

The Impact on Non-Traditional Security Threats in Sri Lanka

Kesan Terhadap Ancaman Keselamatan Bukan Tradisional di Sri Lanka

JESSICA ONG HAI LIAW, NADEEKA DE SILVA, NORA IBRAHIM, ABDUL HAMID MOIDEN, MUNIRA ABDUL RAZAK & ADLINA ABD KHALIL

ABSTRACT

The security threats exert a great challenge to national security of all states irrespective of the state's position in the international system. In the field of security studies, with the transition of state-centric security to individual security approach, non-traditional security issues have become a novel concept of security studies. As a maritime nation Sri Lanka's strategic location in the centre of the Indian Ocean makes it visible, perhaps vulnerable, to many external and internal threats. Hence, the government has to take immediate steps to mitigate these non-traditional security threats in order to ensure the national security and economic prosperity. This article is to examine the security environment and perspective of national security in Sri Lanka, identify the non-traditional security threats and analyse the impact on national security and identify mitigation methods to ensure national security. Methodology used were the primary and secondary data of a qualitative research method by using ethnographic study. Findings for this study is Sri Lanka must shape the security environment through an effective and realistic assessment of national interest. A great priority is to be given for the political stability while maintaining the continuous vigilance, to seek active cooperation and coordination effort within the region and beyond and engage in continuous process of confidence building within the nation and beyond. The findings of this study are the model-based approach is a better solution for Sri Lanka to overcome these security challenges, however, application of any model should be tailored to Sri Lanka's own specifications.

Keywords: Non-traditional; security threat; national security; security environment; transnational crimes.

ABSTRAK

Ancaman keselamatan memberi cabaran besar kepada keselamatan negara tanpa mengira kedudukan negara dalam sistem antarabangsa. Dalam bidang kajian keselamatan, dengan peralihan keamanan berpusat kepada pendekatan keselamatan individu, isu keselamatan bukan tradisional telah menjadi konsep baru kajian keselamatan. Lokasi strategik Sri Lanka di tengah Lautan Hindi menjadikannya kelihatan, mungkin rentan, terhadap banyak ancaman luaran dan dalaman. Oleh itu, kerajaan harus mengambil langkah segera untuk mengurangkan ancaman keselamatan bukan tradisional ini untuk memastikan keselamatan negara dan kemakmuran ekonomi. Artikel ini mengkaji persekitaran keselamatan dan perspektif keselamatan nasional di Sri Lanka, mengenal pasti ancaman keselamatan bukan tradisional dan menganalisis kesan terhadap keselamatan negara dan mengenal pasti kaedah mitigasi untuk memastikan keselamatan negara. Metodologi yang digunakan adalah data primer dan sekunder dari kaedah penyelidikan kualitatif dengan menggunakan kajian etnografi. Hasil kajian ini menunjukkan bahawa Sri Lanka mesti membentuk persekitaran keselamatan melalui penilaian kepentingan nasional yang berkesan dan realistik. Keutamaan yang besar harus diberikan untuk kestabilan politik sambil terus berwaspada, mencari kerja sama aktif dan upaya koordinasi di rantau ini dan seterusnya terlibat dalam proses pembangunan keyakinan yang berterusan di dalam negara dan seterusnya. Penemuan kajian ini adalah pendekatan berdasarkan model terhadap solusi yang lebih baik bagi Sri Lanka untuk mengatasi cabaran keselamatan, namun, penerapan model apa pun harus disesuaikan dengan spesifikasi Sri Lanka sendiri.

Kata kunci: Bukan tradisional; ancaman keselamatan; keselamatan negara; persekitaran keselamatan; jenayah transnasional.

INTRODUCTION

The emergence of internal security threats such as separatism, terrorism and transnational crimes has become a greater challenge to all nation states

particularly in the post-cold war era and further intensified after the 9/11 attack. These security threats exert a great challenge to the national security of all states irrespective of the state's position in the international system (Ramli Dollah

et. al 2013). In the field of security studies, with the transition from state-centric security to an individual security approach, non-traditional security issues have become a novel concept in security studies (Andika Ab Wahab et.al 2020) (Anon 2018). As a maritime nation Sri Lanka's strategic location in the center of the Indian Ocean makes it visible, perhaps vulnerable, to many external and internal threats. Hence, human smuggling, drug trafficking, illegal arms dealing, illegal fishing, piracy and many other related issues have become core concerns of the security dynamics of Sri Lanka.

