

RELEVANCE OF MAHANIAN TENETS TO MODERN DAY WARFARE; PERSPECTIVE FROM MARITIME TERRORISM IN SRI LANKA

Captain (N) Pradeep Rathnayake

Introduction

Mahan's father was a professor at West Point Military Academy. He was born in 1840 and developed a keen interest to study history. Later, he joined US Navy and became a naval officer. Strongly, influenced by studying Mommsen's History of Rome in the library of Lima's English Club, he became fascinated by sea power, its use and value, and eventually joined the staff of the new US Naval War College in Newport, Rhode Island, as a lecturer¹. His most famous book "The Influence of Sea Power upon History 1660–1783", was published in 1890, which is read even today by many people of countries including rising power china, followed by many other books.

However, there are many doubts casting about the extent to which all these past historical events and theorizing which took place during a time of War, in 18th century applicable today. The most classical maritime theorists such as Mahan's tenets mostly concerned with operations at sea between the large fleets of traditional maritime powers. They were driven by a strong sense of preeminent superiority prevailed at that time. Therefore, Winning sea command and control, then its exploitation either to attack or defend shipping, project military power ashore or to defend against the enemy, became the priority. These ideas were reformed and adjusted, especially due to the technological revolution of the twentieth century, and also due to social and political developments².

This essay will first briefly discuss the Mahan's innovative term Seapower, and thereafter, discuss its applicability of the theory of warfare in today's context in peace time. Then it will compare Mahanian tenets with the modern day challenges such as terrorism, piracy, and Armed Robbery giving a perspective from Sri Lankan maritime security context; finally, conclude with a discussion on the lack of credible peacetime theory in modern day warfare.

Innovation of term Seapower

According to Professor George W. Baer, of US Naval War College, an article publishes on a pre world war encyclopedia Britannica eleventh edition, a royal navy admiral wrote an article on sea power and mentioned that no one had explained the essential role of navies, such as Mahan ever since Thucydides. According to him, Mahan was explaining something that was in existence, another author compared Mahan to Joseph Princely who invented the oxygen in the air. He said, "there is oxygen in the world obviously, but Princely showed what it was, just as Mahan showed what Seapower was"³. He was streamlining historical lessons of naval warfare in an architecture of familiar understanding where people can understand and focus in a more organized way. Then he gave it the name "sea power"⁴.

1 Geoffrey, Till. Seapower: A guide for the Twenty-First Century, 2 edn, Routledge (London, 2009), p.51

2 Till, Seapower, p.81.

3 George W. Baer, Mahan Naval Perspective, Personnel collection, Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island, 2005.

4 George W. Baer, Mahan Naval Perspective,

Most importantly, in general practice, these ideas were accepted, and adopted by the department of navy United States, by the president, by congress and other foreign countries to determine what their navies should be like. Mahan's success was then very great as he had a broad appeal in home and abroad due to the fact that he expressed what was going on at that time; transfers of international naval warfare and transfer of international politics. They promise military effectiveness, for the condition at that time, they received bureaucratic blessings, which means funding was available, and the necessary legislative support. Moreover, they were accepted by the naval officers and the general public in the United States and abroad⁵.

Naval Warfare today different from the Mahan's era

The tasks of which naval powers are entrusted today is more diverse from what it was in the days of Mahan, but unfortunately, the theory of naval warfare has not changed over time. Under the current theoretical paradigm, many of today's peacetime operations are considered as wartime tasks, and the theory of Mahanian tenets is also considered as sufficient to address the issues, despite its increasing complexity. In reality, today's challenges are fundamentally distinct from the naval warfare of Mahan's era, and they require a new naval thinking that incorporates their unique aspects. Geoffrey Till in his book titled *Seapower: A guide for the Twenty-First Century* timely and very descriptively argued the subject and says that navies have to change the way they think⁶.

The tendency of the powerful navies to pursue on Mahan's ideas even today might put them in danger for not focussing on meeting the current diverse challenges, or not being innovative on the opportunities available today. The fundamental difference between modern day peacetime environment and Mahanian tenets is the applicability of legal regime in different circumstances today, as UNCLOS came into effect on November 1994⁷.

In wartime, there is no choice, but the law of armed conflict always applies. In today's military operations other than war, it is not that easy. There is a wide range of evolving binding, unbinding legal regimes, conventions, treaties and guidelines that need to be fully factored, in order to achieve success⁸. Strategic success and failure will depend on choosing the right regime of authority for the action and the clear comprehension of the ramification of that option. Unlike in war, legitimacy is often a decisive factor in peacetime, and it can depend solely on the authority for the action and legal status of naval forces.

Mahan helped an earlier generation of Americans to learn the nuance of maritime security from the perspective of the United States national interest and became the most successful American strategist of the nineteenth century. His concept that countries with

5 Ibid.

6 G.Till, *Seapower*, p.357.

7 Luke, I.T., "Naval operations in peace time: not just "warfare lite", *Naval War College Review*, Spring 2013, Vol. 66, No. 2, p.1.

8 Ibid, p.2

outstanding naval capability and power will have a greater global impact had a huge influence in molding strategic thinking of navies around the globe. Mahan's strategic thought change the defensive American navy to become the most powerful navy on earth today.

However, many other navies of the world including the US navy today are regularly engaged in jobs in which they are basically not meant to do. Navies which were equipped, organized, and trained for combat situations are finding themselves regularly engaged in HADR, NEO, interdicting narcotics, chasing pirates and carrying out an array of other nontraditional tasks. Non-war-fighting tasks during times of peace have been nothing new for the navies, but the present strategic context is different and complex. Naval operations other than war can have strategic implications, and the operating environment is increasingly complicated⁹. The present context is distinct from that of the past largely due to three aspects: the impact of globalization on maritime trade, changes in the threat perception, and the evolution of international maritime law¹⁰.

Mahanian Tenets and Maritime Terrorism

Nevertheless, classical maritime strategies of Mahan emphasize on trade protection, command of the sea or sea denial and the decisive sea battle to achieve success at sea. Under these classical strategies, naval forces have been considered as the center of gravity. However, after 9/11, navies and maritime forces were no longer became the focal point of maritime security. Notably, what could decisive sea battle can do against maritime terrorism. A Maritime terrorist doesn't have to go to high sea, they do not need to possess the capacity of a blue water fleet. Because choke points have gone ashore, and sea lines of communications (SLOCs) now stretch into hundreds of kilometers inland. Especially, the world's primary chokes points today found on land. In Southeast Asia, Malacca Strait is a key choke point¹¹.

Sri Lanka's Maritime Terrorisms and its relevance to Mahanian Tenets

Sri Lanka's long conflict provides the distinct phenomenon of a maritime nation's critical interconnection with its surrounding seas. The safety of Indian ocean provides the maritime security for Sri Lanka; its abundant waters brings economic affluence, as well as strategic insecurity. Without the flow of Arms, they received from abroad via the sea, a terrorist outfit like the LTTE could not have sustained a war against the democratic state for three decades. The Sri Lanka Navy was not geared to undertake deep sea operations in order to interdict illegal ships. Hence, the global defeat of the LTTE network could not have been accomplished other than halting the outflow of arms, by the Navy, while adopting innovative methods to conduct deep sea operations.

Due to the availability of lenient registration procedures and deficient regulations, many states and international organizations have raised the issue of the possible use of ships

9 Luke, I.T., "Naval operations in peace time,p,4.

10 Ibid,p.2

11 <http://www.mima.gov.my/v2/data/pdf/presentation/164.maritime-terrorism-and-navies.pdf>.

in criminal and terrorist acts. So, Sri Lanka provides the fitting example of such magnitude in an extremely complex maritime domain. It is very easy and entirely legal to hide the identities of vessel owners. Ironically, anonymity has been used as a marketing tool by some flag states when advertising their services for vessel registration. Therefore, some vessels which were used by the LTTE didn't even have any registration, thus fall into the category of "stateless vessels" or also, known as "rogue ships."

In this backdrop, from the naval warfare point of view, some parallels could be drawn from the Sri Lankan context and America's situation in 1890, in terms of Mahan's thinking and a make an argument for, in support of his idea, despite geographic dissimilarities. Let's look at the national strategy that Mahan was supporting, he did this by changing what the term "strategic value" meant. First, and fundamentally he argued that America must see them not as a "continental power", but instead, kind of maritime nation or an almost island nation under possible attack. This, he argued on analyzing the balance of power which prevailed in Europe at that time. He argued, the American policymakers should assume that they are an island power under attack, rather than continental power under siege in order to plan necessary force structure to keep enemies away.

On the other hand, in contrast, Sri Lanka naturally being an Island nation, did not think like Mahan. We were more inward looking on maritime security issues than looking outward, somewhat similar to US defensive security posture in 1890 despite different sizes of the land mass. Therefore, did not realize, strategically, the importance of thinking like a maritime nation in the early stages of the conflict, in order to plan most suitable force structure. The force structure which could have destroyed the enemies floating armories hundred miles away, before the hardware it carries, reaches ashore in small quantities and create havoc in the form of suicide bombings. Hence, we in Sri Lanka can learn a valuable lesson from Mahanian thinking, on his interpretation of what strategic value meant, for an Island nation such as Sri Lanka. On the other hand, we can also argue we did a great job of respecting the legal regimes prevailing at present under a complex maritime security environment which demands legitimacy of our action. Therefore, from a maritime security standpoint, Sri Lanka Navy has completely dismantled the elusive maritime terrorist organization in India's backyard, which otherwise would have created instability in the Indian Ocean Region.

Mahanian Tenets and Piracy and Armed Robbery

Piracy in the horn of Africa became a menace to increasingly globalized, heavily interdependent world shipping network. Navies around the world, including the International Maritime Organization, took strong precautions counter globalized impact of piracy and those measures successfully reduced the number of attacks taking place over the past few years. So, in Mahanian tenets what is the applicability of the theory of naval warfare that Mahan Identified on piracy and Armed Robbery. Piracy cannot be worn by theories that define decisive battle or forward presence, but one might argue about the theory of sea control. When piracy issue emerges over the horizon, it was kind of threat that America encountered in late 1800, they were in a state of confusion, no agreement on how to use new

gunnery advanced with steam power. Similarly, one might argue had the world navies like US Navy at that time did not come together to create a new coalition, world trade may not have recovered as fast as it did from piracy attacks. What they have done is to come up with a strategy against piracy keeping up with the right legal regime, some guidelines to follow by international shipping and then to tie it with the modern technology. However, US intentions may not be genuine, but surely a clear example of how modern warfare should take place in a complex peacetime maritime domain today.

Lack of peacetime theory in modern day warfare

However, advanced these maritime theories, which don't deal directly with a lot of problems that the world's navies are facing on a daily basis such as piracy, counterterrorism, patrols against illegal immigrants, fishery protection and so forth. Nowadays, the political dimension of conflict is so interconnected, hence, strategic decision-making process goes down to the tactical level of war and then influence military response. Peace support operations are often conducted in coalitions; this tends to slow up and complicate the decision-making processes in a way that makes all aspects of operational art both different and much more troublesome¹².

One reason is that the principal characteristics between naval operations in peacetime and war are often neglected, and theorists had always concentrated on naval warfare, leaving peacetime naval operations away. This is a problem because the theory is important for both strategists and practitioners. The naval peacetime operating environment has changed enough that naval theory needs to progress and evolve to fill the gap of finging peacetime theory of naval warfare. There are a long tradition and a sound body of literature on the theory of naval warfare, but not until very recently has any serious intellectual effort has been applied to peacetime naval operations¹³.

One aforesaid attempt is by British scholar James Cable's important study *Gunboat Diplomacy 1919–1991*. Cable analyzes the use of limited naval force in support of foreign policy through most of the twentieth century, but he does it from a Cold War perspective; constabulary roles and the intricacies of the modern day operating environment are scarcely addressed. Milan Vego, a leading contributor to the contemporary discussion of military and naval theory, also addresses naval, but not develop the theory in support of peacetime operations in any depth or detail¹⁴.

British theorist Geoffrey Till writes in more depth about the evolving character of peacetime naval activities, although like Vego, he treats missions in a more detail, focusing mainly on navies methods and investment strategies and less on the hidden principles or tenets¹⁵. Till divides peacetime operations into two categories, activities for maintaining good order at sea and activities for maintaining a global maritime harmony. Till does an outstanding job of exploring the strategic importance and complexity of peacetime

12 G.Till, *Seapower*, p.81.

13 Ibid, p.82

14 Luke, I.T., "Naval operations in peace time, p.7.

15 Ibid.

operations and makes it clear that peacetime naval activities should be seen as theoretically distinct from naval warfare. He does not develop that underlying theory in any depth, however, Till's most vital contribution to the discussion is his caution against applying naval warfare concepts too commonly to peacetime activities, arguing that doing so could all too easily make them unimaginative, vague and unlikely to offer any guidance for the force and campaign planners¹⁶.

Till stresses the need to think anew about the fundamentals of sea power in the modern context rather than continuing to try to force-fit everything into a naval warfare paradigm. Sailors, Till warns, will have to do some hard thinking about how they cope and the extent to which they need to reconsider some longstanding assumptions¹⁷.

Conclusion

Modern day naval operations in maritime domain are strategically significant, but increasingly complex. Users of the vast maritime domain required to know how they should approach peacetime missions while respecting laws of the sea. The existing Mahanian tenets fail to support the full understanding of modern peacetime operations but remain as a strong influencing factor for rising maritime powers. Hence, undisputedly, conventional naval warfare theory has not diminished its importance. The Navies should always be ready for combat, should the need arise, but the role of naval power in peacetime operations has grown in both strategic importance and complexity. Therefore, a theory of peacetime naval operation has become an issue which requires urgent attention.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ G.Till, *Seapower*, p.358.

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MARINE POLLUTION & ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE IN THE GULF OF MANNAR

Captain (H) KAPSK Kariyapperuma

“Humans simply take too much from their natural environment. Animals and plants need to grow and breed. However, sometimes humans catch (or harvest) these animals and plants before they have had time to breed and grow. When this happens repeatedly, there are not enough to catch the next time. When too much is taken for too long, the end result is that nothing or little is left. Perhaps the best example of overexploitation is the Pearl Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar.”

The Gulf of Mannar:



Figure 1 – The Gulf of Mannar

Source: Dr Siriyanie Miththapala, The Gulf of Mannar and its surroundings, Sri Lanka, IUCN, 2012, p.1 at <http://www.mangrovesforthefuture.org/assetsRepositoryGOM-Teachers-Training-Module-English-Final.pdf> accessed on April 20, 2015.

The Gulf of Mannar is a large shallow bay forming part of the Laccadive Sea (Lakshadweep Sea) in the Indian Ocean. It lies between the southeastern tip of India and the west coast of Sri Lanka, in the Coromandel Coast (Southeastern coast region of India) Region. A chain of low islands and reefs known as Adam's Bridge, also called Ramsethu, which includes Mannar Island, separates the Gulf of Mannar from Palk Bay, which lies to the north between India and Sri Lanka. This formation is located in between Talaimannar in Sri Lanka and Pamban (Rameswaram) in India making it impossible for ships to navigate between Gulf of Mannar and the Palk Bay¹. Only small

¹ Dr Siriyanie Miththapala, The Gulf of Mannar and its surroundings, Sri Lanka, IUCN, 2012, pp.1, 2 at <http://www.mangrovesforthefuture.org/assetsRepositoryGOM-Teachers-Training-Module-English-Final.pdf> accessed on April 20, 2015.

craft with lower drafts like FGD's and water jet craft can pass through this. The estuaries of Thamirabarani River of South India and the Malvathu Oya (Malvathu River) of Sri Lanka drain into the Gulf. Due to the shallow semi enclosed waters, this sea area is rich in marine bio diversity.

The Gulf of Mannar is endowed with three marine ecosystems, Corals, Sea Grass beds and Mangroves². In the Indian side, there are 21 Islands covering an area of 623 hectares³. This area is rich with 168 kinds of birds that migrate afar from, 5 kinds of marine turtles, 450 different kinds of fish, 79 kinds of shellfish, 100 different kinds of sponges, 260 kinds of molluscs (relatives of snails) and 100 kinds of echinoderms (sea stars, sand dollars, sea cucumbers and their relatives)⁴. Most of the islands have luxuriant growth of mangroves on their shorelines and swampy regions and are surrounded by highly productive fringing and patch coral reefs. These are sometimes referred to as underwater rain forests and treasure house for marine ornamental fishes. The sea bottom of the inshore area around the Islands is carpeted with sea grass beds which serve as feeding ground for some highly endangered species like the Sea cow or Dugong, an ancient marine mammal. There is also great diversity of Marine mammals like Dolphins and Whales in the Gulf's waters. Occurrence of these specialized ecosystems and the unique fauna makes the Gulf of Mannar a marine biologist's paradise in the Indian subcontinent. The Bar Reef Marine Sanctuary is located in the Sri Lankan side just North of Kalpitiya⁵. It has around 150 different kinds of corals and about 280 different kinds of fish⁶.



Figure 2 – Bar Reef Marine Sanctuary

Source: Malaka Rodrigo, 'Kalpitiya killer', The Sunday Times, February 3, 2013 at [http:// www.sundaytimes.lk/130203news/kalpitiya-killer-31489.html](http://www.sundaytimes.lk/130203news/kalpitiya-killer-31489.html) accessed on May 10, 2015.

2 J. Subramaneam, 'Gulf of Mannar – A Global Biodiversity under threat', Tami Nadu Green Movement, at <http://www.tngreenmovement.org/articles2-gulf-of-mannar-a-global-biodiversity-under-threat.html.htm> accessed on April 20, 2015.

3 Ibid.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

The Indian side of the Gulf of Mannar was declared as India's first Marine Biosphere Reserve⁷. Gulf of Mannar Biosphere Reserve (GOMBRE) is the first Marine Biosphere Reserve not only in India but also in South and South East Asia⁸. UNESCO initiated the concept of Biosphere reserve in 1971 in its Man and Biosphere (MAB) program with the idea of oneness of humanity transcending national frontiers and recognizing the need for conservation of the vanishing species and habitats⁹.

Coral reefs are a special kind of shallow bottom marine habitat¹⁰. The true reef - building corals are animals that collectively deposit calcium carbonate to build large colonies. Coral reefs are among the biologically most productive and diverse of all natural ecosystems¹¹. They serve as important fish nurseries and mitigate the effect of cyclones and convert Carbon-dioxide into calcium carbonate. As many as 130 species of corals are found in the Gulf¹².

The Gulf of Mannar is very rich in sea grasses. Extensive sea grass beds are found in the Gulf. Among fifty species of sea grasses found in the world, as many as thirteen species are found in the Gulf of Mannar.¹³ The sea grass beds provide feeding ground for the highly endangered sea-mammal, the Dugong.¹⁴ The sea grass beds also provide a suitable habitat for many marine animals for spawning.

Mangroves are salt tolerant forest ecosystems, which support fisheries and protect the coastal zones, thus helping the marine coastal economy and environment¹⁵. They are ecologically sensitive. 9 species and 7 associated species were found in Gulf of Mannar¹⁶. The roots of mangrove plants have the unique habit of moving towards gravity. The leaf litter from plants, fall on the sea water nourish the water and increase its nutrient content. This excess nutrient is food for the fish that hatch there. Some of these plants have medicinal value. These three ecosystems are interdependent in several ways. Mangroves and Sea grass enhance the secondary productivity of coral reefs¹⁷.

Defining marine pollution & environmental damage:

Marine pollution is direct or indirect flow of substances or energy to the marine environment resulting in deleterious effects such as hazards to human health, hindrance

7 J. Subramaneam, 'Gulf of Mannar – A Global Biodiversity under threat', Tami Nadu Green Movement, at <http://www.tngreenmovement.org/articles2-gulf-of-mannar-a-global-biodiversity-under-threat.html.htm> accessed on April 20, 2015.

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid.

10 'Gulf of Mannar', Gulf of Mannar Biosphere Reserve Trust (GOMBRT) at <http://www.fisheries.tn.gov.in/marinegulf1.html> accessed on May 7, 2015.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

14 Ibid.

15 J. Subramaneam, 'Gulf of Mannar – A Global Biodiversity under threat', Tami Nadu Green Movement, at <http://www.tngreenmovement.org/articles2-gulf-of-mannar-a-global-biodiversity-under-threat.html.htm> accessed on April 20, 2015.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

to marine activities, impairment of the quality of sea water for various uses and reduction of amenities¹⁸. Marine pollution occurs when there is the entry of harmful or potentially harmful effects in to the ocean resulting from chemical partials, industrial agricultural and residential waste or the spread of invasive organisms¹⁹. Sources of marine pollution basically could be identified as land based pollution and ship and transportation based pollution²⁰. Land based pollution is due to land run-off, urban and domestic debris, industrial debris, agricultural debris, tourism and off-shore discharge. Ships and transportation pollution occurs due to oily discharge, ballast and bilge from merchant and war ships during routine ship operations. Further, activities of fishing boats, military ships, research ships and disposal of nuclear wastes also contribute to marine pollution.

Marine environmental damage means destruction of sensitive marine ecosystems like coral reefs, mangroves and sea grass beds through indiscriminate and intensive bottom trawling, coral mining, dynamite fishing, commercialized fishing of specific fauna such as sea fans, chanks, pearl oysters, mussels sea cucumbers, sea horses and endangered species like Dugongs and Sea Turtles²¹.

Overexploitation of marine resources:

Humans simply take too much from their natural environment. Animals and plants need to grow and breed. However, sometimes humans catch (or harvest) these animals and plants before they have had time to breed and grow. When this happens repeatedly, there is not enough to catch the next time. When too much is taken for too long, the final result is that nothing or little is left. Perhaps, the best example of overexploitation is the Pearl Fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar²².

The pearl beds (areas where pearl oysters were found) of the Gulf of Mannar were mentioned in historical records as early the 6th century BC²³. Traders from India, Persia and Arabia fought to own these pearl beds. In 1294, Marco Polo visited the Gulf of Mannar and noted that as many as 500 ships and boats would come during the time of harvest, with divers and traders, all searching for pearls²⁴. These traders had to pay 10% of what they earned to the King. During the colonial times, from the 16th century, the pearl beds belonged to the government, which rented the beds to divers and traders²⁵. By 1881, however, the then government noted that although the pearl fisheries that year had been the most successful for 67 years, there were no more supplies of oyster for the next year. By 1924, a law regulating pearl fisheries was established, but it was too late: there were no more pearl oysters²⁶.

18 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, UNO, 1982, p. 22 at http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention.../unclos_e.pdf accessed on April 21, 2015.

19 Ibid, pp. 98-114.

20 Ibid.

21 J. Subramaniam, 'Gulf of Mannar – A Global Biodiversity under threat', Tami Nadu Green Movement, at <http://www.tngreenmovement.org/articles2-gulf-of-mannar-a-global-biodiversity-under-threat.html.htm> accessed on April 20, 2015.

22 Dr Siriyanie Miththapala, The Gulf of Mannar and its surroundings, Sri Lanka, IUCN, 2012, pp. 44,45 at <http://www.mangrovesforthefuture.org/assetsRepository/GOM-Teachers-Training-Module-English-Final.pdf> accessed on April 20, 2015.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.



Figure 3 – Pearl beds in Gulf of Mannar

Source: Dr Siriyanie Miththapala, The Gulf of Mannar and its surroundings, Sri Lanka, IUCN, 2012, p. 45 at <http://www.mangrovesforthefuture.org/assetsRepositoryGOM-Teachers-Training-Module-English-Final.pdf> accessed on April 20, 2014.

