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**Message from the Vice Chancellor of the
University of Kelaniya**

Senior Professor Nilanthi de Silva

It is with utmost pleasure that I pen this short message of felicitation for the ninth volume of the Journal of International Studies, published by the Department of International Studies.

As a leading national university in Sri Lanka, the University of Kelaniya strives to increase its research output, encourage staff and students to carry out high-quality research, and disseminate knowledge both locally and globally. I am delighted to see the undergraduates of our University continually engaging in research that raises the bar in terms of quality and positively impacts the development of our country. The initiative taken by the Department of International Studies to give wider visibility to these young undergraduates is highly commendable.

Over the past year, the world has faced an unprecedented humanitarian emergency, aggravating global health, social and economic issues. Fresh perspectives and innovative ideas from young people can bring creative solutions for these complex challenges. The Department of International Studies must be commended for successfully bringing young researchers and their research on contemporary world affairs to the forefront.

I extend my warmest congratulations to the authors who contributed to this volume of articles, and my best wishes to the Department of International Studies in their forthcoming projects.

**Senior Professor Nilanthi de Silva
Vice Chancellor
University of Kelaniya**



**Message from the Dean of the Faculty of
Social Sciences**

Professor M. M. Gunatilake

The Faculty of Social Sciences stands with the University of Kelaniya in the aim of creating socially desirable knowledge and disseminating it for the benefit of the wider world. With our highly intellectual human resource base, we aspire to contribute to the development of the country. We are dedicated in producing graduates that boldly explore new horizons in social sciences.

The Department of International Studies brings pride to the Faculty with its multitude of annual activities focusing on expanding undergraduate research. The ninth volume of the Journal of International Studies launched by the Department is an example of their continued dedication. The annual research volume contains research that encourages undergraduates to explore the areas of their discipline further. It provides the students with an opportunity to improve their analytical skills, fill gaps in knowledge, and gain research experience.

Let me take this opportunity to congratulate the young researchers featured in the volume. I wish the very best to the Department of International Studies, the Head of the department, staff, and its undergraduates for more such undertakings. I look forward to the future volumes of the Journal.

Professor M. M. Gunatilake
Dean
Faculty of Social Sciences



**Message from the Head of the Department
of International Studies**

Professor Chaminda Abeysinghe

As the Head of the Department of International Studies, it is with utmost pride and pleasure that I add my felicitations to the publishing of the 9th volume of the Journal of International Studies.

The Department of International Studies consistently assists students navigate their way into the academic world, and this journal has provided them with a platform to share their research with the greater academic community. A glance through the pages of this journal reflects the wide spectrum of knowledge of undergraduates in the field of international relations and their keen and profound interest in world affairs. As the Head of the Department, it is an immense pleasure to witness the hard work and dedication of the undergraduates.

I make this an opportunity to extend my thanks to the editorial board and the review committee for their tremendous efforts in making this publication a success. I sincerely wish all the best for all the authors. I would also like to thank the International Studies Students' Association for their support in the publication. Thus, it is with utmost delight that I extend my best wishes to the launch of the 9th volume of the Journal of International Studies.

Professor Chaminda Abeysinghe
Head
Department of International Studies



**Message from the Senior Treasurer of the
International Studies
Students' Association**

Lecturer Hashan Wijesinghe

It brings me great pleasure to extend my best wishes for the publication of the 09th volume of the “Journal of International Studies”. The Journal of International Studies remains a great platform for undergraduates to express and exchange their thoughts and research findings with the greater academic community. I personally believe that undergraduates should be more than passive learners. They should be given different opportunities to express themselves and for me the Department of International Studies provides the perfect platform for those undergraduates to unveil their potential. Since its inception, the Department of International Studies has been instrumental in creating diverse opportunities for undergraduates to discover their academic skills.

Today the world is at a crucial juncture. On one hand the world is slowly but surely recovering from the Covid pandemic and on the other hand the world is going through some tough times, especially given the recent developments in Ukraine and Russia. As a multidimensional and interdisciplinary subject, international studies offers the students with greater prospects to broaden their skills and knowledge. This volume of the Journal of International Studies discusses a wide array of topic areas and I’m certain that while this offers the writers with an opportunity to share their research findings, it would also encourage the coming generations to actively engage in scholarly activities like this journal.

The publication of a journal of this nature is by no means an easy task. It requires strong leadership, great commitment, and collective effort. Thus, I would like to extend my gratitude to Professor Chaminda Abeysinghe- Head, Department of International Studies for his irreplaceable leadership and continuous support. I should also like to appreciate the effort of the panel of reviewers. Their contribution has been invaluable. Moreover, I also thank the academic staff as well as the non-academic staff of the Department of International Studies. Finally, I would also like to acknowledge the efforts of the editorial board of the publication for their commitment.

**Lecturer Hashan Wijesinghe
Senior Treasurer
International Studies Students' Association**



**Message from the President of the
International Studies Students'
Association**

Pubudu Malinga

I write with great pride and enthusiasm as the President of the International Studies Students' Association. It is a privilege to address you through the pages of this esteemed ninth issue of the Journal of International Studies, which serves as a platform for sharing knowledge, ideas, and advancements in our field. I'd like to express a very warm welcome to the Journal's readers on behalf of the editorial staff. I would want to use this occasion to express my gratitude to the journal's writers, editors, reviewers, and all other volunteers. I am grateful for the commitment of my fellow undergraduates who made a significant contribution to the achievement of this work.

The International Studies Students' Association has always provided direction on how to improve the extracurricular pursuits of students studying international relations. I am grateful to Dr. Chaminda Abeysinghe, Head of the Department of International Studies, and Mr. Hashan Wijesinghe, the senior treasurer of ISSA, as well as all the other lecturers and assistant lecturers in the department, for their guidance and support throughout the entire process and for inspiring us to go above and beyond to submit a paper to the Journal of International Studies. I am confident that the coming years will bring even greater achievements and milestones for our Association. We can create a brighter future for our field and make a lasting impact on reading society.

Pubudu Malinga
President
International Studies Students' Association



**Message from the Editor of the
International Studies Students'
Association**

Himesha Randil

I am privileged to be a proud partner in another successful outcome of the Department of International Studies at the University of Kelaniya. This book, which comes to you readers as a result of months of hard work, is the result of a lot of people's dedication. It is imperative to open the subject of international studies to the society in order to create a considerable discussion and publicity in the society in quest of exploring new knowledge. I believe that all the authors who have contributed their articles to this journal are well aware of that social responsibility and have combined their academic expertise to this publication from different levels of knowledge and perspectives.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Head of the Department of International Studies, Dr. Chaminda Abeysinghe, Senior Treasurer of the International Students' Association, Lecturer Hashan Wijesinghe, and all the lecturers and assistant lecturers of the Department of International Studies who have constantly guided us in making this grave responsibility and task a success. I am also grateful to the panel of reviewers, International Studies Students' Association, the journal editorial panel and non-academic staff for lending their invaluable support and contribution in making this journal what it is today.

Finally, it is my wish that the Department of International Studies of the University of Kelaniya will continue to successfully conduct such academic launches every year.

Himesha Randil
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Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD): Threat to China's Emerging Power in the Indo-Pacific Region

R. Shanika Gimhani¹

Abstract

China, which rose as a world power in the last half of the twentieth century, has become one of the two strongest powers in the world today. China, which has achieved rapid economic and military growth, has become a great threat to the United States of America, which has been a world power since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. It has also been a threat to India, which has been seen as the major power in the Indian Ocean region. For that reason, Japan, Australia, India and the United States re-enforced the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue to influence China's rising power in the region under the guise of building a free and open Indo-Pacific region. Accordingly, it is the hope of this study to examine how the Quad performance has adversely affected China's rising power in the Indo-Pacific region. It will help develop the understanding of researchers and scholars involved in the study of world politics. Data for this study was collected through qualitative secondary data sources such as magazines, journals, newspaper articles, websites, e-books, etc. The final conclusion of the study is that the Quad interrupts China's debt trap diplomacy, vaccine diplomacy, etc., thereby preventing China's unnecessary interference in the Indo-Pacific region. Further, the Quad works to balance China's power in the region, by preventing the states of the region from depending on China.

Keywords : *Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, Indo-Pacific, China, Power*

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Introduction

To create a free and open Indo-Pacific region, Australia, India, Japan, and the United States of America founded the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue, also referred to as Quad. With the assistance of Australian Prime Minister John Howard, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh, and US Vice President Dick Cheney, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe initiated the beginning of this discourse in 2007. Exercise Malabar, a series of unprecedented, combined military drills, took place in tandem with the conversation.

The four nations initially worked together as the Tsunami Core Group, an ad hoc group whose purpose it was to assist nations affected by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe proposed a democratic-based foreign strategy in 2006 that included close ties between Japan, India, and Australia. Early in 2007, the US declared its desire to join the three nations.

This security dialogue is considered to have been created in response to China's increasing economic and military power. The dialogue does not directly mention China's name, but it is a secret that everyone knows it was set up against China's rising power in the Indo-Pacific region. Accordingly, the Chinese government has issued a formal diplomatic protest to its members, stating that the Quadrilateral Dialogue is an "Asian NATO". Reflecting the ambivalence of Australian policy regarding growing tensions between the US and China in the Asia-Pacific region, the Quad stalled after Australia withdrew from it during Kevin Rudd's tenure as prime minister. However, after Rudd was replaced by Julia Gillard in 2010, improved military cooperation between the US and Australia resumed.

All four former members, led by Abe, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull, Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, and US President Donald

Trump, decided to resurrect the quadrilateral alliance during the 2017 ASEAN Summits in Manila in order to diplomatically and militarily confront China in the Indo-Pacific, particularly in the South China Sea. These tensions between the Quad members and China are interpreted by some commentators as a "a new Cold War" in the region.

The Indo-Pacific region is a region of major importance as it is rich in oil, sea resources, natural gas, etc., and the main sea communication routes pass through it. Therefore, the Indo-Pacific region has become a crucial part of international relations today. India and China have emerged as major power centers in Asia and that is also why the 21st century is called the Asian century. Accordingly, China's technological, military, and economic growth is challenging the existing world order led by the United States and the western bloc. Therefore, today the rise of various sectors in Asia has attracted global attention. Hence, it is working against China's rising power under the guise of building a free and open Indo-Pacific region through the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue. Accordingly, the aim of this study is to examine to what extent the measures taken by the Quad against China's rise in the Indo-Pacific region have adversely affected China's growth.

Literature Review

The literature review deals with research reports and studies previously written and published by various scholars regarding the performance of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue against China's rising power.

According to Jose and Nashir (2021), they say that the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue is a strategy to contain China which has now reached the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) as part of the Chinese geostrategy in the Indo-Pacific to

counterbalance US and western hegemony. According to the authors, the dynamics brought about by bilateral conflicts and minilateral realm within the Indo-Pacific have helped to shape the security architecture of the area. The essay talks about the disagreements between India and China, ASEAN, the Quad, and the ramifications for the IOR, as well as how the idea of the Quad Plus is influencing additional geopolitical discussion in the Indo-Pacific. The article's conclusion states that the Quad is a crucial platform for the coming years and that the Quad Plus's growing popularity will continue to be a problem for both sides.

Patil (2021) analyzes China's policy in the South China Sea and the broader Indo-Pacific. It then further talks of India's interest in the region and the policies India has adopted to strengthen its relations with the littoral states in the SCS. Moreover, the study in detail discusses the evolution of the idea of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue. The research paper also talks about the approaches adopted by United States, Australia, India and Japan in the Quadrilateral security dialogue to ensure freedom of navigation in the Indo-Pacific. The author further suggest policy options for India to in the short and medium term vis-à-vis the Indo-Pacific region and the Quad. Major powers of the world specifically the United States is too concerned about the security of the region and believes that India could play a crucial role in maintain the order in the Indo-Pacific (Patil, 2021). The author says that the rise of China has disturbed the regional balance in the region that was prevalent since the Cold War.

Anshori (2020) discusses the expansion of China in the South China Sea and the reactivation of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QSD). The article seeks to answer 'What advantages does QSD have after their reactivation to face China's presence in the South China Sea'. The main theory used in the article is

the Balance of Threat from Stephen Walt. The results of the article show the advantages possessed by QSD is the geographical location, the majority of resources and weapons, as well as joint war training and weapon modernization programs. The author says that those advantages can be used by QSD to face the threatening intentions of China with its presence in the South China Sea.

"In November 2017, an international grouping declared dead in 2008 was reborn. In some ways, it was the physical manifestation of several complementary geostrategic trends" (Smith, 2020). Those are; growing comfort and convergence among the four democracies, growing apprehension about China's rise and threats to international rules and norms setting, and an emerging shared vision for the Indo-Pacific region. Smith states that in the decade prior, the four democracies saw a crystallization of concerns about China's aggressive maneuvers on both its land and sea borders, and its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Smith answered the bellow questions through their study: How and why was the Quad formed in the first place? Why did the Quad 1.0 disband in 2008? What was the impetus for the group's revival almost a decade later? How should the Quad be defined, and what is its appropriate role? How valid are the criticisms of the Quad? And, finally, how can the Quad be strengthened in the years ahead?

Methodology of the Study

This is a social research based on a Qualitative research approach. When considering the type of data that has used in the study, secondary data have been used as its sources. Secondary data collected through books, websites, journal articles, newspaper and scholarly articles, magazines and e-books, etc. In order to analyze the collected data, Creswell's method of data analysis has been used. That is, organizing the data, reading and taking notes, identifying

themes related to the collected data, amalgamate themes, and interpreting the data.

Data Presentation and Analysis

What was the catalyst for Quad's comeback?

About 40 years ago, before economic reforms and trade liberalization began, China's economy was very poor, stagnant, centrally controlled, largely inefficient, and maintained relatively isolated policies from the global economy. But, after opening up to foreign trade and investment in 1979 and implementing free-market reforms, China became one of the fastest-growing economies in the world. Accordingly, China's economic growth became more prominent in the first decade of the 21st century. As such, it was one of the primary catalysts for re-enacting the Quad. Accordingly, the comeback of Quad itself should be mentioned as a move against China.

Accordingly, China's maritime territorial disputes, military modernization, and assertiveness in the South China Sea, as well as its Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), prompted the Quad countries to reassess their regional strategies and seek closer cooperation to address common challenges. In line with these growing perceptions of China in the Indo-Pacific Region as a danger, cooperation between the four nations significantly increased between 2008 and 2017. By 2017, Australia has engaged in a high-profile spat with Beijing about Chinese meddling in its internal affairs. The Trump Administration found itself in a sparring with Beijing over trade disputes, China's actions in the South China Sea, violations of human rights in Tibet and Xinjiang, worries about Chinese technology companies like Huawei being used for spying, and Beijing's repression of freedoms at home and abroad.

India also had significantly bolstered its connections with the other three members in the years after the Quad's dissolution, particularly the weakest link: relations between India and Australia. In 2014, Australia and India reached a landmark nuclear cooperation deal that ended a contentious legacy on nuclear issues (Smith, 2020). Accordingly, various bilateral and multilateral initiatives among those countries and developments contributed to the return of the Quad. For example, the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee, known as the "2+2" dialogue, similarly, the Australia-Japan and India-Japan strategic partnerships also played a role in fostering trilateral and quadrilateral dialogue. The convergence of interests and shared concerns among these countries facilitated the revival of the Quad.

Quad as an Asian NATO

Many commentators believe that the Quad will act as an Asian NATO against the rising power of China today, much like NATO was formed to counter the rise of the Soviet Union after World War II. Unlike the Soviet Union, China used its soft power rather than military power to expand its power, so the Quad cannot challenge China directly.

China views the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue as an "Asian NATO" with a mixture of suspicion, concern, and criticism. China perceives the Quad as a strategic alliance aimed at containing its rise and challenging its influence in the Indo-Pacific region. American Secretary of State and former CIA director Mike Pompeo met with members of the Quad after the 2020 Malabar naval drills to discuss turning the security arrangement into a "Asian NATO" with "shared security and geopolitical goals." One commentator at the South China Morning Post described the concept as "a bulwark against the rise of China", and a Chinese diplomat protested the concept as an attempt to "wind back the

clock of history." In 2021, the Chinese ambassador to Bangladesh, Li Jimming, issued a warning to Bangladesh not to participate in the Quad, claiming that any attempt to do so would severely harm China-Bangladesh relations. The diplomat called the Quad "a military alliance aimed against China's resurgence."

The strengths of the Quad against China

The combined population, military strength, economic power, and GDP of the Quad countries collectively pose a significant challenge and potential threat to China. With their considerable resources, the Quad countries have the capability to influence regional dynamics and shape the Indo-Pacific in ways that may counterbalance China's growing power. The Quad's combined population of approximately 1.8 billion people provides a large workforce, consumer base, and potential for innovation and development. The combined military power of the Quad countries is also more formidable than China. The United States possesses the world's most powerful military, while Japan, Australia, and India have advanced armed forces equipped with modern technologies. The Quad's combined military capabilities, including advanced weaponry, naval forces, and air power, contribute to a strategic balance in the Indo-Pacific region. This balance of power can deter potential aggressive actions and help maintain stability, preventing China from dominating the region unilaterally. Their combined GDP surpasses China's, and they possess advanced technological capabilities and innovation potential. This economic strength allows the Quad countries to compete with China in various sectors, potentially challenging China's economic dominance and reducing its leverage.

