces? Was there any systematic defence planning in the country?” He further underscores the nexus between a country’s defence policy and foreign policy, indicating that they are the cornerstones in formulating a National Security strategy.

Students of Sri Lanka’s defence policy will appreciate that the eleven chapters in this book cover distinct aspects that are challenging Sri Lanka’s defence and defence policymaking. You will also understand that some of these challenges have in fact crippled the country as the threats were not adequately identified in advance so that appropriate action could have been taken. A distinct feature to which your attention must be drawn is post-independence Sri Lanka’s defence budget. Even though the leaders at the time considered that there were external threats to the island, it did not invest in its defence and expand its armed forces. Instead, Sri Lankan leaders relied on external assistance to protect the country. Contrastingly, Sri Lanka’s current defence spending is deemed too expensive and requiring a reduction.

In the third chapter of this book titled External Compulsions on Sri Lankan Defence Policy (1977-2009), Professor Emeritus Gamini Keerawella focuses on various issues from outside Sri Lanka that influenced the formulation of its defence policies. We must understand that external compulsions are often accorded a high weightage as critical policy inputs in Sri Lanka’s defence policy. In his article, Keerawella draws attention to three geopolitical spaces, namely, the South Asian, the Indian Ocean, and the global. These three spaces do not stand as separate entities and the developments in one space often impinge on the strategic conditions of others. He also highlights the Indian influence, and various developments in South Asia that defined the formulation of Sri Lanka’s defence policy. He further draws attention to domestic events like the rise of terrorism within Sri Lanka to illustrate how certain domestic events drew the attention of the international community. From this analytical point of departure, this chapter examines the interplay of evolving external compulsions and domestic exigencies in Sri Lanka’s defence policymaking in the period 1977 to 2009. Sri Lanka’s external defence compulsions changed rapidly on account of the intense political volatility in all three spaces. At first, the economic compulsions linked with the new economic package, introduced in 1977, influenced the direction of defence policy. Since 1980, however, the major domestic concern that overwhelmed defence thinking of Sri Lanka was how to meet the multi-faceted challenges posed by the LTTE. The international dimensions of ethnic crisis compelled Sri Lanka

to view the developments of its geopolitical spaces from the lenses of defence requirements related to this challenge. Unpacking of the articulation of external and internal factors and compulsions is fundamental to grasp the defence policy of Sri Lanka in the period 1977 to 2009.

In his chapter titled *Changing Dynamics of National Security and the Evolving Capabilities of the Sri Lanka Army*, Major General Milinda Peiris highlights the competencies Sri Lanka Army has accumulated as the leading respondent in various national calamities since its inception in 1949. This chapter deliberates on the evolution of the Army, detailing the challenges it faced over the course of its seventy-four-year history. Peiris emphasised the military campaign against the terrorist movement that arose from within the country and the challenges the army faces in operating in a post-conflict security environment. The contemporary security landscape of Sri Lanka is rapidly changing due to various domestic and regional geopolitical reasons. Therefore, Peiris recommends that the army needs to develop new policies and an advanced set of skills to manage the unpredictable threats that, at times, emerges from outside the traditional contours Sri Lanka's defence.

Commodore Rohan Joseph provides a futurist perspective for Sri Lanka Navy in his paper titled *Evolving Maritime Security Contours and the Transformation of Sri Lanka Navy*. Activities in the maritime space continue to evolve at an alarming pace underscoring its complicated and complex nature. With leading players using the maritime domain for power and stability projection, traditional ways and means used to achieve power projection are also witnessing the latest trends with a bearing on geopolitics. Joseph argues that the increasing power rivalry in the Indian Ocean and the greater Indo-Pacific region would call for the Sri Lankan Navy to be equipped with sophisticated naval technology to combat threats. Competition over cooperation, exploitation of the maritime space by non-state actors, increased inter-domain interactions, and the implementation of certain strategies capable of influencing stability are some of the enablers that contribute to redefining the contours of future maritime security. While the current maritime security concerns related to terrorism, piracy, IUU fishing, drug/human smuggling, security of SLOCs, etc. are also expected to gather momentum; the security of maritime trade and energy transportation is an area that requires greater attention over the rest. Furthermore, Joseph indicates that in the future, small states cannot rely on regional or powerful navies to provide security but would be called upon to contribute equally towards regional security mechanisms. As global maritime trade is heavily dependent on digitalisation, integration and automation, threats that emerge in the cyberspace have the potential to inflict damage on ocean-based energy and trade transportation. Therefore, regional, and global navies along with Coast Guards have a role to play in safeguarding maritime trade and energy transportation.