At present, Sri Lanka is experiencing serious social problems, such as reconciliation, allegations of human rights violations and religious disharmony, have further aggravated the security dimensions of the post-conflict period. Hence, it is evident that the government of Sri Lanka has to take immediate steps to mitigate these non-traditional security threats in order to ensure the national security and economic prosperity.

From the Sri Lanka perspective, national security in Sri Lanka is more characterized by non-traditional security related to ethnic conflict, terrorism and internal conflict. during the post- conflict period, the government of Sri Lanka announced national security concerns as follows:

1. The reorganization of the LTTE in the international arena.
2. The possible re-emergence of terrorism within Sri Lanka.
3. The efforts by some to take Sri Lanka's internal issues in front of international bodies.
4. The challenges posed by the regional geopolitical situation.
5. The possibility of creating instability within Sri Lanka through indirect means.

However, the immediate threats posed by separatism, peripheral threats such as spread of separatist ideology, terrorist activities and the Global Tamil Diaspora (GTD) still remain active. On the other hand, Sri Lanka's geographical location makes it more vulnerable to external threats such as becoming a possible transnational criminal hub in South Asian region. During the conflict, total sustenance was provided by the sea. The LTTE's large vessels lay at anchor in international waters more than a thousand nautical miles away from Sri Lanka, effectively functioning as floating warehouses. Smaller vessels were dispatched to smuggle these items to the coast.

Therefore, it is evident that the LTTE have been using the maritime domain, effectively and extensively for various insurgent activities across the maritime boundaries more than any other insurgent group in the world history. Thus, the possibility exist for other insurgents to emulate them and continue to pose enormous challenges to the maritime security of the affected nations. Sri Lanka's post independent history is mostly characterized by the internal conflicts that revolved due to variety of reasons. The strategic location of the country as an island in the middle of the Indian Ocean near the Indian subcontinent and as a maritime hub in the region has increased its vulnerability to many traditional and non-traditional threats.

Nonetheless, as a small state apart from traditional military security threats, non-traditional security aspects remain very vital to identifying security threats. However, external aggression is highly unlikely, the non-traditional security threats have become critical issues to Sri Lanka's national security. The military victory over separatism was unable to heal the society that had been torn apart by a thirty-year protracted conflict.

Thus, a resurgence of separatism is highly possible with the support of the remnants of the LTTE who carry the ideology with strong backup from the Tamil diaspora. Non-traditional issues such as human and arms smuggling, drug trafficking, illegal fishing and diaspora radical activities have imposed a great security threat that could possibly those can drag Sri Lanka back to another conflict of the same or even higher magnitude. The combination of non-traditional security threats with prevailing social issues is an enormous obstacle to the development of Sri Lanka. The aim of the study is to analyse the security environment with a special focus on her liabilities to non-traditional security threats and to derive remedial measures to enhance the national security of Sri Lanka.

The research objectives of this study is to examine the security environment and perspective of national security in Sri Lanka, identify the non-traditional security threats in Sri Lanka and analyse their impact on national security and identify mitigation methods to ensure national security. Therefore, the underlining of the key concept of security and the identification of non-traditional security aspect are important. The five level of security theory of Barry Buzan is used in the research as the main theory to link the effect of non-traditional security threats to national security in table 1.

TABLE 1. Comparison of Key Features of Traditional and Non-Traditional Security

	Traditional Security	Non-Traditional Security
Theoretical foundations	Realism (and liberalism)	Critical approaches (e.g. Copenhagen School and Welsh School)
Type of threat	Military	Non-military (e.g. socio-political, socio-economic, and environmental)
Referent object	State	Community (may include states) and individual
Incentive (What's to gain/loss?)	Survival and physical safety of the state	See Traditional Security plus human survival, well-being, and dignity
Scope	International	Transnational
Prevention	Possible (e.g. deterrence)	Difficult; mitigation and adaptation
Solution	Diplomatic and military; does not require cooperation	Non-military; requires cooperation

Source: (Sebastian, 2016)

LITERATURE REVIEW

The captivity of the concept of security mainly to traditional military threats has been extensively debated with emphasis to non-military threats in the realm of security studies. Among the first few scholars, Robert McNamara argued that the dimensions of security expand beyond the traditional military threats (MacNamara, 1968). Further, he criticises that the traditional definition of security is narrowly focused on the traditional military threat and suggest a more particular concept linked to the stability and freedom from internal threats.

