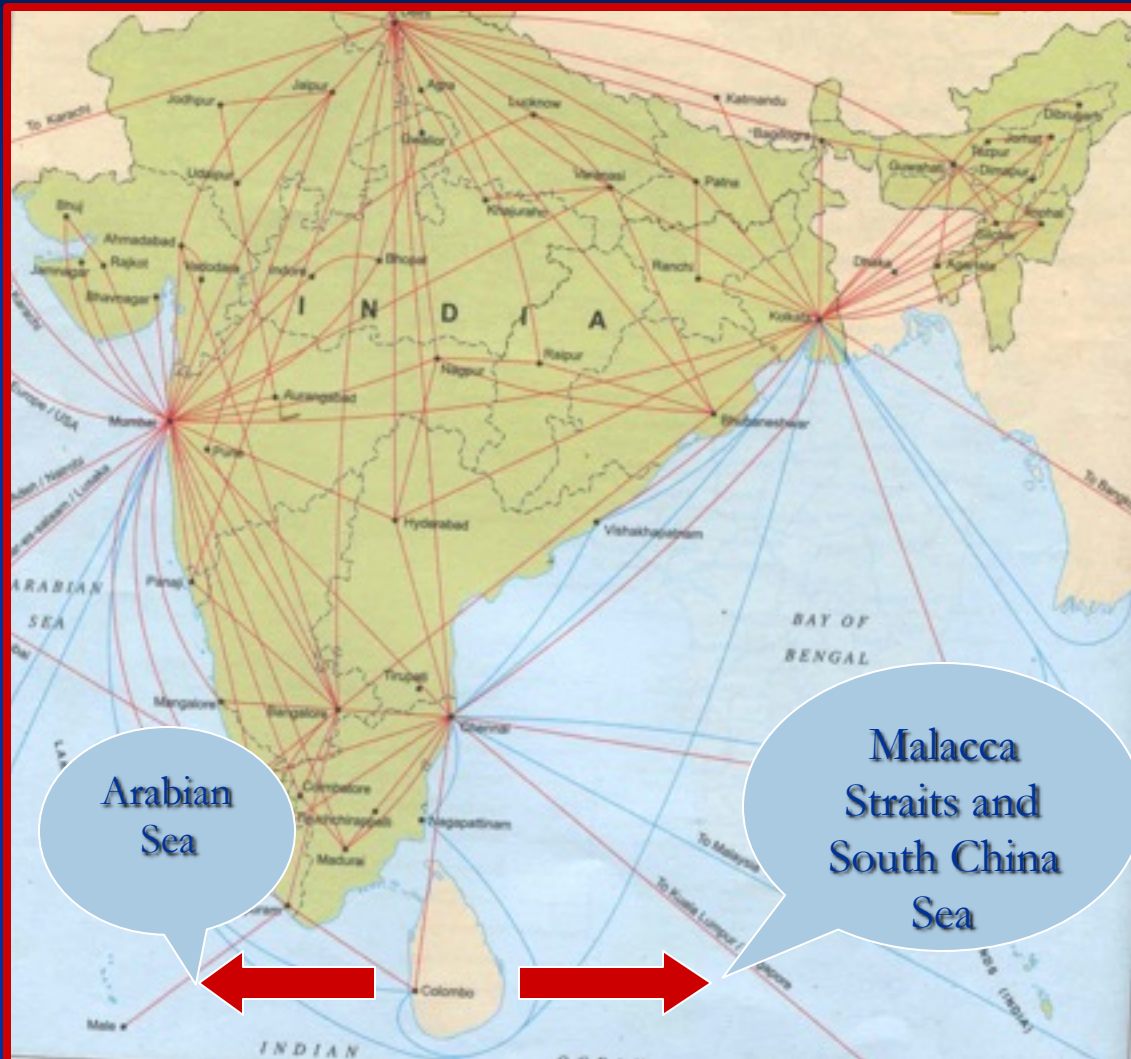


The 'Smaller' and the 'Bigger' Pictures'

The Geopolitics of Conflict and Peace in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka: 'the smaller picture'