The other famous example of overexploitation is the Dugong²⁷. Dugongs are plant-eaters who live entirely in shallow seas. They graze on sea grass meadows underwater in the same way that cattle graze grass on land. In the 19th century and early 20th century there were plenty of Dugongs in the shallow coastal waters from the Gulf of Mannar to Jaffna peninsula²⁸. However, over the years, the number decreased rapidly as a result of hunting for its meat and destruction of sea grass beds²⁹. Dugong flesh is considered a delicacy. Now Dugongs are rarely sighted in the region. Today the Dugong is threatened with extinction³⁰.

Methods of overexploitation:

Overexploitation is connected with the way people harvest animals and plants. Sometimes, fishermen use methods of harvesting which is illegal and damage the environment. **Using dynamite for fishing:** Dynamite fishing or blast fishing uses dynamite to stun or kill fish, so that they are easily collected.³¹ This type of fishing is banned and illegal because it destroys the entire habitat. However, this type of fishing is still going on from Pallimunai to Thavulpadu area³². **Using thungus nets:** *Thungus* nets are made of nylon. Fish cannot see the nets and swim into them, sometimes becoming wounded. This means

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid, p. 49.

32 Ibid.

that fish are not targeted in a catch and fish are still growing are also caught in these nets. These nets were banned in October 2010, and people stop using these nets³³. However, for some poor fishermen, these are the only nets they have, and they continue to use it. **Using brush piles for catching cuttlefish:** In many areas, including Pallimunai and Vankalai, fishermen use cut mangrove branches and make brush pile to catch cuttlefish³⁴. This is a damaging practice, as it destroys mangroves. **Using *surukku* nets:** These nets are circular and catch large numbers of fish and even their young³⁵. **Using SCUBA diving for collection of sea cucumber and conch shells:** Permits are needed for using SCUBA (underwater) gear. No permits have been given in Mannar for the use of SCUBA gear, but businessmen employ fishermen to catch sea cucumbers and conch shells in Silavatturai³⁶. The danger is that these SCUBA divers can remain in water for a long time and collect more of these animals, threatening their survival. **Using bottom trawling nets:** Bottom trawling nets are dragged along the sea floor by a large boat or fishing trawler. This is highly damaging as it disturbs the bottom of the sea.³⁷ Indian fishermen are excessively using this method both in Indian and Sri Lankan water. **Push nets:** Push nets damage the sea bottom and destroy animals that live on the sea floor³⁸.

When the catch is handled carelessly and handled roughly, the quality of the fish becomes bad, and there is a lot of wastage. Usually the whole catch is emptied on to the ground beside the causeways and the prawns and edible fin fish are sorted out. Fish that are not eaten are left on the ground beside the main road. This is not only causes waste, but also pollute the area.

Sethusamudram Shipping Canal Project (SSCP):

The most drastic effect on the Gulf of Mannar will be made by the Sethusamudram Shipping Canal Project (SSCP), which involves the dredging of the ocean floor in Gulf of Mannar, Adam's Bridge, Palk Bay and Palk Strait³⁹. The sedimentation from the dredging when carried into the Gulf of Mannar by ocean currents can have a disastrous effect on the ecology of the whole area. This will not only kill the sensitive coral ecosystems but also affect the fisheries of the East coast of India and the West coast of Sri Lanka, as these coral reefs are the nurseries of the major commercial fishes of India and Sri Lanka.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Ibid.

39 J. Subramaniam, 'Gulf of Mannar – A Global Biodiversity under threat', Tami Nadu Green Movement, at <http://www.tngreenmovement.org/articles2-gulf-of-mannar-a-global-biodiversity-under-threat.html.htm> accessed on April 20, 2015.

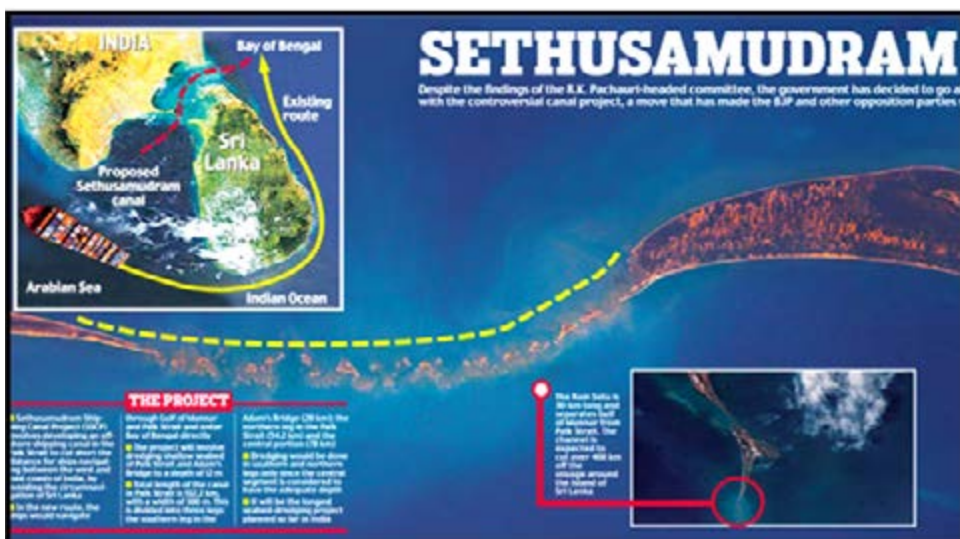


Figure 4 – Sethusamudram Shipping Canal Project (SSCP)

Source: Bhuvan Bagga, 'Exclusive: Special committee on Sethusamudram project punctures Government claims', India Today, February 28, 2013 at <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/storysethusamudram-project-rajendra-kumar-pachauri-upa1251985.html.jpg> accessed on May 7, 2015.

Environmentalists point out that the Sethusamudram Shipping Canal Project (SSCP) would be detrimental as it would disturb the Gulf of Mannar, one of the world's richest marine biodiversity spots. The Indian side of the Gulf of Mannar is already a Marine National Park that was recognised as a UNESCO Man and Biosphere Reserve (MAB) in 1989.⁴⁰ Research is underway to declare Sri Lanka's side too as an MAB.⁴¹ The proximity of the maritime boundary suggests that Sri Lanka must be wary of trans-boundary effects of the Sethusamudram canal. The National Aquatic-resources Research Agency NARA founder chairman and specialist on Marine Affairs in the region Dr. Hiran Jayewardena has warned that, continuous dredging would result in soil being deposited on the bottom habitats such as coral and sea grass beds.⁴² Dr. Jayewardena also highlighted the need to conduct our own research in the area to get a better understanding of its ecological characteristics. Opposition to the project also came from Hindus, who see the Rama Sethu or Adam's Bridge as the remains of a bridge created by Rama as well as environmentalists from India and Sri Lanka.

Conclusion:

In joint communication to the European Parliament and the council by European Commission for an open and secure global maritime domain: elements for a European Union maritime security strategy, clearly mentioned marine pollution and marine

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Malaka Rodrigo, 'Indian govt. floats Sethusamudram Canal project again', The Sunday Times, September 15, 2013 at <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/.../indian-govt-floats-sethusamudram-canal-project-again> accessed on May 8, 2015.

⁴² Ibid.

environmental damage as an element coming under the maritime security threats.⁴³ In this report, several elements have been listed under the heading of “Maritime Security threats”. Smuggling of goods and people, IUU fishing, piracy and maritime terrorism are some of these elements. In addition to these elements, degradation of marine ecosystems, depletion of natural resources and potential consequences to the environment of illegal discharge or accidental marine pollution also listed under the maritime security threats.

Part XII of the UNCLOS with 11 sections specially emphasized on preventing, mitigating and managing marine pollution and damages to marine environment.⁴⁴ It has laid down rules, regulations, measures and law enforcement mechanisms to protect marine environment and marine eco systems.⁴⁵ “The measures taken in accordance with this Part XII shall include those necessary to protect and preserve rare or fragile ecosystems as well as the habitat of depleted, threatened or endangered species and other forms of marine life”.⁴⁶ “Coastal States may, in the exercise of their sovereignty within their territorial sea, adopt laws and regulations for the prevention, reduction and control of marine pollution from foreign vessels, including vessels exercising the right of innocent passage”.⁴⁷

Recommendations:

The laws and mechanisms introduced by India and Sri Lanka to prevent marine environmental damage and to protect endangered species in the shallow seas of Gulf of Mannar are seems to be ineffective. There should be a proper, practical and effective joint mechanism between India and Sri Lanka need to be established to protect endangered species like Dugong, Sea Turtles, Wales and Dolphins etc. This will need cooperation and coordination between India and Sri Lanka in the fields of latest technologies and skilled man power. The Sethusamudram Shipping Canal Project (SSCP) should be discouraged and forced to abandon considering the long term marine environmental destruction would be created by this project. The support of NGO's and International organizations like Greenpeace, IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature), TNGM (Tamil Nadu Green Movement) and GOMBRT (Gulf of Mannar Biosphere Reserve Trust), which concern about protecting marine environment could be obtained in this regard. If this project is successfully completed by India, a lot of ships will traverse through Gulf of Mannar, Adam's Bridge, Palk Bay and the Palk Strait. This will destroy the marine environment and lead to more and more marine pollution due to discharge from ships. This situation will lead to more accidents of ships and fishing trawlers due to narrow channel and ship's traffic, creating oil spills which are damaging the marine environment and surrounding beaches. It is very difficult to manage and clean pollution by oil spills and it will take longer periods to recover. This will need advanced equipment, latest technologies and well trained personnel. Therefore this situation will definitely demand the cooperation and coordination with joint mechanism between India and Sri Lanka to mitigate, manage and prevent marine pollution in the Gulf of Mannar.

43 'Joint communication to the European Parliament and the council, For an open and secure global maritime domain: elements for a European Union maritime security strategy', European Commission, Brussels, March 6, 2014 at http://ec.europa.eu/maritimeaffairs/policy/maritime-security/doc/join_2014_9_eu.pdf accessed on May 21, 2015.

44 United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, UNO, 1982, pp. 98-114 at http://www.un.org/depts/los/convention.../unclos_e.pdf accessed on April 21, 2015.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid.

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CHALLENGES TO MILITARY LEADERS OF THE FUTURE AS A RESULT OF CHANGING SOCIO-ECONOMIC NORMS

Captain (E) Hasantha Dassanaikie

“Character is the bedrock on which the edifice of leadership rests. . . . Without [character], particularly in the military profession, failure in peace, disaster in war or, at best, mediocrity in both will result.”

— Gen Matthew Ridgway

Introduction:

The focus on the leader has evolved over the years. The leadership styles have undergone a persistent change over the centuries. Earlier there was a school of thought that the employees need to be changed over to make the environment more conducive to expect higher productivity. However today, organizations believe in empowering, encouraging, and facilitating employees in their professional pursuit in order to achieve organizational objectives and harness creativity and innovation of most valued assets in any organization.

Military leadership, moreover has been tested and seen changes since the inception of battles. However there is a great challenge ahead for future military leaders to encompass refined leadership styles mainly due to the rapid change of socio-economic norms, technological advancement, information technology, ethical practices, educational standards, subordinate empowerment, and synergy.

Sri Lanka Navy (SLN) is too no exception that needs attention to face increasing demand for novel leadership due to facts mentioned above. Empowerment of officers in the SLN for innovation and high employee performance is expected to play a key role in naval culture as an instrument of character developing in order to breed officers and gentlemen for the ever changing environment.

Even though the system of armed forces, administration continues to function on the lines of bureaucratic mode of decision making, the demand for change that originates from a dynamic environment, seems to exert considerable pressure on the existing systems towards change and adaptation.

Changes and Challenges:

Transformation process that is taking place in the country with the dawn of peace in May 2009 is a challenge that SLN needs to pay its careful attention and establish methodical mechanisms to facilitate smooth transition. Attracting the best of our youth to the officer cadre is a daunting task due to the multitude of avenues, perks and privileges afforded in other professions at present. Military was once a demanding profession among talented youth in the country. Nevertheless it is no longer the preferred destination due to rapid

change of dynamics and aspirations of youth. Enlistment pattern of officers have undergone noticeable change and recruitment of sailors is no exception. Today's recruits are better educated, knowledgeable, responsive and aspiring than their predecessors.

Traditional Motivators. Customary motivators such as honour and pride which prevailed with the legacy left behind by the British with the enlistment for officer cadre from the higher class and accepted social backgrounds were the pillars for leader-follower concept that was strongly affected by certain socio-economic developments in last two to three decades.

Motivators – ERG Theory and Maslow's Hierarchy. Physiological, Security and Safety needs can be considered as the main factors for choice of a profession among contenders from financially weaker backgrounds. SLN at all times provided an ideal platform for an eager young man to satisfy his higher order needs of self-actualization recognition, rewarding, achievement, pride and honour, and exercise of authority. In addition to grooming youth to become effective leaders, the SLN encouraged them to practice leadership in an exploratory way.

Yale psychologist, Clayton Alderfer developed ERG theory (Existence, Relatedness and Growth). Existence needs, perceived as necessary for basic human existence, roughly correspond to the lower order needs (physiological and security) of Maslow's hierarchy. Relatedness needs, involving the need to relate to others, are similar to Maslow's belongingness and esteem needs. Finally, growth needs are corresponding to Maslow's needs for self-esteem and self-actualization. Alderfer said that when needs in a higher category are not met then individuals redouble the efforts invested in a lower category need. For example if self-actualization or self-esteem is not met then individuals will invest more effort in the relatedness category in the hopes of achieving the higher need.

It is timely that we carry out an in depth study to find out measures to overcome factors affecting future military leadership. These factors can mainly be classified into internal and external factors.

External Factors.

Military, as never before, is susceptible to the changes taking place around the globe. The main external factors that pose socio-economic challenges to SLN are as follows:

Media. Media activism, especially wide spread nature of social media has raised public curiosity in military affairs. Traditionally the military reviles unsolicited interference from outside. However with the advent of social media the glamour and prestige persisted with the military seem diminishing.

Continuum of Conflict. Today's military forces face challenges in multiple domains. These include state conflicts, non state conflicts, and hybrid conflicts which encompasses conventional and irregular forces. SLN being a professional battled hardened force. If its specialized officers and sailors are deployed in ordinary tasks their professional skills may get blunt in short span of time. It is a serious challenge to maintain high motivation levels in such an environment on budding leaders today.

Growth of Economy. The growth of economy and new windows of opportunity for youth have effected enlistment of potential dynamic and versatile military leaders. The career opportunities for well educated youth is available in our country as never before with the dawn of peace and emerge of Information Technology, Tourism, and Construction sectors. The lucrative options in the private sector tend to wean away many of the potential bright youngsters who may have enlisted for the officer cadre in SLN. As the growth pike of the economy continues to rise, there is a noticeable decline of enlistment of children from serving and retired naval personnel which was very healthy few decades ago.

Erosion of Ethics and Values. More or less military forces too have been susceptible to the environment where scams and corruption seem taking place for years. Tempt for quick buck, officer and gentleman qualities expected from an officer have eroded in numerous occasions destroying unblemished reputation built throughout his or her military career. Together with the leader attributes, Navy values establish the foundation of leaders of character. Unethical behavior destroys morale and cohesion; it undermines the trust and confidence essential to teamwork and mission accomplishment.

Internal Factors.

In the face of compelling social changes, the major issues that are emerging as challenges to the unique social structure of SLN are listed below:

Changed Human Resource Perspective. The outcome of socio-economic transformation in our country is exclusively visible when comparing naval recruitment of the past and present. The rising education and consciousness levels in our nation are easily perceived in recruits. A complete paradigm shift is visible in the group of young men who line up outside naval recruitment offices across the country today. The fact to be noted is that the average recruit of today is decently educated, aware, ambitious, often more cognizant of his rights than obligations. The stereotype of less educated, naive, but resilient sailor is now a thing of the past. The officer category has also shifted largely to the middle class. Generally this could be viewed as positive development of equity, but for the navy it has further narrowed the gap between the officers and sailors.

Rise in the Rank and File. Due to the restricted expansion and lesser evaporation rate there is a huge problem of stagnation in rank and file. With easily available information, talented youth compare and contrast pros and cons of joining the service rather than thinking about the pride and prestige to wear uniform with stars and stripes on shoulders. Further, new generation tends to compare the progress and social status of classmates of their elder brothers and seniors who joined services and other sectors prior deciding on their fortune.

Continuing Professional Development (CPD). There is a requirement of screening existing CPD courses and obtain the best to suit modern-day requirements. Further it is required to formulate a mechanism for methodical development of entire officer cadre. In addition there is an obligation of consistency in selection criteria when selecting for CPD

courses especially for foreign courses. Moreover there is a necessity of rewarding for similar achievements in an identical manner to motivate the entire officer cadre irrespective of their branch for the benefit of SLN. With awareness and smartness of younger generation there is a dying need for transparency and consistency to stimulate hunger for enlistment in SLN in all professional disciplines.

Rotation of Appointments and Married Accommodation. Separation from families is part and parcel of military service. However, today most parents are explicitly conscious about upbringing their children and schooling, with an intense desire for personal involvement in the process. Therefore, management of separation is an indispensable factor that needs to be addressed by adopting sound appointment transfers, sailors draft and facilitating married accommodation for needy personnel with basic facilities.

Adjusting The Course: The Way Forward

"Wars may be fought with weapons, but they are won by men. It is the spirit of the man who follow and of the man who leads, that gain, victory"

- General George Patton

It is certain that there is a necessity in introducing certain fundamental changes in approach and policy to face the eventualities in future military leadership challenges that threaten the delicate socio-cultural construct in the military. As discussed earlier, the challenges are diverse and complicated. Nevertheless, without aggravating the issue, SLN need to identify the core issues and thrust areas that can take care of most of the difficulties.

Attentive Leadership. With the change of socio-economic norms age old concept of leader-follower is diminishing in a rapid pace. However there is evidence to prove that the essence of leadership is still intact. Peter Drucker has given a meaning to this by saying *"Leadership is a responsibility and not a rank or privilege to learn trust"*. Further late Indian Field Marshal SHFJ Manekshaw, has said *"Leadership does not change. The attributes of leadership have come down over the years. All that happens is that greater emphasis is placed on certain attributes of leadership as countries advance and technological developments take place"*.

The technological impact on contemporary military leadership is reflected by "network centric warfare" and "personal use" of electronic devices. All modern-day electronic equipment such as smart phones, i-pad, and other electronic devices are like a double-edged sword. Budding naval leaders have a very vital role in ensuring that these kinds of equipment are authorized with utmost care and precautions. A professional management approach needs to be advocated to ensure that it positively contributes to the organization and does not become an obstacle in human resource management.

The obligation of changing and adapting to present-day requirements in military now lie on the leader who has to regulate his leadership style to suit the modern-day recruits. This requires contemporary leaders to understand the aspirations of the new generation of recruits joining the navy.

Improving standards of education, awareness, and technological savvy has increased aspirations and expectations of young generation. Today's sailors look beyond pay and accommodation. They are becoming more and more perceptive about dignity and needs of self-worth. Future naval leaders have to seriously address this issue and it is certain that there is a need for major policy amendments.

Character Development. Everyone who becomes part of SLN has character. Navy values emphasize the relationship between character and competence. Although competence is a fundamental attribute of naval leaders, character is even more critical. Navy leaders are responsible for refining the character of subordinate officers to face the future demand.

Teaching Naval Values and Culture. Navy leaders must teach their subordinates moral principles, ethical theory, navy values, and leadership attributes. Through their leaders' programmes, subordinate officers and sailors need to be facilitated to develop character through education, experience, and reflection. By educating their subordinates and setting the example, senior leaders of the Navy need to enable their subordinates to make ethical decisions that in turn contribute to excellence. Subordinates gain deeper understanding from experience, observation, and reflecting on the aspects of navy leadership under the guidance of their leaders and this needs to be respected and practiced without any compromise.

Strengthening Welfare Measures. SLN has always strived to provide the finest of facilities to her members including families. It is vital now to build upon this fine tradition and reorganize welfare to suit the changing socio-economic climate. Pay and remuneration, housing infrastructure and other facilities require steady enhancement. Emerging needs such as family advocacy, relocation assistance, student counseling, financial consultancy and spouse employment have to be factored in the gamut of welfare. The need of hour is to revisit and review our present arrangements and formulate mechanisms to suit the modern-day requirements.

Change Management. When considering SLN as a single unit she has her own values and beliefs making a strong organizational culture. However in the present day context SLN cannot perform her role alone. The interdependence and synergy between the three services and the police are of very much importance for success. Further, due to rapid technological development the existing tactics, and techniques become obsolete within very short span of time. To update knowledge and keep pace with the newest technology have become necessity for all in the SLN, especially the officers. This forceful resistance to change can be termed as a significant downside of a strong organizational culture. Strong organizational culture can also act as a barrier to diversity where it could create differences in joint operations with other services. Hence it is the onus of the top management to appreciate the requirement of transformational change which will facilitate learned culture empowering subordinates to contribute efficiently and effectively to obtain organizational goals whilst developing their own skills to face fast changing global environment. This process requires good thought, much planning, time and effort, and strong leadership.

Conclusion:

Becoming a person of character and a leader of character is a career-long process involving both self-development and developmental counseling. While individuals are responsible for their own character development, leaders are responsible for empowering, encouraging, supporting, and assessing the efforts of their subordinates. Leaders of character can develop only through continual study, reflection, experience, and feedback.

With the arduous responsibility of National Security, SLN must respond to the changes of socio-economic challenges with confidence and enthusiasm. In an environment where adversaries of our nation undermine the peace and security of the country, reform and restructuring may well be the main option to preserve high standards of leadership which is the main pillar for sustainment. The sailors in SLN today understand the implications of the on-going changes especially social and economic, across the entire gamut of society and the way this change affects them, governs their behaviour. As a leader, the essence is to be alive to the governing factors of the behaviour of the men whom you command. The challenge of the naval leader in modern-day and in future is to comprehend and channelize this behaviour to achieve the ultimate goal.

In conclusion, one can stress the need for new values and managerial approaches in order to strengthen the capability of system to adapt according to environmental demands and constant innovation through greater participation of the subordinate officers in the management process.

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INDIA COULD ACCOMMODATE ITSELF TO A SEEMINGLY INEXORABLE GROWTH OF CHINA'S POLITICAL-MILITARY ROLE IN SOUTH ASIA

Captain (C) MTS Karunatunga

China and India are considered to be the two giants in the Asia. Giants not mere by a term, but by considering size, population, economy, military power as well as leadership in the region.

Considering Indian Ocean region players, China, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Bangladesh and Myanmar plays a vital role. Amongst them Muslim countries forms sub sector with religious interrelation among them. Arch rivalry of India-Pakistan and Sino- Indian relationship are two other aspects. Due to this both China and Pakistan establishes very cordial relations with Sri Lanka during war and post war development period. Relationship with our neighbour, the big brother, over the decades had its ups and downs with change of governments in both countries. However always India manage to influence us both politically and militarily to achieve Indian interests. Violation of air space in May 1987 and forced 1987 peace accord followed by arrival of Indian Peace Keeping Force are good examples.



Till disintegration of USSR in 1991, India was considered as an USSR ally. However with liberalization of market in 1991 India mainly turns towards USA. With 1998 nuclear tests, claims for a permanent seat in UN Security council and through BRICS, the association of five major emerging national economies India slowly but steadily commence to spread her wings.

“Cooperation between China and India means that the two great civilizations can learn from each other, the two major markets complements each other, the two major emerging economies fulfil common development, and the two neighbouring countries achieve mutual benefit and win-win results”, said Chinese Premier.

“It is in line with the fundamental interests of the two countries and the two peoples that China and India maintain peaceful and friendly relations and join hands to realize national rejuvenation, China regarded India as an important partner and friend”, he further said¹.