Moreover, the explanation of security through traditional military lenses leads to a theoretically confusing concept in reality. At present, states experience more non-military security threats that undermine national security than traditional security threats. Furthermore, many scholars have tried to incorporate social factors into the concept of national security.

"Threats and vulnerabilities can arise in many different areas, military and non-military, but to count as security issues they have to meet strictly defined criteria that distinguish them from the normal run of the merely political" (Buzan, 1998).

Since the post-cold war, scholars have argued that the concept of security should embrace human security and common security and global security. Hence, the non-traditional security aspects were included in the definition of security. As Mely Caballero Anthony, non-traditional security threats can be defined as challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily from non-military sources such as climate change, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, smuggling of people, drug

trafficking and other forms of transnational crimes. As Barry Buzan argues all forms of threats can be categorized categorised into five levels of security sectors; namely political, military, economic, social and environmental security (Buzan, 1991).

Furthermore, Hentz argues that state security is a concept which goes beyond the traditional security aspects. Therefore, confining the framework of security analysis is should not be merely state-centric and military-centric. Hence, "security" must be defined while taking all aspects into consideration in an increasingly coherent and fragmented international environment (Hentz, 2003).

As Knorr highlights in his work, "state can threaten foreign societies by other means than military violence. These threats may include actions of economic, ideological and politically subversive (Knorr, 1976).

Muzaffer (2008) noted that while classical inter-state wars tended to decrease in the post-Cold War era; there are many other serious threats to international peace beyond the full control of nation-states, most notably ethnic conflicts, religious militancy, terrorism, North-South conflict, and unfair economic competition (Victor Chibuike, 2018).

According to Mely Caballero-Anthony, Non-traditional security threats may be defined as "challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily from nonmilitary sources, such as climate change, cross-border environmental degradation, resource depletion and infectious diseases (Martand, 2017).

The main objective of the research is to identify non-traditional security threats. Thus, it is important to understand what characterize the non-traditional security threats. Non-traditional security threats

may be a result not only by state, but also by non-state actors such as social groups or individuals, which has a direct relation to human behavior. At the same time, these non-traditional security threats have distinct effects on the social, transnational and global environments. Therefore, the non-traditional security aspect includes political security, economic security, environmental security, food security, health security, cyber security and so on (Kumara, 2013).

Therefore, it can be understood that the non-traditional security spectrum encompasses a wide variety of integrated and disintegrated fields. The main characteristic of non-traditional security threats is non-military in nature of the threat. Most of these threats are transnational and cannot be completely overcome without having an effect on the people, their freedom, survival and dignity. The repercussions are severe and irreversible in nature (Kumara, 2015; Madanayaka, 2015).

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

For the research methodology of this study, philosophy of this study is positivism with the research technique of the qualitative research method were used in this study, by using ethnographic research to get the data and information for this study.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

IMPACTS ON SECURITY AND NATIONAL SECURITY PERSPECTIVE OF SRI LANKA

SECURITY AND MODERN TRENDS OF SECURITY

The notion of security emanates from the threat perception. There are subjective and objective elements of threat perception. A similar condition may create a different security environment in different countries at the same time. Much of it depends on how the policy makers and scholars interpret the factors and the level of people's fear. As Richard H. Shultz describes, non-traditional threats are complex, involving a myriad of threats, i.e. internal, regional and transnational, where in a large number of actors are involved where violence is generated not only by conventional physical force, but also by economic, environmental and social forces too. As Robert McNamara explains,

“it is being increasingly realised that it is poverty, not the lack of military hardware that is responsible for the insecurity of most of developing countries. That can be proven by the giving of examples from Rwanda, Liberia, Somalia and many other countries. The environmental threats and poverty were the main reasons of the civil wars that hampered the traditional security parameters. One of South Africa Scholar Greg Mills, enumerates four types of non-traditional security threats as confronted by developing countries such as territorial threats, economic threats, environmental threats and political threats.