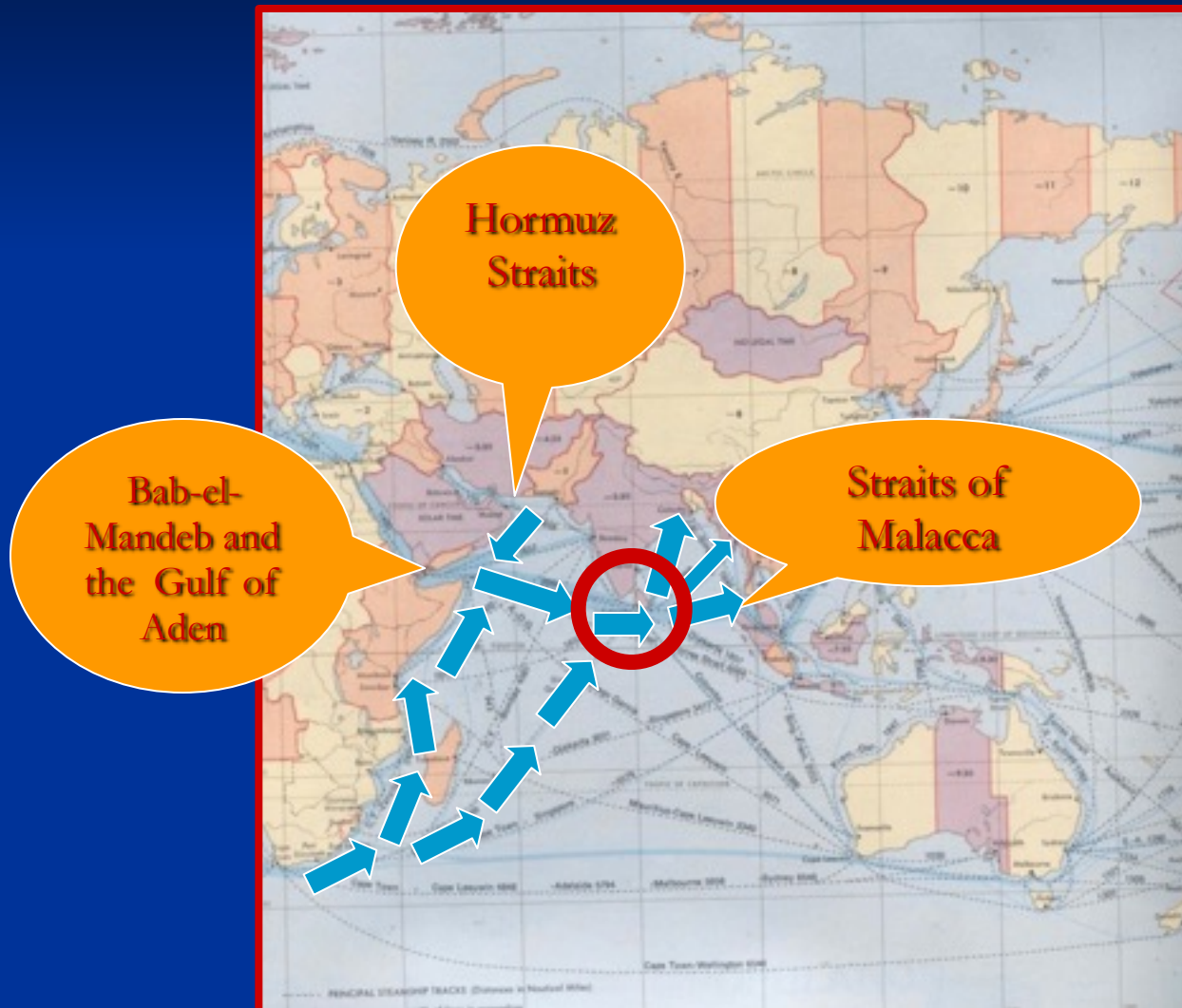


Total area : 65,610 sq
Km

Population : 20,926,315
Sinhala 73%
Tamil 18%
Muslims 7%

Sri Lanka: 'the bigger picture'

In between the Straits of Hormuz and the Straits of Malacca



The main sea lines of communications in the world

- 1. The North Atlantic
- 2. The South Atlantic
- 3. North American and South American
- 4. Eurasian
- 5. North Pacific
- 6. South Pacific
- 7. The Cape of Good Hope