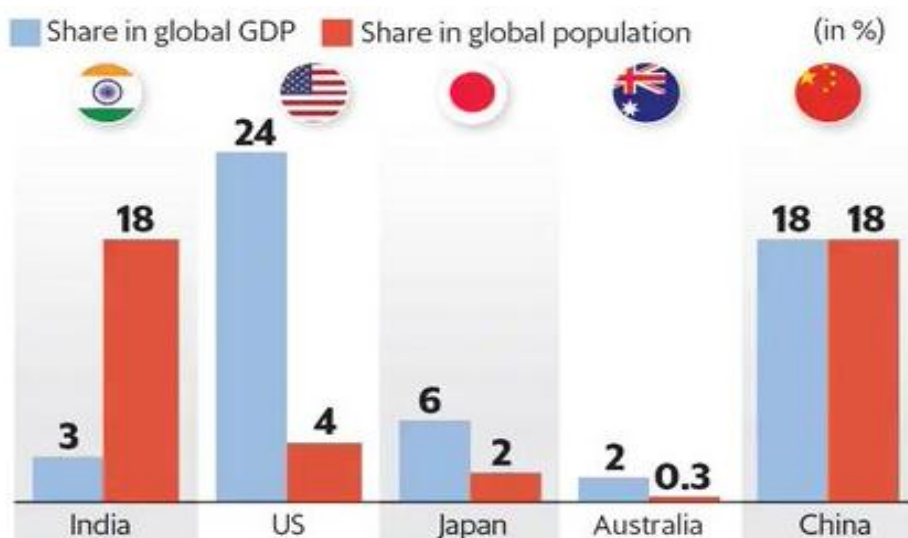
Table 01: Resources - Combined Quad countries vs China

Source: Global Firepower, 2020

Resources	Quad	China
Population	1,888.35 Million	1,414 Million
GDP (Nominal)	USD 34.35 Trillion	USD 19.19 Trillion
Nuclear Weapons	5,760	300-350
Defence Budget	USD 932.12 Billion	USD 250.24 Billion
Total Military	5,217,450	3,134,000
Active Military	3,107,950	2,000,000
Combat Tank	12,448	5,250
Total Aircraft	17,308	3,885
Naval Fleet	977	777
Submarine	112	79

Figure 01: Shares of Global GDP and Global Population

Source: International Monetary Fund (IMF), 2020



Implication of the Quad in the Indo-Pacific Region

The activities implemented by the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue in the Indo-Pacific region indirectly counter China's influence by promoting a free, open, and rules-based order.

The joint military exercises conducted by the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue countries in the Indo-Pacific region have an indirect influence on China's emerging power. By these exercises, the Quad demonstrates its commitment to regional security and stability, while also enhancing deterrence against potential threats. This sends a clear message to China that any attempt to assert its power in the region will face a united front. The Quad has conducted a number of joint military exercises in the Indo-Pacific region, including Malabar. In 2023, the Quad conducted its first-ever trilateral naval exercise, known as the "Quadrilateral Exercise" or QUADEX, in the Bay of Bengal.

The Indo-Pacific Maritime Domain Awareness Initiative (IPMDA) is a multilateral initiative aimed at improving maritime security and domain awareness in the Indo-Pacific region. It was announced at the Quad Leader's Summit held on 24 May 2022 in Tokyo, Japan. IPMDA harnesses innovative technology, such as commercial satellite radio frequency data collection, to provide partners across Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean region, and the Pacific with near real-time information on activities occurring in their maritime zones. The initiative is open to other countries in the region, and several other countries, including the Philippines, Vietnam, and France, have expressed interest in joining the IPMDA. Intelligence-sharing of the IPMDA will help the Quad partners stop any illegal or improper behavior on the part of China. In order to counter China's grey-zone tactics, IPMDA will involve intelligence sharing among partner countries.

The Quad countries explore alternatives to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) by promoting high-quality infrastructure development with transparency, sustainability, and adherence to international standards. For example, the U.S., Japan, and Australia launched the Trilateral Partnership for Infrastructure Investment to support infrastructure projects in the Indo-Pacific, offering an alternative to Chinese-led initiatives. This provides countries in the region with alternatives to China's debt-trap diplomacy and reduces their dependency on Chinese investment. In addition, the Quad promotes transparent and sustainable infrastructure projects like B3W and IPEF. The Build Back Better World (B3W) announced by the G7 nations, aims to address infrastructure gaps in the Indo-Pacific region with a focus on sustainability and high standards provide infrastructure financing options that prioritize high standards. It offers alternatives to China's Belt and Road Initiative. The Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF) is an economic initiative launched by the United States in May 2022 that aims to promote economic growth and cooperation in the Indo-Pacific region.

The Quad countries work toward promoting economic integration, trade, and investment in the Indo-Pacific. By fostering economic partnerships with countries in the region, they provide alternatives to China's economic influence and reduce the risk of over-reliance on China. Further, The Quad countries collaborate on information sharing, cyber-security, and countering disinformation to address emerging security challenges. They aim to protect critical infrastructure, combat cyber threats, and promote secure and open digital networks.

Further, the Quad countries have taken steps to counter China's vaccine diplomacy efforts. As China seeks to expand its influence by providing COVID-19 vaccines to countries in need, the Quad has responded by

collectively supporting vaccine distribution initiatives in the Indo-Pacific region. The COVID-19 epidemic was the topic of discussion at the new Quad Plus meeting, which was held in March 2020 and included delegates from Vietnam, South Korea, and New Zealand. After that, Quad Leaders announced the Quad Vaccine Partnership at the inaugural Quad Leaders' Summit on 13 March 2021. Accordingly, the Quad Vaccine Partnership expanded and shared safe, effective and affordable COVID-19 vaccine doses where and when needed and support effective delivery in the Indo-Pacific region.

The Quad countries have pledged financial resources, technical expertise, and vaccine donations to enhance regional access to safe and effective vaccines. This coordinated approach aims to provide an alternative to China's vaccine diplomacy, ensuring that countries have access to a diverse range of vaccines and reducing their dependency on any single provider. By doing so, the Quad counters China's attempts to leverage its vaccine distribution for geopolitical influence and underscores its commitment to regional health and well-being. Further development of the Quad included the launches of the senior-level Quad Vaccine Experts Group, the Quad Climate Working Group, and the Quad Critical and Emerging Technology Working Group. In this way, the Quad uses joint military exercise, diplomacy, and economic cooperation to counter China's rise in the Indo-Pacific region.

Conclusion

Finally, it must be said that the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue has had a significant impact in countering China's rising power in the Indo-Pacific through a range of activities and initiatives. These actions collectively work to promote regional stability, uphold international norms, and provide alternatives to China's influence. For instance, through joint naval exercises and maritime security cooperation, the Quad enhances freedom of navigation and counters China's assertive actions in the South China Sea. As well as the QUAD works to stop illegal or inappropriate behavior in China through initiatives such as IPMDA. The promotion of transparent and sustainable infrastructure projects like B3W offers alternatives to China's Belt and Road Initiative, reducing dependency on Chinese investments. Economic integration efforts, such as the Trilateral Partnership for Infrastructure Investment, aim to diversify partnerships and trade relationships, reducing reliance on China. Additionally, collaboration on vaccine distribution and healthcare support provides an alternative to China's vaccine diplomacy and demonstrates the Quad's commitment to the well-being of the region. Through these indirect means, the Quad shapes the regional dynamics and balances China's influence in the Indo-Pacific, contributing to a more stable and open geopolitical landscape.

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Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in India

L. R. A. Dilshani¹

Abstract

India is a country that experiences human trafficking and human rights violations. Trafficking or selling children is a form of human trafficking. The term "commercial sexual exploitation" is used to acknowledge that the use of children and youth for sexual acts is abusive and inherently exploitative. Children are heavily trafficked in India for various reasons like labour, begging, sexual exploitation. Therefore, the objective of this research is to identify the current conditions of commercial sexual exploitation in India and thereby analyse the trends and patterns of commercial sexual exploitation of children and determine its causes. It also identifies how the Government of India and international cooperation can strengthen the prevention of sexual exploitation in India. This kind of research is significant in identifying the problems associated with sexual exploitation and making solutions to sort them out gradually. The entire study is based on secondary data sources and a qualitative approach is adopted as its research methodology. The findings of this research reveal that even if India approves and amends conventions or projects to some extent against this illegal movement, it is not the end of this movement for the slave masters. It also concludes that some child protection programs with neighbouring countries have become a mechanism to combat this problem.

Keywords : *Human Trafficking, Commercial Sexual Exploitation, Human Rights, India, International Cooperation*

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Introduction

Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) is a commercial operation involving the sexual exploitation of children. For example, child pornography, child prostitution forced labour, etc. Forced labour is a form of contemporary slavery. This is the offering of child sexual services in the form of money or favours, in lieu of payment or compensation. Here, the child engages in sexual activity in return for money or a promise of something of value. If the child involved in this type of activity is 17 years of age or younger, it is called commercial sexual exploitation of children.

Runaway children and homeless children are the most vulnerable sections. The average age of CSEC victims is between 12-14 years. Recent studies indicate that 200,000-300,000 children are at risk of trafficking in the United States each year. Some of the vulnerable groups include youth with a history of sexual abuse, children with disabilities, bullied youth, the LGBTQ youth community, and youth seeking a relationship.

There are many factors that contribute to the commercial exploitation of children. According to data published by the International Labour Organization (ILO); An estimated \$150 billion is spent annually on human trafficking. Of that, 99 billion is allocated to sex trafficking and 51 billion to labour-related trafficking. And the lack of awareness in society also leads to the development of this trade. Every state should work for mass awareness of this so that every citizen should be aware of how innocent children are being victimized.

India is a country where CSE trafficking is rampant. The Department of Women and Child Development (India) recently estimated the number of

people trafficked for CSE in India to be around 2.8 million increase of 22% over the previous estimate. In India, there are 15 million victims of sex trafficking every year, of which 40% are adolescents and children. Some of them are as young as nine years old.

A new infection that hit the world hard in the last two years, COVID-19, also exacerbates cases of school dropouts and hits the low-wage earners the hardest. This led to child marriages. Financial pressures also make some sections vulnerable to such action. Many children have harmful internet exposure as they spend more time on the internet. A result of social and personal factors such as an increase in CSEC. Among them, poverty, poor living conditions, low education, gender, little or no positive influence, greed for a better life, helplessness of children and parents to fulfil basic needs, lack of awareness about CSEC can be pointed out.

Strict action should be taken against such acts as children have right to live with dignity as per fundamental rights. Tackling this requires a comprehensive anti-trafficking strategy as part of human rights. The approach requires a systematic development plan and a solid plan to implement it. Policies must be developed to address the factors that create risk, so it is important to focus on the actions that can be taken, and the actions taken to prevent CSEC.

Methodology of the Study

The entire study is based on secondary data sources and a qualitative approach is adopted as its research methodology. Reliable data collected through secondary sources such as scholarly articles, journal articles, reports, newspapers, online magazines and books published by local and international authors available in both printed and electronic versions. In addition to that,

online videos and public speeches of international relation specialists as well as world leaders are used to conduct the research. To analyse the qualitative data use the content analysis tool. This refers to the process of categorizing verbal or behavioural data to classify, summarize and tabulate the data.

Literature Review

The article "Sex Trafficking and the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children" Child sex trafficking is a form of commercial sexual exploitation of children. It includes various forms of exploitation, including prostitution, pornography and child sex tourism. Globally, 98% of victims of commercial sexual exploitation are girls and women. (International Labour Organization (ILO, 2012). Miller-Perrin and Wurtele (2016), Efforts to combat this significant social problem are described, including approaches to protection, prosecution, promoting recovery and reintegration, and partnerships to promote cooperation and collaboration.

According to Miller-Perrin and Wurtele (2016), United Nations (UN, 2000) Protocol to Prevent, Suppress, and Punish Trafficking in Persons described human trafficking as a variety of forms including forced labour, slavery, and sexual exploitation, with the latter term defined as "the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation" (UN, 2000, Article 3). The commercial aspect of sexual exploitation has been defined by the First World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children held in 1996 as "sexual abuse by an adult and a monetary or in-kind offer to the child or to a third person or persons".

The commercial element may include any form of compensation, financial or otherwise, where the child or young person is treated as a commercial object.

Child pornography, for example, often involves financial exchange but may be based on non-monetary exchange over the Internet when images are traded or exchanged between pornography owners and treated as their own form of currency (Quayle et al.,2008).

Chase and Statham (2004) identified some mechanisms to reduce commercial sexual exploitation of children. Those mechanisms are as follows;

- The First World Congress on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children
- The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
- Convention that was ratified at the first international conference in Stockholm in 1996.
- The Second World Congress on the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children etc.

The article "Global Concern for Children's Rights: World Congress against Sexual Exploitation" mentions the steps taken globally by the World Congress to combat the commercial sexual exploitation of children. In August 1996, the meeting of the World Federation against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children held in Stockholm, Sweden, held the first global conference specifically convened to address the problem. First proposed in 1994 by the Thailand-based NGO Ending Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT), ECPAT grew out of a collaboration between the

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) supportsthe Convention on the Rights of the Child. With participants from 119 countries, the Congress sought to raise awareness of the global nature of the problem of child sexual exploitation and mobilize international action.

The article "Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children and State Child Welfare Systems" describes the security, practice, and policy implications that evolve when CSEC becomes part of a state child welfare system. According to Bounds et al. (2015) Recommendations are made to improve identification of CSEC victims and overcome challenges to state implementation. A multidisciplinary approach is needed to improve CSEC victim identification and service delivery, raise awareness, address legislative and regulatory gaps, conduct specialized training for first responders, and create funding streams to support multidisciplinary interdisciplinary task forces and specialized services. Although the United States has ratified the Optional Protocol prohibiting child sex trafficking (UNICEF, 2005), a comprehensive child rights framework has not been adopted. Illinois has the potential to serve as a national model for this important work.

Section 366-A of the Indian Penal Code (IPC) on procuring minor girls states that any person shall induce any minor girl below the age of 18 years to go from any place or do any act by any means whatsoever. With the intention that such girl may or knowing that she is likely to force or induce him to have unlawful intercourse with another person shall be liable to imprisonment for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine.

The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (ITPA), 1986, which was amended by the Indian Penal Code, covers both sexes who are sexually exploited for commercial purposes and provides enhanced penalties for offenses including children and minors. According to this Act, any person who conducts or manages a brothel shall be punished.

The Karnataka-Devadasi (Prohibition of Dedication) Act 1982 outlaws the act of dedicating girls for the ultimate purpose of prostitution. According to the

Andhra Pradesh Devadasi (Prohibition of Dedication) Act, 1989, anyone who performs, promotes, encourages, or participates in a Devadasi dedication ceremony is liable to three years imprisonment and a fine. The Goa Children (Amendment) Act, 2005 (GCA) also outlaws the dedication of a minor girl as Devadasi. Under the Juvenile Justice Act, Child Protection Committees are constituted to exercise powers and perform duties in respect of children in need of care and protection.

The Goa Children's Act 2003 (GCA), amended in 2005, is the only comprehensive law for children based on the United Nations Charter on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989). GCA mainly focuses on reporting of trafficking or use of children for commercial sex by hotels and other establishments providing boarding or lodging or similar facilities, photo or film developers, and district police, airport authorities, border police, railway police and traffic police. Based on the GCA, the Goa Children's Court was also established in December 2004.

Also, the Government of India prepared a comprehensive draft of the Offenses Against Children Act (OACA) in 2006, which includes sections on sexual harassment, sexual abuse, commercial sexual exploitation, and child pornography. Under this Act, all offenses against children are tried by the Children's Courts established under the Commission for Protection of Child Rights Act, 2006.

This focus on background of commercial sexual exploitation of children. Child sex trafficking is a form of commercial sexual exploitation of children. It includes various forms of exploitation, including prostitution, pornography and child sex tourism. Commercial sexual exploitation is on the rise in today world. Therefore, recommendations are made to improve identification of

CSEC victims and overcome challenges to state implementation. There are many protocols, conventions and frameworks ratified by different organizations, institutions as well as governments. Therefore, it is very important to identify the frameworks that overcome the commercial sexual exploitation of children.

Data Presentation and Analysis

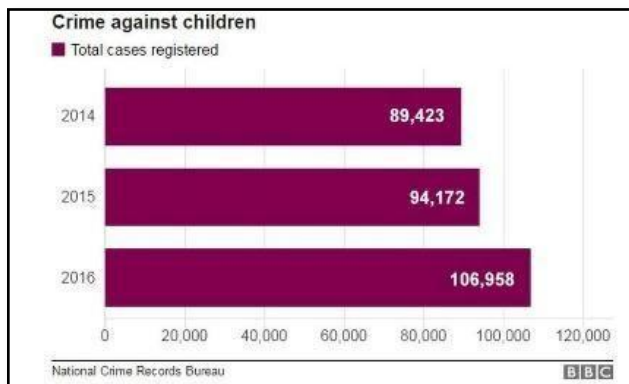
In India, children are extremely vulnerable to trafficking for commercial sexual exploitation. Various sources indicate that domestic child trafficking for sexual needs has become a strong problem in the country. The latest crime statistics available from 2020 show 2,222 child victims of trafficking.

As a form of sex-trafficking economy, CSEC is expanding in both the public and private sectors. In India, a large number of minors below the age of 18 are engaged in commercial sexual exploitation (CSE) through private networks. The public network includes easily accessible red-light areas that sell sexual services, including entertainment industries, bars and brothels. Private networks include private homes, massage parlors, hotels, lodges, etc. In addition, access to various sexual services by children over the Internet is widespread. Due to the rise of online platforms, the nature of child trafficking is changing and there is a significant increase. Trafficking occurs not only within states, but often across borders.

According to the latest data available from the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), 2,914 cases of child trafficking were registered in 2019, slightly higher than the 2,834 cases registered in 2018 (NCRB, 2019).

The BBC's Geeta Pandey in Delhi says India has the world's highest number of sexually abused children, but the actual number of cases could be higher because of a general reluctance to talk about the topic.

Graph 01: Crime against children



Source: BBC, 2017

West Bengal reported the most children trafficked (3,113), followed by Rajasthan (2,519), Uttar Pradesh (832), and Gujarat (485). According to the India Country Assessment Report 2013 on anti-human trafficking, brought out by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, West Bengal, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Odisha are common source areas for trafficking to red-light areas across India.