Traditionally, state security is closely associated with the vital national interests of the state such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, independence, economic viability and political stability. These are perceived to be the aspects of military security. But intra and interstate security threats and the changing nature of conflicts instrumental in the drift of security. Over the past few decades, particularly during and after the Cold War, there has been a tremendous increment of territorial, religious, ethnic and economic disputes in the world. The non-military dimension of security such as human security, sustainable development, violence and terrorism had broadened the scope of the new security dimension. The national security closely tied up with the threat perception and the concept of power. There are four aspects of individual security that are contrary to the other threats; physical threats, economic threats, threat to fundamental rights and threat to position or status. The state itself can be a threat source of threat domestic law making and enforcement; direct actions against individual and group, structural violence, struggle over control of state machinery and a state's external security policy.

National unity and the capability to handle threats are important to maintaining the security of a state. However, transnational economic and financial flows have the ability to completely destroy a national economy or at least to seriously weaken it. Such threats cannot be eliminated using military means, but by formulating sound policies at the strategic level. However, it does not imply that the use of the Armed Forces has lost its relevance. On the other hand, non-military means have assumed the main importance. This novel notion gave ignition to widen the scope of security. Thus, comprehensive security came into existence. The concept of comprehensive security was first used by the Japanese in the 1950s. The Japanese are

expanding the scope of security beyond the military to other areas such as food, energy, environmental, communication and social security.

The notion of non-traditional security as a novel and has yet to consolidate its field. As Barry Buzan mentioned in his work, there are three primitive approaches to security studies namely Traditionalist, Wideners and Critical Security Studies. Buzan suggested the constructivist method of security synthesizing above three approaches. Further, he insists that security should be an empowering word that includes the political priority and justification of the use of force. On the other hand, Ramesh Thakur argues for a pluralistic coexistence of differing the concept of security, including national security, collective security” and “environmental security along with human security”.

IMPACTS ON NON – TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN SRI LANKA

Sri Lanka is in a constant struggle in the political economic and social domain with both external and internal threats. The post independent history of Sri Lanka has been characterized by uprisings communal violence, terrorism and separatism. Over the last three decades, Sri Lanka experienced a bitter and brutal period of its history due to the separatist movement carried out by the LTTE labelled as the world’s one of the most ruthless terrorist outfits. However, after two and half years of campaign Sri Lankan armed forces were able to completely defeat LTTE military effort. Although the LTTE was defeated militarily, there are some domestic and global elements who subscribed to the violent LTTE ideology.

Therefore, Sri Lanka’s primary threat is the re-emergence of terrorism and separatism. Even after eight years of the conclusion of ethnic conflict relevant authorities were unable to reconcile war-torn society and create harmony between different ethnicities in the country. Thus, restoration of law and order has become a challenge for law enforcement authorities.

As a developing country, Sri Lanka experiences political instability for many decades. Moreover, ensuring democracy and eliminating corruption are serious challenges any government in Sri Lanka is facing being in power. Although it is not in very frequent, natural disasters also have caused serious consequence to social life and economy of the country recently. However, the main threats revolve around the re-emergence of terrorism in the country.

Besides, Sri Lanka is facing a serious allegation of violation of human rights in the last phase of the humanitarian operation. The issue has been raised by the west particularly by the United States of America (US), to probe the crimes committed at the end of the conflict. The consequences of this allegation have already led to serious consequences in many sectors such as diplomatic, economic and political. In Sri Lanka, non-traditional security threats can be considered as the primary concern as they have a nexus with all its institutions. Major non-traditional security threat which have severe impacts on national security of Sri Lanka.

TERRORISM AND SEPARATISM

Since 1971, with the JVP first insurrection, terrorist activities were started in various magnitudes. Terrorist activities reached their climax from 1983 to 2008. The main perpetrators were the LTTE members who attacked and killed thousands of innocent civilians in cold blood. The violent nature of these attacks has convinced the relevant stake holders in the government sector, the civil and military and the general public that Sri Lanka is a sanctuary for terrorist activities. Then, the government started its operations to liberate terrorist’s held areas. Finally, in May 2009, the entire territory was liberated from clutches the ruthless terrorist. It was evident that after elimination of the LTTE, there were several attempts to re-ignites the terrorist movement However, it was suppressed by government forces. (BBC).