Contributing the article on the importance of safeguarding Sri Lanka's air space, Wing Commander Sanka Ranasinghe argues that air forces, irrespective of their size, have to be prepared to face challenges created by contemporary geopolitical and economic compulsions. In his article titled *Defending the Airspace: Challenges faced by a Small State*, he emphasises that it is the Air Force's duty to optimise its assets and meet the demands that are arising in line with Sri Lanka's national interest. Ranasinghe divides his paper into five components detailing the instrumental service the Sri Lanka Air Force has rendered since its inception in 1951. He specifically deliberates on the evolution of the air force, the support given to the army and navy in eradicating terrorism from the island and the contributions it has made to search and rescue (SAR) operations and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief (HADR). Ranasinghe examined the various challenges that the air force had to face in evolving into the armed force it is today. A noteworthy insight into the air force is how it overcame the challenges it faced in procuring aircrafts and other equipment. Therefore, as Sri Lankans, we can admire the research and development activities that have taken place within the Sri Lanka Air Force.

A publication on Sri Lanka's National Security would be incomplete without discussing the role of the intelligence community in safeguarding it. In the field of intelligence, success stories are unheard of, but failures catch attention as they are mostly visible disasters due to weak intelligence intervention and early warning systems. Basic intelligence and counterintelligence mechanisms in national security affairs involve maintaining national security at macro and micro levels. The 21st Century warfare is also dependant on the greater role in intelligence collection, processing, analysing and providing intelligence products to various levels of commanders and to policy makers. In his paper titled *Role of National Intelligence and Early Warning Systems in Safeguarding National Security of Sri Lanka*, Major General Ruwan Kulatunga analyses intelligence and counterintelligence mechanisms in national security affairs that help maintain national security in a country. Kulatunga examined the role of Sri Lankan national intelligence and their early warning mechanisms using four case studies: the JVP insurrections of 1971 and 1987/1989, the 30-year war with the LTTE, and the Easter Sunday Attack in 2019. A comprehensive national security strategy demands the expertise of the intelligence community to project power and to protect the sovereignty of a state while maintaining its enclosed secrets about intangible and tangible tools of national power and military products. Countries have experienced great loss when their intelligence community fails to act by allowing the enemies to succeed in their mission. Using John Gentry's six intelligence-related failure type and characteristics, Kulatunga analyses the threat warning failures in Sri Lanka's intelligence landscape. He argues for an integrated, systematic reckoning of threat analysis within the government and the international community.

In the seventh chapter titled *Ethnic Integration: Configuration of National Security in a Plural Society*, Dr Ramya Jirasinghe delineates the theoretical understanding of the concept of security by examining the non-traditional views from the Copenhagen School of thought. She explores the Western and Asian-centric views on ‘freedom from fear’ and ‘freedom from want’, respectively. Both traditional and non-traditional concepts of security aim for the territorial integrity of the state and imply the safety of its citizens. Therefore, even the most expanded concept of security embeds within it, human security for its citizens through national security. However, ingrained in new national security is the concept of ideological security, which is partly a form of political security and partly a form of socio-cultural security that pertains to the security of the dominant ideology of the state as well as its ability to protect the state from traditional and non-traditional threats. She deliberates that a state’s understanding of national security must shift from a state-centric perspective to include a broader understanding of human security, to foster connectivity and acknowledge diversity among the various segments of its society. Accordingly, Jirasinghe examines how ideological security of a state needs to be configured to encompass multiple ideologies within its boundaries if the state is to ensure plurality and thereby the security of those citizens who do not subscribe to the state sanctioned dominant ideology. Using Sri Lanka as a case study, Jirasinghe analyses opportunities within Sri Lanka to create a referent that will enable a pluralistic society based on the principles of human security. She argues that the ability to ensure such an integrated configuration has the added benefit of ensuring state security at the global level, especially where elements of the dominant ideology of the state may be antithetical to the dominant ideologies of the international community.