Commercial sexual exploitation of children is the result of many factors, including poverty, social norms that endorse them, lack of decent employment opportunities for adults and adolescents, migration, and emergencies. Also, the analysis of the data clearly reflects the effects of social inequality reinforced by discrimination, and religiously sanctioned prostitution as another type of causal factor.

Preventive Recommendations

There are many laws have been established to prevent child sexual exploitation in this way. But despite established laws, child sexual abuse and exploitation still exist in society. To reduce the risk of child sexual exploitation, you can focus on the following recommendations. It is certain that child sexual exploitation can be controlled to some extent.

- Strengthen existing laws.
- Providing education and skill building/life skills programs.
- Sensitizing religious and traditional leaders about harmful practices like Devadasi system and child marriage
- Provide adequate rehabilitation and reintegration programmes.
- Legislation in various sectors (for example, massage parlours, bars/pubs etc.)

Conclusion

According to the above discussions, it seems that human rights violations as well as commercial child sexual exploitation have increased in many countries of the world. Among them, it is a clear fact that commercial sexual exploitation is prevalent in India, which has been the primary focus. It is confirmed by news reports and other articles. It is clear that various causal factors play a role in this regard, and religious beliefs and associated myths, especially Devadasi practice, child marriage and tourism are significantly associated with CSEC in India. Also, structural inequalities and unequal power structures within families and communities make it inevitable that children are more vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation. Neither government nor the social service profession can afford to ignore the commercial exploitation of children any longer. Therefore, the Government of

India has taken measures at the national level by establishing some level of bills and drafts. Some of them are at the level of failure, but there are also successful ones. CSEC's escalating challenges have the potential to be met with success through child-centred legislation and enforcement in partnership with an active social work profession. Accordingly, while CSEC in India is a legal and human rights issue, it is a situation that needs to be understood within specific socio-economic and cultural contexts. It can be concluded that there is an opportunity to control this situation and protect the children's human rights.

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Studying the Threats of Media Freedom in Post War Conditions in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Sri Lanka's civil war with Tamil separatists added to the horrific thirty-year experience. This war adversely affected every sector of the country and the freedom of the press, which is an essential part of a democratic state, was also affected. Media is considered as the fourth government in a democratic state. The civil war ended in May 2009 and problems arose regarding the proper functioning of media freedom under the then government. In particular, the Sri Lankan government was accused of interfering in the manipulation of the media during the post-civil war period, and the free flow of information was severely restricted. Based on those factors Media freedom has been affected in various ways after the civil war period. This study specifically focuses on "threats of media freedom in post-war conditions in Sri Lanka." Basically, this study is a qualitative case study based on secondary data and investigates the media situation in Sri Lanka after the civil war. A lot of research has been done. Various fields affected after the civil war have been studied with a notable lack in the field of media. Looking at the findings, it can be pointed out that the laws on press freedom mentioned in the Constitution are not being implemented properly.

Keywords : *Post-War, Manipulation, Media Freedom, Civil War, Democracy*

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Introduction

Sri Lanka is an island nation that gained independence from the British in 1948 and is mainly composed of a Sinhalese majority (74%) and a Tamil minority (12%). The Sinhala-Tamil ethnic war or the Sri Lankan civil war lasted for almost three decades and there are many reasons that led to this conflict. Governments that came to power after independence implemented policies that promoted the Sinhala language and Buddhism aimed at reducing the number of Tamils in public service and higher education recruitment. With the establishment of the executive presidency in 1978, Parliament became powerless and political advantage was taken away from minority political parties. As a result of continued discrimination, Tamil youths were attracted to the struggle in the late 1970s. In 1976, the LTTE was formed under the leadership of Velupilla Prabhakaran. They fought to create a separate homeland in the north and east of Sri Lanka. The massive communal riots in 1983 strengthened the opinion that the Tamil people should separate. By 1987, a large number of Tamil militants were engaged in a guerilla war with the tacit support of India. The 1987 Indo-Lanka Agreement paved the way for the merger of the two North-Eastern provinces, but the government did not devolve powers to the North-East as the Indian government had hoped. The ethnic crisis, which had been simmering for years of war and several rounds of failed peace talks, was ended in May 2009 through a full-scale military campaign under the government of President Mahinda Rajapaksa. During the post-conflict period, the government adopted a number of measures to promote reconciliation in the country and the mass media made a special contribution in promoting that harmony.

Media is the plural of medium, which refers to any communication channel. This covers everything from printed paper to digital data and covers

information in the forms of art, news, education, and a wide range of other things. Modern digital media include all forms of communication that are transmitted electronically across the world through computer networks and fiber optic cables. Some of these modern forms of media, such as the Internet or social media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.) have completely revolutionized our world. Media freedom refers to the right of the media to bring information and knowledge to the people, as well as the right of the receiver to grasp that accurate information and knowledge. Freedom of the press and democracy go hand in hand. In general, nations that guarantee greater media freedom have strong political stability, the rule of law, efficiency in the formulation of public policy, high regulatory standards, and low levels of corruption. According to UNESCO, media freedom is a requirement for defending and advancing all other human rights as well as one of the fundamental pillars of democracy, development, and dialogue. Therefore, a country's level of democracy can be clearly seen from the state of media freedom in that nation.

Nowadays, the right of an individual to hold free opinion, expression and access to information is considered as a fundamental right. Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that "Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; This right includes freedom of expression without restriction and the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media regardless of frontiers." Sri Lanka has ratified the main human rights conventions of the United Nations, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and therefore Sri Lanka has an obligation to protect those conventions related to freedom of expression. Article 14 of the Constitution of Sri Lanka guarantees that every citizen has the right to freedom of speech and expression. Although such clauses are mentioned in the

constitution, this research highlights the state of freedom of the media in Sri Lanka after the civil war and whether the media is truly independent.

Literature Review

“The freedom to speak and the freedom to write are essential preconditions for the transition towards democracy and good governance” – Irina Bokova, the Director-General of UNESCO.

Sri Lanka has ratified the Convention, which includes a number of key elements of media freedom. Like many other countries in the world, Sri Lanka has received these international approaches to media freedom in various ways. For example, freedom of speech and expression is a fundamental right recognized by the Constitution of Sri Lanka. In addition, the government has enacted the Right to Information Act. In addition, the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka has delivered landmark judgments that uphold the principles of media freedom. However, issues related to media freedom in Sri Lanka continue to be reported on a significant scale. For example, between 1981 and 2009, a total of 116 media activists, media workers, artists and cultural activists have been assassinated.¹² Also, during the period 2010-2014, a total of 40 journalists and media personnel have been killed or disappeared¹³. In addition, abductions, assaults and intimidation have taken place not only against journalists but also against media institutions. At the same time impunity for crimes against journalists, the justification of media repression and Internet shutdowns have all become critical issues in the media freedom landscape (Herath,2021).

Journalists were murdered not for anything, but simply as the cruel reward for their courage and dedication in bringing the hidden reality out. The threat against press freedom in Sri Lanka became a vicious circle. Apart from three

killings, which were reported in linking the LTTE, all most all other murders being depicted as killed by “unidentified men”. Talking to another journalist on the sixth year memorial of late Dharmaratnam Sivaram, he pointed out that “we know who the killers are or who are behind the killings like this, not only for Sivaram’s killing, but for other as well, but we also aware, what will happen for us, if we tell or talk about it openly. In Sri Lanka case, unidentified men became synonyms for “government is responsible” (balasundaram,2011).

Despite the end of the government's long-running war with the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) rebel group in May 2009, media freedom remained restricted in Sri Lanka, with journalists’ subject to myriad forms of legal harassment and physical intimidation. Although the constitution provides for freedom of expression, it and other laws and regulations place significant legal limits on the exercise of this right. There is no enforceable right to information in the constitution or separate legislation. In fact, the Establishments Code, the formal administrative code governing civil servants, actively discourages access to information even on public-interest grounds. Broadcast licensing decisions sometimes appear to be arbitrary and politically influenced. Journalists in Sri Lanka frequently experience pressure and intimidation from all levels of government, especially those who cover the military or human rights issues. The official language is notably hostile toward scathingly critical or "unpatriotic" journalists and media organizations, with influential figures like Defense Secretary Gotabaya Rajapaksa frequently making claims that any form of criticism is equivalent to treason (freedom house,2011).

During the final phase of the war, the Sri Lankan government banned journalists from traveling to the war zone and imposed regulations to stifle freedom of expression. The government cut all phone connections barring one

to the only make-shift hospital which was functioning under constant bombardment in the war zone¹³. It also forced out NGOs and the UN. Due to this, human rights groups termed the final phase of the conflict as the “War without Witness” (Natarajan,2012).

According to Human Rights Watch and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ), the killing of a well-known newspaper editor and the bombing of a private television station on January 6, 2009 highlight the Sri Lankan government's inability to put an end to violence against the media. The groups argued that the most recent investigations into the assaults on journalists had produced no results and that the government should move swiftly to prosecute those responsible for the attacks (Human Rights Watch,2011).

Methodology of the Study

This study is entirely based on secondary data collected from books, articles, academic journals and other online academic publications. The article assumes a deductive approach; as deductive analysis will only be used to analyze secondary data. The objectives of the study will be met in the light of various data collected from secondary sources. The study has been conducted based on the events that occurred during the period 2009 - 2018.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Sri Lanka has a long history of using violence to suppress the media. Richard de Zoysa, who worked for the Inter Press Service was the first journalist in Sri Lanka to be abducted and killed in February 1990. Looking at the way the media operated in Sri Lanka during the civil war period as well as the post-conflict period, it appears that there were many instances where media freedom

was lost. Although the Constitution of Sri Lanka guarantees freedom of the press, it has been subjected to various limitations in its practical operation. Laws and regulations such as the Prevention of Terrorism Act brought in 1979 have been used by governments that have come to power to violate media freedom. Even during the civil war, journalists have been killed, assaulted, or disappeared. Between 1999 and 2011, 25 journalists have been killed and many journalists have left Sri Lanka (Herath, 2021). The implementation of the laws and regulations implemented during the war even after the war is a major blow against media freedom. During the civil war, both the Sri Lankan government and the terrorists used the media for their propaganda activities, and through this, the use of free media was affected.

Although the Sri Lankan government officially declared the end of the war in May 2009, the climate for media independence was deteriorating drastically. In this situation, the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), together with the European Commission (ED) and International Media Cooperation (IMS) came to Sri Lanka in November 2009 and it was considered as an international mission for press freedom. Its main purpose was to investigate the situation faced by the media, journalists and journalistic organizations and through that to identify the positive changes for media independence in the coming period. This was the fourth operation in Sri Lanka and operations had been carried out in 2006, 2007 and 2008. In the last few decades, many cases of limiting the freedom of mass media had been created in Sri Lanka. Extremist use of mass media, not limited to deprivation of privileges, even loss of lives of media persons happened. In such a background, the 2009 delegation was very interested in establishing media independence in Sri Lanka.

110 media activists have been killed between 1981 and 2009. During 2010-2014, 40 journalists have been killed or disappeared. In addition to this, media institutions have also been targeted (Herath, 2021).

Studies and analyses of media freedom in Sri Lanka from 2000 to 2019 have identified incidents against media freedom under the following 13 categories.

Categories	Examples
Killings and disappearances	M.Nimalarajan-killed-2000/10/19 Lasantha Wikramathunga-killed-2009/01/08 Prageeth Ekneligoda- disappeared-2010/01/24
Attacks and abductions	Keith Noyar-Abducted and attacked-2008/05/22 Upali Thenakoon-Attacked-2009/01/23
Threats	K.prasanna-2019/08/12
Obstructions and Intimidations	M. N Aminulla-Obstructed-2019/07/21
Attacks on media stations	Sudoroili Newspaper office- Bomb attack-29/08/2005 Sirasa complex- Attacked 06/01/2009 Siyatha Media station-Attacked-30/07/2010
Blocking social media and websites	Restricted access to social media after the Easter Sunday Attack, Blocking Lankaenews website on the 10th of November 2017
Internet shut- down	Internet shutdown on 7 March 2018 in some areas of the country.

Source: (Herath, 2021)

When investigating the incidents mentioned above, it is a problem whether there really is media freedom in Sri Lanka. For example, Defense Secretary Gotabhaya Rajapaksa said that "Eknaligoda is missing" regarding Prageeth Eknaligoda's disappearance. The UN committee believed that Prageeth Eknaligoda was alive and abroad, but in June 2012 he testified before a Colombo court that he had no idea of Eknaligoda's whereabouts. The trials and preliminary research conducted in connection with the murder of Lasantha Wickramatunga in 2009 have not progressed from where they started. It is problematic that the government has not paid much attention in this regard.

Local and international human rights and media organizations are paying attention to what kind of action will be taken in relation to other violations of media freedom from a government that follows such a silent policy regarding the disappearances or deaths of Journalists. In 2010, Sri Lanka will lose the GSP+ concession due to these circumstances.

Conclusion

Although the executive, legislative, and judicial branches were established by the Constitution, the term "Fourth Estate" refers to the unofficial but widely acknowledged function of the news media in giving the public information they can use to check the power of the government. Looking at the above-mentioned facts, this research, which was carried out from a tangible micro-approach, shows that there are obstacles to the establishment of media freedom in Sri Lanka. Based on the threats, attacks, killings or censorship of journalists or the media industry in a certain period of time, the actual media in the country It can be understood that freedom does not work. During the civil war as well as during the post-war period, in addition to the events mentioned above, there were many pressures against freedom of the media. Although the constitution

of Sri Lanka mentions freedom of the media, it seems that it is limited only to a document. Capitalist class and political power in Sri Lankan society. The holding groups have made social media and media their pawns. As the best example of this, when the United Nations resolution on Sri Lanka was being discussed in Geneva, the program broadcasted by the BBC Sinhala section of the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation in Sinhala Swadesh was continuously criticized, and the same promotion was propagated through another media in favor of the government, Poddala Jayantha, Lasantha Wickramatunga when they reported the truth, when it was unfavorable to the government in power, not only their medialization but also their lives were threatened. The blocking of Samajamadya at the time of the 2019 Easter attack is also a case of loss of media independence. Based on the above information, the conclusion that can be reached is that media independence is under threat in Sri Lanka in the post-war period. Several recommendations can be made while focusing on the measures that can be taken to protect the media. First of all, government interference in the country's media should be avoided, make Legal Reforms: Review and amend existing laws and regulations that restrict media freedom, such as the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and the Official Secrets Act. Ensure that any new legislation is in line with international standards of freedom of expression. As well as Journalist Protection: Implement measures to protect journalists from harassment, threats, and violence. Ensure that those responsible for attacks on journalists are held accountable, fostering a safe environment for the press to operate. And Media Ownership Transparency, Public Service Broadcasting, Journalistic Training and Ethics...etc.

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The Role of India in the 21st Century in International Organizations: BRICS, IORA, UN

T. M. N. L. Bandara¹

Abstract

This study examines India's position in the BRICS, IORA, and UN as well as other significant international organizations in the twenty-first century and examining India's participation, contributions, and impact in these organizations is the goal of the research, which takes into account the country's changing status as a significant global force. This study's research questions are How has India's involvement in the BRICS, IORA, and UN changed over time, What roles in these organizations has India specifically played, and What variables have influenced India's participation and impact in these global organizations. The research objectives of this study are, to analyze India's historical and present involvement in BRICS, IORA, and the UN, examine the specific roles India has played within these organizations, such as its contributions to policy formulation, peacekeeping, development initiatives, and regional cooperation; and, identify the factors that have influenced India's participation and influence in these international organizations, including domestic policy. This is a qualitative study and data was collected from secondary data sources, through research papers, books, journal articles, etc. The significance of this study lies in the body of knowledge on India's foreign policy and place in international organizations is what makes it significant. The results of this study will improve

Keywords : *International Cooperation, Politics, War, BRICS, IORA, UN*

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our comprehension of India's goals, potential, and constraints as it negotiates its place in the international system. The research will also clarify how India's participation affects regional and international governance, providing information on possible areas for cooperation, conflict, and chances for India to exercise influence. India's ascent to the status of a major world power, its burgeoning economic might, and its geopolitical importance. With a population of more than 1.3 billion, India plays an increasingly important role in influencing world events. This research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of India's foreign policy goals, regional impact, and aspirations for a multipolar world order by analyzing India's membership in BRICS, IORA, and the UN.

Introduction

The twenty-first century is the most important to the world because it is the century of the third millennium or the current of the common era. It is creating changes and making challenges in society and political scenarios to face the world's states. Globalization's major theme is the emergence of a borderless world and the tendency of traditional political borders, based on national and state boundaries, to become preamble. This study considers India's involvement in International organizations according to expanding power in the world and its contribution to world politics. The most important details in this are the role of India and the international organizations, triangle relations, the contribution of India's foreign policy to world politics, security threats, and involvement with Indian Ocean activities. India is a major rising power in the twenty-first century and has benefited from cooperation with the BRICS, UN, and IORA. Also, India has become a major economic and geopolitical force in the world in the twenty-first century. With a population of more than 1.3 billion, India's emergence as a significant world power has caused its place in international

organizations to be re-evaluated. The BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), and the United Nations (UN) are the three major international organizations that are the focus of this research. This research intends to give insight into the shifting dynamics of India's foreign policy, regional effect, and goals for a multipolar world order by researching India's past and current membership in these organizations. This study considers the role of India International organizations in world politics in the 21st century. It considers India's involvement in expanding its power in the world and its contribution to world politics, as well as its role with international organizations.