Therefore, it is evident that the pro-LTTE based in Europe are trying to use proxies in Sri Lanka to re-generate the conflict and violence. The other important fraction is the ex-LTTE cadres, both rehabilitated and non-rehabilitated This is a vital interest for long-term post-insurgency planners. The reports reveal of Government Rehabilitation Department has 12,167 enrolled for rehabilitation. However, it was estimated that there are six thousand or more non-rehabilitated cadres still in the society. Besides, the child soldiers’ figure was 594 who are under the age of 12. Thus, these ex-LTTE cadres, some of them are hard core and suicide cadres, offer a great opportunity for mobilization another conflict. Sri Lanka’s Armed Forces and police found huge arms caches and explosive stores including suicide jackets from the northern and southern parts of the country. It is believed that there is a huge number of arms, ammunitions and explosives that are still hidden under the earth and unrecovered.

This is the major non-military threat faces by Sri Lankans at present. The threat is posed in various faces both internally and externally. Therefore, LTTE re-emergence has transnational effects and it is very difficult to totally irradiate. As experienced in the last few decades, the consequences of terrorism are often difficult to reverse. Thus, it can be concluded that the re-emergence of terrorism is possible and this non-traditional security threat poses a serious threat to the national security of Sri Lanka.

FOOD SECURITY

The world food program defines food security as the condition where all people, at all times, have physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary and food preferences for an active and healthy life. Sri Lanka elevated its position to a lower middle-income country very recently. The analysis conducted island wide proves that the country is food secure at the national level. Three quarters of total requirement of food provides domestic agricultural crops while only one fourth was imported. Although food imports has been increasing in absolute terms, their share in total imports and total exports have been slightly declining or constant in recent years. As a whole, national level food availability has been on the rise due to increased domestic food production and importation without putting much pressure

on the balance of payments. While the share of agricultural exports in total exports was 25 percent, the share of food imports remained at 14.7 percent in 2014, which means the total value of food imports is sufficiently covered by the value of agricultural exports.

As per the World Food Programmed the indicators show that 23 percent of total population are undernourished and 33 percent people cannot afford to a nourished diet. Although, Sri Lanka has shown a great progress over other South Asian countries, Sri Lanka is still in the serious category under the World Food Programme. Some of the other affecting factors domestic food production are due to the growth of population agricultural lands are diminishing, climate change and natural disasters. The untimed rain and droughts have destroyed the harvest of entire country for many times in recent past. Therefore, it is important to note that food insecurity is one of the greatest threats to the survival of the population of Sri Lanka.

RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

Sri Lanka is home to many ethnicities and religions. Sinhala is the major ethnicity and Tamils and Sri Lankan Muslims are among the leading minorities. Buddhism is the major religion in the country and Hindu and Muslims are the larger minority religions. Ethnic and religious composition is as shown:

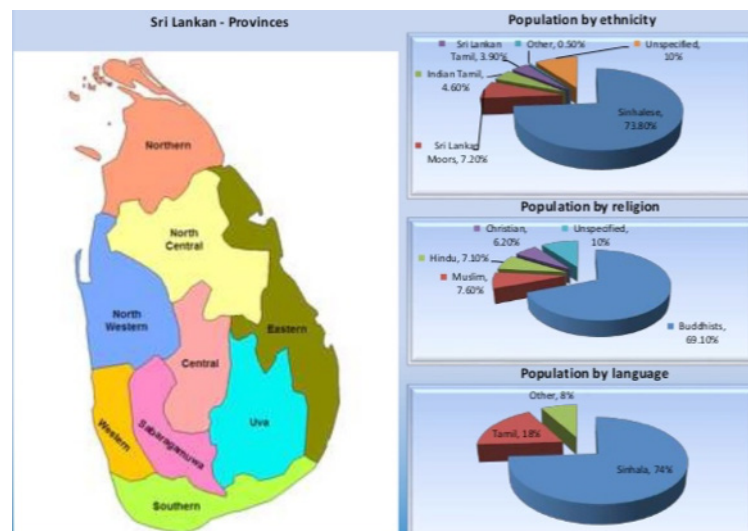


FIGURE 1. Population of Sri Lanka according to Ethnicity and Religion. (Source: department of census and statistics in Sri Lanka)

The religious violent activities have been in an incline since recently, particularly after the termination of the ethnic conflict in 2009. There are many religious base organisations have begun

their operations recently. The Bodu Bala Sena (BBS), Rawana Balaya (RB), Sinha – le are some of the organizations that are leading the way. The recent land claim over Vilpattu National Park and

the destruction of Buddhist temples in the Eastern Province are the core issues caused disharmony among these religions.