Outgoing US Vice President Joe Biden aimed to strengthen the US strategic relationship with India as a counterweight to China, which Washington views as the chief obstacle to its global hegemony. His tour in India demonstrated that the Obama administration is pushing to integrate India to its Indo-Pacific strategy to contain China.

Careful analysis of the above indicates that the importance of the region for many players. India signed 10 year defence pact with USA in 2005. Pakistan and Sri Lanka were getting closer to China and slowly but steadily moving away from Indian influence during previous regime and seems like maintaining closer relations with India now. Both China and India maintains their economic linkages with USA. China is striking a balance with players mainly in the economic prospective which would extend to strategical partnership in time to come. However few days back when India stated that they will boycott next SAARC summit due to be held in Islamabad Sri Lankan made a diplomatic statement. Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mangala Samaraweera stressed that the Sri Lankan government did not pull out of the 19th SAARC Summit and at no point decided to boycott the SAARC summit².

Being the world largest democracy India had its pros and cons. India is fighting terrorism and insurrection within India. Kashmir problem is unresolved since independence. With the second largest Muslim community, Muslim extremism is in the rising. During latter stages of fight against terrorism due to pressure from Tamil Nadu where vote base matters most, Indians sidelined paving the way to China and Pakistan to become a friend in need. China had cordial relations with us for long. China helped to fill the vacuum created by India. China continues to support Sri Lanka immaterial of government in power. That is how China making inroad to this area. Recent visits to China by Sri Lanka president and Premier are good examples.

Knowing that Chinese entrance to the region, will not a good sign and even a threat to its interests, India still watching helplessly. India fears that they are being encircled. The emergence of the “String of Pearls” is indicative of China’s growing geopolitical influence through concerted efforts to increase access to ports and airfields, expand and modernize military forces, and foster stronger diplomatic relationships with trading partners. The Chinese government insists that China’s burgeoning naval strategy is entirely peaceful in nature and designed solely for the protection of regional trade interests.

1 China Daily USA 19 May 2013.

2 <http://newsfirst.lk/english/2016/10/foreign-affairs-ministry-announces-govts-stance-saarc-summit/151069>



China is the world's second largest oil consumer and the largest oil importer. Oil imported from the Gulf States and Africa comprises 70% of total Chinese oil imports, and remains China's most critical source of energy apart from domestic coal production³. In order to meet future demand, China has signed a number of long term contracts to develop Iranian oil fields and to build a pipeline, refinery, and port in Sudan for oil export. This would ease China's so-called "Malacca dilemma," in which China is too dependent on the Strait of Malacca (and the nearby Lombok and Makassar straits) for the importation of hydrocarbons from the Middle East. This is why China funded the proposed Kra canal in Thailand.

Like China and India are heavily dependent on foreign oil producers for its energy needs. About 89% of India's oil arrives by ship⁴. The protection of the major sea lines of communication is therefore recognized as an economic imperative.

As China emerges as a major global power, it will expand its military footprint across the globe, much like the US, whose bases surround the China. US base in Diago Garcia, stationing of US 5th Fleet in Baharain and stance of India, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore and Philiphine are some concern for China. The rapid expansion of China's naval capabilities and broader military profile is a classic manifestation of its great power status. China's new naval strategy of "far sea defence" is aimed at giving Beijing the ability to project its power in key oceanic areas, including and most significantly the Indian Ocean⁵.

³ China scope Financial 12 Jul 2013.

⁴ [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/String_of_Pearls_\(China\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/String_of_Pearls_(China))

⁵ Edward Wong, "Chinese Military Seeks to Extend Its Naval Power," New York Times, April 23, 2010.



Both China and India often referred as Chinese dragon and Indian elephant in media, continue to vie for maritime influence, as influence over the Indian Ocean Region remains both commercially and strategically advantageous to both countries. In authors' perception, certainly, on its past and present form and record, China has been winning the contest hands down.

China's expansionist behaviour has, in fact, long been evident. China has been acquiring naval facilities along the crucial choke-points in the Indian Ocean not only to serve its economic interests but also to enhance its strategic presence in the region. China realizes that its maritime strength will give it the strategic leverage it needs to emerge as the regional hegemony and a potential superpower. China's growing dependence on maritime space and resources is reflected in the Chinese aspiration to expand its influence and to ultimately dominate the strategic environment of the Indian Ocean region.

Chinese possessions in the Indian Ocean consist primarily of commercial ports owned and operated by Chinese firms, as well as resupply stations operating in agreement with the Chinese central government. The three largest projects consist of a Chinese-financed commercial shipping centre in Hambantota, recently opened Colombo South harbour in Sri Lanka and a Chinese-controlled port in Gwadar, Pakistan. They have raised the concern of neighbouring powers, most significantly India.

China's growing reliance on bases across the Indian Ocean region is a response to its perceived vulnerability. China is consolidating power over the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean with an eye on India, something that emerges clearly in a secret memorandum issued fifteen years ago by the Director of the General Logistic Department of the PLA: "We can no longer accept the Indian Ocean as only an ocean of the Indians. We are taking armed conflicts in the region into account"⁶.

6 Youssef Bodansky, "The PRC Surge for the Strait of Malacca and Spratly Confronts India and the US," Defence and Foreign Affairs Strategic Policy, Washington, DC, September 30, 1995, pp. 6-13.



Like other major powers, India is concerned about China's challenge to free access to the South China Sea. The South China Sea passage is too vital for trade and international security to be controlled by a single country.

When China suggests that it wants to extend its territorial waters - which extend 12 nautical miles from shore - to include the entire exclusive economic zone (EEZ), extending 200 nautical miles, it is challenging the fundamental principle of free navigation. All maritime powers, including India, have a national interest in freedom of navigation, open access to Asia's maritime commons and respect for international law in the South China Sea. China has collided with Japan, South Korea, Vietnam and the Philippines in recent months over issues related to exploitation of the East China Sea and South China Sea for mineral resources and oil.

India's interest in access to Vietnam's energy resources puts it in direct conflict with China's claims over the territory. This issue is not merely about commerce and energy. It is about strategic rivalry between two. If China can expand its presence in the Indian Ocean region, as New Delhi anticipates, India can also do the same in the South China Sea. As China's power grows, it will test India's resolve for maintaining a substantive presence in the South China Sea.

China is preparing to auction off two sections that are widely recognized to fall within Vietnam's EEZ, even after Hanoi turned the exploration rights over to India. The discord between China and India is not limited to maritime border and exploration rights, a, but reflects "strategic rivalry between two rising powers in the Asian landscape." China is boxing India into a corner, forcing it to defend freedom of navigation, international law, relationships with other East Asian states and its own credibility as a rising power. China's aggressive moves, reaching far into the Indian Ocean while claiming sovereignty for the South China Sea, could be at odds with its own long-term interests, spreading uncertainty and mistrust among neighbours⁷.

7 Extracts from South China Sea: New Arena of Sino-Indian Rivalry China ignores India's exploration, puts Vietnam's oil block up for global bid. Harsh V. Pant Yale Global, 2 August 2012.

DEEP IMPACT

The historic launch of India's nuclear submarine adds a new member to what was an exclusive Big Five club.

Strategic Punch
 T2 K-15 short range ballistic missiles with 1 ton warhead can target 2,000 km away (to be replaced by 3000 km K41 SSBN exclusive)

INS ARIHANT
 cost at 3,200 crore

Speed
 22 knots above
 2.5 knots submerged

Propulsion
 1 pressurized water nuclear reactor
 1 steam turbine drive shaft
 7 diesel generator

displacement
 5,000 tonnes

Dimensions
 104 metres long
 10 metres wide

Tactical Weapons
 160 SSBN torpedoes
 160 SSBN torpedoes
 160 SSBN torpedoes

Future Missile
 A large variant of the K-15, the K-30 is a cruise missile with multiple warheads to its development. The sub will carry four of them.

The sub was built at Goa, Vengal & will be launched from there.

What is the sub will be launched from there.

Ability to cruise being tested from 1000 to 1000 km.

IN-SERVICE OF THE WORLD

| COUNTRY | NUMBER |
|---------|--------|
| USA | 74 |
| RUSSIA | 43 |
| UK | 13 |
| FRANCE | 9 |
| CHINA | 30 |

China's growing naval presence in and around the Indian Ocean region, beginning with the construction of the Hainan Island in the South China Sea, is troubling for India. China has deployed its Jin class ballistic missile submarine with a range of 8000 km, at a submarine base in the southern tip of Hainan, raising alarm in India as the base is merely 1200 nautical miles from the Malacca Strait and is its closest access point to the Indian Ocean⁸. India has only a few conventional diesel-electric submarines. Except two nuclear powered leased Akula class submarines, India has no nuclear powered submarines. India's Arihant ballistic missile submarine which can stay at sea for months, India is no match to China. Nuclear submarine plays a pivotal role in power projection in maritime domain.

China's Naval Expansion in the Indian Ocean and India-China Rivalry Harsh V. Pant *The Asia Pacific Journal on Focus* December 2011.

Jae-Hyung Lee, "China's Expanding Maritime Ambitions in the Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (June 2007), pp. 553-4.

9 Jae-Hyung Lee, "China's Expanding Maritime Ambitions in the Western Pacific and the Indian Ocean," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (June 2007), pp. 553-4.

Energy security also sits at the core of China's anti-piracy efforts, which figure into its larger maritime objectives. The expansion of Chinese naval patrols off the Coast of Somalia, and China's decision to join multi-nation defence patrols in 2010, indicate China's greater assertiveness in the policing of shipping corridors.

As per the view of former External affairs minister of India Salman Khurshid, to have a meaningful partnership with China, India needed to accept the new reality of Beijing's presence in areas that New Delhi considers exclusive to India and its friends¹⁰. This statement highlighted the fact that Indian government's unwilling stance on ever increasing Chinese influence in the region. He added that no immediate result could be expected on the India-China border dispute but the two neighbours were moving in the right direction, which was "comforting for both the sides".



His perception on how India should manage a relationship with a rising China, he conceded that Beijing was aggressive but for India it is neighbour and partner. What he meant by using the term partner is not clear. "We have to come a long way and more things are needed to be done. China's richness would add to India's strength and India's to China's"¹¹.

He argued his statement by stating that as India and China moved forward in "finding resolution to the issues, and in converting their relationship into a meaningful partnership, India will have to accept the new reality of China's presence in many areas that we consider an exclusive area for India and its friends". He further said "the rules of the game will change" with the rise of both India and China but "China will add to the richness with its presence and participation in many areas".

A combination of India's and China's strengths is already called for, which will benefit Asia as a whole. "Providing greater collaboration between India and China will define Asia's role in the 21st century"¹².

In a bold display of power and with the help of its friend Cambodia, China prevented ASEAN from even issuing a joint statement for the first time in the organization's 45-year

10 Article on "Accept China's new reality: Beijing 'aggressive' but is our 'neighbour and partner' ". The Telegraph Calcutta,

11 Ibid.

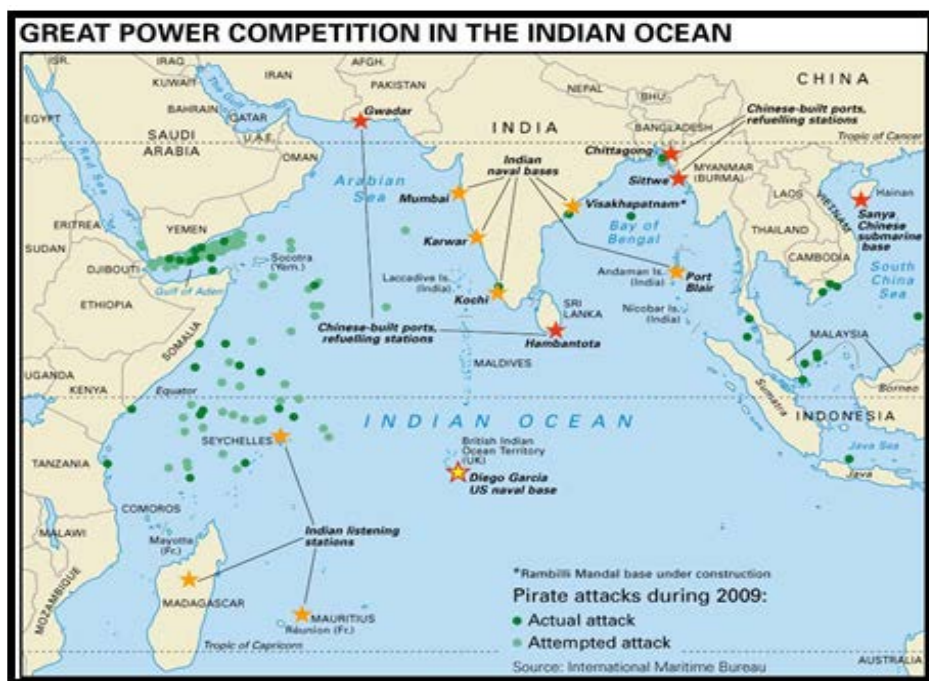
12 Ibid.

history¹³. China succeeded in playing divide-and-rule politics, thereby ensuring that the dispute remains a bilateral matter between Beijing and individual rival claimants.

However, India's recent strategy includes attempts to develop regional cooperative maritime frameworks focusing on security as a preventative hedge on Chinese incursions.

India's strategic doctrine for South Asia has been largely a continuation of British strategic doctrine in the area¹⁴. Always there are broad consensus among Indian intellectual on the concept of strategic unity of South Asia and India's role as a regional power. India always tried to exploit extra regional linkages to her advantage. First it tried to exploit the Cold war tensions by keeping herself out of the bloc politics but playing one bloc against another. Following border clashes with China in 1962 it rushed for both USSR and US assistance and built up its military might. In 1971 alliance relationship were made with USSR to help each other in case of an armed attack. Following the disintegration of USSR India re-coursed to the US which began to give more importance to India following withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan which dramatically reduced the strategic importance of Pakistan¹⁵.

China's South Asia policy has been relatively complex and more diverse. The influences ranged from global, ideological, disputes over land to bilateral rivalries with India, Russia, Japan and with Vietnam.



South Asia as a region with its proximity to the Russia and the Indian ocean, receive the attention of the extra regional powers like US. Post Cold war situation gives relative freedom to India as a regional power. Lloyd Rudolph feels that this situation provided India

13 <http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/content/south-china-sea-new-arena-sino-indian-rivalry>

14 Geo strategic dynamics of Indo - Sri Lanka relations, Shaheen Aktar, BCIS, Colombo 1996, p 15

15 Ibid.p27

an opportunity to consider establishing constructive relationship with its neighbours rather than following blue water politics¹⁶. China also, due to its proximity, interest and nature of interactions has played an important role in the security of the region.

Former Indian Navy Chief Admiral Suresh Mehta once said that “We see the Indian Navy as a significant stabilizing force in the Indian Ocean region, which safeguards the flow of hydrocarbons and strategically important cargo to and from the rest of the world across the strategic waterways close to our shores. And so, the safety of Sea Lines of Communication (SLOC) will always remain a priority for India in the foreseeable future”¹⁷.

The above statements have given grist to China to defend itself. Naval analyst Zhang Ming recently proclaimed that the Islands of India’s Andaman and Nicobar Archipelago could be used as a ‘metal chain’ to block Chinese access to the Straits of Malacca. China has gone further to claim that India is building an ‘Iron Curtain’ in the Indian Ocean, which is debatable¹⁸.

South Asia emerged in the 21st century as increasingly vital to core U.S. foreign policy interests. India, the region’s dominant actor is often characterized as a nascent great power and “indispensable partner” of the United States, one that many analysts view as a potential counterweight to China’s growing clout.

Boarder dispute between China and India still exists. It reveals the India’s relative weakness and partly as a Chinese reaction to India’s trying to assert itself. One military analyst, Ajai Shukla, sees China behaving just as it did during two previous episodes of tension on the border, when India pushed forward. First in the 1950s, then again in the 1980s, India attempted to increase its military capacity along the disputed border¹⁹. China reacted first time by invading, which resulted in a brief border war in 1962 and the humiliation of India. That war also cost China: marking it out as an aggressive power on the rise. The second time, in the 1980s, a confrontation on the border led eventually to a visit to China by then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and an improvement in ties, which many seen as bowing down to China.

China’s first ever “blue book” named, Development Report in the Indian has generated a lot of interest in strategy circles. It presents a comprehensive assessment of the rising challenges in the Indian Ocean Region and the role that China must aspire to play in the region.

“In the past China’s Indian Ocean strategy was based on ‘moderation’ and ‘maintaining the status quo’, but the changing dynamics of international relations necessitates China play a more proactive role in affairs of the region” it reveals. The self-professed ‘delay’ in recognizing its interests and role in the region is a sign that China might be seeking to legitimize its maritime presence in the Indian Ocean Region. Of the many prominent

16 Ibid.p31

17 <http://www.indiandefencereview.com › News › Military & Aerospace>

18 <http://www.defence.pk/forums/indian-defence/246405-chinas-string-pearls-vs-indias-iron-curtain.html>

19 India and China square off High stakes. The Economist, 30 Apr 2013.

challenges that China faces in Indian Ocean, the report identifies the most urgent one as the need to dispel the notion of China posing a “threat” to the region. While its suspicions may not be misplaced, China’s strong economic engagement in the region is reason enough for it to reveal the true extent and nature of its involvement. The report dwells on the possibility that the future might not see any single power dominating the region. It argues a failure to engage with China more constructively could render the Indian Ocean a “sea of conflict and trouble”. China sees itself as an “equal force” in the emerging regional strategic equations.

It predicts that “no single regional power or world power, including the U.S., Russia, China, Australia, India, can control the Indian Ocean by itself in the future world,” leaving “a fragile balance of power” that will be reached after jostling among “big powers.” While arguing that the region’s security “does not face a serious threat yet,” it warns that “with the escalating defence efforts of world and regional powers, the future of the Indian Ocean region may turn from cooperation and peace into an ‘ocean of conflict and trouble.’”

China recently operationalized Chinese Coast Guard for the purpose of marine surveillance and law enforcement, including the arming of ships. While this move is more clearly aimed towards South China Sea disputes with Japan, the Philippines and Vietnam, it nonetheless underscores the unilateral and assertive nature of Chinese maritime security. Japan and Pakistan will continue to play a role in the continued Indo-Chinese competition.

After a rigorous analysis of the conflictual relations, Garver offers his prognosis for the future. Garver posits two scenarios whereby the protracted contest could draw to a close and thereby usher in a new era of predominantly cooperative, non-conflictual Sino-Indian relations. This could become a reality, he says, if either China could agree that South Asia is India’s security zone and sphere of influence, or if there is an Indian acceptance of Chinese pre-eminence in that region. Of the two, Garver is of the opinion that the latter is more likely, with India accommodating itself to the growth of Chinese power in the region.

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CHALLENGES TO MILITARY LEADERS OF THE FUTURE AS A RESULT OF CHANGING SOCIO- ECONOMIC NORMS

Commander (G) AAC Karunasena

“Original Thoughts need no references”

- Unknown

Let nobody suffer the delusion that today the gap between the officer cadet and a sailor candidate is the education and the social background they represent and come from. That bygone era, does not exist anymore. As the proverbial saying goes, today, there is only a hair's width gap between an officer candidate and a sailor candidate as far as his social and economic background is concerned.

2. Sri Lankan military is still following procedures and systems adopted by the British military during their colonial period in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, the officers in the military are considered as leaders and the other ranks as the subordinates. That was the nature of military created by the colonial masters, and it continues to be in force to date. That was basically the rule of the game. There was a huge gap between officers and subordinates as far as their education, social background and upbringing are concerned. Until recent times, the officers continued to represent the candidates from affluent class and well-educated families centred in cities while subordinates were largely enlisted from rural areas with less educational qualifications to that of officers. That system was well fit into the military set up during the colonial era and post- independent Sri Lanka until social and economic reforms were introduced to bridge the gap, by successive governments.

3. In the past, candidates with higher educational qualifications to hold executive positions in the government sector basically applied for the officer cadre while candidates who are not qualified even the tenth standard applied as other ranks. However, in the past, they were basically happy in their positions in the military. Other ranks always followed the orders and instructions of their officers unconditionally. That is how the military advanced to defeat the LTTE. It is said that a good military leader is said to be capable of telling his men even to go to hell in such a way that his men really look forward to it, as his men bestow the trust and believe in him. No other rank was ever dared to challenge the decisions of the officers with regard to the negative effect of a bad move, for the reason being loyalty, discipline or otherwise. However, in the future, with shrinking the gap of socio –economic and education background, the challenges of future military leaders in leading men remain to be seen.

4. The LTTE leader motivated, brain washed and indoctrinated its cadres in such a way that they were ready to commit suicide in their struggle. He used the class system and social and economic differences extensively of its cadres, they were pressed and their freedom was suppressed forcing them join the LTTE and fight against the government forces. However, in a government military, men in the profession of arms can not be moved forcibly. It has to be done through professionalism with in the accepted legal frame work.

5. After the war came to an end, there is a perception within the general public that the military is a better place to serve in many ways; job security, facilities, prestige, attractive remuneration, medical care... etc. Therefore, a lot of prospective candidates are queuing up to join the military. Interestingly, the candidates for officers and sailors have almost equal basic qualifications, educational and social background. Further, the youth in this country are not qualified for other professions as they have learned more and more subjective matters in the schools at the expense practical aspects. The country is saturated with un-employed graduates who are looking for government jobs. A couple of decades before, jobs were said to be waiting until graduates leave the universities, because very few entered into universities and those left out were engaged in agriculture and other industrial work. Socio –economic reforms made present change even though it is not a healthy environment for the country. It does not make any sense and even ridiculous to see that all is waiting for government jobs. But that is the way it is prevailing in our country.

6. The access to information, reforms in the field of education, social and economic reforms in the country have brought everybody onto a same platform. So, there is a huge competition among the students within an environment of equal opportunities for all. For instance, take grade five scholarship examinations; the competition is so huge, regardless of the social status everybody wants put their child into the competition. The end result is ever increasing cut off marks. That reflects the cognitive development of the student as far as the knowledge is concerned. The same thing happens at the ordinary level and advance level examinations in the present education system.

7. A couple of decades before, parents did not really care much about grade five examinations. Today even the poorest of the poor wants his child to be well educated for not to be blamed for having left their kids in the corners of the society and deprived as their parents do. Not long ago, we had enough labor force in our country; masons, carpenters, welders, daily wage laborers...etc. Today, you can not find a man to pluck coconut; even if you do he will give appointments in weeks' time ahead. Today those professions have a higher demand in the country because everybody trying for white color jobs or rather government jobs. A layman with an iota of knowledge on the profession can long survive, because they still have the demand. Today, a mason does not want his son to be a mason anymore but a doctor or an engineer instead. Military is not an exception in this regard. The situation can be attributed to the Abraham Maslow's 'Hierarchy of Needs' theory, where you have the basic and fundamental needs at the bottom and needs for esteem and self actualization at the top. People join military and other government jobs in the run up to achieve self- actualization.

8. In most cases, the income level of the government servants and their counterparts in the public sector are almost similar and sufficient to live a better social life. It is interesting to see the people belong to the self-employed sector, technicians, labourers, masons...etc get much higher income than the others. Today, majority can afford to buy a vehicle on their own. Even the masons are used to go for work by their own three-wheelers. This is a good indicator that shows the shrinking economic gaps between collapsing social classes in the country. Therefore, all are in a position to give a better education to their kids. From the

agriculture based economy, the country has gradually transformed to a market economy with service providers. It is like the country is going to have all kings and no subjects in the long run.