Understanding India's objectives, possibilities, and limitations as it negotiates its place in the international system requires an understanding of the factors that have shaped India's membership and effect in various international institutions. India's participation in the BRICS, IORA, and UN is greatly influenced by domestic policy concerns, economic circumstances, geopolitical dynamics, and India's desire for a multipolar world order. This study aims to give a comprehensive knowledge of the complex dynamics at play and their consequences for India's participation in international organizations by evaluating these variables. As a result, this study seeks to further knowledge of India's foreign policy objectives, regional influence, and aspirations for a multipolar world order in light of its participation in the BRICS, IORA, and UN. This study aims to deepen our understanding of India's evolving position as a significant global force and its implications for regional and international governance by examining India's changing involvement, specific roles, and the factors influencing its participation and impact in these organizations.

Literature Review

"India and International Organizations: An Evolving Engagement" (2007), B. S. Chimni traces India's engagement in the UN, IORA, and BRICS, highlighting the country's evolving role from a passive observer to an active participant. The study emphasizes the economic and geopolitical factors that have shaped India's growing engagement in these organizations.

"India's Contributions to Peacekeeping Operations: An Analysis of the UN Missions" (2015), R. D. Chennamaneni explores India's significant contributions as a major troop-contributing country in UN peacekeeping operations. The study highlights India's role in maintaining peace and stability in conflict zones and its impact on global peacekeeping efforts.

Ummu Salva Bava's article paper on India's Role in the emerging world order in 2007 discussed the perception of India and India's role in world politics in the twenty-first century. It explains that India is rising and taking the main position of global politics and economic sides, becoming a major power in the South Asian region.

Dr. Alexander E David and Dr. Jonathan N Balls have written an article on the Indian Ocean Region in the twenty-first century: geopolitical, economic, and environmental ties. India is a key actor in the Indian Ocean, as its sea boundaries are most important to India's strategic facts. The Indian Ocean is rich in oil, natural resources, fishing, sea routes, and many other things, making it a major political and trade point in the 21st century.

Examining India's initiatives and contributions in promoting regional cooperation within IORA, K. P. Vijayalakshmi, in her research article "India's Regional Initiatives in the Indian Ocean Rim: Prospects and Challenges"

(2013), investigates India's efforts to foster regional cooperation within IORA. The study explores initiatives such as IONS and the ITEC program, emphasizing their contributions to maritime security, capacity building, and sustainable development in the Indian Ocean region.

Methodology of the Study

The study focuses on, what are India's various involvement in international organizations (BRICS, UN, IORA) world politics in the 21st century. This is a qualitative study and data was collected from research Articles, Books, Journal Articles, and Web Sites of academic publications. used only secondary data for analyzed content and purposes of the study will be taken by a secondary source.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Evolution of India's involvement in BRICS, UN, and IORA

India's participation in international organizations like BRICS, the UN, and the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) has significantly changed in the twenty-first century. With a population of more than 1.3 billion, India is a rising global force, and its involvement in these organizations is a reflection of its expanding economic strength, geopolitical significance, and aspirations for a prominent position on the international scene. This section examines the development of India's participation in the BRICS, the UN, and IORA, noting significant turning points and developments that have influenced India's engagement. Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS) are a group of growing economies that came together in 2006 to solve global concerns and express their influence in international affairs. An important turning point in India's foreign participation was highlighted by its membership in the BRICS. Initially perceived as an economic organization, BRICS quickly widened its scope to

encompass development projects, global governance changes, and collaboration in politics and security. India's position in BRICS has changed from that of a member to one where it actively participates in setting the alliance's priorities. India has over time supported inclusive growth, fostered South-South collaboration within BRICS, and contributed to policy formation. India's role in BRICS has evolved over time, reflecting its understanding of the alliance as a platform to amplify its voice, strengthen its geopolitical position, and promote multilateralism in a world that is becoming more linked.

In parallel, India's relationship with the UN has evolved over time since it became an independent country in 1947. India has actively engaged in the UN's different organizations and agencies as one of the organization's founding members. India's involvement initially centered on decolonization, advancing world peace, and solving issues of poverty and development. India's participation in the UN, however, has changed throughout time to reflect its shifting objectives and aspirations. India has been a key player in establishing peace and security agendas and is currently one of the top donors to UN peacekeeping deployments. Additionally, India has pushed for UN Security Council changes to reflect modern geopolitical realities in an effort to have an impact on international decision-making. The development of India's UN participation demonstrates its commitment to securing a stronger voice in global governance and exhibiting its soft power on a global scale.

India's involvement in the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) has also become increasingly significant in recent years. India is aware of the significance of regional cooperation for guaranteeing marine security, sustainable development, and improved connectivity due to its extensive coastline and key location in the Indian Ocean area. India's engagement in IORA has changed from that of an observer to that of an active participant,

supporting the goals of the organization. India has started a number of regional cooperation projects, such as those targeted at supporting blue economy initiatives, increasing marine safety, and bolstering disaster management capacities. India has made an effort to use its position as a significant IORA member to influence regional dynamics and further its own security and economic goals.

Additionally, India's involvement in the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) has grown in importance in recent years. Because of its extensive coastline and advantageous location in the Indian Ocean, India understands the need of regional collaboration for guaranteeing marine security, sustainable development, and improved connectivity. India's participation in IORA has changed from that of an observer to that of an active participant, helping the organization further its goals. In order to improve marine safety, support blue economy efforts, and improve disaster management capacities, India has launched a number of regional cooperation projects. In order to influence regional dynamics and protect its own security and economic interests, India, a significant IORA member, has tried to make use of its position. In conclusion, India's participation in international organizations like BRICS, the UN, and IORA has changed significantly during the course of the 21st century. Its involvement and contributions to these organizations have been affected by the nation's growing economic might, geopolitical significance, and aspirations for a significant global role. India's expanding participation reflects its pursuit of a multipolar international order and its dedication to tackling global concerns, from establishing the BRICS agenda to arguing for changes at the UN and fostering regional cooperation in IORA. Understanding the objectives, influence, and possible effects on regional and worldwide governance of India's participation in various international organizations is crucial.

India's initiatives and contributions in promoting regional cooperation within IORA, BRICS, UN

India has made major efforts and contributions to fostering regional cooperation as a result of its active engagement in international organizations including the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), and the United Nations (UN). India has launched a number of efforts within the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) to encourage regional collaboration and address shared concerns. For instance, to improve marine security, safety, and interoperability, India established the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), a forum that unites warships from IORA member states. India has promoted information exchange through IONS, held joint drills, and created tactics to combat marine threats including piracy and terrorism. The Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) program, which offers IORA member nations training and capacity-building opportunities in a range of areas including agriculture, healthcare, and technology, is another noteworthy project. India has shown its commitment to strengthening regional cooperation, solving common challenges, and advancing sustainable development through its actions within IORA.

India has actively supported the BRICS alliance's goals of global governance, political discussion, and economic cooperation. The New Development Bank (NDB), originally known as the BRICS Development Bank, is one tangible illustration of India's endeavors. India was a key contributor to the creation and operation of the NDB, which provides funding for infrastructure and sustainable development initiatives in the BRICS nations and other developing economies. India has also played home to BRICS meetings, including the Goa Summit in 2016, which featured discussions on fostering creativity, advancing digital technologies, and improving economic connections. Additionally, India

has participated in several BRICS sectoral cooperation projects in the areas of agriculture, energy, science, and technology, all of which advance regional cooperation and development.

India has significantly aided the UN in fostering both regional and international collaboration. India has constantly sent soldiers into conflict areas as one of the major donors to UN peacekeeping missions, and by doing so, has significantly contributed to preserving peace and stability. For instance, India has actively participated in peacekeeping operations in nations like Lebanon, South Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where its forces have worked to uphold peace, protect people, and develop local capability. India's contributions to peacekeeping demonstrate its dedication to the peacebuilding and conflict resolution objectives of the UN. Additionally, India has taken a proactive role in UN development projects. The nation has played a significant role in promoting the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and has introduced a number of national projects and programs that are in line with the SDGs. For instance, India's national initiatives like Swachh Bharat Abhiyan (Clean India Mission), Beti Bachao Beti Padhao (Save the Girl Child, Educate the Girl Child), and Pradhan Mantri Jan Dhan Yojana (Financial Inclusion Program) have aided in the achievement of the SDGs for financial inclusion, gender equality, and sanitation. India's actions and achievements inside the UN show its dedication to social welfare, eradicating poverty, and global development.

Economic and geopolitical factors shaping India's Role in international organizations

The role that India plays in international organizations like the United Nations (UN), the Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) is impacted by a number of economic and

geopolitical variables. India's place in international organizations is greatly influenced by economic concerns. India's economy, which is among the fastest-growing in the world, gives it the means and the influence to take an active part in international efforts. For instance, India's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations has increased as a result of the country's economic development. India's military forces are well-trained and disciplined, allowing it to send soldiers into conflict areas and contribute to the upkeep of peace and stability. India was the greatest soldier contributor to UN peacekeeping operations as of 2021, With regard to IORA, India's economic development has made it a significant role in the Indian Ocean area. India's economic interests are in accord with the goals of IORA, which are focused on fostering regional cooperation, marine safety, and sustainable development. India has a sizable coastline and a developing maritime sector. India's involvement in blue economy projects is an illustration of its economic impact in IORA. In the IORA, India has been a leader in supporting the management of coastal zones, the production of renewable energy, and the sustainable use of marine resources. This exemplifies how India's involvement and contributions inside the organization are shaped by its economic interests. India's position in international institutions is strongly influenced by geopolitical considerations as well. India's geopolitical importance as a dominant force in South Asia translates into its impact on local dynamics and international events. India's geopolitical influence in the UN is evident in its efforts to change the institution to better reflect the existing world order. Recognizing its geopolitical significance and desire for a larger voice in international decision-making, India has been promoting an enlarged UN Security Council with a permanent seat for itself. This illustration shows how India's geopolitical concerns influence its agenda and participation in the UN.

India's position within BRICS is significantly shaped by geopolitical issues. Being a founding member of BRICS, India benefits from the group's active engagement and leadership due to its geopolitical clout and economic might. India is a desirable partner for the other BRICS countries due to its advantageous geographic position, demographic dividend, and expanding market size. For instance, both India and the BRICS partnership have strategic interests in India's "Act East" strategy, which aims to deepen connections with Southeast Asian nations. This strategy strengthens India's position within BRICS by fostering economic cooperation, connectivity, and regional integration.

Conclusion

In conclusion, India's position in international organizations in the twenty-first century reflects its changing standing as an important worldwide power. India has shown its commitment to regional cooperation, economic growth, and global governance through its participation in the UN, IORA, and BRICS. Economic factors have played a crucial role in shaping India's engagement. Its rapid economic growth has provided the resources and capabilities to actively participate in international initiatives. Geopolitical considerations have also influenced India's role, with its strategic location, regional influence, and aspirations for a greater say in global decision-making shaping its agenda within these organizations. India's active participation and contributions in these organizations will determine its place as a significant actor in the world order of the twenty-first century as it Through India's participation in these organizations, policymakers, stakeholders, and other parties get useful information about possible areas of collaboration, potential disputes, and chances for India to use its influence. India actively participates in international organizations, which serve both its own national interests and the peace, stability, and sustainable development of the whole world.

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The Impact of China's Belt and Road Initiative on Sustainable Development of Sri Lanka

S. V. A. D. M. B. Perera¹

Abstract

The world witnessed an economic growth miracle in China as it became the second largest economy in the world. Large-scale capital investment is one of the main factors of China's rapid economic growth. In this context, China's BRI project plays a prominent role, connecting China with the rest of the world, enhancing the international cooperation. Moreover, BRI project contributes to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) of many countries in Asia, Africa and Europe. But there are some negative impacts of BRI Project on the sustainable development of participating countries. Sri Lanka also experiences negative impacts of BRI Project, including huge debt trap, environmental issues and labor issues. Accordingly, this paper focuses on how Sri Lanka shun those negative impacts of BRI over sustainable development of Sri Lanka. This work is based on secondary data gathered through research articles, journals, books, websites, and official reports and documents. Consequently, this paper concludes the potential measures that taken by Sri Lanka to achieve SDGs such as no poverty, climate action, quality education, and zero hunger.

Keywords : *Belt and Road Initiative, China, International Cooperation, Sustainable Development Goals, Sri Lanka*

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Introduction

In 2010, China became the second largest economy in the world. The main factors facilitated to China's rapid economic growth are, large-scale investment and low-cost manufacturing. The most important factor is that China is the largest exporter in the world. Since 2014, China has been not only the world's largest exporter but also the largest trading nation in terms of the sum of its exports and imports (Ma, 2022). In china's economic growth process, China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) Project plays a prominent role, connecting China with the rest of the world, enhancing international cooperation, and increasing trade and stimulating economic growth since its inception in 2013. Accordingly, China's Belt and Road Initiative is one of the world's largest infrastructure projects in the 21st century.

The Belt and Road Initiative was coined by China's President Xi Jinping, who was inspired by the concept of Silk Road², which was established during the Han Dynasty. It is regarded as the cornerstone of Chinese President Xi Jinping's foreign policy. The BRI consists of two new trade routes; the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB), a trans-continental passage that links China with Southeast and South Asia, Central Asia, Russia and Europe by land, and the 21st century Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI), a sea route connecting China's coastal regions with Southeast and South Asia, the South Pacific, the Middle East and Eastern Africa, all the way to Europe. The BRI is committed to enhancing policy, infrastructure, trade, finance, and people-to-people connectivity among countries.

² Silk Road is an ancient network of trade routes that connected China to the Mediterranean via Eurasia for centuries.

Over the past 9 years, China has signed over 200 BRI cooperation documents with more than 140 countries and more than 30 international organizations. And also, China has held two Belt and Road Forums for International Cooperation, where they reached important consensus and jointly launched over 20 cooperation platforms in fields such as energy, port, railway, green development, and digital economy. Thus, the Initiative provides substantial support and impetus for the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals³ (SDGs) and is highly compatible with the 2030 Agenda in terms of visions, goals, and measures. As pointed out by UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres, the BRI is deeply connected to the SDGs and it will help accelerate the implementation of the 2030 Agenda. (Jun, 2022)

During the last decades, links between Sri Lanka and China has grown tremendously. So much so that, China has become a significant economic partner of Sri Lanka. The BRI projects have paved the way for such a close connection between two countries. China has made significant financial investments to develop trade routes and infrastructure (mega projects) as a mutually beneficial programme. Accordingly, China has invested in a number of mega projects in Sri Lanka to develop the connectivity of Sri Lanka with the rest of the world. Among them, Hambantota Port and Colombo International Financial City⁴ (CIFC), formally known as the Colombo Port City, are China's flagship projects in Sri Lanka. (Bhatia, 2016) These two projects are supported by loans and located at strategic points on the global sea trade route. As

³ The Sustainable Development Goals are a universal call to action to end poverty, protect the planet and improve the lives and prospects of everyone, everywhere. The 17 Goals were adopted by all UN Member States in 2015, as part of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development which set out a 15-year plan to achieve the Goals.

⁴ The CIFC is a brand new city development built as an extension of the Central Business District of Sri Lanka's vibrant commercial capital, Colombo.

mentioned earlier, the BRI programme is divided into two initiatives; the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB) and the 21st century Maritime Silk Road Initiative (MSRI). Sri Lanka is largely involved with the latter of these initiatives due to its geographical location in the middle of the Indian Ocean.

But there are some negative impacts of BRI Project on the sustainable development of participating countries and region. That is, there are some risks associated with many large projects. Such large scale projects might be detrimental to sustainable development, for instance, if they have potential to create unsustainable debt burden, increase corruption or result in societal tensions. Likewise, Sri Lanka also experiences negative impacts of BRI Project, including huge debt trap, environmental issues and labor issues. Accordingly, the BRI has extended large commercial loans for infrastructure projects in Sri Lanka without the strict conditions. As a result, Sri Lanka became entangled in a debt trap that resulted in the country conceding majority control assets like Hambantota Port and made the country vulnerable to Chinese influence. On the other hand, the constructions of Colombo Port City resulted in a decrease of fish stocks severely impacting the livelihood of local fishermen. Infrastructure development has had a substantial negative impact on Sri Lanka's biodiversity and natural landscape. The Norocholai Power Station, for example, has been criticized for violating domestic environmental laws, and other projects, like the Hambantota Port, have encountered environmental issues while under construction or have been criticized for failing to thoroughly research all environmental risks associated with infrastructure development. On the other hand, most of Chinese investment projects in Sri Lanka rely on Chinese labor, displacing local workers. (Wignaraja, Kannangara, Panditaratne & Hundlani, 2020)

Literature Review

There are numerous studies that examine the relationship between China and Sri Lanka, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and its influence on the sustainable development of Sri Lanka. The aim of this study is to provide deeper insight into the China's BRI Project and its influence on the sustainable development of Sri Lanka. In the Indian Ocean Region, Sri Lanka is located in a strategically important position. Thus, in the contemporary world scenario, numerous powers like the USA, China, India and Japan are interested in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, this study points out the influence of China's BRI Project on Sri Lanka and its impact on sustainable development in Sri Lanka. This would be the gap that is filled by this research. The above requirements were further fortified by following literatures.