However, it has been observed that the crime rate related to religious violence has increased tremendously during the last couple of years. The tension is rising day by day among Buddhist and Muslims. However, GoSL has not found any lasting solution yet to this problem. These groups have attempted many times to forcefully enter government installations and even the presidential secretariat. The behaviour of all religious parties and the press statements of politicians have further provoked the general public by stimulating many sensitive areas. Therefore, the situation is continuously getting worse. During this fragile period of peace, it is obviously dangerous for an outbreak of another ethnic and religious disharmony that could lead to another conflict. Thus, these religious extremist movements present a great threat to the well-being of the people and society.

MEASURES TO OVERCOME NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN SRI LANKA

MODEL BASE APPROACH – A STRATEGY FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

There is great evidence of the success of nations which have formulated in economic development as a pillar of national security. Singapore followed a combination of economic development, military modernization and alliance strategy to strengthen national security. Having pursued an aggressive economic policy of economic growth based primarily on exports, manufacturing and trade, Singapore became an influential member of the Five Powers Defence Agreement (FPDA), which consists of Australia, England, Malaysia, New Zealand and Singapore. Japan is another classic example of a country's economic development and alliance strategy.

After World War II, Japan is maintaining a Self-Defense Force (SDF) and combining economic development and alliances strategy for Japan's security. As a global military power, China focuses much on economic development besides military modernization. Therefore, it is evident that there is a strong correlation between economic development and national security. Although Sri Lanka cannot be compared with China, Japan or Singapore, Malaysia

is a good example as a developing country. The conditions are similar to both countries except for a few. The Malaysian Security and Development Model (KESBAN) is a fine model which has been proven effective in a counterinsurgency environment.

MEASURES TO COUNTER NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS

It is understood that Sri Lanka as a country has yet to find a consensus of core values common to all. As for the core issue, it can be highlighted that the polarization of society over race and religion will definitely lead to instability again. Therefore, most of the political issues are deeply rooted in society causing dissatisfaction among ethnicities. First and foremost, good governance and democracy is a must on the way forward of Sri Lanka. Not only the military but also other state authorities and NGOs have to contribute equally in the effort of neutralizing these non-traditional threats. The government should not distract its attention from poverty elimination while dealing with other non-traditional security issues. The development programmes have to be pursued irrespective of any party or leader change. All religious and ethnic-based domestic organisations must work hard to reconcile the society. The importance of political unity must be considered by all political parties in nation building and national security concerns.

COUNTERING TERRORISM AND SEPARATISM AND RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM

The military victory over the LTTE does not seem to be a lasting solution to the separatism and terrorism that have a strong correlation to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. Strong political solution is necessary to address this issue to reconcile the society which was torn apart by three-decade long war. The LTTE separatism and terrorism is revolving in political discourse without a proper solution as the core issue. There has to be a synergic effort of military and civil authorities in post conflict resolution. Although LTTE military capabilities were paralysed in 2009, the political effort including the mass anti-government media campaign of remaining pro-LTTE groups are gaining popularity day by day. On the other hand, no one knows how many arms, ammunitions and explosives were cached during

the last phase of the operations. Thus, the military should keep surveillance on suspected people and areas to make sure these cached weapons will not be recovered for future armed struggles. Further, GoSL must work out a national plan for rapid development of the areas affected by the conflict. As discussed in the beginning of this chapter security and development must go hand in hand what was the lesson learnt in KESBAN model in Malaysia.

PRO-LTTE NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS

The ideology of a mono-ethnic Tamil homeland is much stronger within the rich and educated global Tamil population than those living in Sri Lanka. Ironically, it is the global Tamils who seek to establish a mono ethnic homeland in Sri Lanka, using local Tamil politics as an instrument. The correct analysis of an insurgent network enables them to attack it effectively to destabilise it. The pro-LTTE NGOs are one of the major threats to national security as far as the external threats are concerned. It directly affects the sovereignty and independence of the country. Over millions of Tamils diaspora scatter around the world is pressurising the GoSL in many different ways to undermine the reconciliation program undertaken by the government. Many of these pro-LTTE organisations are based in Canada, Europe and USA. Therefore, direct diplomatic engagement is necessary to overcome the pressure of these organisations.