9. Even though the standard of education shot up, the entry criteria for the Navy still remains more or less the same. Today, majority of students are advanced level qualified. So, it is like selecting an officer candidate from the best among equals, because the applicants for the sailor candidates represent the same group of students with similar knowledge base. Further, unlike few decades before, today almost all the schools have the facilities for sports and extracurricular activities to be on par with the so called 'popular schools'. So when a student leaves the school, from anywhere in the country, he is groomed to be second to none with his parallel classmates.

10. Due to the competition at the grade five scholarship examination, the students have become a knowledge hunting group. They do not stick only to what they learn at the school and within the classroom environment. They walk an extra mile to gain extra knowledge. They use internet and other sources, interact with intellectuals, and go for private tuition classes in order to remain in the competition. This habit continues and the end result is the ever rising knowledge base and the standard of the students.

11. An officer cadet who takes the troubles of contesting for the candidacy of cadet officer and completing rigorous training is driven by a strong desire to exercise leadership skills. However, it becomes more challenging when the subordinate whom he is going to lead is also a professionally competent sailor with equal capacity. The officers have to show continuous improvement and their prowess to be ahead of subordinates, at all times, in order to command the respect for the competency to avoid falling into collision course when it comes to subjective matters, in a knowledge driven world. Incompetent young officers with questionable ability will be sure to fall from the ladder of career progress, failing to exercise his authority over a professionally competent set of sailors.

12. The role of the divisional officer also becomes a nightmare if the future junior officers are all-rounders, who are competent enough to deal with numerous tasks, he has to deal with. He has to show his prowess and justify his selection to be in the officer cadre. He is to be physically and mentally fit with a considerable social and economic standing, because, social background is also one of the factors indirectly related to the situation.

13. With competent staff under him, an officer will never be expected to behave like the proverbial crab which moves sideways while urging its off springs to go straight. The officer will have to demonstrate his ability in the relevant field, whether it is seamanship, engineering, sports or otherwise, to command the respect. An officers in the Navy represent a different social milieu, where his subordinates see a leader within the officer and believe that his instructions, advice and guidance can be relied upon for any matter whether it is official, private or otherwise. Failure to win over the subordinate through competency, in a knowledge driven world, will have a negative effect on the link between officer and a sailor.

14. An officer cadet being selected has an enormous task of keeping himself above others in a competitive environment. If not the officers distinguish themselves among his men, the situation will create an unmanageable crisis which is bound to cause chaos in the system with disproportionate competency levels and values between officers and sailors.

15. In the past, the officers were well ahead of sailors in many aspects. Among other things the following can be highlighted;

- a. English comprehension
- b. IT knowledge
- c. Excellence in sports and other extra and co-curricular activities
- d. Social and economic standing

16. Now that virtual gap has been abridged by the social reforms of the subsequent governments. Boundaries of science and technology continue to be loosening as each passing day open the Information Technology (IT) world for everybody at an affordable price. In the wake of the technological revolution, the Internet, TABs and Smart Phones which bring knowledge at the finger tips, at the expense of reading books, are no more luxury items and it has become just another commodity affordable to almost everybody. It is said that today in Sri Lanka even a beggar uses smart phones.

17. The officers joined the Navy in the past are mostly from the affluent classes and their English language skill had been excellent. The administration of the Navy continued to run in English and those who could not read and write had problems in dealing with departmental duties. Particularly, owing to the war situation, to cater the demand of manpower, the qualifications had to be lowered and even compromised. However, aftermath of the war, again there is a competition among abled and qualified youth to join the Navy.

18. Earlier only the privileged were able to learn in English medium after the government made Sinhala the official language in 1956. However, the course has been re-corrected now by opening doors for everybody those who wishes to learn in English medium in government schools from grade 6 and onwards. With subsequent reforms to education came into effect, the standard of education has elevated to a higher level.

19. There was a time, before 1990s, that the children hailing from good social and economic background had the motivation of achieving academic excellence with the ambition of becoming doctors, engineers and the executives in the government positions. But with the beginning of new millennia, there is a paradigm shift where children of all families, regardless of social and economic backgrounds, from upper middle class to the poor, are driven by the desire of getting better education and to fill in the gaps in the executive positions enjoyed by the children of affluent classes.

20. There are different schools of thought on leadership. Some says leaders are born and cannot be made while the other school of thought argues otherwise¹. In the military then hidden leadership skills are sharpened and given the opportunity to exercise both

1 Roger, Grill. Theory and practice of leadership pp270, Sage publications. London.

managerial and leadership skills. Not only the officers, but also the sailors are given leadership development courses and opportunity to lead subordinate sailors. Unlike other services, Navy is a technically oriented organization where officers have to lead men with technical knowledge as well. That is why the ratio between officers and sailors are smaller than the army. Presently, the ratio of officer to sailors is about 1:18 in the Sri Lanka Navy where as it is less than that in other regional navies. This is an indication to show the challenges the military officers might be facing in the future.

21. With the passage of time, the gap between officers and sailors will shrink owing to the social and economic norms. Sailors who manage domestic expenditure live a better life than some of the officer. With prevailing social and economic norms, sooner or later the officers and sailors will be on the same footing unless otherwise officers pay more attention to their wellbeing. Today, sailors just after joining the navy are shaping their future as never before. They build their own houses; buy vehicles where as some officers have no time even to think of it.

22. An officer cadet after joining the Navy has to excel in a totally different field. Navy is a technical organization. Officers and sailors are handling machinery, electrical and electronic equipment, and sophisticated weapon systems. Therefore, he has to be a master in each and every subject taught because the subordinates too get the similar kind of training.

23. In the Navy, it takes about five years to train an officer, even the lieutenants are considered as trainees when it comes to the professional knowledge. It takes a considerable time to train a sailor too. Sailors are given more practical knowledge on the subject while officers get theoretical knowledge the most. Therefore, the challenges for the future military officers are numerous; there is hardly anything in the Navy that is devoid of the knowledge and ability.

24. Though it is challenging for the future military leaders, it creates a healthy environment for the organization in many ways. It induces competition and self-motivation on the officers and sailors to learn.

25. Some of the Navies in the world, like the United States Navy for example, a country go by the norm of its founding fathers that 'all men are created equal', are facing this challenge where the officers have to overcome numerous demands. They are not segregated by the social norms. In the Sri Lanka Navy also, the future officers are to be very professional in every aspect to overcome the challenges of social and economic changes, because they can shape the character of the individuals. The Sri Lanka Navy will expand with more and more ships joining her fleet in the near future. Sooner or later, the future generation of officers will have to take the challenge of forging the Navy an efficient fighting force through professionalism.

EFFECTIVENESS OF ISPS CODE IN ENSURING INTERNATIONAL SHIPPING SECURITY

Commander (N) Buddhika Jayaweera

Introduction

Shipping has become the backbone of international trade and the global economy. Approximately 80 per cent of global trade by volume and over 70 per cent of global trade by value are carried by sea (UNCTAD, 2015). In terms of international shipping movements, world seaborne trade in cargo ton-miles have increased 30,000 to 50,000 billion of ton-miles from year 2000 to 2015 (UNCTAD, 2015). This implies that large number of ships have to carry different cargo between different ports in regular basis. In addition, the cruise industry is ever growing. In 2015 alone, 23 million passengers cruised globally (FCCA, 2015). Increasing movements gives clear indication of likelihood that ships encounter terrorist, piratical or other criminal acts out at sea that may hinder shipping. This situation demanded an effective international security framework to ensure shipping security.

2. International shipping community has been come up with different instruments to tackle this issue. In the aftermath of the first actual terrorist acts recorded in modern maritime history, the hijacking of Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro in 1985, International Maritime Organization (IMO) has taken several measures to prevent unlawful acts which threaten the safety of ships and the security of their passengers and crews (Trelawny, 2008). This leads to the adoption of Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation (SUA) in 1988.

3. The devastating terrorist acts of 11 September 2001 in the United States and the other several attacks against maritime targets, including the USS Cole in 2000 and the tanker Limberg in 2002, passenger ferries in the Philippines and Indonesia, and oil installations in the Arabian Gulf amply exposed the vulnerability of ships and port facilities around the world (McNaught, 2005). Due to these new security challenges international shipping community led by IMO respond swiftly and firmly to any threat against the security of shipping. This resulted the development of the International Ship and Port Facility Security Code (ISPS Code) that entered into force on 1 July 2004. ISPS Code provides a comprehensive international security framework that includes governments, shipping companies and port authorities. Twelve years on from implementation, questioning whether the Code is shaping up as an effective maritime security tool in the fight against maritime threats is a timely requirement.

4. The aim of this paper is to assess the effectiveness of ISPS Code in addressing maritime security threats against international shipping. First, a brief analysis of current maritime threats is discussed to identify the nature and implications. As ISPS Code is one of the correlated security initiatives, an overview of the international maritime security framework is briefly provided prior examination of the provisions, implementation and

enforcement mechanism of the ISPS code. Strengths and weaknesses of the Code in addressing the maritime security threats then are analysed, prior to an assessment of the effectiveness of the ISPS Code.

Maritime Security Threats

5. International shipping is affected from diverse range of security threats such as terrorism, sabotage, stowaways, illegal immigrants, asylum seekers, piracy and armed robbery at sea, seizure, pilferage, annoyance and surprise (Heathcote, 2014). Since September 11 attack to USA, as of other sectors the main threat to maritime sector has been terrorism. However, terrorist attacks against maritime targets are very rare and the Global Terrorism Database (GTD) only notes 199 out of 98,000 attacks in 40 years, which is less than 0.2% of the total (Asal & Hastings, 2014). Yet, the threat of maritime terrorism is growing and terrorists have a wide array of options, which could culminate into a catastrophic attack. They have already shown their capacity to operate in open seas successfully for other non-terrorism purposes such piracy, illegal smuggling of contraband, and illegal human trafficking across the borders (Bakir, 2007). Maritime attacks might cause serious impact on world trade, global peace and security. A vulnerability analysis conducted by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2003 have identified four main areas of shipping; cargo, vessels, people and money as presenting highest terrorist risk factors. Two categories of cargo were identified as being vulnerable to terrorism are containerised cargo and bulk shipments by the same analysis.



Figure 1: Terrorist Risk Factors from Shipping (Source: OCED, 2003)

6. According to UNCTAD (2015), over 52 million TEUs (Twenty-Foot Equivalent) containerized cargo flows on major East–West container trade routes per year and physical examination rate of every container movements through ports are very less. This low examination rate of containers has contributed to maritime crimes such as transporting

contrabands including Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD), stowaways and illegal human trafficking. A point to note is that the threat exists along the entire supply chain, not just when the containers are in ships or ports.

7. Bulk cargo shipments are concerned, the destructive potential of Liquid Petroleum Gas (LPG) and Liquid Natural Gas (LNG) tankers has given much media attention. Due to the modern robust security systems triggering of such tankers are difficult (McNaugh, 2005). Yet, potential threat exists. Bulk cargoes such as fertiliser-grade ammonium nitrate can be manipulated to cause significant explosions posing a greater risk. Causing such an explosion would in effect, make the vessel itself as the weapon in a terrorist strike.

8. Even though the piracy incidents are gradually decreasing, pirates have excelled in hijacking ships over the years. Once the ship is hijacked, converts it into a “phantom ship” by erasing its original identity. As some of the “flag-of-convenience” countries are relatively less strict in the registration process, these ships may get completely new identity and can be used for various criminal activities posing huge threat to maritime security (Bakir, 2007).

9. Potential of launch an attack or sink a vessel to disrupt infrastructure, such as block port access, effectively shutting down port operations cannot be ignored. However, Bakir (2007) in an opinion that the economic cost of disruption to operations of major trading ports is likely to be unacceptably high, with potentially devastating effects on the world economy. Personnel risk factors involve either risk to people from attacks causing harm to passengers and crew, or risk from people within the maritime community. Evidence suggests that maritime crimes such as theft, smuggling, piracy and armed attacks at sea have been at times facilitated or aided by members of the sea-faring community (OCED, 2003). Concerns are held about the abuse of the liberal rights of entry afforded to seafarers and the ease of obtaining falsified identity documents, resulting in illegal and undetected entry of criminals into foreign states.



Figure 2: Geographic Choke Points (Source: American Security Project)ASP0, 2016.

10. Some terrorist organizations are suspected to be operating ships or fleets to generate funds and to meet their logistic requirements. The Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) have been doing so since the 1980s, and it is believed that Al-Qaeda also own and control vessels causing serious challenges to maritime security.

International Maritime Security Legislative Framework

11. The international framework for maritime security mainly consist of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, 1982 (UNCLOS), the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation, 1988 (SUA), and the Convention for the Safety of Lives at Sea, 2002 (SOLAS) that include the ISPS Code. UNCLOS is the umbrella convention that sets rules, laws, codes and conventions that have been created to regulate the activities of private, commercial and military users of our seas and oceans. Also it provides the legal framework for further maritime security cooperation.

12. The SUA Convention was created as the result of hijacking of the Italian flag passenger vessel Achille Lauro off the coast of Egypt. The provisions of SUA convention ensures that appropriate action is taken against persons committing unlawful acts against ships, acts of violence against persons' onboard ships and the placing of devices onboard a ship which are likely to destroy or damage it. In addition, SUA Convention provides application of punishment or extradition of persons who commit or have allegedly committed offences specified in the treaty (Trelawny, 2008).

13. Realizing the fact that SUA Convention's inadequacy to address the maritime security threat posed by terrorism after September 11 attack and other terrorist attacks on ships, IMO came up with ISPS Code. It provides the basis for a comprehensive mandatory security regime for international shipping to enhance security. ISPS Code was incorporated to the SOLAS Convention and in addition, introduced the requirement for ships to fit Automatic Identification Systems (AIS), to carry a Continuous Synopsis Record (CSR), and to standardise ship identification markings (IMO, 2003). IMO also developed a Seafarers' Identity Document and measures to enhance security of containerised cargo with collaboration of International Labour Organization (ILO) and World Customs Organization (WCO) respectively.

The ISPS Code

14. The ISPS Code prescribes minimum security arrangements for ships, ports and government agencies. The code is divided into two sections, Part A and Part B. Mandatory Part A outlines detailed maritime and port security related requirements which SOLAS contracting governments, port authorities and shipping companies must adhere to, in order to be in compliance with the Code. Part B of the Code provides a series of recommendatory guidelines on how to meet the requirements and obligations set out within the provisions of Part A. The Code applies to passenger ships engaged on international voyages, cargo ships of 500 gross tonnage and upwards engaged on international voyages, mobile offshore drilling units and port facilities serving the afore-mentioned ships (IMO, 2003). The rationale behind the development of the Code was that maritime security was essentially a risk management activity (Trelawny, 2008).

15. The Code specifies mandated risk mitigation measures and responsibilities relating to three security levels. Security level 1 represents the base level of appropriate security

measures to be maintained at all times. Security level 2 is where appropriate additional security measures are maintained for a period of time due to increased risk of a security incident. Under security level 3, further specific security measures are maintained for a limited period of time when a security incident is probable or imminent (Hartmunt & Nicolaos, 2004). Contracting Governments are responsible for setting appropriate security levels and providing guidance for protection from security incidents. Also required to approve port facility assessments and port security plans, determine which ports are required to have a port facility security officer, and exercise control and compliance measures in accordance with SOLAS Regulations. Issuing International Ship Security Certificates (ISSC) and conducting security verifications of respective flag ships is coming under government responsibility that can be delegated to recognised security organisation.

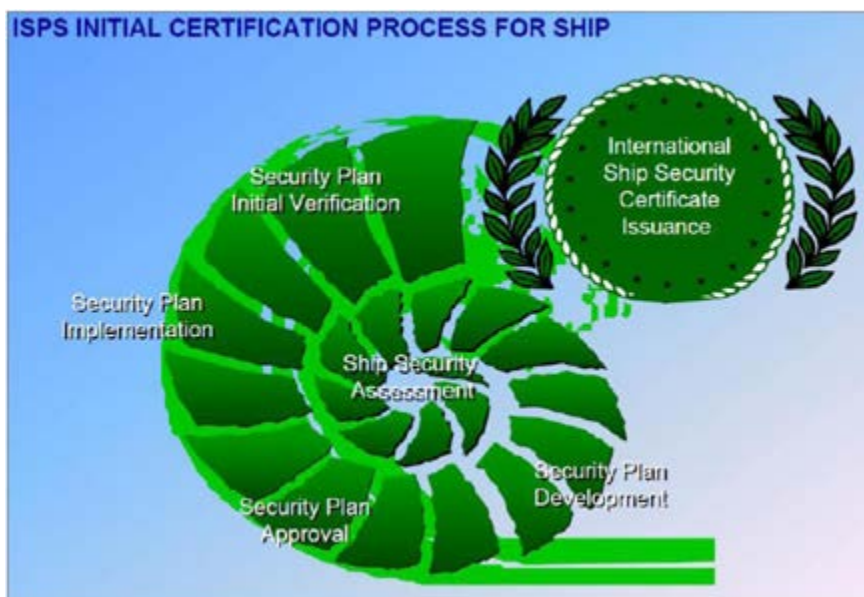


Figure 3: ISPS Initial Certification Process for Ships

16. Shipping companies are obliged to appoint a Company Security Officer (CSO) for the company and a Ship Security Officer (SSO) for each of its ships. Responsibilities of these positions are detailed within the Code, including the requirement to conduct training and drills. Specifically, the CSO is responsible for ensuring that each ship has conducted a Ship Security Assessment (SSA) and developed and implemented a Ship Security Plan (SSP). Similar requirements are placed upon Port Facility Operators. Port Facility Security Officers are responsible for ensuring Port Facility Security Assessments (PFSA) are conducted and Port Facility Security Plans (PFSP) are developed and implemented.

Implementation and Enforcement of The ISPS Code

17. ISPS Code is considered as one of the quickly implemented IMO instruments that took only two years for negotiations and to fulfil numerous requirements. Incorporation of ISPS code to existing SOLAS convention and the "tacit acceptance" procedure which provides that an amendment shall enter into force at a particular time unless objections are received from a specified number of parties speeded up the process. Due to the limited

timeframe for the implementation there were concerns in some corners that “unrealistic” time frame and potential disruptions to international trade (Hellberg, 2009). However, by the time the code came into force on 1st July 2004, more than 86 per cent of ships and 69 per cent of port facilities subject to the Code had their security plans approved (Trelawny, 2008). Teething problems were anticipated in the initial implementation of the Code, and the IMO attempted to mitigate these through the conduct of the technical assistance programmes and numerous regional seminars. IMO introduced model courses for ISPS related matters that enhanced awareness. To-date, 162 countries representing 99 per cent of the merchant ships around the world in terms of gross tonnage have implemented ISPS Code.

18. As of other IMO instruments, ISPS code is enforced by contracting governments through Port State Control regimes. Enforcement actions for the non compliance to the code include denial of entry, expulsion or detention. IMO verify the implementation and enforcement mechanism of contracting government through IMO Member States Audits Scheme (IMSAS).

Strengths and weaknesses of ISPS Code in addressing maritime security threats

19. Having considered the security threats to international shipping, content and implementation of the ISPS Code, an analysis of strengths and weaknesses of the code provide the basis to assess the Code’s effectiveness in addressing the maritime security threats.

20. Strengths of ISPS

a. The greatest strength of the ISPS Code is the provision of a common baseline for international cooperation on the issue of maritime security. The code has been implemented almost all the maritime countries indicating strong drive to proactively and collectively address maritime security. Level of awareness has been increased and risk management concept leads to take preventive and mitigatory measures by contracting governments, shipping companies, ports and seafarers (Hellberg, 2009). The code has increased the control of access to port facilities and onboard ships. It has also decreased theft and vandalism in port facilities and onboard ships.

b. As mentioned earlier, the “tacit acceptance” provision provide more streamlined approval process to ISPS code over other maritime security instruments such as SUA convention. This will enable a quicker response to evolving nature of the terrorist threat. The economic burden of implementing ISPS Code is compensated by the cost savings from reduced container theft and pilferage as a result of stricter controls and other measures such as container tracking and manifesting (Hellberg, 2009). Although the each component of maritime supply chain is not adequately covered by the ISPS Code, complementary initiatives within the broader maritime security framework such as Container Security Initiative (CSI) and Customs–Trade Partnership Against Terrorism (C–TPAT) are addressing this shortfall. The threat posed by personnel (for example use of seafarer status to insert terrorist operatives)

is not directly addressed by the ISPS Code (McNaugh, 2005). . However the ILO/IMO Working Group has taken complementary initiative through the Seafarers' Identity Documents Convention (Revised), 2003 which ensures that seafarers have documents enabling their "positive verifiable identification".

21. Weaknesses of the ISPS Code

a. As of other IMO instruments, the main weakness of the ISPS code is the IMO's inability for enforcement. IMO does only monitoring the compliance. However, IMSAS that is in force since January 2016 may improve the compliance monitoring which indirectly enhance enforcement by contracting governments. One criticism related to implementation of the ISPS code is differing risk profiles and standards applied between nations. There are two main dimensions for this issue. One is differences in standard of security measures adopted by contracting governments. According to the McNaugh (2005), this situation is mitigated to some extent by the initiatives such as IMO Integrated Technical Co-operation Program and the US Coast Guard's International Port Security (IPS) Program. The other dimension is some Contracting Governments, particularly Flag of Convenience registries, have been identified as either corrupt or as lacking the resources or expertise to enforce acceptable standards. Some governments contract out some of their security responsibilities to Recognized Security Organizations (RSOs) whose expertise in the maritime security field varies significantly. This situation is vulnerable to exploitation by terrorist groups. For an example, terrorist organisations controlling their own vessels to finance their operations are unlikely to be impacted by the implementation of the ISPS Code. These ships are often run as legitimate business concerns and true ownership of ships is difficult to assess (Shibu, 2010).

b. Application of the ISPS Code to vessel types is also a weakness when consider threats to the maritime domain. It is not applicable for fishing vessels, vessels not engaged in international voyages including inter-island ferries, and cargo ships less than 500 ton that are having similar vulnerabilities to maritime security threats or terrorist exploitation . Although contracting governments are advised to establish security measures for aforesaid vessels by non-mandatory ISPS Code part B is not adequate. Also the port security measures covered by the ISPS Code are limited to matters involving the ship/port interface ignoring the major issue of container security, and the vulnerability of the supply chain to tampering by criminals including terrorists.

Assessment of Effectiveness of the ISPS Code

22. Considering the above discussed main strengths and weaknesses, an assessment can be made regarding the ability of the ISPS Code to address the maritime security threats in order to ensure security of international shipping. No doubt that the ISPS Code is providing comprehensive security framework for international shipping security. The code has brought all stakeholders together to address security issues and it surely enhanced awareness of the

maritime security concerns which was lacking among the maritime community before ISPS is introduced. It is right to say the ISPS code has cultivated “security culture” in international shipping.

23. On the other hand the ISPS Code is unlikely to alleviate all risks posed by maritime threats. But when the code is applied in complementary with the SUA Convention, the Seafarers’ Identity Documents Convention and other security initiatives such as Container Security Initiative (CSI) and Customs–Trade Partnership Against Terrorism (C–TPAT) this shortfall can be reduced. Yet, the code needs improvements. Overall, the result of the global study conducted by the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) revealed that the 82 per cent of the respondents recognized the positive impact of the ISPS Code in terms of enhancing maritime security provide clear indication about the effectiveness of the code.