China, as an emerging super power, has gained remarkable economic growth, swift development and global influence in the past few decades, while simultaneously creating a bipolar world. China has been leading the global manufacturing, exports and imports and stands as the top most international banker through its highest share of the US treasury bonds and the foreign exchange reserves. Regardless, an important aspect of China's growing supremacy lies in its exceptional capacity to replace its counterpart as the most lucrative global trading partner of economies in Asia and beyond that pledges their loyalty to Washington for decades. (Mahapatra, 2018)

During past decades, Sri Lanka has witnessed a thirty-year separatist conflict and a serious impact by the Indian Ocean Tsunami in 2004 that devastated the country. In such circumstances, China has taken initiatives to assist Sri Lanka by granting aid and loans in the process of rebuilding the economy of the country, by formalizing its bilateral economic relations through the BRI Projects

(Dayaratne & Dharmadasa, 2019). When considering the relationship between China and Sri Lanka, economic relations, particularly, have grown considerably during the past decades. China has become a significant economic partner of Sri Lanka. The Belt and Road Initiative is closely connected with this. China has invested hugely to develop infrastructure and trade routes for mutually beneficial programs. Thus, BRI Project resulted in both opportunities and challenges for Sri Lanka. (Wijayasiri & Senaratne, 2018)

The argument of U.S. Vice President Mike Pence, the New York Times and think-tanks in Delhi and Washington DC, is that the BRI has extended large commercial loans for infrastructure projects in Sri Lanka without the strict conditions. Consequently, projects that were not commercially viable, particularly the Hambantota Port, sustained losses. As a result, Sri Lanka became entangled in a debt trap that resulted in the country conceding majority control in national assets like Hambantota Port and made the country vulnerable to Chinese influence. (Wignaraja, Kannangara, Panditaratne & Hundlani, 2020)

The construction of Colombo Port City resulted in a decrease of fish stocks severely impacting the livelihood of local fishermen. Infrastructure projects have caused significant pollution and affected the ecological landscape and biodiversity of Sri Lanka. For instance, the Norocholai Power Station has been criticized for flouting domestic environmental norms; while other projects like the Hambantota port have met environmental challenges during the construction phase, or been criticized for not studying all environmental risks that come with infrastructure development. Two common perceptions about Chinese investment projects in Sri Lanka are that they rely on Chinese labor, displacing local workers and many of those labor forces are illegal migrants. (Wignaraja, Kannangara, Panditaratne & Hundlani, 2020)

Methodology of the Study

This work is a qualitative research and will be used secondary data gathered through books, websites, research articles, journal articles and online magazine in order to justify the main research objectives. Accordingly, the data analysis and presentation are done mainly through the documentary analysis method.

- 1) Methodological approach → Qualitative Study
- 2) Data collection methods → Secondary Data
- 3) Data analyzing method → Document Analysis

Data Presentation and Analysis

Ancient Silk Road

Trade along the Ancient Silk Road dates back to a period in history when the land and sea routes between China and Europe were active, facilitating the transportation of a variety of items like silk, spices, precious stones, etc. as well as cultural exchanges. Sri Lanka also participated actively in the historic oceanic Silk Road. Sri Lanka functioned as an entrepot of trade for the exchange of goods because of its advantageous location in the middle of the historic Silk Road that connected East and West across the ocean. There have been numerous attempts to revive the historic Silk Road as a result of potential commercial and economic gains from greater connectivity along the Silk Road. The ‘Asian Highway’ suggested by Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific⁵ (ESCAP) and colonial efforts by the UK and France to connect South Asia, South East Asia, and the Far East are some of measures to improve intra-Asian and Euro-Asian connectivity. (Perera, 2016)

⁵ The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) is the most inclusive intergovernmental platform in the Asia-Pacific region, and is one of the five regional commissions of the United Nations.

Revival of the Ancient Silk Road

The OBOR initiative was first announced in 2013 during the visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping to Central Asia and Southeast Asia. Following that, the March 2015 publication of the Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road document outlined the goals of OBOR, including to connect the Asian, European, and African continents and to strengthen partnerships among the countries along the Belt and Road in order to promote independent, balanced, and sustainable development. Accordingly, the BRI consists of two new trade routes; the Silk Road Economic Belt, a trans-continental passage that links China with Southeast and South Asia, Central Asia, Russia and Europe by land, and the 21st century Maritime Silk Road Initiative, a sea route connecting China's coastal regions with Southeast and South Asia, the South Pacific, the Middle East and Eastern Africa. (Jun, 2022)

Implication of China's BRI for Sri Lanka

Due to Sri Lanka's advantageous location in the middle of the maritime Silk Road, Sri Lanka can be considered as a trading hub for the Indian Ocean. Thus, the Government has vowed to support China's OBOR plan in light of this. As a result, Sri Lanka has benefited from BRI for various development projects, especially in transport, urban development and Information and Communication. Some projects, which have taken significant attention, are Hambantota Port, Norochcholai Power Station, Colombo Port City and Mattala International Airport.

When considering the positive outcomes of BRI in Sri Lanka, trade, investment, infrastructure development, the development of global value chain,

growth in tourism, utilization of marine resources, technology and knowledge transfer employment can be considered.

The Impact of China's BRI on Sustainable Development of Sri Lanka

When considering the environmental harm, experts emphasize the Chinese-funded projects which violate the environmental rules. At the end of the process of building the Colombo Port city, sand and granite mining are destroying the local coral reef and marine life, as well as the livelihood of 30,000 fishermen. Beachfront erosion will likely cause damages to coastal houses and hotels as well. Accordingly, there are many damages caused by the construction of the port city.

When it comes to the Sri Lanka's debt trap, the debt issue in Sri Lanka predates its relationship with China as a development partner. Many of its economic difficulties are related more to the "middle-income trap" than a Chinese debt trap. Sri Lanka has not properly or responsibly revised its debt management measures to account for the loss of development funding to which it had grown used for decades since moving from low-income to middle-income status. China engaged in debt diplomacy with Sri Lanka in three stages; (1) the investment phase, (2) the construction and operating phase, and (3) the expropriation and debt collection phase; and was successful in acquiring the Hambantota Port through the signing of a 99-year lease. To bolster the nation's foreign exchange reserves at a time when they were desperately needed, the Hambantota transaction provided an inflow of about USD 1 billion in foreign direct investment. Yet, this balance of payments crisis has been building for years. (Samaranayake, 2021) However, the majority of analytical investigations have shown that Sri Lanka's debt problem is not limited to China. Most importantly, Sri Lanka owes international financial markets and multilateral

lenders like the World Bank 27% of its GDP, compared to only 6% of its debt to China.

Weerakoon & Wijayasiri (2018) emphasized that benefits from the BRI must be realized in order for debt accumulation to be effectively managed and weaknesses in Sri Lanka's FDI system must be fixed. Furthermore, enhanced communication between China and Sri Lanka is promoting not just business relationships but also various types of cross-cultural interaction in sectors like tourism. Sri Lanka will be in a stronger position to approach ASEAN for a dialogue partnership and ultimately join the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) sponsored by China.

In addition to that, large-scale infrastructure projects under the BRI, such as ports, roads, and power plants, often require extensive land use and can result in habitat loss and fragmentation. This can have adverse effects on local ecosystems, biodiversity, and wildlife populations. For example, the construction of the Hambantota Port involved significant land reclamation, leading to the destruction of mangrove forests and coastal habitats. BRI-related infrastructure projects in Sri Lanka have led to deforestation and forest degradation. The clearing of land for infrastructure development, including road construction and industrial projects, can result in the loss of forest cover and disrupt ecosystems. Deforestation can lead to soil erosion, loss of carbon sinks, and reduced biodiversity. Some BRI projects in Sri Lanka, particularly those involving power plants and industrial zones, have raised concerns about pollution and its impact on air quality. For instance, coal-fired power plants, known for their high greenhouse gas emissions, contribute to air pollution and can have long-term environmental and health consequences.

Conclusion

The analysis of the current literature reveals that Sri Lanka has been impacted by the Chinese BRI initiative in a variety of ways. As a result, potential issues with BRI for Sri Lanka have been recognized as power struggles, independence and autonomy, an increasing debt burden, transparency and corruption, low investment returns, public perception and opposition, pollution, and sustainable growth. Even though there are numerous positive impacts, governments should put in place efficient mechanisms to lessen the negative ones. Governments must be more forthright and honest when disclosing information about upcoming initiatives. This applies to the guidelines for environmental protection, economic feasibility evaluations, population relocation, and other issues, in addition to the terms and circumstances of loan disbursements. In the lack of transparency and accountability mechanisms, the notion that expensive Chinese loans are supporting political vanity projects or encouraging a corrupt environment will continue. In addition to that, to address these environmental concerns and ensure sustainable development, it is essential to incorporate environmental considerations into the planning, implementation, and monitoring of BRI projects in Sri Lanka. This includes conducting comprehensive environmental impact assessments, promoting sustainable infrastructure design and construction practices, and integrating renewable energy and low-carbon solutions into project development. Additionally, fostering transparency, stakeholder engagement, and knowledge sharing can help mitigate environmental risks and promote sustainable development outcomes.

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The Pro and Anti USA Policy of European Multilateralism and its Contemporary Dynamics

K. K. K. Nayanathara De Silva¹

Abstract

In the world scenario, it could be observed that there is a constant bias and an inclination of the Europeans towards United States of America (USA) and its policies. This tendency had been prevailing since the world wars, and especially in the post-world war era, where Europe required the assistance of USA to rebuild their countries and to counter the threats of communist revolutions. The European membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) can be rationalized as a strategic attempt to preserve majorly the national and ideological security of the democratic, Capitalist and Liberal social system in Europe. Despite these intimate inclinations towards USA, Europeans have established the European Union (EU) to foster an integrated Europe in social, economic, political, and cultural spheres. This study with both qualitative and quantitative features argues that the European multilateralism in EU and NATO is a strategic manoeuvre where, the membership in NATO is a Pro-USA policy and, the membership in EU as an Anti-USA policy which counters USA's influence over the European affairs. The paper uses the primary and secondary data to explore the historical rationale of the Europeans to incline towards USA, as well as to repulse its dominant advances by establishing regional integration and political solidarity via EU. It also highlights the importance of observing this Pro and Anti USA policy of Europe as a critical element to examine the contemporary dynamics of EU-USA relations in the Ukraine-Russia crisis. When considering the topic of European multilateralism, Europe is in co-operations with several global organizations. This study specifically focuses on EU and NATO, in order to closely analyse the nature and dynamics of the 'Love-Hate' relationship between Europeans and USA.

Keywords : *North Atlantic Treaty Organization, European Union, Multilateralism, Ukraine, Collective Security*

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Introduction

In a historical perspective, the European- USA alliance goes as far as the world wars. They became critical in the post-world war era when Europe was in a “sorry state” (Best et al, 2015). The European superpowers before the war such as Great Britain and France had to give up their colonies due to the financial crisis at home. On the other hand, Germany was divided between the Victors as West and East. The West Germany was controlled by France, USA, and Great Britain, meanwhile the control of the East Germany was with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Meanwhile the Eastern Europe was barred by the Russian Geopolitical necessity of possessing a buffer zone. Thereby the Eastern European countries served as the Iron curtain of USSR, and they were not strong enough to counter the dominant advances of USSR. This political fragmentation and economic bankruptcy of Europe was a contrast to its earlier world domination, now claimed by the USA and USSR in a Bipolar post world war order.

United States of America in this era was flourishing in economic and political stability. As McCormick remarks “Unscathed by the ravages of war and only mildly distorted by its limited mobilization for war, the American economy by 1946 was the workshop, the bakery and the banker of the post-war world” (1992). In this scenario the USA was the “only power which can supply the seemingly limitless amount of food, raw materials, capital goods and technology to restore the productivity and trade of Europe” (McCormick, 1992). On the other hand, the Russian faction was not appealing to the Europeans due to two reasons; one is the Communist political ideology which incited revolution and anti-capitalist thought. Already in Greece and Yugoslavia there were communist revolutions which threatened the imperialistic and capitalist European governments. Europeans who were in

search of world power did not permit the communism which was in opposition of the European interests of imperialism, capitalism, and world domination. Secondly, the economic plans of Russia such as” five-year economic plans of USSR and its process of reindustrialization under communism were not appealing to Europe (McCormick,1992). Thereby “USA’s diplomacy in Marshal plan, Truman Doctrine and atomic diplomacy won the Europeans for the side of USA”. Under the Marshal plan 14 Western European countries were given \$13 billion “in the forms of direct aid, loan guarantees, grants and necessities from medicine to mules” (Best et al,2015) to rebuild their economies. Despite the economic aid from USA, the military might and the nuclear might was attractive and at the same time made USA a potentially advantaged ally. “By 1944, Americans were cranking out 40 per cent of all the weapons produced globally, and two thirds of the arms fielded by the anti-Axis forces.” (Best et al, 2015, p-215). In terms of nuclear power USA possessed “diplomatic tool more powerful than the Red army’s presence. If Europe co-operated with US that tool could provide Europe with a nuclear umbrella...” (McCormick,1992). Accordingly, the Alliance with USA was more advantageous and the European rationale to join NATO and align with USA could be justified by it’s political, economic, and military might.

NATO was established in 1949 under the Washington Treaty with the partnership of USA, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and United Kingdom. The establishment of NATO could be considered as a significant achievement in the international multilateralism. It states that,

“an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual

or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area”

(Washington Treaty, 1949, Article IV)

Thereby the multilateral arrangement in NATO resonates the “one for all, all for one” principle of Woodrow Wilson in forming the League of Nations. The security arrangement provided by NATO is called Collective Security in which all the member countries will stand with any member in a situation of aggression. In a strategic point of view, this kind of an alliance contributes to preserve the peace without allowing the escalation of international conflicts into world wars. This could be justified in terms of Ukraine Russia crisis, where the other countries do not directly involve in the armed conflicts, but provides support to Ukraine in terms of propaganda, supply of arms and finances.

When considering EU on the other hand at the interests of the research, it was established as **European Coal and Steel Community** in 1951, in the initiatives of the French Prime Minister Robert Schuman who had a vision of a United Europe. In his Shuman declaration he stresses the importance of a United Europe for a peace and the development of the region (Schuman Declaration, 1950). Schuman proposed pooling of resources of Europe, particularly Coal and Steel of Germany and France, and later his initiatives were developed as far as the current European Union. Its current extent of regional integration expands to common monetary policy (Euro), Common customs union, Free Trade and a Schengen Zone which permits the free mobilization of goods and services across the borders. In this regard, the European integration becomes an exemplary co-operation which permits a broad cultural, economic, and political

integration within the region. In a strategic point of view, the regional currency (Euro) and the Union of the European states could be observed as an attempt to restore the European prestige and to withhold the European influence in the world.

Several research have been conducted about NATO, but there is only few research which aligns both EU and NATO to observe the strategy of European multilateralism. When considering the European rationales to Unite together, McCormick provides a clue determining that, the attitude of the US leaders was “arrogance, arrogance of righteousness as well as of power” (1992). When referring to The remarks of **President Truman in his address before the Congress** prior to the launching of Truman doctrine, which provides aid to Greece and Turkey he says,

“No other nation is willing and able to provide the necessary support for a democratic Greek government. The British Government, which has been helping Greece, can give no further financial or economic aid after March 31. Great Britain finds itself under the necessity of reducing or liquidating its commitments in several parts of the world, including Greece.”

This remark about Great Britain’s inability and weakness is a significant blow to her imperialist reputation and at the same time it could be perceived as a bombastic and an overbearing comment on one’s own national power. In this line of thought, the rationale of establishing a Union of Europeans was to restore their reputation and status as superpowers, and on the other hand, to establish peace in the region through which they can reach collective prosperity. It could be argued that the withdrawal of France from NATO in 1960 under De Gaulle administration is also an extensive example of European anti- USA agenda.

Accordingly, when considering the above tendencies of multilateralism in Europe, the research on the European outlook on USA and its relationships should be observed closely with reference to the history. Their attempt of preserving their power and influence as a regional power bloc while being attached to USA as a potentially advantaged ally is a significant element in understanding the EU-USA relations. This observation can be utilised to explore the EU-USA relations with reference to Ukraine-Russia conflict, in which Europe is seeking for alternatives ways to solve the issues of energy, food security and political tension sprang out due to The NATO-Russia clash while remaining aligned to USA. Further, the relations seemed to have been limited except for the military reliance of Europe on USA, meanwhile, European Union is approaching the potential enemies of USA such as China and Iran and other regional players like ASEAN for partnerships in the current scenario.

Methodology of the Study

This study takes the form of a qualitative and a quantitative study as it uses both texts and statistics to analyse the personal hypothesis on the European multilateralism. It is based on the primary and secondary data. The primary data such as speeches, treaties, conventions, and declarations which is historically related to examine the European multilateralism in EU and NATO. These primary sources being authentic based on the fact that they represent international laws, statistics, obligations or the directly articulated words of statesmen, they are textually interpreted as evidence to prove the personal hypothesis on the European multilateralism in NATO and EU as a Pro and an Anti-USA policy. The secondary data used are the publications on the Cold war, the World War II and that of NATO and EU. The data and facts in these sources are the accounts on history and the commentaries and analysis of the

authors about the post war situation in Europe and the prosperity of USA. Thereby these sources are more or less authentic depending on the ideological biases to the West. However, these sources are textually and visually analysed to confirm the historical background to the Europe-USA relations and to support the personal hypothesis on EU and NATO as strategic forms of European multilateralism.

Literature Review

As the study seeks to confirm the personal hypothesis on the European multilateralism as a Pro and Anti USA policy, the sources are selected to serve a specific purpose. Accordingly, the sources used in the research serve two purposes, firstly, they provide the historical background and context to determine the reasons and motivations of Europeans to join NATO and EU, secondly, they contribute to confirm how the European multilateralism in NATO is a Pro USA policy and that of EU is an Anti-USA policy with reference to current scenario. It could be argued that the personal hypothesis and the scope of the European multilateralism centralized around USA is rather limited. However, in a personal view I think that the EU-USA relations are vital to be examined due to Europe's constant ideological bias towards her. Further this study aims to analyze the future dynamics of the Ukraine-Russia issue and the world politics with this tension of Europeans to push and pull themselves towards and away from USA.