Indian Ocean

The Silk Route of the 21st Century

74 million square km

20% of hydro sphere

40% of off-shore oil production

31% of natural gas production

65% strategic raw materials

Four critically important access waterways

(Suez Canal / Bab – el – Mandeb / Straits of Hormuz / Straits of Malacca)

Indian Ocean Choke Points



Suez Canal
4.5 Mil bbl/d

Hormuz Straits
17 Mil bbl/d

Bab - El - Mandeb
3.3 Mil bbl/d

Malacca Straits
15 Mil bbl/d

“..Over 80% of world merchandise trade by volume being carried by sea...Annual growth of world sea borne trade is estimated at 3.1%.”

UN Review of Maritime Transport 2008

Trade in the Indian Ocean

- Total trade in the Indian Ocean area –568 billion dollars or 15% cross border trade
- Half of the world's containerized cargo
- Two third of world's oil shipment
- One third of world's bulk cargo
- 50,000 vessels crosses Straits of Malacca annually (two times higher than the Suez and three times higher than Panama canal traffic)

Trade in the Indian Ocean area

60 % of Asia's oil requirement is imported from the Middle East

97% of India's overseas trade & 70% of oil requirements

42.2% of Japanese exports & 76% of oil requirements

50% of all China's petroleum imports & 21.8 % of all Chinese exports

The Indian Ocean: Ocean of Destiny of the 21st Century

South Asia : The growing interest



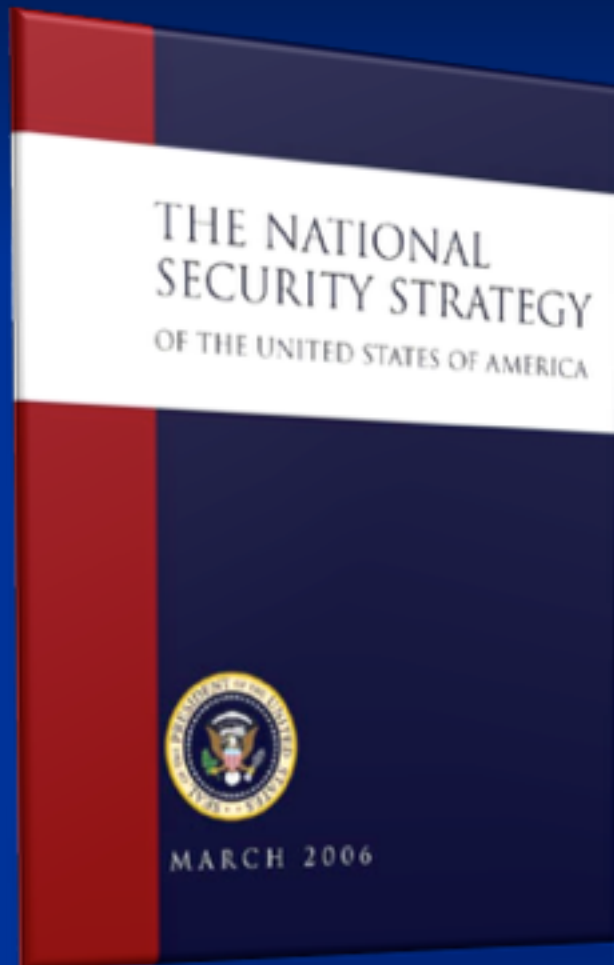
Christina Rocca

US Assistant Secretary for South Asian Affairs / April 2004

“The growing academic interest in South Asia parallels the increased importance of the region for foreign policy makers, now facing some of the greatest challenges of our generation. **At the State Department, and within the foreign affairs community, there is a growing need for people who understand South Asia’s history, its languages and cultures** and our complex relations with the region to inform our decisions during the policy formation process....

The changes that we have seen in South Asia and in the U.S. ties to the countries of the region over the past few years have been enormous and South Asia is getting the serious attention of the most senior policy makers in the United States government.”

South Asia : The growing interest



“South and Central Asia is a region of great strategic importance where American interests and values are engaged as never before....