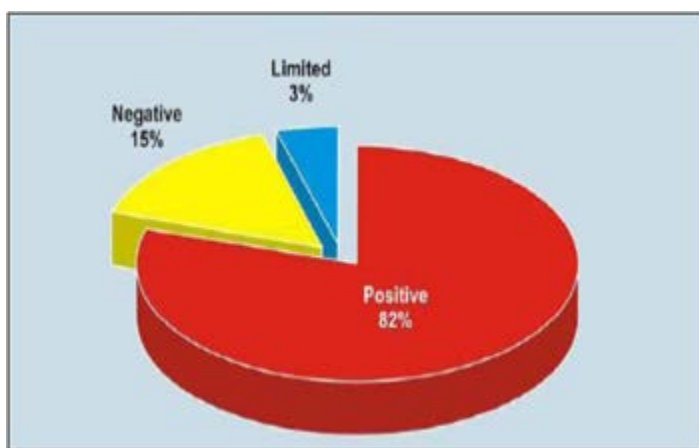


Figure 4: Assessment of Overall Impact of the ISPS Code (Source: UNCTAD, 2007)

Conclusion

24. Maritime security is under threat now than ever. The above assessment highlights the limited scope of the ISPS Code to address the main risk factors in light of the maritime threats. Also highlighted, the complementary application of the ISPS code with other maritime security instruments and initiatives produce better results. Therefore, the ISPS code must not be viewed as a stand-alone solution to the maritime security threats, but rather as one component of an interrelated set of maritime and other broader security measures designed to reduce the international shipping’s vulnerability to security incidents.

25. However, the gaps in the code itself and deficiencies of implementation and enforcement mechanism need to be addressed. Continual update of the code is also essential due to the rapidly changing nature of maritime threats. The ‘tacit acceptance’ provision always allows for speedy amendments of the code and should make use of it. Raising maritime security awareness and maintaining ‘security culture’, in the international shipping is utmost important to not to become a target of maritime security incident.

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CHALLENGES TO MILITARY LEADERS OF THE FUTURE AS A RESULT OF CHANGING SOCIO - ECONOMIC NORMS

Commander (ASW) KPSP Koddippili

“If you build an Army of hundred lions and their leader is a dog, in any fight, the lions will die like a dog. But if you build an Army of hundred dogs and their leader is a lion, all dogs will fight like a lion.”¹

-Napoleon Bonaparte

Introduction:

This famous quote intoned by Napoleon Bonaparte speaks volumes of how a good military leadership and proper grooming of officers in Armed forces will affect to achieve its goals and objectives. No other aspect of an officer's identity and performance is more vital than leadership. Officers in the military are set apart as a group within their profession: in uniform, insignia, responsibilities, formal respect required, and limitation on appropriate interaction with other members². The armed forces in Sri Lanka have been striving to maintain the discipline and its ethos from its inception and have been able to win the hearts and minds of common people by eradicating ruthless terrorism germinated in the country, which lasted for three decades. Nevertheless, in the recent past, it has been noticed a conspicuous decline of the image and pre-eminent place of the armed forces in Sri Lanka among the general public owing to negative effects of socio-economic change exists in the society. The following famous quote made by Rudyard Kipling reasonably highlights the relationship of society with the men in uniform.

*“In times of war and not before,
God and the soldier all adore;
But in times of peace and all things righted,
God is forgotten and the soldier slighted.”*

The rapid change in socio-economic environment in recent past has caused our society becoming more materialistic and lacking in moral values. With radical change in the style of training and owing to middle-class attitude and behavior, the officer class in the armed forces is becoming more and more bourgeois in its composition and no longer the province of the privileged few. At the same time the noticeable difference between an Officer Under Trainee and a Sailor Under Trainee prevailed in the past in terms of their educational qualifications, knowledge base, social backgrounds and upbringing has gradually diminished with the winds of social, economic and cultural change that swept across the nation. This situation will pose a daunting challenge to the leaders of Sri Lankan armed forces in the future; to keep the personnel in arms unaffected from the socio- economic changes and alleviate the degradation of moral values that are taking place in the contemporary society

1 <http://www.thegreatestelixir.com/success.html>

2 US Department of Defense, 2007. Armed Forces Officer, Potomac Books, available from: E-book Library, (accessed 30 December 2015). <https://books.google.lk/books/about/The_Armed_Forces_Officer.html?id=N_hek4ms-SEMC&redir_esc=y>

around them. The whole world has transformed intensely in to a different arena with the passage of time, which has caused profound implications to the military career. This essay emphasizes and stress on the factors that motivated the Sri Lankan armed forces in the past, how those factors have been challenged by the prevalent socio-economic change, and what to be done by the military leaders of future for viable improvements to reinstate the pre- eminent place of the armed forces.

Motivators prevailed in the past:

After establishment of the armed forces in Sri Lanka, prospects were prevailed for those young men whom were considered to be from higher – class, affluent with higher social and economic background in the country to be enrolled as officers in the Royal Ceylon Army, Royal Ceylon Navy and Royal Ceylon Air Force. Entry into the officer cadre of the armed forces was considered as an absolute honour and pride during this period. Also a high tendency was prevailed in joining young boys those who had a military family background in armed forces as officers for gallantry, glory and honour. Even among the rural population, soldier's profession was deemed as a prestigious job. As such, recruiting of correct soldier material was not a cumbersome task then. Even those who had other jobs turned to be enrolled in armed forces due to attractive salaries.

With the outbreak of civil war in the early 80's, the armed forces in Sri Lanka strived to recruit youth as officers and other rankers on large scale to meet the requirements aroused along with the expansion in tri services. Thus military service provided a range of possible careers and grew intensely as a profession in Sri Lanka along with the conflict progressed. On the other hand, lack of job opportunities in the career choices topped the list of reasons for youths to join in the armed services during this period. Young men of financially weaker backgrounds found easy in seeking a career in armed forces during this era since military provided satisfactory terms and conditions to accomplish their needs and desires proffering with satisfactory monetary benefits, perks and privileges similar to the recognized professions in the society. Their sacrifices were remarkably appreciated by every citizen in the country. The gratitude was reflected from people of high- class to lower-class in our society all of whom praised upon the members in the military for their noble service. Notably, members of armed forces had been bestowed a well-regarded status by the civil society. Even though, enormous stress undergone both by officers and rates during conflict era, job satisfaction was prevailed as they were accustomed and groomed to face such situations. Their expectations were more vocational than commercial. A strong bond of attachment within units in each service prevailed amidst of hardships, shared dangers and periods of separation from family and loved ones which made the command easier. Promotions at due time were bestowed to the officers and in case of other ranks, same situation was existed.

Effect on motivators with the changing of socio-economic norms:

The impression that earlier drew the dignity for soldiering has gradually vanished, leaving the worthy profession of arms as just another career for the not so high classes of society. Today the gratitude rendered to the military seems to be dwindling. Myriads of

factors have contributed and posed as challenges for the military leaders of future when leading men under their command owing to prevalent socio- economic change and some of the salient factors will discuss in the succeeding paragraphs.

Service conditions and job satisfaction:

Due to rising trend of money-oriented approach and sufficient job opportunities in the private sector, majority of talented youth tend to choose jobs which give them pleasing pay and facilities. The pride in the military profession of the yesteryears has gradually regressed in the present era leaving it no more amongst the best career options. Knowledge based young men in the present society seeks not only the superior salaries but also the freedom to retain mobility in the career market. Poor service conditions and other compensatory packages has also made the career in the armed forces a less-attractable one.

Money-oriented transformation owing to socio-economic change has gradually crept and changed the mind-set of young officers. In an environment where many good jobs are readily available, prolong commitment for a career prospect of slow moving job is no longer appealing to the youth today who have accustomed to live fast and anticipate immediate effect of their work. This situation has caused to divert young officers' attention to be involved in numerous businesses with an aim to be matched with their equivalents in the civil setup and to be excelled in the society. Thus; seeking personal interests by neglecting professionalism has paved the way to put their professional interests at a lower priority. Indulging in myriads of nefarious activities by service personnel with an ambition to acquire quick money is also on the rise in recent times. Officers' involvement in frauds, scandals have contributed to undermine the stature of officer class in the eyes of their subordinates. In addition, increasing awareness of such cases through regular reportage by the media has made an irreparable damage and has tarnished the good image of military profession. As a consequence, the civil society starts to judge military profession in harsher terms.

Problems in the hierarchical and pyramidal structure in the military are another factor to be pondered on today. Considerable number of officers in middle level in armed forces seek prematurely change their career path owing to the reason of losing interest due to stagnation in their ranks. Stagnation will also lead to job dissatisfaction and same will force military personnel to serve in a disinterested manner. It has adversely affected their job performance and the resulting output. This situation has led to build a pessimistic attitude and a demoralizing effect on some overlooked military personnel in a way they think that they are less important and less accountable to the organization. Team effort is of paramount important to the military. When it happens for an officer to work under a relatively junior officer due to stagnation of his promotion, it adversely affects the team performance as there may be possibilities of withdrawing himself from the working environment and being non-cooperative to his team members and peers.

Training and career prospects:

As a result of change in socio economic environment, social media, internet and access to computer based information were raised and the habit of reading among the rates and young officers reduced drastically in turn. As a consequence, the tendency of submission of research papers with brilliant ideas, presentations on military history by officers has been retrogressing. Due to socio- economic transformation, a complete change in the pattern of enlistment in the military has been taken place. Patriotism, gallantry and honour have been replaced by materialism. Unlike in the past, most of young men join military as recruits are decently educated, ambitious and seeking for early financial benefits. Thus, having being enrolled into the officer and recruit cadre by youth of similar socio- economic backgrounds has resulted to narrow down the gap between officers and other ranks in the military today.

In the past, an officer was made to start his career rubbing shoulders with the men. This taught an officer to know his men, learn the art of junior leadership, and acquire basic competence to lead men in particular situation³. During the conflict era, time available for training was very limited and both officer and recruit training revolved around theoretical aspects affiliated with limited practical aspects. This situation was a “blessing in disguise” for both officers and other ranks in Sri Lankan Armed forces as they used to earn larger portion of their knowledge by taking part on the battlefield. Thus the habit of risk taking both by officers and other ranks was developed and it improved the leadership qualities of them to a formidable standard. The military training establishments are the main pillars of culture and values of the armed forces. Today, they groom officers in a fashion that officers are hardly given the chance to exercise their initiatives and imagination to avoid undue risk. Furthermore, due to non- acceptance of errors and mistakes by senior officers, most of the junior officers today are reluctant to take risks and responsibilities. On the other hand, senior officers are not ready to take risks and never encourage juniors to take any risk. They are expected to follow a set pattern in order to avoid mistakes. This will impede their cognition and professionalism and will only produce conformists who like to follow a career pattern that has lesser risks and responsibilities.

Maintaining the focus only on talented officers and allowing them to shoulder key responsibilities by senior officers will deprive the chances of majority of young officers for self-improvement and to become quality officers in their services. Yet, the uneven distribution of work for the performers may overburden them with an additional work load. Overworked officers have little time to spare for their subordinates. The stress and fatigue of them have adverse effects in achieving the desired results and efficiency of the military. It also drives the talented officers in the military to seek career friendly jobs in the booming private sector and has resulted in brain drain in the armed forces eventually. In addition, maintaining a large gap between various levels of the command can have a serious negative effect on the moral of junior officers and has further compounded the problem of working atmosphere of the military.

3 Narender Kumar, 2015. Military Leadership: A Vital National Strategic Asset (pdf) Available at: http://www.google.lk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwj43v14TKAhXCWY4KH_YTD6kQFg-gaMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.claws.in%2Fimages%2Fjournals_doc%2F1873377108_NarenderKumar.pdf&usg=AFQjCNGW7ZcOTlvnf14we2vjL8-Kis2tXw&bvm=bv.110151844,d.c2E (Accessed 30 December 2015)

Social background:

Sri Lanka has a close-knitted family society. Parents always prefer their children to find a job which is reasonably safer and more worthwhile rather than staying away from home and being exposed to dangers which jeopardizes their lives. In this backdrop, the unwillingness in acceptance of professions that involve long stay away from families has made the profession in armed forces relatively less attractive. Thus, a sharp decline has been observed in number of youth enrolled in the armed forces. As a result of it, the majority of individuals got selected through the selection boards were mere job seekers rather than professionals and intelligent materials. Their attitudes, poor leadership qualities and lack of initiatives may impinge on the military capabilities of Sri Lankan armed forces in later stage.

Men will cross limits of human endeavor if they are convinced that their leader is going to take care of their welfare and that of their families⁴. However, some deep-rooted organizational practices in the military has become a hindrance on the achievement of good balance between work and family needs today. Deployment in areas far away from home for longer periods with recurrent field duties and inability to cope up with the problems confronted in the domestic affairs due to insufficient leave and incorrect handling of grievances of subordinates with inappropriate human resource management techniques by the officers have underpinned the issue of separation, involve in crimes, immoral and unethical acts by the uniformed men. In the present context in military, men are more questioning, less biddable and are expected to be handled with persuasion rather than compulsion. Working in such an environment while keeping their moral and discipline at high is indeed a challenge to an officer today.

Possible measures to be embraced for improvement:

Finding the solutions for above predicaments with a holistic and multifaceted approach is need of the hour and followings are some of them that can be adopted to set the course right.

It has been a challenge for armed forces in Sri Lanka to attract, retain and motivate the best talent within the service owing to flourishing private sector that offers unimaginable opportunities to the youth in the changing socio-economic environment. Selecting the right type of candidate through the selection boards is of paramount importance and correct evaluation process needs to be worked out as he grows up to the higher echelons.

Cerebral accomplishment must be encouraged in order to improve the scholarly horizon of the young officers. The doors of opportunities for career development need to be opened to them on merit basis, considering competitiveness, professionalism and creativity as a clear stagnation in the promotion process exists in the prevailing pyramidal and hierarchical structure in the armed forces. Opportunities need to be given to exercise initiative and risk taking during the training at respective military academies. Local training

4 Ibid. P.12.

courses must be created to instil creative intelligence among officers and underpin them to operate independently in a challenging and more complex environment with confidence.

Cognitive factors such as flexibility, adoptability and tolerance to stress must be measured in the promotion process so as to pick the best leaders to promote at each stage since poor leaders will always become problematic for effective functioning of the organization. Similarly, it is imperative to ensure the transparency in promotions as it may lead to frustration of many talented officers who are overlooked due to unscrupulous assessing in the annual performance reports.

Tough life style and high level of stress exist in the military need to be compensated with granting of sufficient leave at periodic intervals in order to redress and solace the problems confronted by service personnel so that it ensures the connectivity with their loved ones. Similarly, the existing welfare programs need continuous development with the aim to respond emerging needs in parallel with the socio economic change. At the same time, every endeavor needs to be taken at all levels for steadfast adherence to the values and ethos of the armed forces in order to keep the reputation and pre-eminent position received by the service personnel in the society.

Conclusion:

Young officers today are the flag bearers of tomorrow. Time has come to encourage the officers in the armed forces to think on the development of their organization with a holistic approach and contributing meaningfully while exploring the doors of opportunities to enhance their career prospects in prevailing working environment.

Social change is an inevitable phenomenon which affects all organizations with varying degrees of impact. The organizations with adequate flexibility and foresight are able to adopt quickly and innovative means to utilize the change for furthering their arms⁵.

The future environment poses daunting challenges to the outdated motivators in the military with the rapid change of socio- economic norms. It appeals for a more vibrant and educated junior leadership to meet these new challenges and to create an improved working environment which will fulfill the aspirations of the uniformed men without prejudicing the culture and pristine ethos of Sri Lankan armed forces. The pride of our Armed forces stands on the shoulders of young officers. They must endeavor to grow professionally, intellectually and should support their subordinates to do so while upholding the traditional values of the armed forces despite the outside world where the virtues of discipline and loyalty sadly retrogressing, in order to face the challenges in future.

5 S.S. Arya, 2015. Changing Socio- economic Values and their impact on the Armed forces. (e-journal) Available from: <<http://usiofindia.org/Article/Print/?pub=Journal&pubno=568&ano=385>> Accessed 31December, 2015

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MEANS TO ENSURE GAP FREE COASTAL SURVEILLANCE

Lieutenant Commander (G) SACR Kulatunga

Introduction

In this paper the writer is attempting to formulate a combined strategy for effective coastal security mechanism to ensure gap free coastal surveillance structure to counter existing maritime challenges of Sri Lanka. The existing security architecture is challenged by various transnational security issues and Sri Lanka being an island nation, it is very important to have a 360⁰ coverage of a security system. The Sri Lanka Navy is the main security component which provides maritime security in the country. The other security providing authorities are Sri Lanka Customs, Department of Immigration and Emigration, Department of Fisheries, Department of Coastal Conservation, Sri Lanka Police, Department of Wildlife, Sri Lanka Coast Guard, Sri Lanka Army, Sri Lanka Air Force and under Sri Lanka Navy security providing affiliates such as ships and craft, Special Boat Squadron, coastal protection units, coastal foot patrol units and naval detachments. Sri Lanka is more vulnerable to major nontraditional security issues such as drug trafficking, gun running, terrorism, piracy, human smuggling, illegal transfer of item and IUU (Illegal Unregulated and Unreported) fishing activities. Further, benign role of disaster response, protection of maritime environment and Search and Rescue Operations (SAR) are other major aspects under Navy. Providing maritime security of the country is one of the major challenges and on some occasions the writer has observed that existing maritime intelligence and surveillance capabilities are insufficient to identify the issues at precise time of them.

In this essay, the writer is interested in knowing whether expanding maritime intelligence and surveillance capabilities by combined security affiliates in Sri Lanka would ensure greater protection for existing maritime security issues which harm the national security of the country. Being an island nation Sri Lanka has the responsibility of protecting a huge maritime environment around the country. Writer further highlights inadequacy of existing maritime intelligence and surveillance system which leads the path to increasing of illegal seaborne activities of the country. It is realized that Lack of maritime domain awareness can make Sri Lanka vulnerable to maritime threats.

Comprehensive understanding of maritime theories is a key factor for effective co-operation. To understand about the security dilemma in contemporary situation in Sri Lanka the writer expects to discuss the theories of Security, Sea Power and Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA). Because it is highly essential to understand the maritime theories. Hence understanding of these theories and concepts are very important to strengthen the link among protection units and then it is practically easy to understand the situation. Further it will help domain awareness to formulate a combined strategy to build a national plan for maritime security.

Theoretical Understanding of Security, Sea Power and Maritime Domain Awareness

With the evolution of modern security architecture used to highlight especially in the field of international relations, issues of war and peace, arm race and control and balance of power are key areas of study under security. Maritime security is a major component of the island nation and the standard maritime intelligence and surveillance system will justify the security of the nation.

The security power is always offensive. States cannot escape from the security dilemma, because military expansion of power always appears offensive to the other. Expansion of maritime intelligence and surveillance capabilities may witness to our neighbors as offensive action; however it is important to understand the realistic nature of security. Security would have been analyzed and defined over the decades. When it comes to the maritime security writer's secondary level concept is 'Sea Power'. Sea power is a larger concept than land power and air power. The maritime historians such as Admiral Mahan, Julian Corbett and modern maritime experts such as Robert Kaplan are well recognized personalities who talked on maritime power. Sea power is a relative concept and writer will elaborate this term with Sri Lankan maritime capabilities.

As long as sea power is concerned the necessity of understanding the Maritime Domain Awareness will be highlighted. It is basically effective understanding of anything which associated with maritime domain which could impact security, safety and economy¹. Situation awareness is a key factor for this concept and gathering of information, intelligence and surveillance can be discussed under this concept. Starting with the broader picture of 'Security' and subsequent concept of 'Sea Power' and 'Maritime Domain Awareness' will be discussed under theoretical frame work in subsequent paragraphs which will help to elaborate the topic.

Holistic Approach to Security

The famous professor for international relation Barry Buzan has mentioned five sectors of security so influential that it has become "the canon and indispensable reference point for students of security" according to him the security of human collectivities was affected by factors in five major sectors, those are namely military, political, economic, societal and environmental². Maritime security lies over all four components of above and it shows the importance of maritime security to an island nation like Sri Lanka. England used to enhance their maritime capabilities and it became a great maritime power having understood the importance of the protection of coastal area around her being an island nation. Sri Lanka failed to understand the importance of border protection and costal surveillance throughout the history and was unable to understand the potential importance of safeguarding maritime environment which ultimately led to horrific war for thirty more years. That is how army outnumbered naval strength in the country due to internal security pressure. Now it is high time to change policy decisions and strategies to utilize more

1 G. Till, Sea Power, A Guide for the Twenty-First Century, Oxon, Routledge, 2013, p. 307.

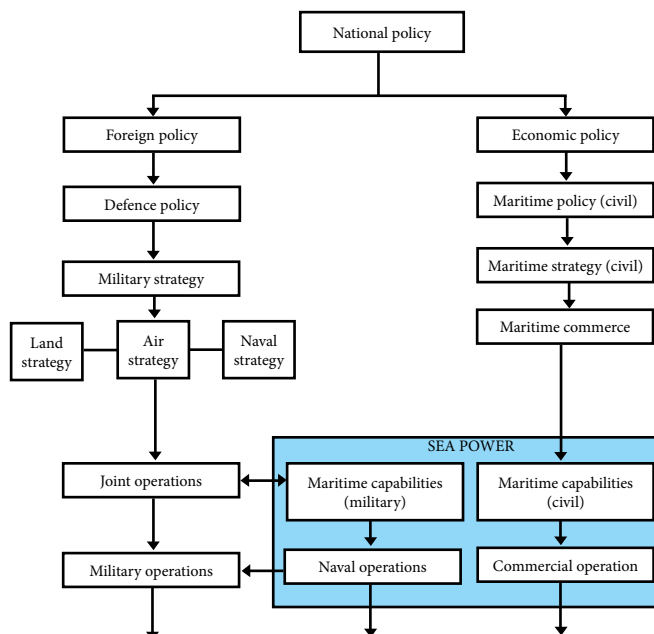
2 M Sheehan, International Security, An Analytical Survey, New Delhi, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc, 2006,p.46.

resources in maritime environment. Then it will help to establish maritime and economic security in the country and lead to maritime power projection.

Sea Power to Strengthen Coastal Security Surveillance

Defining of sea power is having contradictory arguments even among the scholars in the field of maritime warfare. However to process with this essay, the writer found one interesting setting in relation to national policies derived from sea power.

Figure I: Sea Power and its setting³



It is the right time to apply this theoretical frame work into Sri Lankan context to understand the importance of gap free coastal surveillance. Sea power is a relative concept and all countries have some degree of sea power. It is essential to discuss sea power under Sri Lankan civil and military maritime capabilities as per the above diagram. As long as the coastal protection surveillance mechanism around the island is concerned, military maritime capabilities are basically naval ships, craft, naval surveillance systems and costal protection units. Under civil maritime capabilities, merchant shipping, fishing, marine insurance, ship building and repair can be considered. Naval operations are conducted via military maritime capabilities and commercial operations are conducted via civil maritime capabilities. To establish sea power the combination between these two elements are essential.

Location of our country is extremely important when analyzing the sea power of Sri Lankan military and civil maritime capabilities. The borders of Sri Lanka are vulnerable to major nontraditional and traditional security issues. Moreover the SLOC's (Sea Lines of

Communication) are running adjacent to Sri Lanka and shipping lanes are vulnerable to the security threats as well. Another important area of study is energy security around Sri Lanka. That needs to be preserved through SLOC's and protecting of maritime environment from navigational hazards and pollution. Our maritime environment is required to cover huge area at sea and surveillance capabilities need to be expanded accordingly. Further inability of establishing a combination of security effort among maritime affiliates is another area to concentrate. Extremist ideology and jihadist thoughts of contemporary world ignited by some segments of population in the world can badly affect the national security of Sri Lanka. Illegal migration of violent groups can be a new security challenge that SLN has to encounter in the future.