Accordingly, the backdrop of the post-world war scenario and the context to the European thought on USA are provided through both primary and secondary sources. *America's Half Century: United States' Foreign Policy in the Cold War (1992)* and *International History of the twentieth Century and Beyond(2015)* are thereby two vital secondary sources. The economic, military,

and nuclear power of USA are analyzed in the former, to show the reasons for the Europeans to choose USA's power camp over USSR. It quotes the US secretary general Acheson to provide the testimony for the European want of ideological security for the Liberal, capitalist society via a military alliance, suggestively the NATO. Meanwhile *International History of the twentieth Century and Beyond*(2015) similarly lays the background of the study by referring majorly to the situation in Europe after the world war and it presents the data on the Truman doctrine and the 14-billion-dollar financial aids provided to Europe via Marshal plan. On the other hand, *The European Union: A very Short Introduction* (2013) demonstrates the European Union as a political alliance against the USA. The references to Charles De Gaulle and the commentary on his anti-USA agenda support the hypothesis of the study. Apart from these secondary sources, the primary sources such as **the speech of the President Truman in declaring the Truman doctrine**, becomes a significant authentic source for individual analysis, as it shows the extent of arrogance of USA and the intimidation of Europe in front of its dominance through the comments of President Truman about Great Britain. **The Schuman Declaration (1950)** on the other hand, shows the initiative of the Europeans, particularly French statesman Schuman to establish regional solidarity and integration. He states that the European disunion has been the reason for the world war and stresses the union of the Europeans as an essential element for world peace and their own development. This declaration thereby becomes an authentic source of analysis, to perceive the European consciousness about building a union of Europeans to restore their prosperity. These primary and secondary sources lay the background to the study and provides an intellectual analysis for the hypothesis of the study. Thus, the study has used these sources as evidence and point of views to support the hypothesis in determining the reasons of Europeans to join NATO, and to establish EU as a counter movement against USA.

The current EU-USA relations are assessed majorly through the data and statistics which are primary sources. The study has focused on the statistics on Military power, nuclear power and the evaluation of the countries based on their number of active military persons. The data and statistics were majorly obtained by **Statistica**. They portray that the military personnels in Europe are significantly low in number, Except France and Great Britain, other European countries are not significantly strong as military or nuclear powers. These observations obtained from the data contribute to determine that Europe has not been vigilant about strengthening its military in number or power due to its reliance on the collective security provided via NATO. In this regard Article number IV of the Washington Treaty quoted in the study is significant to portray that the attack on one member of NATO will be countered by the whole collective force and most importantly the largest force in NATO, which is the USA. Accordingly, the data contribute to the observation that Europe is highly reliant on the collective security provided by NATO other than investing in large national armies. Thereby the rationale for the unrelenting alliance of Europe with USA for security is effectively observed by the study.

Despite the data on the military power, the economic situation in Europe that are obtained from Statistica and *The European Union: A very Short Introduction (2013)*, are important to portray the dynamics of the European economy. They demonstrate the European economy in the Golden age of Capitalism (1970s) and in 2010, which showcase the success of European integration via EU. Thereby the data contributes to showing how the Europeans countered the economic dominance of the USA via regional integration.

As the study examines the current USA-Europe relations in the Ukraine-Russia crisis scenario as well. It refers to an article from the French Newspaper **Le Monde**, to determine the effort of Europe to continue its alliance with USA.

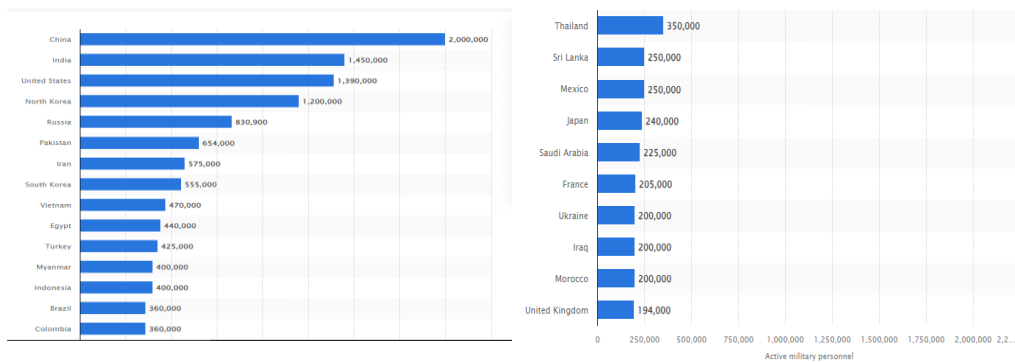
Even when Europe was penalized by the sanctions imposed on Russia, following the lead of USA. The study uses the World Bank data on the increased rates of inflation from 0.5 to 9.2, to portray how sanctions on oil and natural gas have contributed to rising commodity prices which has afflicted Europe. **Le Monde** reports the agreements of Europe with Turkey and Qatar to obtain natural gas via the middle east. The study examines this attempt as an example of Europe clinging to the perpetual alliance with USA while trying to mend the repercussions by alternative means. Besides the perpetual alliance the study also observes that the EU-USA relationship has become rather fluid. This observation is strengthened by the signing of a joint declaration between the EU and NATO. The truce being a declaration which lacks in obligation and legal binding, the alignment of EU-NATO motives does not seem to be strong. This shows that the Europeans are in favor of keeping USA at a distant, rather than forming deep integrations with it.

Data Presentation and Analysis

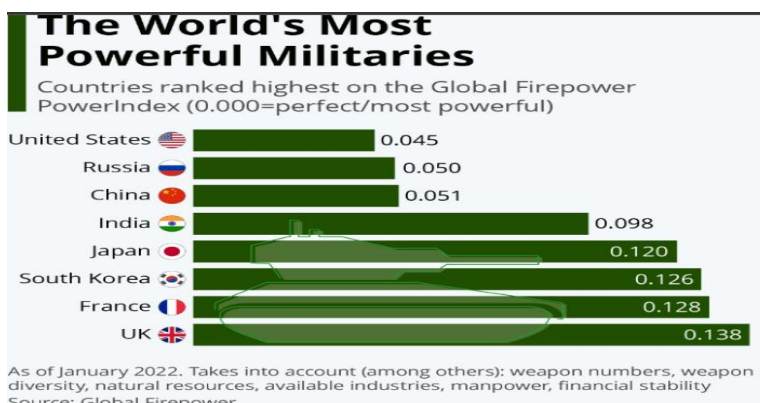
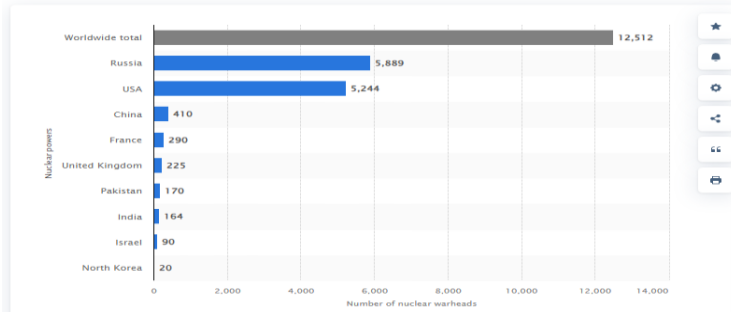
European Pro-USA policy via NATO

Beside the historical context of the Europe-USA relations, the national and the ideological security concerns of Europe could be viewed as the dominant drives behind this perpetual alliance. When observing the following data from **Statistica** on the active military personnels, the most powerful militaries and the nuclear warheads in the world, it could be noted that Europeans are considerably less prominent as military powers compared to USA. For an example, France's number of active military personnels appears even below Sri Lanka and except France and United Kingdom, the other European countries have not even made the list. In the next chart of the most powerful militaries, except France other Europeans do not appear as powerful military forces. When considering the nuclear war heads in the world, its again France and United

Kingdom who are prominent in the list and the other European Countries possess no significant nuclear power. It could be argued that the Europeans are relying more on the collective defence of NATO forces, especially the military superiority of USA. This alliance is profitable and advantageous, rather than focusing on developing large national militaries like USA. Thus, the NATO plays a prominent role in ensuring the security of the Europeans via collective defence. Therefore, the alliance to USA and the membership in NATO play a key role on behalf of European National security.



Number of nuclear warheads worldwide as of January 2023



Despite the National security, the Pro USA policy of Europe can be determined by the ideological security it provides to the Liberal capitalist social system. According to McCormick, the New Secretary of State Dean Acheson had remarked that the political environment was necessary to restore the economy (of Europe) and he had proposed “a progress in the security field” as the solution for that (1992). Simply, it means that a common front for capitalists is necessary to counter the communism and the rebellions via a military alliance (McCormick, 2015, p-86). According to this statement it could be argued that the ideological environment of liberal democracy is important to thrive the capitalist economic system, as well as the European interests of dominating the world with their influence. On the contrary as the socialist and marxist ideologies encouraged revolution and opposed the democratic, liberal capitalist values, the alliance with USA secured Europe a breeding ground for material supremacy. Thus, the European membership in NATO is a common movement against communism and it has been created as a security alliance. Thereby this security alliance was an advantage of following a Pro-USA policy.

European Anti-USA policy via EU

The adoption of the Euro by the European countries united via the European Union is a strategic move to counter the dominant influence of the Dollar. When considering the reason for USA to give billions of Dollars via Marshal plan to Europe was not necessarily humanitarian, but a strategic move to retain the influence of the dollar in the European Market. After the world wars, due to the loss of Colonial power, the European powers had to face a dollar deficit in their economies. Otherwise, they had the opportunity to earn dollars by the trade between the colonies and USA. However, USA feared that the dollar deficit might turn Europeans to either prioritize on a national currency or turn towards USSR for help (McCormick, 1992). Thus, USA gave billions of aid to

Europe to retain the supremacy of one's own currency and market in Europe (McCormick, 1992). In this sense, the European economic union with a common currency to compete with the dollar to retain the regional identity is not surprising. Most importantly, the European movement in EU as remarked by Pindar and Usherwood is indeed a "Civil Power" (2015), which has united Europe against the incursions of a dominant USA. The following charts portray the testimony of European economic growth after the establishment of EU. The first one portrays the GDP growth of Europe between 1950-1973 called as the Golden age of Capitalism, which is obviously after the establishment of European Union. According to the chart the GDP growth is even higher than that of USA. The next chart shows a glimpse of the world trade of EU, USA, and China in 2010 (Pindar & Usherwood, 2015). It could be observed that collectively EU, dominates the numbers more than USA. Thereby it could be noted that the power of the collective "Civil Power" of the European Union is greater than that of USA, and collectively Europeans have been able to counter the economic dominance of USA via EU.

Despite the Economic anti-USA policy via EU, signing **the Treaty on the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM)** in 1957 is also an initiative to secure the energy supplies and to serve the "security purpose" of Europe. These measures contribute to counter the nuclear supremacy of USA. The treaty stands for the collective research and to ensure the supply of nuclear fuel to the EU countries. Further the treaty clearly addresses the "military" use of the nuclear resources as well. In this regard, it could be viewed that Europe meanwhile being aligned to USA and NATO has been conscious about building one's own nuclear reserve to establish its regional power. As an example, the French withdrawal from NATO in 1960 under the De Gaulle administration and it could be analysed an Anti-USA agenda. De Gaulle was conscious of building the national nuclear power rather than depending on USA for security. Pindar

and Ursherwood's remark on his policies as "one of the political motives of EU as De Gaulle had envisioned was defying the American hegemony" (2014) which further solidifies the anti-USA agendas in EU.

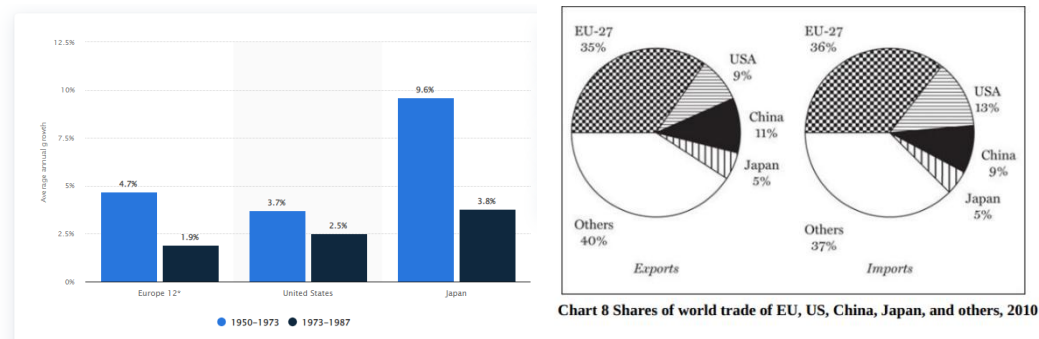


Chart 8 Shares of world trade of EU, US, China, Japan, and others, 2010

EU-USA Relations today and the Future

Even though the numbers were in favour of EU a decade ago, the Ukraine Russia crisis has changed the tide of economic development and growth. The sanctions imposed on Russia are backlashing on Europe threatening its energy and food security while the inflation rate is increasing. According to the world bank data, the rate of inflation in 2022 in Europe is 9.2 which is a skyrocketing from the rate of 0.5 that it had maintained earlier in 2020. Despite these challenges, Europe remains aligned to USA. However, Europe has found its alternative means to assuage the natural gas requirements by negotiations and agreements with Turkey and Qatar. As **Le Monde** reports, This project brings natural gas to Europe by connecting the European Nabucco pipeline to Turkey-Qatar pipeline. This alternative manoeuvre becomes a solution to the energy crisis which does not demand neither the removal of sanctions on Russia nor jeopardising their relations with USA. This tendency shows how Europeans endeavour to maintain their alliance with USA while seeking for alternatives to assuage the adverse consequences of this alliance. However, a certain amount of fluidity of the alliance could be seen through the conclusion of a joint

declaration in 2023 between EU and NATO on behalf of their alliance in the Ukraine Russia issue. The partnership being a declaration, which is less legally and morally binding, it could be argued that EU does not want NATO too close to it. It could be observed that the Europeans are constantly remaining aligned to USA and NATO for the collective security provided through them. It is an advantageous alliance which costs relatively less due to the collective endeavour. Thereby the breach of the EU-USA alliance is unlikely in the current scenario or in the future, but the relationship has become rather fluid than before.

Conclusion

This study examined the Europe-USA relations with reference to both historical and current tendencies. The study endeavours to validate its claims on the European multilateralism by using the primary and secondary sources as evidence and proof. The study argues that the European Multilateralism in NATO as a Pro USA policy meanwhile the Europeans are engaging in an Anti-USA policy via its membership in EU. However, owing to the perpetual alliance of Europeans to USA via NATO, the study examines the historical, ideological and security ties which strengthens the alliance. On the other hand, it examines how the financial independence, EURATOM and economic co-operation via European Union have elevated Europe as a separate power bloc in the multipolar world. Concerning the current scenario in the international order, the Ukraine-Russia crisis has tested the Europe-USA alliance, but it remains strong despite the challenges and repercussions of this alliance. As the study perceived via statistics and data, the reason for the perpetual alliance is the advantageous collective security manoeuvre which protects the Europeans. Finally, the study remarks that its unlikely to predict that the Europe-USA alliance will falter, but the devastating economic consequences of sanctions on

Russia have made the alliance more fluid than before. All these evidence and observations lead to the conclusion that Europe-USA relations take the form of a “Love-Hate” relationship.

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Analyzing India's Need for Permanent Membership of United Nations Security Council

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Abstract

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) is crucial for assessing the integration of rising powers, with India's case exemplifying a developing power adapting to its expanded role and expectations. India is one of the fastest-growing economies in the world and a major player in the Asia-Pacific region. The country has long sought permanent membership in the UNSC to reflect its growing stature on the global stage. This research paper provides an analysis of India's need for permanent membership in the UNSC. This research paper explores India's historical ties to the Security Council, its objectives, reform initiatives, and methods for securing a permanent seat. It analyzes India's growing economic and political power, commitment to global peace and security, and its current situation in the UNSC. The paper concludes that India's long-held desire for permanent membership can be realized through a realpolitik, pragmatic strategy involving tough power negotiations. However, potential challenges include tensions with neighboring countries and resistance from other UNSC members. The paper acknowledges India's justified bid for permanent membership and calls for the international community to seriously consider its role in shaping global security and governance.

Keywords : *United Nations Security Council, Permanent Membership, Pragmatic Strategy, Non - Permanent Member, Regional Power*

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Introduction

India has been budding for the for the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) since 1994 when it made itself clear in the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) that India is all prepared for being a permanent member of the UNSC and henceforth ready and capable to bear the responsibility of being a permanent member of the forum.

China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States are the current permanent members of the UNSC. Other nations, especially Asian and African nations, have come under attack in the UNSC for being a closed organization with a racial veto system that only serves Western interest treating them as puppets or regime followers. India has long contributed to the UNSC. For example, India has sent over 100,000 soldiers, military observers and police to participate in UN mission over the year. But its efforts to secure a permanent seat in the UNSC have not been successful. Even states that should play a greater role in international affairs have not been particularly successful. However, India's demand for a permanent seat in the UNSC is supported due to its significant military contribution. Besides, it gives the soldiers a huge financial reward as well as "international exposure" and cements India's reputation in the international arena. Especially Western countries are constantly playing a "big game" with countries like Africa that are rich in oil and minerals.

The killing of five Indian soldiers while serving in the recently formed state of South Sudan is a sad reminder of the sacrifices Indian soldiers have made over the years for the betterment of the world. Why are Indian soldiers sacrificing their lives for such unjust causes? What are the key questions to be answered here? One of India's biggest contributions to world governance is the regular provision of skilled, extremely skilled and professional armed forces for

peacekeeping operations. Even though many developing countries applications are eager to call their personnel Blue Berets, very few militaries can match India's military contribution to the world at large. Indian peacekeepers are known not only for their skills and capabilities, but also in dangerous regions of the world for their sensitivity to understanding local settings, protecting human rights and remaining free from stigma. All these achievements and positions make India perfectly capable and qualified to become a permanent member of the UNSC.