In the region as a whole, the elements of our larger strategy meet, and we must pursue those elements simultaneously: promoting effective democracies and the expansion of free-market reforms, diversifying global sources of energy, and **enhancing security and winning the War on Terror.”**

The National Security Strategy of the United States of America

March 2006

A momentous shift in US strategy

In October 2007, US implied that it was seeking a sustained forward presence in the Indian Ocean and Western Pacific, but no longer in the Atlantic.

“Expand persistent forward presence and engagement in five prioritized regions –

- 1. East & Southeast Asia littorals*
- 2. Red Sea, Arabian Gulf and Arabian Sea littorals*
- 3. East and West Africa littorals*
- 4. Latin American and the Caribbean Basin*
- 5. Mediterranean Sea/North Africa littorals...*”

Marine Corps: Vision & Strategy 2025

October 2007 / Page 15



The US and China: energy consumption

USA

- 2007 - 20.6 million Barrels per day
- 2015 – 23.5 million Barrels per day
(dependence on imported oil – 62.7%)

China

- 2007 - 7.7 million Barrels per day
- 2015 - 10.0 million Barrels per day
(dependence on imported oil – 62.6%)

Source - International Energy Outlook - 2009/ BP Statistical Review - 2009

US – China : growing strategic tensions

“China’s rapid economic growth and its emergence as a great power is a defining event in the current geopolitical landscape of Asia..... In this context, the **U.S. has sought to strengthen existing alliances and develop new strategic and defense relationships in the region while better positioning its regional military capabilities by restructuring and redeploying its forces in the region.**”

Quadrennial Defense Review Report – February 2006

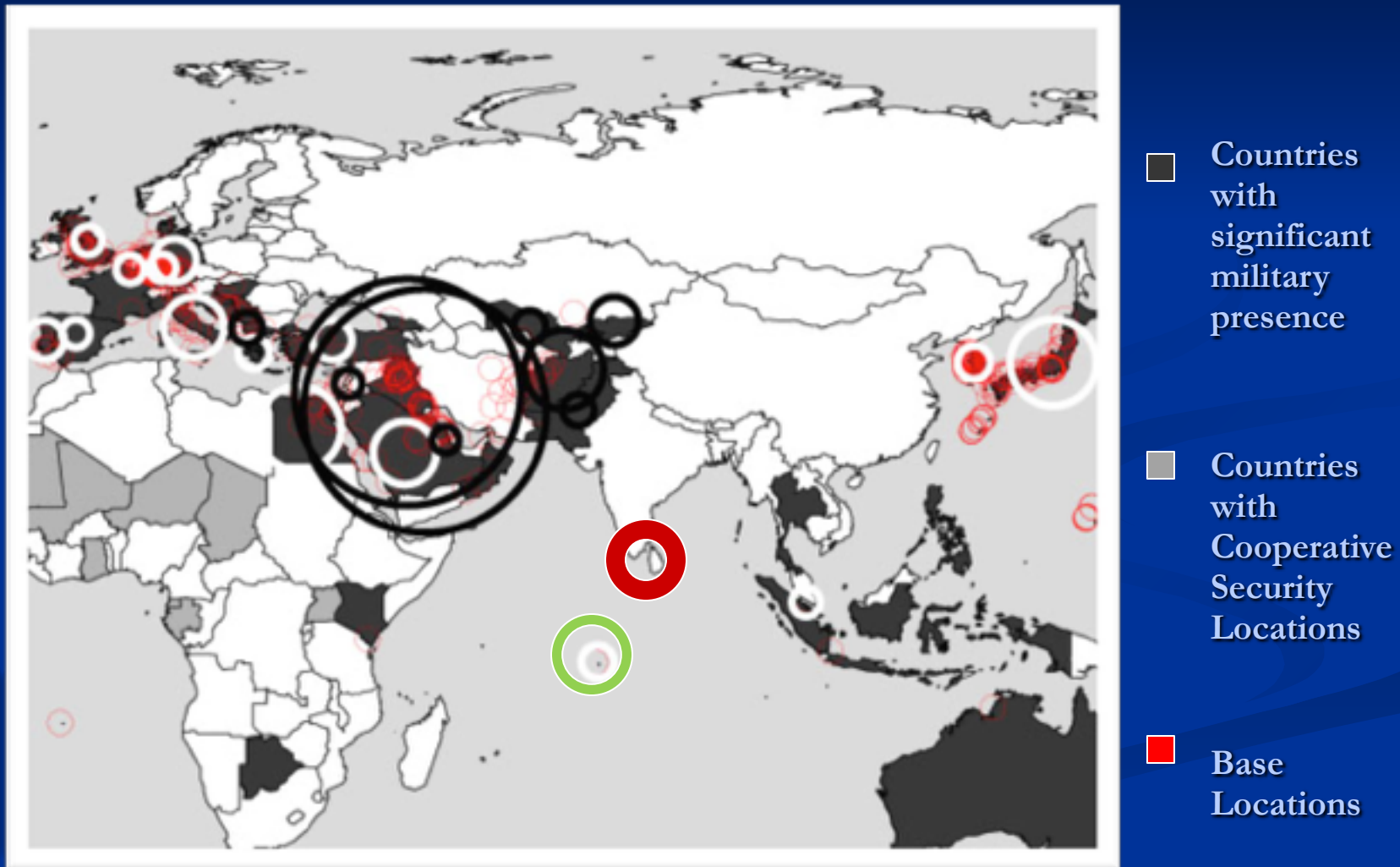
“Of the major and emerging powers, China has the greatest potential to compete militarily with the United States.....The United States will work to ensure that all major and emerging powers are integrated as constructive actors and stakeholders into the international system. **It will also seek to ensure that no foreign power can dictate the terms of regional or global security.**”