Given its geographic and strategic location, Sri Lanka's maritime security is critical. Expansion of maritime intelligence and surveillance capabilities by enhancing factor of 'Mobility' is one strategic solution to strengthen sea power. With the advent of current maritime issues, they become the country's paramount importance in order to take required action and counter specific issues within a very limited time frame and space. In order to achieve the gap free coastal surveillance objective, speed and range become critical factors for success. Maritime Patrol Aircraft (MPA)/ Medium Range Maritime Patrol Air Craft (MRMPA)/Dornier Air Craft (DAC) can be utilized to enhance the maritime surveillance capabilities in the future. Utilizing Off Shore Patrol Vessels (OPVs) for surveillance afford only a larger platform availability to conduct military operations. A key advantage of MPA/MRPA/DAC is, militarily far exceeds the benefits incurred by OPV. MPA/MRPA/DAC may allow much quicker real time live data inputs via technology which is an inbuilt capability of MPA/MRMPA/DAC systems and will aid the officers to take required military actions with almost zero lead times. Timely action is a critical success factor in ensuring national security. Surveillance aircraft have the capability to cover a vast area geographically with much greater speeds. The savings in terms of time is very considerable for giving its potential speed in full operational use. Military budgetary expenditure for Navy needs to be carefully considered with these recommendations and the type and model of the air craft, it can be decided accordingly. This can be utilized as a combined military operation with Air Force since this is not an individual challenge of a particular military unit, where as a challenge to the national security of the country.

Transferring of illegal items crossing the IMBL (International Maritime Boundary Line) has become a huge barrier for the national security of both countries. Effective mechanism is needed to discuss sharing of intelligence and surveillance data between intelligence services among the counties to counter possible threats. Intelligence observations have disclosed that most of the illegal items were transferred closer to IMBL and both navies (Sri Lanka and India) are required to identify possible drug/illegal items transferring routes, as this has become a transnational activity and it can turn out to be worst in future. In term of IUU fishing, civil maritime capabilities can be used as a strategy. It means that domination of sea by out numbering Sri Lankan fishing boats in Northern and North Western waters around Sri Lanka (Civil Maritime Operation). This will create psychological effect on Indian fishing community making them reluctant to fish in our waters. This is completely an intelligence operation which requires a comprehensive

operational plan. Kudankulam nuclear power plant is situated in South most costal belt of Tamil Nadu, India. Energy security is the most important factor for both countries and possibilities of nuclear theft activities in future is another important factor pertinent to the national security of both counties. The prominence of establishing of sea power in a country like Sri Lanka is a salient requirement. 'Development of civil and military maritime capabilities in a country is a main approach to the success of operations' was the argument that the writer was attempting to build up in above paragraphs.

When focusing on above threats and challenges of the island, the lack of mutual understanding between maritime affiliates can be identified. Further, the lack of Maritime Domain Awareness was a critical area where the writer has observed upgrading is needed. In Subsequent contents, the writer will be specifically focusing on the lapses in costal security mechanism and requirement of national plan to achieve maritime domain awareness.

Collective Plan to Achieve Maritime Domain Awareness

We have to learn from the history. Joint operations conducted by tri forces were one of the key factors of success to eradicate terrorism from Sri Lankan soil. With the existing non-traditional security issues, this is the high time to implement a national strategy for maritime security, combining all maritime components. To achieve this strategy, a mechanism for maritime domain through collection, integration and dissemination of surveillance data and intelligence is needed to be formulated. The writer will be focusing on formulating a "Maritime Domain Awareness Centre" to work out above national plan. This will enable operational commander to detect, deter and interdict adversaries. The centre will be the core unit to collect all the data together and analyze to implement counter strategies against threats.

The purpose of MDA is to facilitate timely and accurate decision-making. MDA does not direct actions, but enables them to be done more quickly and with precision⁴.

The writers proposing methods for effective MDA are as follows.

1. Information and surveillance data gathered from various sources of maritime affiliates need to be channelled into 'Maritime Domain Awareness Centre'.
(Gathering from human intelligence and surveillance equipment)
2. Gathered information is required to be analyzed via staff officers of different security components. (Working Staff of the centre needs to represent each security component such as Navy, Army, Air Force, Police, Coast Guard, Customs, Immigration and Emigration, Department of Fisheries etc.)
3. The staff officers are required to share information and data among the security affiliates and decisions must be taken quickly and with precision.
4. _____ Processed intelligence must be prioritized according to threat axis of the

⁴ National Plan to Achieve Maritime Domain Awareness, <http://www.virginia.edu>,2005,(accessed 16 December 2015).

country and disseminated into the relevant authority. According to the intelligence reports naval and commercial operations can be implemented. (to establish sea power around the island)

5. Further, gathered intelligence is required to forward for strategic decision makers to implement national policies. At this level, changes of strategies in collaboration with operation level decision makers are essential. (Discussion on lapses in costal security arrangement architecture such as modern surveillance equipment, MPAC, OPV, fishing boat-commercial operations, etc)

By implementing above steps, prompt accurate and timely results can be achieved. This will enable to establish sea power in Sri Lankan waters. It is a fact that understanding of theories and concepts under 'Security' to an island nation like Sri Lanka is very important to formulate combine strategies to counter vulnerabilities to the country.

Conclusion

Sri Lanka Navy is the outer most defence component which provides security of the country. The holistic view of theories under 'Security' is helpful to understand the realistic nature of the existing security issues. The identification of possible traditional and none traditional security issues of the country in precise time is very important to create policies by the strategic level decision makers. Naval warfare which is an art and profound study of military strategies, is one of the important factors of the security of the country. To prove that, Naval and Commercial Operations are core factors to establish 'Sea Power' in our waters. With the experience gained during last thirty years of war navy was able to develop their skills and capacity in a considerable manner. This experience was not gained within a single day of military campaigns. Navy was able to develop their capabilities of weaponry and platforms of fighting to counter maritime terrorism. Further they applied the lessons learnt from world's military history and Sri Lankan sources. With that immense exposure, Navy must be able to act as an initiating authority to implement 'Maritime Domain Awareness Centre, combining other security components in the country.

The significance of naval contribution to strengthen the national security of Sri Lanka clearly needs to be identified. To achieve this success, formulation of combine maritime awareness centre will be the core unit that writer tried to convince in this paper. The expected areas to be developed are new surveillance technology, sharing of information and data among security components, knowledge of security human and naval diplomacy. When achieving those objectives maritime cooperation, sharing of intelligence and data across borders and sectors, joined maritime domain awareness, combined exercise with security components are some of the activities which are expected to be carried out. The development made by Sri Lanka Navy to achieve the national requirement was highly recommended and appreciated by the people and Government of Sri Lanka. The military historian Clazuwitze once said that for a victory a country mainly needs to have three factors, namely the support from the respective government, people of the country and

military will. Sri Lanka Navy was able to have these components to make their success in maritime warfare. So this is the time for Sri Lanka Navy to initiate this new concept of 'Maritime Domain Awareness Centre' in collaboration with essential security components. This strategy will help to ensure gap free coastal surveillance in the island nation.

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MEANS TO ENSURE GAP FREE COASTAL SURVEILLANCE

Lieutenant Commander (G) KKC Udayanga

1. Introduction

Coastal Surveillance in Sri Lanka from country's defence perspective, has been a key area of interest for a long time. The importance of this requirement has multiplied in numerous times as the country went through tough times engaging with the confrontations with the LTTE terrorist organization until the 19th of May 2009 where the LTTE organization was annihilated completely by the Sri Lankan armed forces.

As Rahul Roy- Chaudhury mentioned in his book, the need of coastal surveillance way back in 1971, almost three decades after the country's independence in 1948, has clearly been a vital area of Sri Lankan security context.

*"In April 1971 the Indian government provided military assistance to Sri Lanka, in order to counter the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, a terrorist organization of Maoist origin. This followed a formal request by the government of Sri Lanka to several countries, including India, Pakistan and Britain. In the event, India was the first to provide the required military assistance, in the form of naval and air units. Five frigates carried military supplies to Colombo, and carried out surveillance duties off the Sri Lankan coast (in association with the miniscule Sri Lankan navy and a few British warships). The main task of the Indian naval force lay in preventing the seaborne supply of arms and ammunition to the terrorist movement"*¹

However, it is my understanding that the failure of then governments and their defence policies to implement a conducive strategy for a complete and timely necessary coastal surveillance system which in turn, resulted in arms, drugs and many other contrabands smuggled into the country over the years and as a result of that leaving the country's security at stake. This argument is partly true even today's scenario is concerned.

The lack of an effective and efficient coastal surveillance system and associated procedures and methodology in the country led not only to the verge of collapse of the country's security at the hands of LTTE with their arms, aircraft and other war like materials smuggled into the country but also leaving a trace of criminal up rise amongst the civil society with the local criminal gangs who smuggled many contrabands ranging from drugs to weapons.

However, thankful to the courage of the country's armed forces and the political backing of the country, the menace of terrorism was completely annihilated by year 2009 almost after three decades of war and destruction. But, one cannot fully guarantee when will the next conflict hit the country and how? Instead of that, it can be guaranteed that

1 Rahul Roy Chaudhury, Sea Power and Indian Security, London, BPC Wheatons Ltd, 1995,p62

the next conflict or the influences for the next conflict would come beyond the country's borders disguised in many forms i.e non state actors, Islamic extremism, influencers via social networks etc, when critically analyzing the lessons learnt from the 1971 insurgency to 2009- end of LTTE as well as world trend in conflict patterns to the present date.

If such harm causing factor must come to the island nation, it needs to cross the oceans around and land in either physical or non-physical forms (propaganda, digital transmissions etc.). This again highlights the requirement of having a gap free coastal surveillance in the country with the integration of all organizations pertaining to the security of the country.

2. Importance of Coastal Surveillance to a Coastal State like Sri Lanka

This article will use the term 'Coastal State' hereafter with a meaning of a small or medium size state situated by the sea, but without the ability or will to maintain a Bluewater navy with the capacity to establish sea control outside its own local waters.²

The term 'Coastal state' and its definition provides the very definitive description of our country's point of view on our maritime strategy for a considerable time period into the future during which our political-will and the economical capacity would not be improved unless a miracle occurs.

Taking into consideration the amount of sea area around the country which is nearly 7 times of its land area, the coastal state Sri Lanka has full sovereignty within its territorial waters and certain sovereign rights on its continental shelf and in the Exclusive Economic zones (EEZ). Hence, the term or the concept of 'Coastal Surveillance' in broader terms should not be limited to territorial waters or to a certain distance from the base line, but to the very extent of the EEZ and continental shelf too. Further, it must contain the three dimensional aspects i.e. air, surface and sub-surface of its maritime domain in order to implement an effective mechanism of coastal surveillance.

A country like Sri Lanka whose GDP growth rate was at 7.4% with a GDP of 74.94 billion (2014)³ will not be in a financial position to afford purchasing military hardware in a very short time in order to strengthen her interests in Coastal Surveillance. Even if the Sri Lankan government wishes to buy such military assets in a short span of time, the regional powers will not allow for such a prompt expansion in the military and naval sectors in a tiny nation like us whose military activities are continuously being monitored by different regional and global powers through various sources of intelligence.

However, an instrumental upgrade for existing sensors and equipment that are being used for the purpose of coastal surveillance and intelligence gathering and incorporation of modern sensors that are readily available in the world market will be a very viable solution for the above discussed matter rather than expanding military hardware and naval assets.

2 Geoffrey Till(ed.), Sea Power Theory and Practice, Oregon, Frank Cass,1994,p148

3 "The world bank", <http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/srilanka>,(accessed 10 December 2015)

Moreover, a restructuring of human factor in terms of their training, knowledge and capacity in the personnel engaged in duties related with coastal surveillance and intelligence gathering will also be an additional enhancement to the existing system.

As per the Norwegian strategist Jacob Borresen, the primary task of a sea power has traditionally been to protect merchant shipping and fisheries in order to keep the freedom of seas. But, for a coastal state, instead, the primary area of concern is the exertion of coastal power, which is to protect the exploitation of resources in the EEZ and secondly to defend against violation of sovereignty of the territorial waters therefore contributing to the defence against invasion from sea. Even though, an invasion from another nation from sea is a very unlikely factor when considering the present world context, it is indeed evident that for a coastal nation to exercise its coastal powers, there needs to have an efficient and well-established coastal surveillance system to serve the purpose.

Since a coastal nation like us presently has no intention of developing into blue-water navy concept and exercising the naval power in the oceans, it is more suggestive not to develop the navy alone quantitatively and qualitatively which in turn would cost billions of dollars drain out of the country. Instead, the integration of air force and army assets with naval assets in order to function an effective coastal surveillance would be a cost effective and much manageable solution for a coastal state like us, where our every operation is based on the shores.

In fact, this has been the major trend for most of the advanced navies in the world as a means of cost cutting, provided that the operation ability is not degraded, rather it is more increased. The more integration amongst the different arms of armed forces, the more convenient in execution of plans, intentions and above all, dissemination of information, which is one of the key areas of focus in this paper for the purpose of gap free coastal surveillance.

3. Threat Perception

3.1 Fraudulent ships at sea

It is a major role of coastal surveillance, monitor the vessels around the country. A ship with a fraudulent identity can pose an immense threat to the country's security as well as neutral shipping at sea in many ways. Mere intention of such fraudulent ships at sea may be there to smuggle drugs, arms or for human trafficking. And such a ship may bear the intention of operating as an agent of a non-state actor whose objectives are not in the favour of a particular nation; especially this risk is very relevant for a country like Sri Lanka which transits a crucial post war period.

The common mode of keeping a track on ships identities and their objectives and intentions, transiting ocean around Sri Lanka and ships entering Sri Lankan ports are, with the help of technologies of AIS (Automatic Identification System), VMS (Vessel Monitoring System), basic RADAR observations and by means of challenging ships at sea by naval units etc.

However, a recent study carried out by an Israeli maritime data analytics firm- Windward Corporation states that there have been 59% increase of GPS manipulation over past two years (2012-2014) and a 55% of ships misreport their actual port of call for majority of their voyages and large cargo ships shut-off their AIS transmissions 24% longer than other ships and more critically, 19% of ships 'Go Dark' are repeat offenders⁴.

Further, in their report, they suggest a strategy for countering such fraudulent ships who go dark with such inferior intentions called 'A Ship DNA' programme. This programme is totally an activity based intelligence which probes beyond the ships tracking services available in today's market to validate identities of ocean going vessels.

It actually compares the ships' pattern of behavior and past associations with other ships and even more confirming whether they have loaded or unloaded from their destined specific ports of call in the past.

A deep study on the above discussed area of concern will provide new scopes and dimensions to think and take immediate actions to detect and track such fraudulent ships at sea.

3.2 Piracy

Pirate attacks stemming from the Horn of Africa (predominantly Somali origin) have been recorded as close as 1000nm. Whereas from Sri Lanka isolated incidents being reported as close as 300 to 200nm. With over 80% of world's seaborne shipping transit through the Indian Ocean, over 1000 ships pass south of Sri Lanka daily and these numbers are enticing to pirates if not maritime surveillance and detection is properly executed. To take an estimation of future piracy trends, amongst the 245 reported piracy incidents in 2014, a 75% of incidents had taken place in or around following countries⁵ (Number of incidents have shown against);

- a. Indonesia - 100
- b. Malaysia - 24
- c. Bangladesh - 21
- d. Nigeria - 18
- e. India - 13
- f. Singapore strait - 8

These figures show the future impending trend in piracy in our South Asian region where the need of an advanced coastal surveillance is required for Sri Lanka in near future.

4 B. Opall Rome. 'Israeli startup scours the seas for threats', International Defence News, Vol.3, no.20, 2015, p.14
 5 ICC international maritime bureau, 'Piracy and armed robbery against ships', <http://www.hellenicshipping-news.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/2014-Annual-IMB-Piracy-Report-ABRIDGED.pdf>, 2015, (accessed 28 December 2015)

3.3 Illegal Unreported and Unregulated fishing (IUU)

The IUU fishing that take place in the Northern and Eastern seas off Sri Lanka have a heavy impact on the national economy. As per the statistics in the research paper released by Point Pedro Institute of development (year 2013), a monetary loss of Rs 5,293 million (\$41 million) was annually made by the Indian fishermen⁶. This figure will be on the rise annually unless a solid workable plan is established to prevent IUU fishing takes place in Sri Lankan waters while making more losses to the national economy. If such a preventive plan to curb the IUU fishing is established, a sound coastal surveillance mechanism is a need of the hour to make sure the effectiveness of the plan.

3.4 The extent of Future Search and Rescue (SAR) operations

The most recent disasters in the aviation history such as MH 370 Malaysian Airliner and Air Asia 8501 have opened up eyes and ears of SAR experts on the future scale of SAR operation that needs to be deployed with the drastic increase of number of flights all over the world annually. On average, there are 93000 flights originating from 9000 airports around the world and at any given time and there are between 8000 to 13000 planes in the air around the globe⁷. Amongst these figures, a considerable number of flights with thousands of human lives onboard fly over the region of the Indian Ocean which Sri Lanka's SAR responsible area also falls in. In order to prepare for such an unexpected disaster in future and to act swiftly and accurately, the coastal surveillance must play a key role in the scope of country's SAR mission planning and execution. The SAR factor of the coastal surveillance should encompass the safety of large number of naval vessels and lives of their crew members at sea transiting our SAR region as well. This can be done by means of having adequate radar surveillance covering the entire SAR region as well as keeping a track of every flight or ship passing our Flight Information Region (FIR) and Maritime Domain, with deployable maritime assets (both Air and Sea) at any given time to a distress call.

3.5 Maritime Pollution

It is believed that a 5% to 15% of all large vessels are violating the law by discharging waste oil into the oceans. It has been estimated that the number of world's shipping fleet is currently about 88000 vessels. It is believed that, 85% to 90% of the world fleet complies with the international rules with respect to maritime pollution by discharging waste oil. Unfortunately, the remainder, some 5000 to 7500 vessels, routinely and intentionally pollutes the seas. Estimates of illegal dumping ranges from 70 million to 210 million gallons of waste oil spilled into the world's water

6 'Lanka loses over Rs.5 b. yearly due to fish poaching: Think tank', the Sunday times, 11 October 2015, <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/151011/news/lanka-loses-over-rs-5-b-yearly-due-to-fish-poaching-think-tank-167451.html>, (accessed 29 December 2015)

7 <http://www.ask.com/vehicles/many-flights-day-3dd16fef54eaae9f>, (accessed 29 December 2015)

each year⁸. Considering Sri Lanka's maritime importance to its economy in terms of tourism and fishing industry, the absence of an effective coastal surveillance system would result in our waters are open to rampant abuse thus causing grave damages to aforementioned areas of economic avenues. Hence, it must be reiterated that only a well established and well-netted coastal surveillance is the only means of preventing maritime pollution disasters around the waters of Sri Lanka.

3.6 Staging ground for powerful nations

Eventhough, this is purely a hypothetical situation, it could be expected to the worst case scenario that in the absence of a sound surveillance system over the waters of Sri Lankan interest, these waters may turn into a lurking grounds for powerful nations possibly with a strong naval presence. It should be emphasized that even at present Sri Lanka left exposed and vulnerable of her sovereignty in the waters around her by submarines of naval superpowers in the region as Sri Lanka Navy does not possess any underwater capability at least to pose a deterrence. However, the absence of a sound coastal surveillance system that can cover three dimensional aspects of maritime environment would transform Sri Lankan waters into staging grounds where these nations may use their power against Sri Lanka as a means of governing their will over the interests of Sri Lankan government. This would cause an unpleasant scenario in the regional political balance and could lead Sri Lanka being subjugated to surveillance of a different power.

4. Gap free integration of Sensors and Human Factor

For the ease of proposing a gap free coastal surveillance, the broad concept is sub divided into two different scopes namely; technology and the human factor and information associated with those two. These two key areas will mainly cover the entire region of coastal surveillance focusing a gap free intelligence mechanism.

4.1 Human factor and information

Under this, all personnel involved-in and every organization, even the ones which have the least role in coastal surveillance fall in. The agencies involved in the role of coastal surveillance are;

- a. Army b. Navy c. Air Force d. Police Department
- e. Coast Guard f. National Intelligence Service/s

Further, the organization of these agencies comes in three different levels; they are;

- a. Command/Strategic level b. Operational level
- c. Tactical level

8 Marine defenders, 'illegal dumping', <http://www.marinedefenders.com/oilpollutionfacts/illegal.php>, (accessed 29 December 2015)

The self-explanatory figure 1 will show the organization of above Agencies which come under aforementioned levels and how they need to function in order to have an efficient mechanism of information dissemination thus reducing the reaction time for any unforeseen/unexpected eventualities.

The mere expectation of integration of all levels and all agencies is; it should be barrier- free and delay-free which will ultimately result in the process of smooth information dissemination and sharing with less or no delay amongst relevant authorities, so that decisions are taken at right time and they are proactive rather than reactive.

It is mandatory to enforce a common doctrine and joint operational procedures for every agency involved in coastal surveillance so that carrying out joint operations and functioning Joint Operational Headquarters (JOH)/ Operations Rooms (OPS rooms) become more convenient as every agency interchanges their procedures and instructions with each other. This is true for tactical level where the ground operations are carried out which essentially need integration to facilitate easy corporation between ground units of different agencies. (And, this is a basic level advantage I have discussed in the early part of my essay -please refer to section 2 of this essay)

It is required to integrate all levels and agencies within a certain level to ensure the gap freeness and thus minimizing the delay taken to decision making. The technical aspect of the integration in order to minimize the delay with added capacity, will be discussed later in this essay.

The next most important area is to train men who are involved in different duties under every agency performing coastal surveillance, as without commitment, efficiency, tactics and attitude of this human factor, these bits and gadgets of technology would do no better.