India's demand for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council is supported by the fact that India's exceptionally talented peacekeepers are most invaluable in bringing about security and normalcy in conflict-torn nations. Every drop of blood they shed is worth its weight in gold, and the goodwill they earn for Indians nation is invaluable not only to India as a country but also strengthens Indians chances of permanent membership in the UNSC. Indian forces in South Sudan currently enjoy "very high" morale, despite losing five militants, according to the United Nations. All Indians must gain a thorough understanding of faraway conflict zones and their internal and regional dynamics in order to understand why India does not give up when the cause is worthwhile which makes it vulnerable for permanent member countries to understand that India is indeed a responsible country and it's now the righteous most time for India to get green signal for being a permanent member of UNSC. India and its people cannot be concerned only with the welfare of other countries when Indian soldiers are losing their lives there. However, India is one of the best examples of a country in the world doing a lot for international welfare.

As a non-permanent member of the UNSC for two years during 2011-2012, India spoke during the discussion to strengthen financial assistance and support for UN peacekeeping operations around the world. India also called for a

“constructive approach” to peacekeeping that could transition to “peacebuilding” from time to time. Despite contributing significantly to UN peacekeeping operations and displaying impressive credentials in the field of peacekeeping, India has been criticized for shying away from addressing critical issues such as mission leadership and issues related to armed forces. Having been elected to the UNSC several times as a non-permanent member, it is imperative for India to become a permanent member of the UNSC.

Literature Review

The literature review seeks to develop an understanding of India’s permanent membership in the United Nations Security Council. Various articles and the research papers have clearly explained the factors that are sufficient for India to be a permanent member of the UNSC, as well as its veto power and uniqueness as a state. The most important and influential body of the UN is the Security Council. It seeks to influence global governance, avert conflicts, advance human rights, and uphold world peace and security. The UNSC is the only body empowered to adopt binding resolutions and carry out international sanctions, peacekeeping operations and military operations. The UNSC consists of five permanent members and ten non-permanent members chosen by the General Assembly, but the developing world is not adequately represented. India is vying for a permanent seat to strengthen its position as a global power and protect its interests. India's application for permanent membership is valid and warranted as it has been involved in the UNSC since its inception and is the world's largest, fastest growing democracy, economy, and as the prominent leader in South Asia, India deserves to be a permanent member of the UNSC.

Meanwhile, As indicated in the article “INSIGHTSIAS”, “India after 75 years of independence, has emerged as one of the major powers in global politics; which represents one-sixth of the global population. It is also the world’s fifth

largest economy and third largest in terms of purchasing power parity as of 2020. Also, India has taken the lead in calling for New International Economic Order (NIEO) by reforming the international organizations". Further, at times of challenges, India has been at the forefront in raising its voice for cooperation and shared responsibilities.

The UN Security Council has emerged as the crucial forum and gauge for assessing the promise and development of integrating new, rising powers in the global system. The Indian case is one of the best examples of a developing power adjusting to its expanded role, expectations of itself, and those of other nations, big and small, in negotiating its position as a permanent member of the reconstituted Council. This essay begins by outlining its historical ties to the Security Council, its varying objectives toward it, its viewpoints on various reform initiatives, and lastly, Indian methods developed throughout time to secure a permanent seat in the Council after reform. This essay comes to the conclusion that India's long-held desire to seat at the international high table can only be realized through a *realpolitik*, pragmatic strategy involving tough power negotiations. Accordingly, it can be shown that they complete the factor of population which is the most basic qualification for permanent membership of the UNSC.

Gautam Barnwal comments further to the Journal of Legal and Juridical Science, "India has played an active role in international events and agreements like United Nations peacekeeping mission, development goals, sustainable development. Climate Change and Countering Terrorism. Indian personnel have participated in more than 200,000 UN peacekeeping missions. India has also helped the United Nations to address global issues such as terrorism, climate change, energy security, refugee crisis, epidemics and changing the prevailing international economic system. The UN Charter is silent on the qualifications for any country to become a permanent member of the

UNSC.”Accordingly, India's outstanding factors are very clear and through that India can apply for membership.

Khushbakht Bibi and Syed Shahid Hussain Bukhari are among those who commented on,India’s eligibility for UNSC permanent membership,“Among many other states, India always remained an active advocate to reform the structure of the UNSC and desired itself to be made a permanent member of the UNSC. Indian advocacy for getting permanent UNSC membership is as old as India itself. In October 1946, when India was known as a British colony, Indian leader Jawaharlal Nehru had the same vision. He while having an address to army officers, said that “India is today among the four great powers of the world: other three being America, Russia, and China. But in point of resources, India has greater potential than China.” (Krishnan,2017) Accordingly, it is clear that the value of India’s history is also a reason for these qualifications.

Apart from this, the iJRASET article also has practical evidence for India's eligibility for permanent membership in UNSC,“India’s candidature is legitimate and justified as it fulfils all the objective criteria for the permanent membership. India has the world’s second largest population and has been associated with the UN and its activities since inception. It has served eight times as a non-permanent member of the UNSC. Moreover, India is the world’s largest democracy, fastest growing economy and a predominant leader in South Asia.India has always been a strong voice for the developing world and has insisted on becoming a permanent member of the SecurityCouncil to not only represent the developing nations, but also contribute towards resolving the rising conflicts and issues in the world”. Obviously, India serving eight times as a non-permanent member of UNSC is a qualification for their membership.

As well as,According to the article of human resource development center of Gujarat University, India is a country that does not receive aid.After

liberalization, India has stopped receiving aid. Indeed, it has emerged as an important contributor to the development of its neighboring countries and beyond. For example, aid to Afghanistan and aid to the National Early Recovery and Reconstruction Plan for decades in Gaza, India has urged the United Nations to play a more central and effective role pursuing a fairer international order and a favorable economic environment rapid economic growth and development in developing countries. India is still committed. according to them, there are many things that qualify India to be a permanent member of UNSC. India is known for its population growth, economic expansion, technological advancement, military strength, contribution to peacekeeping operations and cooperation in the fight against terrorism. They have already met the qualifications for India to become a permanent member, even though the UN Charter and veto power meet the criteria of size, participation, economy, military power and global standing.

Methodology of the Study

This study is mainly based on a qualitative desktop-based data which relies on the method of documentary analysis. When consider about the type of the data that has used in the study, secondary data gathered by books, journal articles, online articles and others have been used as its sources. Mainly documentary analysis and theoretical analysis are the key analyzing method this has used to examine the above-mentioned objectives. Document analysis defines a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning. Thus, in the documentary analysis, it collects available documents and data which are related to the particular study and interpret them to find out specific issues. The above objectives of this study have been achieved through the efforts and steps taken by India to obtain the permanent membership of the UNSC as well as the fact that India as a state deserves its permanent membership.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The Security Council reflects the global power structure of 1945 as five permanent member – China, Russia, USA, UK and France enjoy the privilege of veto power. This veto power has made the council undemocratic, unrepresentative and ineffective. The permanent members have supreme power and authority which enables them to work for their selfish interest which thereby prevents several problems from reaching the Council. The changing power structure in the contemporary world calls for inclusion of more permanent members in the UNSC. The Security Council has been challenged by many emerging global powers like Japan, India, Germany and Brazil.

a) UNSC Non-Permanent Membership

The Security Council shall consist of fifteen Members of the United Nations, as stated in Article 23 of the UN Charter. It has 10 non-permanent members and 5 permanent members with veto authority. Five permanent and six non-permanent members made up the UNSC's initial membership of eleven. The General Assembly approved a Charter revision in 1963 to increase the Council's size to 15 members. Five regional election groups make up the distribution of the 10 non-permanent seats: three for Africa, two for Asia-Pacific, one for Eastern Europe, two for Latin America and the Caribbean, and two for Western Europe and other regions. The General Assembly elects the non-permanent members with a two-thirds majority.

b) Indian as a Non-Permanent Member of the UNSC

India views the UN Charter as a tool for promoting global peace and security, and was one of the founding members of the UNSC in 1945. It suggested that certain elements, such as population, economic potential, willingness and capacity, and regional representation, be given more weight when choosing non-permanent members. India has served as a non-permanent member of the

UNSC for 7 terms, except for the first time when it held the seat earmarked for the Commonwealth group.

Table 1. Overview of India as Non-Permanent Member

Year	Resolution Adopted		India's Voting Response	
	Total	Unanimously or by Consensus	Affirmative	Abstained
1950-52	18	2	11	5
1967-68	30	26	3	1
1972-73	37	10	27	-
1977-78	41	5	36	-
1984-85	35	21	14	-
1991-92	116	100	10	6
2011-12	118	107	9	2
2021-2022 (till April 30, 2022)	70	55	10	5

Sources: Murthy, India in the United Nations and Proceedings of the Security Council, at <https://research.un.org/en/docs/sc/quick/meetings>

India's association with UNSC

India is a founding member of the UN, signing the UN Charter, along with 50 other countries in 1945. India has served as a non-permanent member of the UNSC for 7 terms. (1950 – 1951, 1967 – 1968, 1972 – 1973, 1977 – 1978, 1984 – 1985, 1991 – 1992 and 2011 – 2012) Except for the first time, when India held the seat earmarked for the Commonwealth group, every other time it has held the seat on behalf of the Asian group.

The important events that happened during the period when India became a non-permanent member of UNSC can be listed as follows.

I. First Term (1950-1951) - The UNSC principally paid attention to the start of the Korean War. India emphasized the importance of the UN mediating a peaceful, or non-military, end to the conflict. In the years that followed, India solidified its position as the UN's leading advocate for peaceful conflict resolution by providing numerous UN operations in west Asia and Africa with military observers, troops, senior officials, and humanitarian aid.

II. Second Term (1967-1968) - West Asia saw increased tensions at this time, particularly after Israel and its Arab neighbors engaged in combat. India criticized Israeli aggression at the time, highlighting the need to defend the rights and sovereignty of the Arab nations in keeping with its Third World character. India vehemently opposed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty (NPT) upon its advent in 1968 on the basis of justice and the sovereign equality of states.

III. Third Term (1972-1973) - India carried out the first open nuclear test by a non-P5 state in 1974. The International Atomic Energy Agency's (AEA, US-led) efforts to strengthen proliferation controls were at the center of the international response, which led to the creation of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).

IV. Fourth Term (1977-1978) - India co-sponsored

- 1) Resolution on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory.
- 2) Resolutions strongly condemning the minority white regime in Zimbabwe.

V. Fifth Term (1984-1985) - India supported the establishment of an arms embargo on the South African government as well as the universal condemnation of apartheid in South Africa.

VI. Sixth Term (1991-1992) -India struggled to maintain a cohesive foreign policy due to internal coalition politics and economic crisis, leading to a chaotic approach to the Iraq-Kuwait conflict.

VII. Seventh Term (2011-2012) -India returned to the UNSC in 2011 after a 19-year absence. India's relationship with the body has drastically changed during this time away. With the rise of emerging powers like China and India and the humbling of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) members as a result of their failures in Afghanistan, the world in 2011 was moving farther down the post-cold war path to multipolarity. Five objectives, according to analysts and experts, have dominated India's agenda: improving India's status as a responsible global power revising the UNSC's working procedures enlarging the UNSC's permanent membership defending state sovereignty in its entirety from UN-approved military invasions.

c) Other Significant Events at UN Directly Impacting India

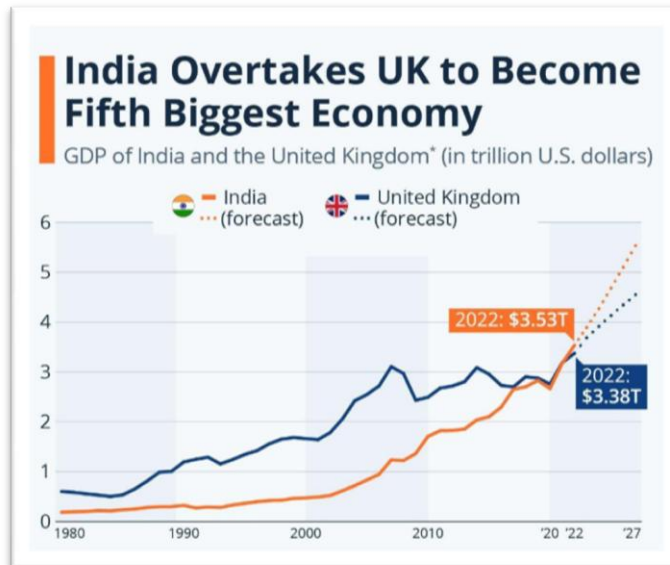
India has been an active participant in the United Nations (UN) and has been impacted by several significant events at the global organization. As one of the largest and most populous countries in the world, India's engagement at the UN has played a crucial role in shaping international affairs. India's participation at the UN is crucial for influencing global events, as it is a rapidly growing nation. India has participated in peacekeeping missions and committees, addressing concerns like regional security, terrorism, climate change, sustainable development, and nuclear disarmament. This commitment to multilateralism and global peace demonstrates India's commitment to being a responsible international actor and contributing to the international community's efforts to tackle global challenges.

- I. India was dissatisfied by western nations' portrayal of the Kashmir crisis as a conflict between two states.
- II. India was a co-sponsor of the 1960 Proclamation on UN on Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and served as the first chair of the Decolonization Committee.
- III. India Under pressure from the Soviet Union, the UN intervened diplomatically in the 1965 India-Pakistan war, asking for a cease-fire and assisting in the resolution of the conflict.
- IV. India narrowly avoided diplomatic isolation due to its diplomacy and the Soviet Union's veto of UNSC resolutions.

d) India's Intrinsic Value

India being the largest democracy and second-most populous country (soon to become most populous) in the world, are the primary reasons for India to be granted permanent membership in UNSC. Also, India is now the 5th largest economy and one of the fastest-growing economies of the world.

Figure 1: Economic Growth between India and UK



Sources: International Monetary Fund

India's acquired status of a Nuclear Weapons State (NWS) in May 1998 also makes India a natural claimant as a permanent member similar to the existing permanent members who are all Nuclear Weapon States. India's international profile and capabilities rise due to its ever-expanding global footprint in diverse areas like politics, sustainable development, economics, and culture and science and technology. Based on these credentials, India's claim for permanent membership is supported by G4 countries, majority of the permanent members of UNSC and the majority of countries in the United Nations General Assembly. India is the undisputed leader of the Third world countries, as reflected by its leadership role in Non-Aligned Movement and G-77 grouping. India's inclusion in the UNSC will strengthen its status as a moralistic force for developing states and make the UNSC more democratic. A permanent seat in the UNSC would provide India with leverage to expand its geo-political and geo-economic clout globally. India's presence at the Security Council ensures its interests are not sacrificed in great power politics. India's population, territorial size, GDP, economic potential, cultural heritage, diversity, and political system make it a strong candidate for membership. India's status as a Nuclear Weapon State (NWS) makes it a natural candidate for permanent membership, as it earned a nuclear agreement in 1998 and is now recognized as a de facto NWS.

e) India's Great Power Ambition

India seeks a permanent seat on the Security Council to increase its geopolitical and geoeconomic weight, balance against rising Chinese influence, and serve as a democratic alternative to authoritarian China. With its growing economic, military, and diplomatic capabilities, India has become an influential player in global affairs. With an expanding middle class, advanced technology, and infrastructure investments, India has become an attractive market and a driver of global economic growth. India's diplomatic outreach and engagements with international organizations, such as the G20 and BRICS, demonstrate its

aspiration for global leadership. India's role in peacekeeping operations demonstrates its commitment to maintaining international peace and security. However, India faces challenges such as domestic issues like poverty, inequality, and infrastructure gaps, as well as geopolitical rivalries with China and Pakistan. Despite these challenges, India's growing influence and engagement in global affairs indicate its aspiration to be recognized as a major global power.

f) Factors affecting India's UNSC permanent membership in South Asian context

India, with a 1.38 billion population, is the second-largest country in terms of human resources and citizens, representing 18% of the world's population and 1/6 of the world's population. Its representation in the United Nations Security Council is crucial, as it has five permanent members with VETO power. India has been involved in significant economic deals since 1990 and has been one of the fastest-growing economies in the last two decades. With the youngest human resource and active participation in global warming counter-countries, India has improved its HDI index and access to essential services, leading to faster economic growth and improved access to essential sectors. With 166 countries considered developing by 2020, India is a prime candidate to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, representing a wide range of countries and world economies.

The United Nations (UN) has been involved in global conflicts and political instability since its Security Council approval. Peacekeepers enforce peace agreements and discourage resuming hostilities in regions where armed conflicts have recently ceased or paused. NATO and the US of America have been involved in civil wars, such as the Vietnam War and the South Asian region in Pakistan and Afghanistan after 9/11 2001. India, with over 1.4 million peacekeeping forces, has the second-largest peacekeeping force in the world

after China. India's significant contribution to the UNSC makes it a potential UNSC permanent member. After World War II, the world was bipolar in terms of political order and stability, with only two international powers leading the world. The Balance of Power theory was practiced until the end of the proxy and cold war, when countries became allies with these powers. India, a founding member of the Non-Agrarian Movement (NAM), played a key role in this process.

India's aspiration for a permanent seat on the UN Security Council (UNSC) has been influenced by several factors in the South Asian context. India's population, growing economic and military capabilities, and longstanding contributions to UN peacekeeping operations have strengthened its case for a permanent seat. India's diplomatic outreach and partnerships with other South Asian countries, such as SAARC, have bolstered its candidacy for permanent membership. However, geopolitical considerations and rivalries in the region, particularly with neighboring countries, have posed challenges to India's bid for permanent membership. Despite these challenges, India continues to pursue its goal of permanent membership, advocating for a more inclusive and representative UNSC that reflects the evolving global order.

g) Factors affecting India's UNSC permanent membership in Indian sub continent

India's quest for a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has been influenced by various factors in the Indian subcontinent. One significant factor is India's status as a regional power in South Asia, both in terms of its economy and military capabilities. India's growing influence and stability in the region have positioned it as a natural contender for permanent membership. Additionally, India's active participation in regional organizations such as the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and its efforts to foster regional cooperation have further strengthened its candidacy.