“US strategic and Defence Relationships in the Asia-Pacific Region”

(Congressional Research Service Report – January 2007)

Sri Lanka:

In the context of an expanding “Military Empire”



Sri Lanka:

In the context of an expanding “Market Empire”



The importance of the Indian Ocean

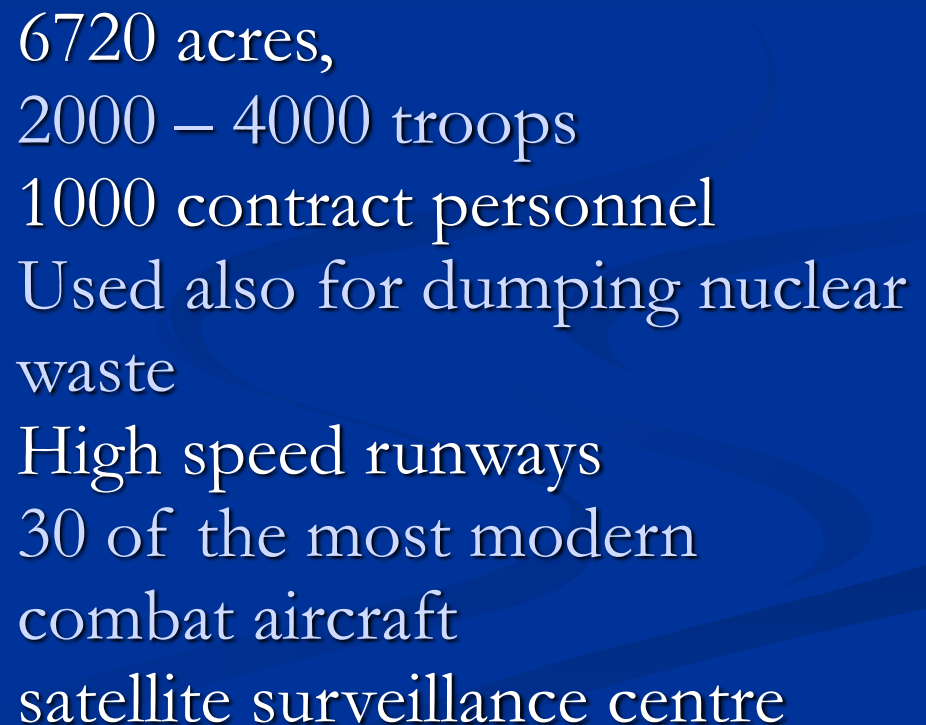


Visiting Professor at the US
Naval Academy
Robert D. Kaplan

Foreign Affairs – March/April
2009

“The Chinese are also more aggressive than US military planners. **Whereas the prospect of ethnic warfare has scared away US admirals from considering a base in Sri Lanka, which is strategically located at the confluence of the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal, the Chinese are constructing a refueling station for their warships there.....For the first time since the Portuguese onslaught in the region in the early sixteenth century, the West’s power there is in decline however subtly and relatively.”**

- Diego Garcia



Why does the USA need an alternative to Diego Garcia?