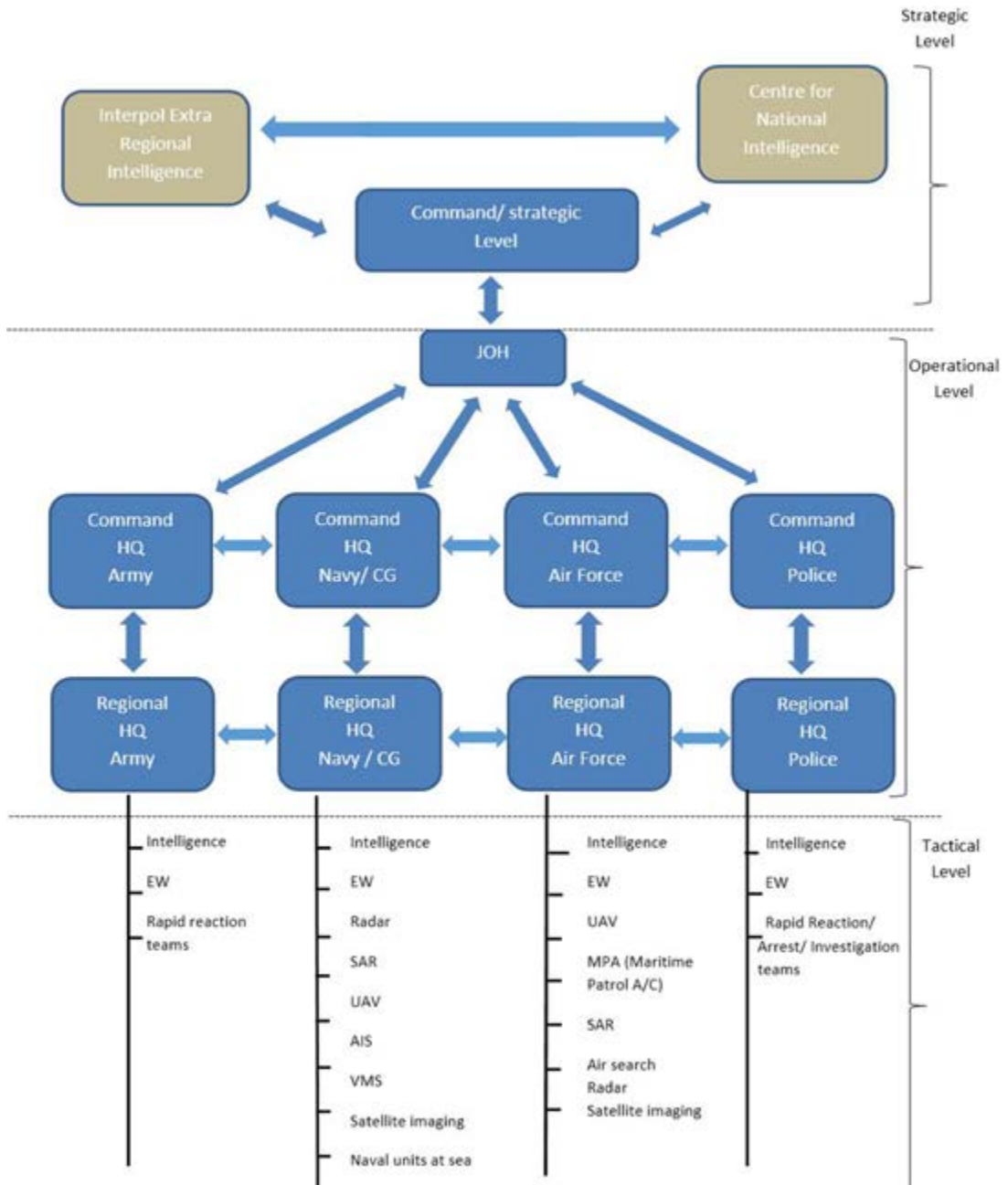


Figure 01

4.2 Technology and Information

The most common primary sensor used in coastal surveillance is the RADAR. However, at present the RADARs are only being utilized by Sri Lanka Navy and Coast Guard for maritime surveillance. These SLN and CG RADAR stations are both ground based and ship/craft operated ones. SLAF is also using its ground based air search RADAR for the surveillance and tracking of air craft in our flight region of responsibility.

However, it should be emphasized that the RADARs that are being used in SLN and CG are all basic navigational RADARs that are readily available in the market which operate in 'T' band (AFR 55/44 Standard) with a frequency range of 8 to 10 GHz and these navigational RADARs have following drawbacks when they are used for the purpose of coastal surveillance.

- a. The range limitation, as they operate in the X band
- b. Vulnerable to weather effects on its performances
- c. Vulnerability for jamming as they are neither frequency agile nor equipped with Electronic Counter Measures (ECM)

Hence, it is a timely requirement of the SLN to adopt for more advanced surface surveillance RADARs with more range capacity operated at low frequencies preferably C or D band. (0.5 to 1 GHz and 1 GHz to 2 GHz). This will enable coastal surveillance authorities to keep a track of vessels even at 200nm away from the base line thus fulfilling our requirement of having covered the entire sea area from base line to EEZ. And, these ranges are further extended with the installation of such surveillance RADARs onboard SLN OPVs/ larger vessels which might come in very handy in evaluation the vessels movement around Sri Lanka, further if such vessels can be installed with air surveillance radars, these could do the supportive role to the ground based air surveillance RADARs too in establishing the clear picture of both air and surface.

RADARs alone will not suffice for the purpose of coastal surveillance. An integration of information extracted from different sources will do much better for the aforementioned and provide a clear and detailed picture of the situation to decision makers.

Another major area of extracting intelligence for the organizations mentioned at section 4.1 of this essay is the Electronic Support Measures (ESM).

The ESM can be in three forms for the purpose of intelligence gathering; they are,

- a. Signal Intelligence – SIGINT

Gathering and collection of EM data in order to determine the equipment and state of technology used by others to acquire knowledge of any weakness or limitation in others' systems.

- b. Electronic Intelligence- ELINT

Is the product of activities used in collection and processing of potentially hostile non communication electro magnetic radiations.

- c. Communication Intelligence- COMINT

However, COMINT will not be discussed in this essay as it is purely involved in war-time among warring parties and will do little to the coastal surveillance in peace time.

Utilizing EW equipment onboard naval vessels, ground bases and air craft will enable authorities to collect EW data on the shipping as well as air craft around the country's air and sea. The most important factor in EW is to maintain a data bank of collected data over the years, so that the identification of ships , aircraft or any other form of transmission are becoming easy with less time consumption for decision making. An important area of concern in maintaining a data bank is to incorporate it with a pattern analysis of every contact passing Sri Lankan waters or air in order to facilitate the appraisal of a situation when a situation arises pertaining to any suspicious contact.

A pattern analysis of any contact must contain the followings;

- a. The travel history
- b. Records of goods they have been carrying
- c. Details of past ports/air ports visited in the past
- d. Total details pertaining to the current journey
- e. Past/present details of ownerships of ships/ aircraft
- f. Detailed history of routes of every contact
- g. Average time interval between every journey
- h. Details of crew joined for every journey
- i. Details of AIS and their transmission durations etc.

This data bank is shared amongst all levels and within the levels (as discussed in section 4.1) to ensure the readily and timely availability of information to any agency at any point.

Further, these EW data can be incorporated with the data available with AIS, VMS and satellite imaging to ensure the situation awareness and minimize any misinterpretation of information. Also, these data can also be stored in a data bank for further reference in the future.

The need of real time update from the tactical level to the operational levels and command/strategic levels is a must to ensure the effectiveness of the system as it facilitates to take decisions at the correct time without any further delay.

The real time update of all sensors we discussed above i.e. RADAR, ESM, UAVs (ground based or maritime based launched), and other sensors such as electro optic devices can be done through a secured data-link. This will enable secure information sharing amongst the tactical units in the ground (Air/ Surface/ Sub Surface) and to superior levels (Operational and Command/ Strategic).

The next advancement needed in this particular field is the implementation of C4I (Command, Control, Computing, Communication and Intelligence) or at least C4 system between operational and tactical levels and between every tactical unit to ensure the smooth function of information load each unit is handling.

In order to cater for the information load handled between all levels, there needs a mandatory secured network, communication link and high capacity data linking to allow for the extremely large number of data exchange.

As I have reiterated few times early in the essay, the need for underwater capability at least to pose a deterrence for external forces who operate sub marines in our waters, the most economical and politically reasonable solution is to acquire underwater sensors such as active/passive sonars. Those could be in the form of Hull Mounted Sonars (HMS) onboard naval ships or as individual units that can be operated in the ocean at fixed locations around the country (Majorly deployed at strategically important locations). This will provide the minimum required level of surveillance on sub surface in order to compile the best situational awareness picture for the purpose of coastal surveillance. A summary of aforementioned idea is depicted in below Figure 2.

5. Conclusion

Being an island nation, Sri Lanka's coastal surveillance plays a vital role in terms of its security. Perceiving the possibilities of future impending security threats and recalling the horrific incidents took place in Sri Lanka during period of hostilities, it is indeed a need of the hour to implement a sophisticated coastal surveillance in the country.

The warfare and threats associated with it are dramatically changing their dimensions in the world. The conventional warfare has been diminishing over last couple of centuries, and the threats emanating in the form of asymmetric warfare and 4th generation warfare are on the rise. The present world's conflicts such as the menace of terrorism and their gradual change and adoption of tactics to the changing world are evidence for that.

Looking into the bigger picture, it is evidently highlighting the existing draw backs and loop holes found in costal surveillance of Sri Lanka through which possible threats can easily sneak. Hence, it is a timely necessity to update and upgrade existing coastal surveillance with every means to ensure the gap freeness while making sure a seamless integration of all relevant agencies.

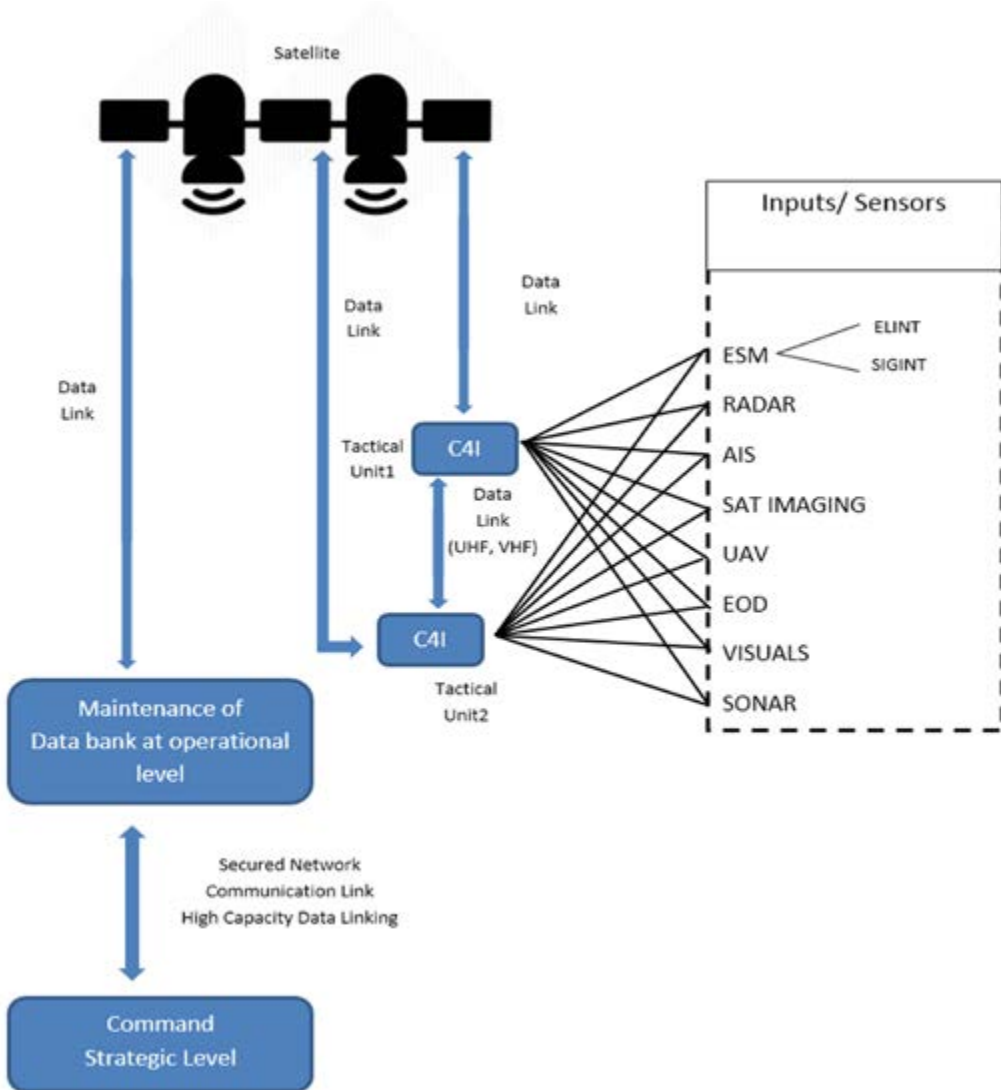


Figure 02

Such integration of agencies should be the ones who are equipped with modern technologies that are available in the world and make sure that reforms in Tactics, Techniques and Procedures (TTP) being followed. Moreover, generalizing the TTPs will definitely workout well for every agency engaged in coastal surveillance at every level (Tactical, Operational and Command/Strategic levels).

With such elevations to technologies and TTPs being used and followed, will not suffice, as without human factor any of these could become useless and meaningless. Therefore, the personnel who are engaged in the duties related to coastal surveillance must be trained properly and very systematically for the efficient functioning of the system.

Finally, with the combination of both human factor and the technical factor with well-planned TTPs will ensure a gap free coastal surveillance for Sri Lanka.

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4. B.Opall-Rome, 'Inside Israel Navy's High Command Centre', International Defence News, vol3, no.20,2015,P1,p6,p8
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8. NATO Publications, Allied Tactical Publication Volume 1-Allied Tactical Instructions and Procedures, NATO, 2002

CHALLENGES TO MILITARY LEADERS OF THE FUTURE AS A RESULT OF CHANGING

Lieutenant DN Amarawansa

Posterior to the enactment of the Navy Act¹, post independence in 1948, the Royal Ceylon Navy was breathed life into and “renamed as the Sri Lanka Navy”², subsequent to the entry of the Second Republican Constitution into force. The Sri Lanka Navy, recognized “as the Guardian of the Sea” , “is a well-balanced and cohesive force, capable of operating in waters around Sri Lanka effectively safeguarding our national interests.”³ A force endowed with a crucial brown water role⁴, the Sri Lanka Navy ensures the stability of the Indian Ocean Region from potentially impinging forces thus bearing “significance not only for the Indian Ocean Region littorals, but the entire world.”⁵ “With Sri Lanka envisioning to be a maritime hub as it surges forward as the Wonder of Asia, the Sri Lanka Navy⁶ plays a key role in making this a reality”⁷, for wide endorsement holds a navy to be “the most vital defence force of an island nation”⁸.

The lifeblood of the Sri Lanka Navy, preceding her fleet, is her compound mass of a labour force, of human units, of which a sole unit is at the helm of the organization. The human function, i.e. naval labour, as evinced by Vice Admiral Mike Mullen, is a navy’s “most important resource, (for) they’re our most expensive resource”⁹; a fact indubitably suggestive of the labour intensity of the organization. Whether a service providing entity is capital or labour intensive depends on the ratio of capital against labour utilized in the function of providing such service. “While capital intensive is more expensive and requires a higher capital investment, labour intensive production requires more labour input and requires higher investment in training and education of employees.” The Sri Lanka Navy is a capital-intensive entity as opposed to “a labour-intensive Army”¹⁰, a trend prevalent in Britain as well. Yet, upon comparison with such a Navy, the Sri Lanka Navy remains a thoroughly labour intensive force.

1 Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, An Act to Provide for the 2 Sri Lanka Navy, History, Sri Lanka Navy, 2014, viewed on 14 December 2015, <<http://www.navy.lk/history.html>>.

2 Aravinda M, Bandara M, ‘Harnessing the Great Ocean’, in Business Today, Sri Lanka, 2014, pp. 16-24.

3 Sri Lanka Navy, op.cit.

4 “Even though the Sri Lanka Navy was termed as a ‘Brown Water Navy’, she has performed splendidly as a Blue Water Navy”, Rizwie R, ‘Sailing to Blue Waters’, in The Nation, Sri Lanka, 2013.

5 Shaukat K, ‘Potential Factors that Could Destabilise Freedom of the Seas’, Galle Dialogue, 2013.

6 The SLN is held at very high esteem by “Australia and New Zealand on one side and America and Canada on the other”, Aravinda M, Bandara M, op.cit., pp. 16-24.

7 M Aravinda, M Bandara, ibid., pp. 16-24.

8 Sri Lanka Navy, Mission and Role, Sri Lanka Navy, 2014, viewed on 17 December 2014 <<http://navy.lk/mission-and-role.html>>.

9 Aerospace Daily, Navy Wants Platforms, Systems to be Less Labour Intensive, Senior Official Says, Aerospace Daily, 2002, viewed on 20 December 2015, <<http://aviationweek.com/awin/navy-wants-platformssystems-be-less-labour-intensive-senior-official-says>>.

10 Caverley JD, ‘Death and Taxes: Sources of Democratic Military Aggression’, University of Chicago, December 2008, p. 192

The labour force of the Sri Lanka Navy comprises of sailors¹¹ and officers¹² where “officers take on management responsibility, and ratings (sailors) can be seen as the workforce.”¹³ Naval officers and sailors remain vitally distinct “in keeping with the hierarchical order aboard ship”¹⁴ where throughout history; officers are “trained to be the leaders and supervisors of enlisted personnel... (where the) rank, pay and career opportunities for officers are commensurate with their elevated level of responsibility.”¹⁵ The careers of officers and sailors “provide rewarding experiences, educational and training benefits, and competitive compensation”¹⁶ consequent to choice of becoming either, entailing “different requirements, commitments and responsibilities. Classically, officers being the cream of the educated youth were of “the higher-class, distinct from the gentry by virtue of their social background, Anglicized education, even race and genealogy”¹⁷ as opposed to the sailors who traditionally were “rustic recruits, who predominantly came from agrarian backgrounds”¹⁸. Nonetheless, a growing shift of paradigms has been triggered against the rapidly changing socio-economic climate of the island, notwithstanding the established gulf between the cadres.

The shifting paradigms in Sri Lanka, post formative years of the Sri Lanka Navy, heralded through the attainment of substantial socio-economic parity has effectuated a trickle down effect on education and consequentially the upbringing and social circumstances of all citizens. The dwindling, once pronounced, social disparity between the standing of an officer and a sailor is a truth in the global realm of naval affairs and at its crux lies education. Sri Lanka’s literacy rates and educational attainments have risen steadily having become “an independent nation in 1948 and today the youth literacy rate stands at 97%.”¹⁹ Sri Lankan statistics portrayed State geared “to accomplish its goal of ensuring that all children have the opportunity to attend school by 2015”²⁰. A critical leftist venture, through the 1950s to the 1970s²⁰, in the sector of education bore hard on elitism and the once burgeoning officer

11 “All officers other than warrant officers and subordinate officers shall be appointed by commissions under the hand of His/Her Excellency the President. An officer so appointed is hereinafter referred to as a “commissioned officer”, Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, op.cit., Art. 9(1)

12 Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka, *ibid.*, Art. 12

13 Royal Navy, Officers, Royal Navy, viewed on 22 December 2015, <<http://www.royalnavy.mod.uk/officers>>.

14 Fellman S, Tell Us: Should Officers be Called Sailors?, Navy Times, 2011, viewed on 23 December 2015, <<http://archive.navytimes.com/article/20110701/NEWS/107010320/Tell-usShould-officers-called-sailors->>.

15 US Air Force ROTC, Overview, US Air Force ROTC, 2014, viewed on 23 December 2015, <<https://www.afrotc.com/careers>>.

16 Military.com, 10 Steps to Joining the Military, Military.com, viewed on 16 December 2015, <http://www.military.com/Recruiting/Content/0,13898,rec_step03_enlisted_officer,,00.html>. 19 Military.com, *ibid.*

17 Athawale Y, Challenges for Military Leaders of Future due to Changing Socio-economic Norms, The United Service Institution of India, 2009, viewed on 17 December 2015, <<http://usiofindia.org/Article/Print/?pub=Journal&pubno=579&ano=702>>.

18 Athawale Y, *ibid.*

19 Fullbright, The Education System of Sri Lanka, Fullbright, 2012, viewed on 24 December 2015, <http://www.fullbrightsrilanka.com/?page_id=609>. 23 Child Fund International, Expanding Access to Education in Sri Lanka, Child Fund International, 2016, viewed on 29 December 2015, <https://www.childfund.org/Expanding-Access-to-Education-in-SriLanka/?no_redirect=true>.

20 The leftist regime “strove for economic self-reliance... In education she unified a diverse array of schools into one state system, strengthened a national examination system and strove to delink subject syllabi and curriculum texts from the former colonial power, Britain. Formerly private and denominational schools were nationalised”, Little A, Globalization and Education in Sri Lanka, Revue Internationale D’éducation de Sevres, 2014, viewed on 27 December 2015, <<https://ries.revues.org/3774>>, pp. 7-8

class candidacy, and in its place a greater educational equality was ushered in. Nevertheless, such venture bore bittersweet fruits in favour of the Sri Lanka Navy's officer candidacy, for inasmuch as greater social parity was achieved it in disturbed the traditional balance between the officers and sailors on the account of their educational standing.

A rightist shift in governance, during the late 1970s, aimed at promoting the State's engagement in a rapidly globalizing economy meant that the once idealized motivators²¹ for being a unit in the naval labour force, i.e. predominantly in the sailor cadre, were now of diluted attractiveness. Evidence that "educational participation has increased at all levels for all social groups"²² is an implicit manifestation of the actuality that "the average recruit of today is decently educated, aware, ambitious... (and) often more conscious of his rights than obligations"²³. Statistics²⁴ delineate the trends highlighted where young people are more likely to be employed... in manufacturing and services... and employed in the private sector"²⁵. The relative upsurge in "access to qualifications, both foreign and domestic, has increased among all social groups"²⁶ and the verity that "young people's educational and occupational expectation levels are much higher than earlier"²⁷ insinuate that the matter of pride in wearing a naval uniform and being accorded a revered status among the masses is an appealing opportunity cost to alternative choice of employment and a way of life.

Presently, the prerequisite criterion of education for subsequent selection as an officer in the Sri Lanka Navy differ marginally depending on the scheme of entry of the applicant. A cadet entry, degree scheme, applicant is required to have "passed the General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level) with minimum qualifying results for University admission"²⁸ whereas, a cadet entry, non-degree scheme, applicant is required to have "passed General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level)"²⁹. The reality that needs to be acutely addressed is that regardless of this being the stringent criterion for officer candidacy it does not exclude sailor candidacy on the grounds of holding equivalent qualifications. The salient affair implicated is that during the infancy and youth of either officering or being a sailor the socio-economic standing, on multiple bases, of both cadres will be unvaried. Through the officers and sailors of the Sri Lanka Navy, inasmuch as those units of foreign navies, "train together, deploy together and come to rely on one another during their time"³⁰ in the service it is here that a pressing and pivotal concern of the Sri Lanka Navy of today and tomorrow lies. This concern bears upon the modern day officer the challenge of leading his/ her men to meet the needs of the Sri Lanka Navy against the socio-economic dynamic, explored afore.

21 Net MBA, Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, Net MBA, 2010, viewed on 23 December 2015, <<http://www.netmba.com/mgmt/ob/motivation/maslow/>>.

22 Little A. op.cit., pp.7-8

23 Athawale Y. op.cit.

24 UNICEF, Statistics, UNICEF, 2013, viewed on 21 December 2015, <http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/sri_lanka_statistics.html>.

25 Little A. op.cit., pp.7-8

26 Little A. ibid., pp.7-8

27 Little A. ibid., pp.7-8

28 Sri Lanka Navy, Become an Officer, Sri Lanka Navy, 2014, viewed on 23 December 2015, <<http://www.navy.lk/become-an-officer.html>>.

29 Sri Lanka Navy, ibid.

30 Marines, Enlisted Marines and Marine Officers, Marines, 2016, viewed on December 2015, <https://www.marines.com/videos/-/videolibrary/detail/video_enlisted_marines_and_marine_officers>.

The burden of the challenges engendered through sharp socioeconomic fluctuations will be weighted and must be borne by the officer cadre of the Sri Lanka Navy, for, as the leadership, upon them fall the responsibility of navigation through seas, be they choppy or placid. Naval leadership is expounded as “the art, science, or gift by which a person is enabled and privileged to direct the thoughts, plans, and actions of others in such a manner as to obtain and command their obedience, their confidence, their respect, and their loyal cooperation”³¹, or simply “the art of accomplishing the Navy’s mission through people”³². “The ability to lead others is an elemental characteristic of service... (where) natural leaders are drawn to the pursuit of positions of influence and importance. And emerging leaders are challenged to build their leadership skills through ongoing leadership development.”³³ “The Naval tradition places special emphasis on the development of leadership ability... elaborating on the responsibility of naval officers to develop leadership skills³⁴ for as propounded by Admiral Arleigh Burke “no matter what mark an officer may leave in history by his deeds in battle, or in intellectual contributions, or in material inventions, his greatest legacy to his country will be the example he has given as a man and as a leader of men”³⁵.