Furthermore, India's contributions to global peacekeeping operations, with the deployment of its troops in various conflict zones, highlight its commitment to maintaining international peace and security. However, internal conflicts and geopolitical rivalries within the Indian subcontinent, such as the border disputes with Pakistan and China, have impacted India's pursuit of permanent membership. These tensions have sometimes hindered regional support for India's bid. Nonetheless, India continues to garner backing from many countries in the region and beyond, citing its democratic values, economic prowess, and active engagement in global affairs. India's push for permanent membership reflects its aspiration to play a more influential role in shaping international peace and security dynamics, representing not just its own interests but also those of the Indian subcontinent as a whole.

Conclusion

India has always participated actively in debates on all topics pertaining to global peace and security as an elected non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. India has embraced certain principles since its first membership in the UNSC in 1950–51 and throughout its current term (2021–2022). These principles include non-use of force, respect for the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of states, and peaceful resolution of disputes. India has always chosen to support democratic majorities that assist pass policies and resolutions that are generally seen as acceptable. India has only ever voted against a resolution once in the past. It has only used abstentions to demonstrate its reservations about a certain issue.

In fact, during its membership in the Council, including the current term, India has voted in favor of over 70% of the resolutions that were passed by a vote of the council or by consensus. India voted in favor of over 90% of the resolutions that were approved by a majority vote, totaling 120 in total. Additionally, India

has endeavored to emphasize the importance of a political approach to crisis resolution through discussion and dialogue inside the UNSC. For instance, during its first term, India offered its mediation services, sought to defuse tensions on the Korean Peninsula, and emphasized the need of the UN settling the dispute without the use of force. As the Arab-Israeli dispute was brought before the UNSC during India's second and third terms, India emphasized the need to protect the sovereignty and rights of the Arab governments and people. India started speaking out strongly for Africa in the Council in 1977–1978 and denounced South Africa's Apartheid system. India declared during its 1991–1992 administration that it would never accept any UNSC resolution that imposed an arbitrary border between Iraq and Kuwait.

India's top aims for the UNSC during the 2011–12 term were to carry out UNSC reforms and increase the Council's legitimacy and efficacy. India's principled but practical attitude is demonstrated by the case of Libya, including its longstanding aversion to enforcement tactics like the creation of no-fly zones. India's track record shows its commitment to seeking inclusive political solutions through its constructive engagement on topics on the UNSC agenda during the 2021–22 session. Examples include the UNSC's discussions on Afghanistan and Ukraine. India has constantly focused since January 2021 on collaborating closely with other members to get the UNSC to consider the connections between peace, security, and development. The UNSC presidency that India will hold in August 2021 and the final texts it produces are two instances.

Without a doubt, India has demonstrated maturity, adaptability, ideals, and pragmatism in its eight terms as a non-permanent member of the UNSC when it comes to issues of global peace and security. Having served on the UNSC for 16 years would support its application for permanent membership in the Council.

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Achieving Holistic Peace Beyond a Military Victory: Case of Sri Lanka

B. Vasana Sewwandi Dayasiri¹

Abstract

The small island country of Sri Lanka is in a length of revival after the end of a civil conflict which was once fought for various decades. The roots of this combat traces returned to sure administrative selections of colonizers as nicely as of successive governments which multiplied the fighting into a fully-fledged civil warfare between the Sinhala majority and the Tamil minority represented through the terrorist organization, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. After three a long time of chronic war the hostilities got here to closure in 2009 however the query of peacemaking left to reply was once possibly even extra challenging. Eight years after the quilt of struggle factors of violence nevertheless succeed which no longer solely makes it nearly not possible to name the peace won sustainable and holistic, however additionally likely for a struggle to resurge. The goal of this lookup is to analyze the post-war context of Sri Lanka and thereby decide a holistic mannequin of peace which is sustainable past the army victory won again in 2009. Therefore, the center of attention shall be generally on creating a appropriate reconciliation mannequin as a substitute than to probe into the previous and roots reasons of war. The lookup takes up a qualitative strategy and to that give up it gathers secondary information that determines the post-war state of affairs of the country. The evaluation is basically primarily based on a theoretical evaluation of Johan

Keywords : *Civil War, Reconciliation, Peace Building, Positive Peace*

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Galtung's concept of poor and fine peace in relation to post-war Sri Lanka. A cautious evaluation of the post-war statistics of Sri Lanka for the duration of 2009-2015 suggests that the peace won following the navy victory is terrible whilst missing peace in its positive, holistic sense. The lookup findings show up that even though Sri Lanka has been unified territorially its several ethnicities are but to be reconciled into one tightly knitted inclusive society to create the Sri Lankan state that transcends slender ethnic disparities. It additionally concludes that it can also require years of dedication and considerable upheaval of the attitudes of the public. But if that can be achieved, its effects can be relished by using many generations to come who shall no longer be careworn once more with the agonies of war. *achieving Holistic Peace beyond a Military Victory: case of Sri Lanka.*

Introduction

The small island country Sri Lanka recognized to the world as the Pearl of the Indian Ocean has had a tormenting past. For a couple of centuries it was under British colonial domain which did much harm to the ethnic unity of the country which was until then a peaceful land. This was once till then a peaceable land. The traces left by means of the British in 1948 as they eventually granted independence ignited worse flames in later years in the structure of a civil struggle between the Sinhala majority and the Tamil minority lead with the aid of the ruthless terrorist enterprise the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam.

It is nearly not possible to decide the root motives that gave delivery to this conflict, however it may as properly be seen as a collection of occasions and motives spanning over a lengthy length of time, as lengthy as the colonial period. Although at that time there used to be no specific signal of conflict, the elaborate adjustments and techniques initiated by means of the British for their

comfort in administration laid the seeds of a combat that bore the catastrophic harvest of civil war. This havoc commenced with the British coverage of Divide and Rule¹ used in a collection of British imposed Constitutional Reforms that opted to view a hitherto unified state in phrases of ethnicities with separate representatives from every ethnicity, regularly appointed on a biased selection.

Aggrieved via the marginalization brought about through the new constitution, the country aided colonization of the North and communal violence of 1958, got here the first public declare by way of the Tamil minority for a separate sovereign Tamil country via the Vaddukkodei Resolution of 1976. Subsequently, the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) used to be additionally fashioned in 1976 through Velupillai Prabhakaran as a secessionist nationalist rebel group.

In 1978, got here the Second Republican Constitution which made each Sinhala and Tamil legitimate languages of Sri Lanka as if to rectify the mistake of the Official Language Act. Unfortunately, none of these adjustments have been powerful ample to heal the deep rooted ethnic rivalries. As a result, the civil struggle in Sri Lanka escalated in 4 steps as the First Eelam War [1983-1987], Second Eelam War [1990-1995], the Third Eelam War [1995-2002] and the Fourth Eelam War [2006-2009]. Several rounds of peace talks have been tried to cast off the danger of struggle at its outset however failed due to terrorist assaults that followed. By 1987 India intervened through signing the Indo-Lanka Accord which cautioned the controversial thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution on the be counted of dissolution energy to Provincial Councils and the deployment of Indian Peace Keeping Force. The most outstanding strive of quit fireplace was once in 2002 when the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL) and the LTTE signed a Norwegian mediated ceasefire. But this peace used to be

additionally short-lived when the ceasefire used to be breached by using each aspects and struggle resurged. In 2008 the GoSL formally withdrew from the Ceasefire and declared struggle which solely ended in May, 2009 with the entire defeat of the LTTE and the victory of Government forces

Literature Review

Definitions of Peace

The definition of peace is more difficult than it first appears to be. The term "peace" is overused in international affairs, but it hasn't yet been given a complete meaning that might apply to all circumstances that call for it. The puzzle's component arises because the notion of peace is so subjective and has a wide range of implications. However, the cause of peace has mostly been a religious one for much of history (D.Cortright, 2008). Exploring the notion of peace has always been crucial to peace research as it has grown as a result of that development (J.Galtung, 1996). Many peace researchers have therefore tried to outline peace however the most frequent of these scholarly definitions center of attention normally on peace in phrases of war. That is peace has regularly been conceptualized in worldwide family members as the absence of war. Peace is viewed as the direct contrary of combat treating hostilities and peace as a dichotomy, which come as twin phrases and which solely exists when the different is absent. Throughout records and in a majority of lookup combat and peace have for that reason been dealt with as together exclusive.

Negative Peace and Positive Peace

In global family members peace is an ambiguous time period and can have enigmatic meanings. It bears frequently wonderful connotations and is used as a key legitimization device (kuhn, 2012). But for many the phrase peace is a

binary which has obtained two awesome meanings. To some it in reality capacity the 'absence of war' and to some peace exceeds past that frontier. It used to be Johan Galtung the pioneer in peace research who conceptualized these two tactics of perception peace as bad and high-quality peace. According to Galtung, appreciation peace as absence or cease of hostilities was once poor peace whereas superb peace encompasses a broader that means past mere absence of fighting to consist of greater effective aspects in a post-conflict society such as justice, equality, human rights and development. However as Diehl notes, superb peace is a minority amongst students and scholarly research typically outline peace as the absence of war. Even the world peace index, Diehl factors out, is solely taking into account the attributes of bad peace such as murder rate, get entry to small hands and navy expenditure. In his study, he indicates how the center of attention on terrible peace has overshadowed fantastic peace whilst he additionally makes an fascinating remark that 67.7% of the pre-1945 Nobel Peace Laureates have been nominated for their contribution to poor peace when solely an insignificant 16.1% of fantastic peace tries have been diagnosed as beneficial of a Nobel price. (Diehl, 2016).

By attempting to explain it as the product of the militarization of the politics of peace by the western security community, Kühn sheds some insight on this constrictive conception of peace in its negative form. He claims that military-oriented peacekeeping, peacemaking, and other measures are responsible for the peace process. Others who support negative peace do so within the larger global framework of nuclear deterrence since it has successfully avoided major conflict, particularly given that it has preserved peace in Europe for more than 70 years following World conflict II (P.Ekins, 1983). This point is made by Prof. Matsuo Masatsugu as well, who notes that peace was initially mistakenly thought to be the opposite of war because modern peace studies were inspired by "the reflection of tragedies of World War II" and the knowledge of the

vulnerability of human survival in a complete nuclear war between the superpowers (M.Masatsugu, 2017). Therefore, while rejecting this limited definition of peace, he also lists two significant flaws in it: first, war was assumed to be symmetrically fought by states or an alliance of states despite the possibility of non-state actors being drawn into the conflict; second, war was assumed to be fought by states or an alliance of states regardless of the possibility of developing countries waging war. That is, in this constrained concept of "negative peace," non-state actors like terrorists and guerillas were all but ignored.

Cooperation in War and War in Cooperation

Another color of this grey sector is that there is a center floor between hostilities and peace. It is feasible for cooperation to emerge at instances of warfare and it is feasible for combat to outbreak once more in a length ensured as peaceful. Keen gives in his learn about that if struggle can encompass seeds of cooperation then it is additionally feasible for a peaceable length to spark reasons of later war. There are additionally many post-war societies, Campbell, Findley and Kikuta point out which have neither full battle nor full peace. In truth for some nations and communities as Höglund and Kovacs note, combat is a norm of the society which is sometimes interrupted with the aid of peace as a substitute than the different way round (Kovacs, 2010)

Factors that Foster Positive Peace

Therefore it is a lot clear that the hole between the two sorts of peace is unnecessarily broad (Kovacs H. &., 2010) To rectify this biased definition of peace, the students have solely these days moved past the traditional absence of struggle definition of peace, highly as beckoned with the aid of Galtung. As a end result fantastic peace as received area and interest in peace research as a

greater complete way to recognize the complicated realities of the distinctly subjective phenomenon of peace. If the actual that means of peace supersedes one dimensional terrible peace of mere absence of struggle what must a multi-dimensional thought of high-quality peace include? According to Doyle and Sambanis, peace ought to take the form of tremendous peace inclusive of political and societal reforms at giant (Sambanis, 2005).

Case of Sri Lanka

Among a fantastic assortment of literature concerning the idea of peace, its bad and high quality definitions but complete literature of the post-conflict scenario of Sri Lanka and its possibilities for effective peace is substantially lacking. Among distinctly scarce literature on fine peace of Sri Lanka, Price's strive to combine advantageous peace for Sri Lanka with the trouble of internally displaced people are noteworthy. Although her center of attention is on IDPs, she has shed massive mild on the perception of the notion of peace in Sri Lanka. She mentions how the modern authorities of Sri Lanka described peace in phrases of territorial harmony whereas the LTTE's definition of peace had connotations of self-determination (Price, 2010). This thesis is correlating to the ideas of different students on nice peace as beforehand discussed, in particular to the ideas of Galtung, Diehl, Cortright, Masatsugu and Keen. 'Peace is no longer the replicate picture of warfare and consequently requires exceptional theoretical explanations' says Diehl.

Methodology of the Study

This lookup is totally primarily based on secondary information accrued via educational journals, earlier performed research, books and different internet based totally tutorial publications. Since solely secondary statistics will be analyzed the usage of content material evaluation the lookup assumes a qualitative approach. The above referred to goals will be accomplished in the mild of quite a few peace theories and concepts, especially Johan Galtung's idea of Negative and Positive Peace as nicely as Conflict and Peace Triangle.

Data Presentation and Analysis

A find out about on the civil combat of Sri Lanka and the scenario that observed it, and the query whether Sri Lanka has peace in its best structure is a deep and strenuous workout that requires probing into occasions that span for extra than three decades. However, this find out about is confined to the occasions and conditions that came about from 2009 to 2015, a time body that captures a sufficiently numerous duration together with on the spot cessation of the navy disagreement and the peace technique that followed. This eight year time duration is lengthy sufficient for a sustainable peace mechanism to take keep if true implemented. This lookup expects to consider if that time has been suitable seized now not solely to keep the peace performed after lots pressure however additionally to preclude any opportunity of future war.

Therefore, the want of the hour is now not solely to maintain the peace won with passion however additionally to make sure that root motives that lead to that disaster are efficiently addressed to preclude future probabilities of war. This lookup is considerable to Sri Lanka each domestically and internationally due to the fact on the one hand peaceable coexistence is critical for a multi-

ethnic United States like Sri Lanka and on the different such recurrence of fighting would be gravely unaffordable and hold the United States lagging in the back of in a quick growing world. Therefore, now not only is this lookup large and legitimate however additionally timely.

There has been no consensus on what specific attributes have to be current for a post-war society to be deemed peaceful. It is alternatively when peace supersedes this classical boundary of cessation of violence it assumes a holistic definition that strikes a stability between the cessation of violence which is the on the spot victory and making sure of socio, financial and cultural well-being of the society which makes that victory holistic and sustainable.

Mostly peace primarily based lookup recognize peace simply primarily based on the component of cessation of violence or war whilst its root reasons which are greater intricately widespread in the appreciation of the hostilities stay dangerously forgotten and not noted and consequently unresolved. This case is additionally actual for Sri Lanka the place peace is understood in basic terms as the cease of warfare ignoring what follows. Eight years after war, there is no peace in its holistic and best definition in Sri Lanka with violence ultimate of different types and making no assurance that a civil hostilities or a combat of any such trend would now not recur. Assessing from latest tendencies it is greater likely than violence may outbreak than it would not. Therefore this lookup focuses first of all tries to analyze the post-war scenario of Sri Lanka and thereby decide what holistic mannequin of peace is sustainable past the army victory in Sri Lanka.

Conclusion

From early Nineteen Eighties till 2009 Sri Lanka fought a rigorous civil fighting which drastically wasted the time, assets and the lives of the country. After Sri Lanka received independence there used to be a time it confirmed regular financial boom and had that endured Sri Lanka would have by no means been a growing u. s. a . For a good deal of the remaining century. But regardless of uniting for the improvement of the us of a and building one built-in nation, the ethnicities of Sri Lanka selected to tussle with every other. The fault can partly be directed at colonial rule for harvesting ethnic tension thru insurance policies like divide and rule however a good deal of the duty lies with the selections and attitudes of humans themselves. It nearly took thirty years to cease the battle with a navy victory. The length of conflict was once so annoying and chaotic that its abrupt cease made humans miscomprehend that it is synonymous with peace. However the actual that means of peace with all its contours and depths is a very exceptional and complicated one that goes past the cease of war. In fact, what is greater difficult is now not the stop of fighting however maintaining the peace gained. Eight years after the stop of war, the post-war society of Sri Lanka is nonetheless tainted via structural and cultural types of violence in addition to its humans who stay divided alongside ethnic lines, figuring out themselves and discriminating the relaxation on ethnic stereotypes alternatively of uniting as a nation. With such divided mindsets fantastic peace and reconciliation are almost not possible feats to realize.

One can theorize however, primarily based on globally everyday criteria, an fantastic peace constructing mannequin for Sri Lanka such as the one proposed above. It can also possibly appear unrealistic and even not possible a mission given the modern-day mindsets of humans which is divided. It is actual that insurance policies like attitudinal transformation take a longer time to take hold.

But that is now not an not possible challenge given the promising steps taken with the aid of the modern-day government. What is now required is to proceed the reconciliation method which is already underway and make certain that it does now not lapse anywhere. The above proposed mannequin shall now not reap instant outcomes however its steady and fine implementation will deliver holistic peace in the lengthy run. The mannequin is additionally fine due to the fact it addresses a wider vary of requirements in a post-war society by means of now not limiting itself to troubles of resettlement or coverage modifications however additionally addressing the things of restoration and peace education.

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