Major General Robin Jayasuriya contributes the eighth chapter titled *Transnational Organised Crime and its Impact on Sri Lanka* in which he discusses the various transnational organised crimes (TOC) that impact Sri Lanka, along with the groups that engage in it. The UNODC and the US government definitions of TOC have criminalised seven crimes that help universalise the definition. This allows for the ease of international cooperation in countering TOCs across boundaries. It also enables the global adoption of similar operational and judicial best practices. In the Sri Lankan context, being an island nation, geographically situated along the main sea routes that connect the east and the west and being within the sphere of influence of the Golden Crescent and the Golden Triangle drug trafficking routes, increases Sri Lanka’s vulnerability. Jayasuriya emphasises that transnational organised crime groups have evolved over time by understanding the various loopholes in Sri Lanka’s legal system and even identifying new entry points to Sri Lanka’s borders. He indicates that the main challenge for the Sri Lankan law enforcement agencies and the government is the drug trade. This directly impacts Sri Lanka’s health, governance, and security with all three having a cascading effect on the economic and social development of the country. The effects, in turn, negatively affects communities and the overall society, with

the family unit being impacted directly. Jayasuriya articulates that a lot of illegal activity takes place along Sri Lanka's northern border and India's southern border. This, he argues, was instrumental for the LTTE in smuggling war like weapons, food stuff and other items to either sustain their organisation or to fund their terrorist group. The chapter indicates that Sri Lanka can no longer be identified as a transshipment hub, as the statistics indicate an increase in local consumption of narcotics by Sri Lankans. Other crimes such as human smuggling, extortion and environment resource smuggling are not as large as the illicit drug trade. Therefore, its impacts cannot be quantified in macro-economic, social or security terms. In this context, Jayasuriya argues that the challenges faced by the government are multifaceted and a holistic approach that includes international cooperation is key to countering the impacts of transnational organised crime.

Dr Sanath de Silva contributes the penultimate chapter of this book titled Dangers of Regional Nuclear Proliferation and Sri Lanka's Preparedness at the Borders. In this chapter, de Silva deliberates on the emerging security threats emanating from South Asia's dangerous nuclear domain to Sri Lanka's border security. De Silva speaks of the insecurities posed by IUU fishing, smuggling of people and goods and emphasises the need to have monitoring mechanisms to ensure that non-state actors do not thrive on these loopholes to enter the island. Of the many threats identified, de Silva elaborates on the nuclear threat posed by South Indian nuclear power plants. Giving novel insight to this topic, he argues that it is important for the Sri Lankan government to consider this threat seriously as a nuclear disaster at either the Kudankulam or the Kalpakkam nuclear power plants could have spillover effects. Therefore, as a small state located next to a nuclear giant, Sri Lanka is vulnerable to third-party effects of geo-political competition orchestrated by the powerful states. He indicates that Sri Lanka's contemporary economic crisis too can be manipulated by nuclear states to gain an advantage in the region. De Silva further indicates that non-nuclear states like Sri Lanka need to allocate vast resources to keep its security systems up to date to address nuclear-related issues. The author argues the importance of introducing national policies to mitigate nuclear threats at the border.

The last chapter of *Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy* is titled National Security Policy Framework for Sri Lanka. In this chapter, Admiral (Prof) Jayanath Colombage discusses the distinct phases of national security in Sri Lanka, like the heightened state of security in 2006 and how this changed in 2015. He discusses the importance of proper leadership and guidance in ensuring that national security remains a priority of the state. National security was once the priority of the state that was ensured through military means. However, Colombage contends that national security is no longer merely a responsibility of the state. Therefore, there is a need to strike a balance between individual freedom and state responsibility. In his chapter, Colombage highlights the ramifications of the Taliban's control of Afghanistan in exacerbating the threats posed by

Islamic terrorists, the power rivalry in the Indian Ocean region and the greater Indo-Pacific region alongside the tensions between India and China. He indicates that these challenges need to be considered to ensure that Sri Lanka develops a comprehensive national security strategy.