In supplementation of the charge explored afore, the need to embrace the Sri Lanka Navy’s peacetime role is burgeoning. Admiral Jayantha Perera explicated that “the Sri Lanka Navy is a force built upon the foundation of fighting one of the most inventive and aggressive insurgent groups of the past century, the much vaunted LTTE naval wing: the Sea Tigers”³⁶. In spite of this fact, the Sri Lanka Navy is well immersed in transition to becoming professional naval force in the aftermath of the bloody civil war that ravaged the country. Ideally, a co-occurrence must be effectuated for an accelerated revamping of mind frames to become cognizant of the fact that the Sri Lanka Navy must venture towards being technology oriented. The necessity for heightened professionalism grows in congruence to “the Navy’s future acquisition plans”³⁷ where a guarantee of attracting the finest of the educated youth to uphold ranks in or even consider the Sri Lanka Navy as a promising avenue of employment is chiefly dependent upon whether their knowledge base and skills could be applied efficaciously.

A mammoth undertaking lies on the part of the naval officer in ensuring that the Sri Lanka Navy focuses the energies of each individual sailor to technical application and disallowing either consequential or subsequent blunting of abilities. “While there is no dearth of volunteers, today’s recruits are much better educated, aware and aspiring than their predecessors”³⁸ and being better informed is advantageous to the Sri Lanka Navy for if

31 Montor K, Fundamentals of Naval Leadership, Command Performance Leadership, 2012, viewed on 18 December 2015, <<https://commandperformanceleadership.wordpress.com/2012/02/07/fundamentals-of-naval-leadership/>>.

32 Montor K, *ibid*.

33 America’s Navy, Leading With Purpose and Conviction, America’s Navy, viewed on 24 December 2015, <<https://www.navy.com/about/leadership.html>>.

34 Motor K, *op.cit*.

35 Montor K, *ibid*.

36 Silva De S, Sutton M, Future Considerations for Sri Lanka’s Navy, Australian Naval Institute, 2015, viewed on 26 December 2015, <<http://navalinstitute.com.au/future-considerations-for-sri-lankas-navy/>>.

37 Silva De S, Sutton M, *ibid*.

38 Athawale Y, *op.cit*.

their higher needs³⁹ are appealed to ergo catered, they as assets would usher a reinvigorated portrait of the Sri Lanka Navy as a viable employer that remains in sync with the dynamics of the sphere. The “private sector tends to wean away many of the potential bright youngsters who otherwise may have taken the call for the Services... (and) the dazzle also tends to distract those who are already a part of the uniformed community.”⁴⁰ The pivotal matter here is that dissuasion of the existent sailor cadre must be eliminated through exercise of strategic and tactical leadership of the naval officer by instilling a value in the sacrificial service and traditional values of honour.

Though quint essentially the Sri Lanka Navy cherishes “all those values that appeal to the higher human conscience, which propagate their sanctified image and cultural distinction in the society... (where) the value system and its supporting ethos are the fundamental strengths⁴¹ the bearing of such values are of dwindling relevance to the modern enlisted rate and sailor candidate alike. A root of the denigration of the Sri Lanka Navy’s sanctified architecture of values founded upon a wealth of history and tradition is in “the emergence of media as a powerful weapon to mould opinions... (and) have produced a new type of Society; with values much different to their predecessors resulting in the emergence of a new brand of heroes”⁴². Quashing of the “the romanticism surrounding the military profession... by intrusive media attention”⁴³ must be addressed by officers from the Sri Lanka Navy through valiant efforts to protect and promote the fundamental values long brought forth by the officers though time immemorial.

A distinctive culture prevails within each wing of the armed forces and none is as teemed in history and tradition as is the navy. On the flipside to sustenance of any culture is dogmatism and extremism, both of which are detrimental to the smooth passage of the greater ship. Insensitivity is learned mannerism attributable to all human units in the Sri Lanka Navy varying in degree and true to both emotion and the socio-economic dynamic. Emotional insensitivity of the officers to the “extreme side of the culture ritualism and excessive regimentation can become deep rooted... While discipline is the basis of the Military’s functioning, there is a thin line that divides healthy discipline and authoritarianism”⁴⁴. Insensitivity to the socio-economic dynamic renders officers irrational in their judgment and relative treatment of sailors, where the detriment of such insensitivity begets an abysmal function through the Sri Lanka Navy. The need for emotionally perceptive officers soar against the backdrop of socio-economic change and the need is real for culture to be revisited with timely refinement in hindsight.

Upon acute deliberation of the Sri Lanka Navy, macrocosmically against the macrocosm of the greater State, the factors at play remain irrefutable and devoid of oversight. History paints a tapestry of great detail apropos the sixty-five years post independence from colonially reigns. The waves and winds of all magnitudes have been braved by the innumerable strengths of men and women through sacrificial service over time and to date the human function of the Sri Lanka Navy remains as her essential constituent element.

39 Net MBA, op.cit.

40 Athawale Y, op.cit.

41 Athawale Y, ibid.

42 Ram S, Stress, Suicide and Fratricides in the Army: Crisis Within, Vij Books, India, 2010, p.43.

43 Athawale Y, op.cit.

44 Athawale Y, op.cit.

History testifies to the tides of change that have stirred the greater Sri Lanka Navy. The socio-economic fluctuations experienced in the days bygone have set the pace to alter traditional administrative and functional structures with the Sri Lanka Navy and the thirst is now for adjustment and sensitive catering to the needs of a service in the aftermath of circa three decades of brutal terrorism and loss of human life. The young officer of the Sri Lanka Navy of today and tomorrow is required to be a man not myopic, well read and in possession of an above average emotional intelligence. Evolution of the Sri Lanka Navy over six decades has renders it a steadily unfavorable employer but the service is in need of its labour force. Young officers of this generation and those to come must be sensitive to the sacrifices made by sailors in opting for a life of service foregoing comparatively lucrative alternatives.

Exemplary leadership remains the holy grail of officering and is presently more so than ever. Admiral William Pratt reasserted this tenet in saying that “the greatest problem facing the career naval officer is leadership. Yet this most important factor in a man’s life frequently is allowed to grow like a flower in a garden surrounded by rank weeds. So many feel that if they follow the average course of naval life, experience will finally give them the qualities of the great leader, and opportunity may reward them with high command. Few realize that the growth to sound leadership is a life’s work. Ambition alone will not encompass it, and if ambition alone be a man’s sole qualification, he is indeed a sorry reed to lean upon in time of stress. The path of qualification for leadership is a long, hard road to travel. It is a path of life.”⁴⁵ Ideal leadership nurtured through the Sri Lanka Navy would lay the course for graceful transition from a thickly combative force to a globally acknowledged professional navy in which the capacity for technical proliferation is manifest. The ideal young officer that is to be created would preserve the sanctity of the naval value structure and wealth of history-molded culture in active sensitivity to the socio economic dynamics and human emotion.

In conclusion, “maintaining high motivation levels in such environment is a very tall order placed on young leaders of men today”⁴⁶ but it remains as a need of the Sri Lanka Navy at present and must be catered in order to be the prominent naval force in the Indian Ocean Region and beyond. “The onus of changing and adapting now equally lies on the leader who has to calibrate his or her leadership style to suit the new-age recruits. This requires modern leaders to understand the aspirations of the new class of recruits”⁴⁷. For an officer to lead the sailors in his command in today’s naval sphere requires thorough education, a trait embodied by the majority of the officer candidates at present, and extensive emotional intelligence, for carrots and sticks will not move men of a sound and equivalent knowledge but pragmatism and human understanding will. A thriving spirit young blood that is eager to serve, officers and sailors equally inclusive, shoulders the present and the future, near and distant, greater Sri Lanka Navy. Actualization of aspirations envisioned for the Sri Lanka Navy and the greater State will be determined solely upon those bearing the reins and those bearing the harnesses and how strategic and tactical congruence would be achieved in the long term. The key to sound navigation through choppy seas to reach the promise land is near wholly reliant on the young officer cadre’s ability to lead and lead they must for the mission to become a maritime hub in the Indian Ocean Region and greater globe is a desideratum of paramount gravity.

45 Montor K, op.cit.

46 Athawale Y, op.cit.

47 Athawale Y, op.cit.

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WAR AND THE RULES OF WAR; A HISTORICAL APPROACH TO THE PRESENCE

Lieutenant Commander (Rtd) RS Jayasekera

Abstract

Disputes and conflicts are natural to the social life of human beings. In our encounters with fellow human beings, we may find ourselves in disagreement, dispute and quarrels as much as in unity, agreement and solidarity. We often understand those unpleasant and adversarial relations as conflicts.'

'Disputes and conflicts among individuals, groups and States tend to generate destructive consequences. In such instances, violence at times provides the means for dealing with disagreements and differences. Fights, riots, rebellions, invasion and war are some of the major violent manifestations of the ways in which humans deal with differences, disputes and of ego - trips of the Power Blessed leaders. Injury, destruction of property and death of fellow human beings are consequences of such violent forms of human behavior and practice.'

"All fear the rod; all fear death. Making oneself the comparison, let one neither slay nor cause to slay - Lord Buddha - THE ROD, 129. This is an eternal truth. There is a moment that the man tend to think about this truth and more than to save others lives he wants to save his own life and own land as well. Hence mechanisms appear or be endowed with to stop or curtail War. But human nature does not allow to stop War. Currently it has been developed or changed to 'proxy war'. Need is someone's ; instead fights someone else, Vivid example, Mosul and Aleppo.

1.0 Introduction

War is a very special type of Inter- State relationship. The general characteristic of this relationship lies in hostility which however, may take different forms. War has been defined as a contest among different States or between a State and some community treated as a State or a Militant Group, carried on by armed forces for the purpose of the conduct of hostilities. The condition of being engaged in such hostilities is known as "belligerency" and the rivals or opponents engaged in such hostile acts are known as 'belligerents'. A series of hostile acts taking place during a belligerency is called a War. It is followed by the cessation of diplomatic relations among the opponent States.

The question that arises here is: Is it also followed by the cessation of all juridical relations among the participant States? The celebrated German philosopher, Kant, was of the opinion that a war results in the cessation of all legal relations among participant states. According to him it was a state of lawlessness in the international sphere and from this point of view there could not be any possibility of enunciating any rule or law of war.

This view, however, has not found favour with most authorities on International Law. They point out that the use of force alone does not take an act out of the pale of juridical control; and here the parallelism between Municipal Law and International Law does not hold good. In municipal law the use of force (except in self defence) is the guarded monopoly of the State which is the sole arbiter of all intra - State disputes. There is, however, no super - State arbiter or regulator of inter - State disputes in the international sphere; and hence war, in the international sphere, has to be recognized at least under certain circumstances, eg. a defensive war or a war in defence of sacred principles of International Law or in defence of world peace etc.

In view of all this most thinkers in this field have recognized the necessity of admitting the relevance of war under the sovereign State-system and also of keeping it within the juridical control of International Law. Different thinkers, however, have justified war on different grounds but they all are in favour of keeping it within the pale of juridical control. Some (like W.G. Sumner, E.M Borchard and Karl Schmid) have justified war as a part of the historical evolution; others (like Von Treitschke and Kaufmann) as a settler of Inter - State disputes and still others (such as Hans Kelsen and the German Supreme Court) as a kind of self- help peculiar to International Law and again others (like Sir John Williams) as a means of change in the absence of adequate international organs. All this suggests that war does perform certain social functions within the inter - State system ; that it is a social institution and as such it should not be placed beyond the pale of International Law. Having said so it becomes necessary to hasten to add that its outbreak must be strictly restricted to what may be called the justifiable wars and even there the course and conduct of a war must follow an internationally acknowledged code of procedure.

2.0 Methodology

In this research I concentrated on the structuralists view of global system and transborder wars which can share the theories of Conflict Resolution and Geo Politics. I explored here the extent of the Rules of War and their viable application, equity and equality for all beings of the earth.

The sample comprised of 1000 both civil and military personnel. In order to examine the various factors, I corresponded with three levels i.e. journalists with battle ground exposure, local war analysts and those learned personnel. The techniques applied for data collection were qualitative and quantitative. The data analysed and interpreted using mixed method and also empirically generalized to ensure the validity and reliability

3.0 Background and neo liberal influence over the periphery

In the present day context the developing countries and the under developed countries are really in mess and helpless. The America led West do not allow those countries to feely move on of their own.

With the split of the USSR in 1991, the cold war ended and the NATO became the single power in the globe. They started from then onward at their soonest to exploit weak countries (economically and military) but rich in resources bestowed by nature herself. The US led West deployed such mechanisms which were highly professional and diplomatic to change the centuries old culture and the system of education and at last the way of life for their suit. Even leaders have been ousted who were not obedient to the West. In some countries they waged wars suddenly and those wars effected the death of thousands of civilians and destruction of physical properties. Wars seemed manufactured. These wars seem prolonged could not be afforded to those countries.

Man made 'Rules of War' for man's sake. But those rules seem superceeded by the wish of Powers on earth at their discreet. So that the people other than of big powers are vulnerable and their destiny is decided by the US. This concept is known to the world as Americanization whilst appearing a New World Order over the world resulting proxy wars, for instance, fights on Aleppo and Mosul.

4. Justifiable War

Wars are justifiable when they are waged on grounds of self - defence or in defence of universally acknowledged International Laws, or in defence of world - peace or for the preservation of Balance of Power. An attempt to put a stop to all wars was made through the General Treaty for Renunciation of War (the Kellogg Briand Pact, 1928) which enjoined the signatories to renounce war "as an instrument of national policy". Most modern thinkers condemn wars of aggression as unjustifiable : similarly most thinkers justify wars waged in self- defence ; even the Kellogg Pact admitted this in a note of June 23, 1928. Collective military actions (under the League Convent and now) under the UN charter are also justifiable military operations.

But however justifiable a war may be, consensus of opinion favours the acceptance of certain procedural rules on the conduct of hostilities. The rules governing those juridical relations among States which subsist even after the declaration of a war constitute the Laws of War or the rules of belligerency.

The first rule to be considered here is that relating to the declaration of war before the parties start hostilities against each other. The position here is still rather uncertain and considering the nature of the problems involved this is not surprising. If we turn to history, it seems that the ancient Hindus and Romans insisted upon a formal declaration before starting hostilities and this rule seemed to have been followed during the medieval age. But since the 17th century the prevalent view seemed to have been that though it might have been commendable on the part of an aggressor to declare his aggressive intentions to his adversary, there was no absolute need for it nor any obligation to do so. So that when we reach the beginning of the present century we find that the indispensability of declaration of war before commencing hostilities had been dispensed with through a long three centuries of tradition. What was insisted upon, however, was that the party attacked should receive some sort of a notice, either overt or implied. For instance, it was considered sufficient

notice of hostilities if diplomatic relations between the parties concerned were severed and 'reasonable time' was allowed to intervene between this severance and commencement of hostilities. But even this rule is respected more in its breach than in its observance. For instance during the Russo - Japanese war (1904) Japan captured Mukden and attacked Port Arthur without any ceremony and this performance was repeated (with greater alacrity and vigour) when Japan attacked Pearl Harbour in 1941.

| Deaths | Date | War |
|-------------|--------------|--|
| 60.7 - 84.6 | 1939 - 1945 | World War II |
| 60 | 13th Century | Mongol Conquests |
| 40 | 1850 - 1864 | Taiping Rebellion |
| 39 | 1914 - 1918 | World War I |
| 36 | 755 - 763 | An Shi Rebellion |
| 25 | 1616 - 1662 | Qing dynasty |
| 20 | 1937 - 1945 | Second Sino- Japanese War |
| 20 | 1370 - 1405 | Conquests of Tamerlane |
| 16 | 1862 - 1877 | Dungan revolt |
| 5 - 9 | 1917 - 1922 | Russian Civil War and Foreign Intervention |

Table 01

Destruction of Human Lives Source : Wikipedia

5.0 Conventions, Treaties and Declarations

Such and similar happenings began to disturb the conscience of the Nations specially since the middle of the last century. Hence a series of conventions were signed whose object was to lay down rules and regulations regarding the conduct of wars so as to make them more humane or at least to denude them of their more barbarous aspects and practices. The Declaration of St. Petersburg (1868) prohibited the use of projectiles of explosive and inflammable nature ; the Hague Convention (1899) prohibited, in addition to the above, the use of asphyxiating gases. The use of such liquids and devices were prohibited by the Washington Treaty (1922). The Geneva Convention (1906) provided for the protection of the wounded and the sick regardless of their nationality, for ambulance and military hospitals, acceptance of the red cross on white ground as the international mark of sanitary service. The Geneva Convention of 1929 provided for the humane treatment of prisoners of war.

Of even greater significance were the provisions of the Hague Convention of 1907 and the accompanying Regulations which provided for (i) the qualifications of belligerents, (ii) the treatment of prisoners of war, (iii) the permissible methods of injuring the enemy, (iv) conduct of military authority over hostile territory and (v) the rights and duties of neutral Powers. As a result of all this a distinction began to be drawn between combatants and non-combatants and the laws of belligerency were made applicable only to the combatants, who were the members of the regular armed forces. Apart from these, militia and volunteer corps commanded by a person responsible for his subordinates who have a fixed and distinctive

emblem recognizable at a distance, who carry arms openly and who conduct operations in accordance with the laws and customs of war are also to be treated as belligerents. This convention also provided for more human manner of conducting wars by prohibiting the use of position and poisoned weapons, treacherous killing of enemy soldiers or nationals, killing of the defenceless and those who have laid down arms, a declaration to the effect that “no quarters would be given”, use of projectiles or weapons causing unnecessary suffering, improper use of flag of truce, military insignia, uniform and badges of Geneva Convention, unnecessary and wanton destruction of enemy property and declaration amounting to the abolition of the right of action in court by members of a hostile nation.

The Hague Convention (1907) further laid down rules regarding enemy occupation and armistice.

OCCUPATION - An enemy occupied territory is one which is under the authority of a hostile army ; but it refers only to that part of enemy territory in which the authority of the occupying Power is actually established and effectively controlled. In such a territory the occupying Power must ensure public order and safety, enforce the existing laws as far as possible. For the purpose of maintaining law and order the occupying Power can collect taxes, dues and tolls but this must be done as far as possible according to the existing rates of assessment. Extra contribution is justified only on grounds of necessity of maintaining the army of occupation, but even this must be in proportion to the resources of the country.

The occupying Power can take possession of all cash, securities and movable property including transmission apparatus. It cannot however, compel the inhabitants to take part in military operations directed against their own troops or to compel them to swear allegiance to the occupying Power because “the rights of occupancy cannot be coextensive with those of sovereignty”.

ARMISTICE - A war is terminated by the cessation of hostilities with the intension (on both sides) of bringing about a condition of peace. The actual conclusion of peace is usually preceded by “negotiations for peace” undertaken at the initiative either of the belligerence or of neutral powers. A war is however, actually terminated with the conclusion of a treaty of peace, the effect of which is the “restoration of normal relations which obtains generally amongst nations”.

Very often the actual peace treaty is preceded by an armistice or a temporary suspension of hostilities. An armistice is to be clearly distinguished from a peace treaty in as much as the latter results in the total termination of a war whereas the former only suspends hostilities during the pendency of the truce - talks. It follows that if these peace talks failed, either party might resume hostilities after giving adequate warning to that effect.

Sometimes, however the terms of the armistice are such as to make it impossible for the weaker party to resume hostilities even if it is not satisfied with the terms of the ultimate peace, and in that case a dictated peace - treaty follows. For instance towards the close of the first World War the terms of the armistice (of 1918 -19) were that the Austro

- Hungarian army should be demobilised and that the German fleet be surrendered. Handicapped by such truce terms the Central Powers knew that it was impossible for them to resume hostilities even if they did not like the terms of peace. Hence the armistice which was originally signed for 36 days only had no option but to transform itself into the dictated peace treaty of Versailles.

It will be noted that the Hague Conventions concerned themselves mainly with the conventional types of wars, i.e. with wars on land and sea. Rules of air warfare hardly came within their purview. Towards the close of the 19th century the possibility of using balloons in warfare had become apparent and hence the first Hague Conference (1899) adopted a declaration “prohibiting for a term of five years of the launching of projectiles or explosives from balloons or other kinds of aircraft”. This was repeated or renewed in the later Hague Convention (1907) but till the outbreak of the first World War very few Powers had signed this declaration and even fewer had ratified it, so that throughout that war (1914 -19) “its provisions were not binding and were not observed”. As a result aircrafts were used during this war not only for military observations and attacks on military objectives “but also as a measure against the civil population”, using explosive from air which ‘if employed in land warfare, would have been contrary to the Declaration of St. Petersburg (1868) and probably also to the Hague Declaration (1899)”.

Naturally after the termination of the first world war the problems arising out of indiscriminate air bombing and bombing of civil population began to engage the attention of statesmen and jurists. Accordingly the Washington Disarmament Conference (1922) appointed a Commission (of Jurists) for drafting a code of rules guiding air warfare. This code (of 1923) provides important rules regarding aerial bombardment. One of the articles of this code (Art. 22) prohibits aerial bombardment for the purpose of “terrorising the civil population, destroying or damaging non-military private property or injuring non-combatants”. Similar bombardment for “enforcing compliance with regulations for payment is also forbidden”. Another article prohibits the bombardment of cities, town, villages, dwellings or buildings not in the immediate neighborhood of the operations of the land forces.” Article 24 of the Code specifically mentions instances of legitimate bombardment, namely, those directed against a ‘military objective’, that is ‘military forces, military works, military establishments, factories engaged in the manufacture of arms and, communication and transport lines used for that purpose’. The code makes belligerent States which cause injuries to person or property in violation of the above rules, liable to pay compensation. The position taken by the authors of the Code (at least so far as they tried to prevent bombardment of civil population) was further strengthened by a resolution of the General Commission of the Disarmament Conference (1932) which declared that ‘air attack against civilian population shall be absolutely prohibited’.

But neither this Resolution (1932) nor the Code (1923) became part of International Law and hence efforts to establish the immunity of non -combatants from direct (aerial) attack were made by asserting the application of that fundamental principle of International Law in the sphere of aerial warfare, during the inter-war period (1919- 1939). These efforts

were far from successful because even when this was accepted on principle, it was found that, was of no practical consequence so far as air wars were concerned. This was so because modern wars being total wars, those wars in which so to say the entire nations are utilised for war - efforts, there is great difficulty in distinguishing between combatants and non-combatants and also between military and civil objectives. Added to this there is the technical difficulty of aiming only military objectives and avoiding hitting non- military targets from the air. In these circumstances it was felt that unless there was a total prohibition of aerial bombardment there was no immunity for the civil population. Hence it is not surprising that during the second World War both the sides indulged in indiscriminate aerial bombing showing no mercy to the civil population. It has been well said that “the practice of the second world war reduced to the vanishing point the protection of the civil population from aerial bombardment”.

6.0 Conclusion

Conflict is an unavoidable aspect of human life. It does not mean at all that disputes and conflicts are natural to the social life of human beings. That recognition is indeed the beginning of another complex story. Fights, riots, rebellions, invasion and War are the major violent manifestations of the ways in which humans deal with differences and disputes. In this sense, differences and disputes also lead to something more than mere differences and disputes. Conflict is the concept that can adequately encapsulate such a process - the progression of differences into disputes and then to practices characterized by violence and destructive consequences. Wars have become a deliberate process of the world military giants. It's characteristic to them in manufacturing wars, especially proxy wars at present - someone fights for someone else. For instance Mosul and Aleppo. The agenda behind is not always visible. Does the UNO activate upon only innocent States ? Man makes Conventions and treaties for man's sake. The same man breaks them. You decide it.

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