Moreover, the identification of the funding system of these NGOs and how these organisations collect money is important. The sharing of intelligence with the relevant agencies where these groups are active is one of the best options to monitor and mitigate the activities of these groups. By doing that, a strategy can be worked out to paralyse the monitory nerve system of the violent diaspora. As discussed earlier, the non-violent and neutral component of the diaspora can be a part of the development process. The strong indication of the presence of ideology in the pro-LTTE networks suggests that the state mechanism for destabilising such networks needs to address the neutralization of the separatist ideology.

An action plan for this matter has to have short, mid and long-term objectives, covering both technical and non-technical aspects. At the strategic level, three instruments of national power i.e. diplomatic, military and economic, have to plan a

strategy in coordination to have the most beneficial coalitions and alliances to prevent the propagation of separation ideology both locally and abroad. At operational level, a research and development unit to cater to the evolving threats pertaining to the Tamil diaspora must be established. At tactical level, periodic and extensive training and awareness programmes need to be conducted for individuals in this level in order to impart them with the skills to identify resistance networks at an early stage.

FOOD SECURITY OF SRI LANKA

Although Sri Lanka seems secure as far as food is concerned at national level. It is obvious that the problem remains with the access to food for the population. The challenge is not just to ensure food security for an estimated 4.7 million people currently undernourished, but to feed an additional 2.4 million people expected to be inhabited in year 2050. Food insecurity is on the rise due to the growth of the population and an increase in income. Further, local food production will not be sufficient to meet the national requirement, even under the present level of per capital.

Moreover, there are burning issues such as high production costs, high wages and labour shortages, seasonal production that depends on the rainfall and drought period, price fluctuations, high transportation and wastage and geographical limitations on food production. In order to mitigate these issues some recommendations can be highlighted. First and foremost, national food security has to be handled by a combination of domestic food production and trade. It is important to introduce new transparent trade policies and further, acquisition of latest technology for food production and utilization. Micro-level food security should be handled through direct government intervention. In addition, social interventions and nutritional education to assure intra-household food security.

HEALTH SECURITY: DENGUE EPIDEMIC

Sri Lanka has achieved a number of noteworthy successes in the area of health security. Especially, infant mortality and fertility rates have dramatically declined, and life expectancy has increased considerably in the twentieth century. Sri Lanka has almost achieved a similar status in health to developed countries. A demographic transition is

underway as the relative proportion of the population over 60 years old is rapidly increasing. However, non-communicable diseases have surpassed communicable diseases as the leading cause of death in Sri Lanka. Communicable diseases such as dengue fever still pose significant health issues which nowadays are serious problem to national security.

In fact, the maximum cases have been reported from the populated and urban areas. The GoSL has to take necessary steps to rapidly mitigate this issue before it can cause more harm than today. There are some important measures that can be taken initially to stop spreading it. An effective garbage management system has to be introduced and monitored. Provincial council should be made responsible for the cleanliness of the general areas in their areas of responsibility. The awareness programmes must be conducted in all government and private institutions including schools. It is important to establish Dengue Defeat Units to inspect the house to make sure there are no areas left which can cause dengue.

Thus, it is important for Sri Lanka as a developing nation to adopt a model of security and development with its own specifications. In fact, it is the basis to eliminate these leading non-traditional threats as defined in the above chapters. However, this is a long process which needs a continuous commitment and supervision of both military and non-military components. Gaining political stability through setting up common core values to find consensus within all ethnic groups. It is equally important to find solutions to domestic problems to combat these non-traditional security issues. At the same time, the military should be trained and modernised to battle emerging threats in the future.

CONCLUSION

In Sri Lanka's threat perception, non-traditional security challenges have been the focus and these challenges are entrenched in the political and socio-economic domains. The lack of consensus on core values and national interest among the ethnicities has severely affected areas such as security and development. A model-based approach is a better solution for Sri Lanka to overcome these security challenges. However, application of any model should be tailored to Sri Lanka's own specifications.