At present, Sri Lanka is still gradually overcoming an economic crisis that severely numbed the smooth functioning of the country in 2022. In April 2022, the Central Bank of Sri Lanka announced a pre-emptive default of its bilateral loans, as the country was too indebted to bilateral and multilateral creditors to repay its loans (Jayasinghe and Do Rosario, 2022). This had a cascading effect on the country's economy with an increase in cost of living and people no longer having access to various imports, due to import restrictions (Imports and Exports Control Department, 2022). In 2022, Sri Lanka was insecure in a non-traditional sense; its people felt the repercussions of mismanagement and bad fiscal policies. Not having access to liquified natural gas (LNG), fuel for their vehicles and a shortage of food highlighted the non-traditional security issues or the human security issues that Sri Lankans faced (Marian, 2022). Therefore, *Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy* comes at a time when a diverse set of insecurities affect Sri Lanka.

*Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy* examines the various challenges Sri Lanka had to experience when defending the state. It is also the proceedings of a seminar General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University organised in June 2022 to deliberate on various themes related to Sri Lanka's defence and security policy. As readers you will appreciate that the challenges Sri Lanka faces are multifaceted and evolving, thereby, requiring more attention than it is currently receiving. Some of the issues the authors deliberated in 2022, have evolved or exacerbated, illustrating the challenges that policymakers face when producing a national security policy framework for Sri Lanka. Therefore, some of the authors have not discussed more contemporary developments and threats to Sri Lanka's national security. Hence, conversations on various aspects of Sri Lanka's defence and security policy need to be held on a regular basis, prompting more dialogue and engagement between stakeholders like the armed forces, policymakers, and scholars.

I am confident that this publication would assist readers that are interested in understanding the nuances of Sri Lanka's defence policy. The threats that the island faced in its history especially internally, like the separatist movements, coup d'état, and youth uprisings have had a significant bearing on how Sri Lanka developed its defence policy. However, as the authors have pointed out, these internal issues have also had a bearing externally. The LTTE's engagement overseas, their interaction and engagement with the Tamil diaspora illustrate that the Sri Lankan government cannot limit its understanding of defence and security to that of the island's land borders (see chapter three). The chapters on Sri Lanka's Navy and Air Force emphasise that there is a need

to monitor the island's maritime borders. Should Sri Lanka's claim to extend its exclusive economic zone (EEZ) be successful, then this is an area that would require investment in both manpower and equipment. *Sri Lanka's Post-Independence Defence Policy* also draws your attention to the threats that Sri Lanka faces in the contemporary world like the non-traditional security threats, and those that Sri Lanka would face in the future. Practitioners of defence and security policy would be knowledgeable by being made aware of the futuristic threats, like those arising from nuclear power plants, the increased consumption and transshipment of drugs. An innovative mindset is required to address these issues as Sri Lanka cannot afford to be lethargic in its outlook.

## References

- Coomaraswamy, I. (2023) Reviving the Northern Economy in Sri Lanka. *Annual Sangarapillai Memorial Lecture*.
- de Silva, K.M. (ed.) (1993) *Sri Lanka: Problems of Governance*. New Delhi: Centre for Policy Research.
- Imports and Exports Control Department. (2022). Import and Export Control Regulations No. 06 of 2022. *Sri Lanka Customs*. [online]. Available from <https://www.customs.gov.lk/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/ICL-06-2022.pdf> [Accessed on January 21, 2023].
- Jayarathna, Y. N. (2015) The "String of Pearls" Syndrome; Understanding the Realities: The Case of Sri Lanka. In Fernando, S. (ed.) *United States-China-India Strategic Triangle in the Indian Ocean Region*. New Delhi: KW Publishers, 117- 129.
- Jayasinghe, U. and Do Rosario, J. (2022, April 14) Sri Lanka unilaterally suspends external debt payments, says it needs money for essentials. *Reuters* [online]. Available from <https://www.reuters.com/world/asia-pacific/sri-lanka-temporarily-suspend-foreign-debt-payments-c-bank-governor-2022-04-12/> [Accessed on April 15, 2022].
- Jayawardane, A. (1995) The Response of External powers to India's Involvement in Sri Lanka. In M. Werake and P.V.J. Jayasekara (eds.) *Security Dilemma of a Small State*, Part 2. New Delhi: South Asia Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 237- 240.
- Jayawardane, A. (2003) US- Sri Lanka Relations in the New Millennium, *SLIIR Review: 2002- 2003*. Colombo: Sri Lanka Institute of International Relations, 89- 100.
- Keerawella, G. and Siriwardena, L. (1992). Internal Dynamics in the Evolution