Its lease expires in 2016

Exiled islanders won their 40-year legal battle to return home, in May 2007.

“While tiny Diego Garcia has recently played a disproportionate role..it has limitations. It is extremely remote, over one thousand miles from any other landmass, and even farther from East Asia’s strategic flash points. The horse shoe shaped reef, only thirty seven miles long, is essentially a permanent air craft carrier with no room for major new facilities.”

Re-posturing the Force: US Overseas Presence in the Twenty-first Century
US Naval War College – February 2006

Strategic significance of Trincomalee: some historical facts



- The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English, each colonial power held Trincomalee in turn.
- Described by Rear Admiral Horatio Nelson as the “finest harbour in the world” when he visited aboard HMS Seashore in 1770.
- From 1941-45, the headquarters of the combined East Asian Fleet of the Allied Powers.

Why **Trincomalee** is still a viable alternative?

- Third largest natural harbour in the world (1069 metres depth)
- Placed on the most important and the busiest 'Sea Lines of Communication' joining the Hormuz and Malacca straits.
- Unlike every other in the Indian Sea, it is accessible to all types of craft in all weathers & considered as the best deep water port in the Indian Ocean.
- Lies on the easiest entry route to Arabian Sea, the Persian Gulf, Horn of Africa and Bay of Bengal.

US involvement: a forgotten story



1981

United State's Military Posture

A special report compiled by

General David C. Jones

(Ex-Chief of Staff of the US Air Force / A senior military advisor to the President, National Security Council and to the Secretary of Defense.)

Page 49 – There were two maps.

- 1. Available naval facilities to the US & USSR in the 1950's**
- 2. Available naval facilities to the US & USSR in the 1980's**

“ In the due course Trincomalee will become a city that will provide rest and recreation facilities.”

The Washington Post - October 25, 1981

2002 US Security Assessment



“The most important base for the Sri Lanka Navy is without question the Trincomalee harbor. Currently, the LTTE control the southern portion of the harbor.... **The SL defense force must secure this land area. Without Trincomalee harbour the ability to prosecute war would be detrimentally affected.**”

“Assessment of the Armed Forces of Sri Lanka”

A classified report submitted by a special assessment team attached to US Pacific Command - *November 2002*

IV Eelam War: the untold story



“The most important base for the Sri Lanka Navy is without question the Trincomalee harbor. Currently, the LTTE control the southern portion of the harbor.... **The SL defense force must secure this land area. Without Trincomalee harbour the ability to prosecute war would be detrimentally affected.**”

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November 2002

US – Sri Lanka military relations



Annual joint military exercises (Operation Balance Style) since 1996

International Military Education and Training program (IMET)

2005 - US\$ 496,000

2006 - US\$ 529,000

Foreign Military Financing (FMF)

2005 - US\$ 496,000

2006 - US\$ 990,000

Non-Proliferation, Anti-terrorism, Demining and Related programs (NADR)

2005 - US\$ 2,700,000

2006 - US\$ 3,615,000

Source – “US Foreign Aid to East and South Asia”

Congressional Research Service Report August 22, 2007

Sivaram's Analysis



‘America would need about hundred thousands troops in Iraq, so that they can have a hold on world’s cheapest oil... to have forward supply positions, which they don’t have now - Diego Garcia is too small. The nearest base is in South Korea. This is too far. **It is easier for them to come through South China sea, cross through the Malakka Straits.. passing Sri Lanka, through the Arabian Sea, Hormus Straits Persian Gulf, and Iraq. This is the shortest sea route.** And the Tamils unfortunately occupy the area that is very important.’

Darmarathnam Sivaram (Taraki) – May 2004

Sivaram Assassinated



April 28, 2005

Darmarathnam Sivaram was abducted in Colombo, Sri Lanka. The following morning his body, with the mouth gagged and with bullet injuries on the head, was found dumped on the banks of a lake that encircles the Sri Lankan Parliament building.