The KESBAN model of Malaysia is one of the best models which has proven its success

in counterinsurgency operations. This model is a suitable model as it has been applied in similar conditions to Sri Lanka. Malaysia is a multi-ethnic, multicultural and developing country that has succeeded in curbing the communist insurgency in Malaya. Since the last military campaign was over half a decade ago, effective implementation of development is mandatory. The security and development of liberated areas should go hand-in-hand as it is necessary to win the heart and mind of the local populace inhabited within the area. A comprehensive strategy must be established to mitigate the pressure of pro-LTTE NGOs.

The diplomatic missions in diaspora dominated countries have a role to play in neutralizing the relevance of the presence of these groups in Sri Lanka's ethnic problem. Effective policy formulation and implementation will protect the country from any challenge of food security. Mitigation of sum of all these non-traditional threats will take longer duration due to its complexity and deep domination in political and socio-economic sectors. As a country, Sri Lanka needed to have a long-term commitment to the goal with greater consistency.

Sri Lanka is a relatively small developing nation which has over three thousand written histories, rich culture and heritage. Throughout its history, it has faced numerous security challenges due to its visible and vulnerable geographical setting. During pre-independence Sri Lanka had to face many external security threats from the Indian subcontinent particularly from south India. However, after the independence, Sri Lanka's threat perception converted to a different shape and most of the threats originated from internal sources. Security is an age-old dilemma in state craft. Its genesis is as old as the human social system. Until very recently, the concept of security was centred on the state and primarily on military threats from external sources.

However, with the passage of time, the nature of the threat and conflicts have changed. Perhaps the annexation of new territories has become outdated and many other methods have been discovered to engage with countries without establishing military contacts. With globalization, "security studies" have been subjected to drastic changes in which new dimensions were added such as political, economic, social and environmental sectors apart from traditional military security. The concern about state security was changed to an individual or human security aspect.

It was highlighted by many academic researches; non-traditional security threats are the most dominated factor in present security context with the relegated importance of conventional or traditional military threats. With no exception, Sri Lanka too had to face these non-traditional security threats throughout the post-independent era. Among those non-traditional security issues, separatism and terrorism are two leading threats even today which is Sri Lanka is struggling to eliminate. Most of the elected governments had to deviate from the development of the country due to their focus on combating terrorism and separatism.

Thus, economic development is yet to be achieved to address most of the problems which revolve around economic prosperity. Security and development are two of the most important concepts that go hand in hand. The ethnic conflict ended in 2009 after the elimination of the LTTE militarily. However, the victory over the LTTE does not seem to be a lasting solution to separatism in the country. The remnant of this ideological struggle carries out an array of campaigns on different fronts and of various magnitudes. The ethnicities have been unable to reach a consensus on core value which everyone would have agreed upon. Political instability is a continuing phenomenon in Sri Lankan politics. Governments are facing difficulties in stabilising the situation with separatist and terrorist actions. Apart from these problems, pro-LTTE NGO activities, religious extremism, food security and the dengue epidemic can be highlighted as burning non-traditional security issues.

Therefore, it can be deduced that the national security of Sri Lanka has been challenged by non-traditional security threats rather than conventional military threats. Out of the different models discussed for development the Malaysian Model for Security and Development (KESBAN) is the most suitable model with its own scrutinizing to suit the Sri Lankan environment.

Sri Lanka must shape the security environment through an effective and realistic assessment of the national interest. A great priority is to be given to political stability while maintaining the continuous vigilance, seeking active cooperation and coordination efforts within the region and beyond and engaging in a continuous process of confidence building within the nation and beyond.

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Munira Abdul Razak
Universiti Malaysia Pahang (UMP)
Pahang
Malaysia
Email: munira@ump.edu.my

Adlina Abd Khalil
Universiti Islam Antarabangsa Sultan Abdul Halim
Mu'adzam Shah
UNISHAMS
Pahang
Malaysia
Email: adlina@unishams.edu.my

Jessica Ong Hai Liaw (corresponding author)
Nadeeka de Silva (first author)
Nora Ibrahim
Abdul Hamid Moiden
National Defense University of Malaysia
Malaysia
Email: jessica@upnm.edu.my

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