- of Sri Lankan Defence Policy: Some Observations. In P. V. J. Jayasekera (Ed.), *Security Dilemma of a Small State: Sri Lanka in the South Asian Context* (pp. 234-255). New Delhi, India: South Asian Publishers.
- Marian, T. (2022, June 30) Long Queues for Fuel, and Gas as crisis worsens in Sri Lanka. *NewsFirst* [online]. Available from <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2022/06/30/long-queues-for-fuel-and-gas-as-crisis-worsens-in-sri-lanka/> [Accessed on June 30, 2022].
- NewsWire. (2023, January 26) President reveals why Sri Lanka has to celebrate Independence Day. *NewsWire* [online]. Available from <https://www.newswire.lk/2023/01/26/president-reveals-why-sri-lanka-has-to-celebrate-independence-day/> [Accessed on January 27, 2023].
- Presidential Secretariat. (2023, January 12) The country celebrates its 75th National Independence Celebration with pride with the new reformist program for the next 25 years. *Presidential Secretariat*. [online] Available from <https://www.presidentsoffice.gov.lk/index.php/2023/01/12/the-country-celebrates-its-75th-national-independence-celebration-with-pride-with-the-new-reformist-program-for-the-next-25-years/> [Accessed on January 27, 2023].
- Samaranayake, N. (2011) Are Sri Lanka's Relations with China Deepening? An Analysis of Economic, Military, and Diplomatic Data. *Asian Security* [online], 7(2), 119- 146. Available from doi: 10.1080/14799855.2011.581603 [Accessed on September 2, 2017].
- Senaratne, B. (2023). "U.S. relations with Sri Lanka: A Case of Impulsiveness, Missed Opportunities and Strategic Competition". In O. Turner, W. Aslam, & N. Nymalm (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of US policy in the Indo-Pacific* (pp. 300-314). London: Routledge. DOI: 10.4324/9781003018322-25
- Senaratne, B. (2020) The Covid- 19 Pandemic and the Power Rivalry in South Asia. *National Bureau of Asian Research* [online]. Available from [www.nbr.org/publication/the-covid-19-pandemic-and-the-power-rivalry-in-south-asia/](http://www.nbr.org/publication/the-covid-19-pandemic-and-the-power-rivalry-in-south-asia/) [Accessed on December 20, 2020].
- Senaratne, B. (2017) Elements of Sri Lanka's Geopolitics: Impact on United States' Foreign Policy. *Maritime Affairs: Journal of the National Maritime Foundation of India* [online]. 13(1), 48- 54. Available from doi: 10.1080/ 09733159.2017.1326572 [Accessed on June 7, 2017].
- Wilson, G. H. (2005). *CBK: President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga and her Leadership of Sri Lanka*. London, United Kingdom: Media Prima.



## NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

**Admiral (Retd.) Jayanath Colombage** served the Sri Lanka Navy for 36 years and was its 18th Commander. He was appointed Commander of the Sri Lanka Navy in 2012. Upon his retirement as an Admiral, he served as the Director, Centre for India-Sri Lanka Initiatives and the Law of the Sea Centre at the Pathfinder Foundation, Sri Lanka, and the Director General, Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka (INSSSL). He also served as the Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Sri Lanka. Admiral Colombage holds a PhD from General Sir John Kotelawala University, a Master of Science in Defence and Strategic Studies from the Madras University and a Master of Arts in International Studies from King's College, London. He is the new Ambassador of Sri Lanka to the Republic of Indonesia.

**Dr. Sanath De Silva** is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Strategic Studies at KDU. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from the University of Kelaniya and Master of International Relations from the University of Colombo. He is an alumnus of the United States University of Defence, Washington DC, the Near East South Asia (NESAs) Center for Strategic Studies, Washington DC, the Daniel K Inouye Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies (APCSS) Honolulu, Hawaii and the East-West Center, Honolulu, Hawaii. He obtained his Ph.D. in International Relations from the University of Colombo for the research titled "Nuclear Complexities in South Asia: Sri Lanka's Security Concerns under the Nuclear Shadow".

**Major General Robin Jayasuriya** currently serves in the Sri Lankan Army. He was the Director, Military Intelligence (DMI), Sri Lanka Army, prior to being appointed as the Rector, Southern Campus, General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. He holds a Master of Science in Security and Strategic Studies from KDU, MPhil in Defense and Strategic Studies from Madras University and is currently reading for his PhD.

**Professor Amal Jayawardane** is Professor Emeritus of International Relations, University of Colombo, and Adjunct Senior Professor at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. Previously he served as the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and the Head of the Department of International Relations, University of Colombo. He served as the Executive Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS) during the period 2008 - 2011. Since 2013 he has been serving as Sri Lanka Government's Representative to the ASEAN Regional Forum Experts

and Eminent Persons (ARF-EPP) Group. He has also served as Visiting Professor at the School of International Service, the American University, Washington D.C., and Research Scholar at the Department of International Relations, London School of Economics and Political Science. He obtained his B.A. from University of Ceylon Peradeniya, and M.A., Ph.D. from the University of Washington.

**Dr. Ramya Chamalie Jirasinghe** holds a Master of Arts in Comparative Literature from SOAS, University of London and a PhD in International Relations from the University of Colombo. Her research interests are in peacebuilding, reconciliation, liberal peace, conflict resolution and child rights. She was the Deputy Director of the US-Sri Lanka Fulbright Commission and is now the Country Manager for Kindernothilfe in Sri Lanka.

**Commodore Rohan Joseph** currently serves in the Sri Lanka Navy. He joined the service in 1994 as an Officer Cadet of Intake 12, General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University. He has held several Command and Staff appointments and currently serves as the Minister Counsellor (Defence) at the Sri Lanka High Commission in New Delhi, India. He holds a Master's degree in Conflict and Peace Studies, a Postgraduate Diploma in Security & Strategic Studies, and a Postgraduate Diploma in Diplomacy and World Affairs. His research interests include peace and conflict studies, maritime security/strategy, and Indo-Pacific affairs.

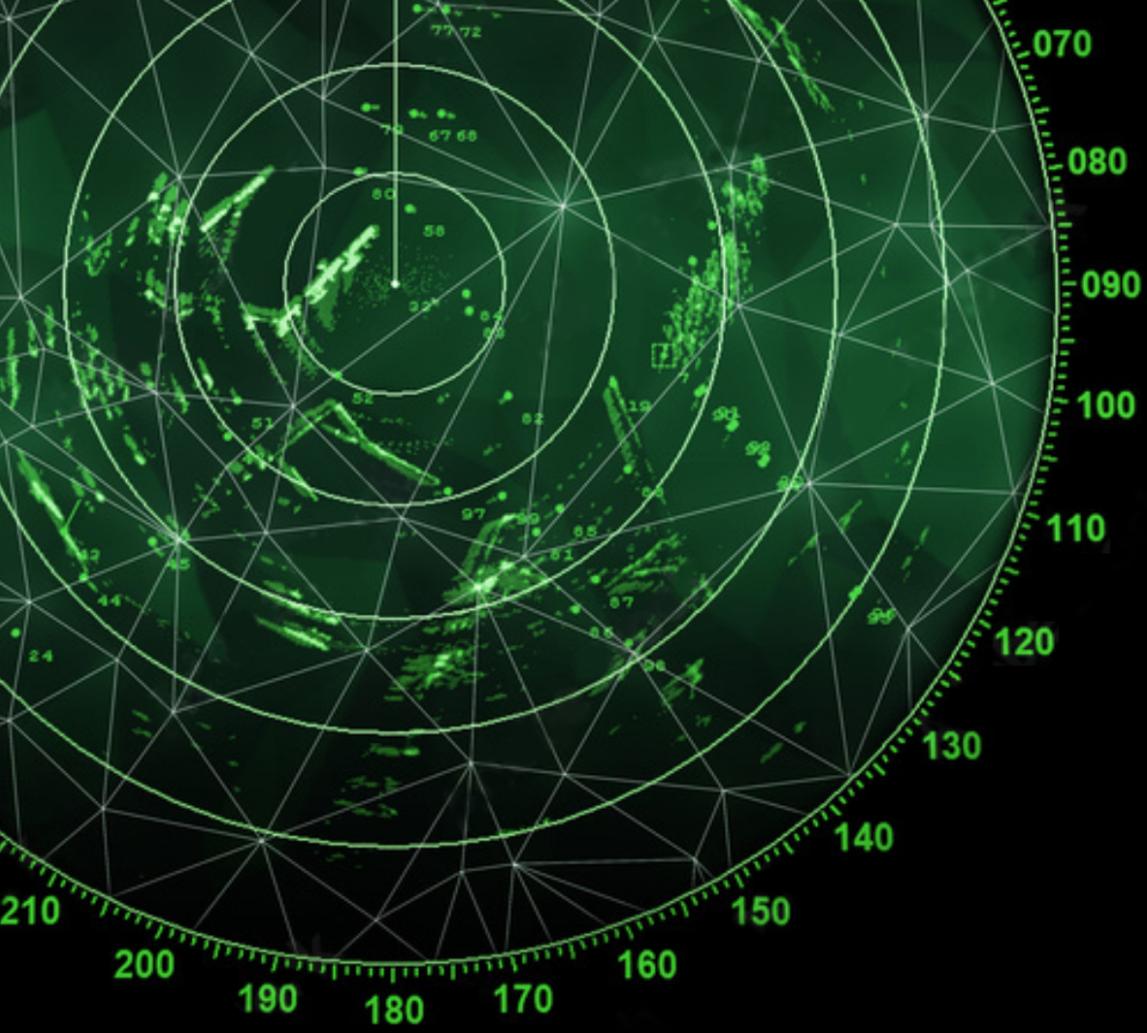
**Professor Gamini Keerawella** is Professor Emeritus in Modern History, University of Peradeniya. From 2017 - 2022, he served as the Executive Director of the Regional Centre for Strategic Studies (RCSS). Prior to that he served as the Deputy Chief of Mission and later the Chargé d'affaires of the Embassy of Sri Lanka, Washington D.C., USA (October 2015 to November 2017). He also worked as the Secretary, Ministry of Ethnic Affairs and National Integration and Mineral Resources Development (2001-2002), the Founder Director of the National Integration Unit (1997-2000) and Advisor to the President on Ethnic Affairs (2002-2005). He obtained his M.A. from the University of Windsor and Ph.D. from the University of British Columbia, Canada.

**Major General Ruwan Kulatunga** is presently serving as the Chief of National Intelligence in Sri Lanka. He began his military career as an Officer Cadet of the Army in 1984 and joined the Sri Lanka Light Infantry regiment. Prior to his current appointment, Major General Kulatunga served as the Colonel of the Regiment, Sri Lanka Light Infantry Regiment and as the Commandant of the Defence Services Command and Staff College, Sapugaskanda (DSCSC). He also served as the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Defence & Administration) at General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University.

**Major General Milinda Peiris** currently serves in the Sri Lanka Army. He joined the Sri Lanka Army as an Officer Cadet in 1980 and had his basic training at the Officers Training School in Madras, India and at Sri Lanka Military Academy, Diyatalawa. He reached the pinnacle of his military career in 2016 when he was appointed as the Chief of Staff of the Sri Lanka Army. Major General Milinda Peiris is a graduate of National Defence College, New Delhi, Command and Staff College, Bangladesh and Armour School, Fort Knox, Kentucky, USA. He is serving as the Vice Chancellor of General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University from 2020 and held a previous term from 2008-2016.

**Wing Commander Sanka Ranasinghe** is the Commanding Officer of No.02 Air Defence Radar Squadron, Sri Lanka Air Force Base Vavuniya. He is an Air Traffic Control Officer by profession and has served in several Sri Lanka Air Force establishments. Further, he has served as an Instructor at the Junior Command and Staff College, Sri Lanka Air Force Academy China Bay (JCSC), which is considered as the highest seat of learning within the Air Force. He obtained his Postgraduate degree in Defence Management from General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University and a Master's degree in Defence Management from the Air Force Command College, Beijing, China.

**Dr. Bhagya Senaratne** is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Strategic Studies, General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University, Sri Lanka. She is also the Postdoctoral Fellow of Global Asia at the Center for Global Asia, New York University Shanghai, China. She has served on the editorial boards of the *Journal of Defence & Policy Analysis* (Faculty of Defence and Strategic Studies) and the *Defence and Security Journal* (Defence Services Command and Staff College) of which she was the Editor-in-Chief in 2021. She is co-editor of *Pakistan-Sri Lanka Relations: A Story of Friendship* (Islamabad: National Defence University, 2017). She researches on Foreign Policy Studies, Global China Studies, Maritime Security and Strategic Communications. She obtained her PhD in International Relations from the University of Colombo.



General Sir John Kotelawala Defence University

