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Message from the Vice Chancellor of University of Kelaniya

Professor D.M. Semasinghe

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It is with utmost pleasure that I send my felicitation for the fifth edition of the journal of International Studies published by the Students' Association of the Department of International Studies of University of Kelaniya. It is delighting to perceive the endeavors taken in the past years yet again become faithful. The effort taken by the department to deliver its promising undergraduates and intellectual platform to showcase their skills is in the deep phrase worthy. The expertise rendered by the academic staff to the undergraduates in accomplishing this task deserves a special note of appreciation. University of Kelaniya constantly takes measure to bestow and expose its undergraduates' excellent academic as well as extracurricular activities. Since its initiation in 2002, the International Studies' General and special degree programmes have certified the students to accomplish greater heights in their endeavors. After being established as a new department in 2017 Department of International Studies has concluded its utmost to the students during past year. This year the department is contributing to the academic sphere through five publications of International Studies undergraduates. The degree reaching such greater heights as such gives me a great satisfaction as the Vice Chancellor of the University of Kelaniya. This, I congratulate the International Studies Students Association upon the Fifth successful attempt a publishing an academic journal and wish all students the best of luck in their academic undertakings.

Professor D.M. Semasinghe
Vice Chancellor
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**Message from the Dean of the Faculty of
social Sciences**

Prof. A.H.M.H. Abayarathna

Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Kelaniya

As the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, I extend my warmest congratulations to the International Studies Students' Association on the issue of the fifth volume of the journal of International Studies.

The faculty of Social Sciences strives to provide and sustain its high quality in research and is committed encourage its students to excellence and innovation of novel ideas. The faculty recognizes the significance in undergraduates' participation in extra-curricular performances and this magazine exemplifies such activities. Further this intellectual forum not only invigorates forward-thinking but also is professionally supportive in future endeavors.

I congratulate the International Studies Students' Association for the launch of the Journal of International Studies and wish the strength to engage in many such worth causes in future.

Professor A.H.M.H. Abayarathna

Dean

Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Kelaniya



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

Senior Lecturer Mrs. Thumira Gunasena
Head, Department of International Studies
Senior Treasurer, International Studies
Students' Association
University of Kelaniya

As the Head of the Department of International Studies, it is with a matter of immense pride and pleasure that I present this message for the important milestone of launching the fifth volume of the journal of International Studies. This journal delivers a wealth of opportunity to for the students to enhance their skills in writing, analytical thinking and obtain a critical viewpoint on current affairs. Department of International Studies takes prominence in constantly encouraging its students to thrive in both academics as well as potential skills and performances. This journal is a crystalline example of such performances, unity and determination of International Studies Students' Association. As the Head of department of International Studies, I am proud to say we are able to produce leadership figures to the future world. It gives me great pleasure to see the efforts taken by the International Studies Students' Association have become a success. Also, it is with utmost delight that I take pride in contributing to the launching of the journal of International Studies. I hereby extend my very best wishes to the Fifth Volume of the Journal of International Studies.

Senior Lecturer Thumira Gunasena
Head of the Department of International Studies
Senior Treasurer, International Studies Students Association
University of Kelaniya



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

It gives me great pleasure to pen these words for the launching of the fifth volume of the journal of International Studies. It is my expectation this journal will give our young but burgeoning field an academic voice and a venue for discourse that will move us forward. The Department of International Studies and International Studies Students' Association has always contributed to uplift the knowledge on the discipline of International Studies and this is also a conclusion of yet another successful step. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Head of the Department of International Studies and the Senior Treasurer of the ISSA Senior Lecturer Thumira Gunasena, all the lecturers and assistant lecturers of the Department for their immense support and guidance. I also seize this opportunity to thank our authors, editors and reviewers, all of whom have volunteered to contribute to the success of the journal. An enormous amount of work has done into the development of this journal and I believe you will see that effort reflected in this edition and in the impact, it will have on the field. It is with great pride, enthusiasm, and anticipation that I invite you to read the inaugural issue of the Journal of International Studies.

Thaveesha Bulegoda
President
International Studies Students' Association
University of Kelaniya



**Message from the Editor
of the Journal
Hiruni Jayarathne**

I'm delighted and honoured to enclose these words as the fifth volume of the journal of International Studies is launched. This journal accomplished the splendid knowledge of undergraduates specializing international studies and their intense and authentic substance in the world affairs. For that subject I'm humble and honoured to be a part of this aspiration. This journal today launched is not a work of couple of persons, nor a work of easier effort, but this final product of the remarkable workforce of well-informed people involved who dedicated tremendously to see it as it is today. I'm grateful to the Head of the Department of International Studies and the Senior Treasure of the ISSA Senior Lecturer Thumira Gunasena, all the lecturers and assistant lecturers of the Department for their supervision and their patronage prolonged all over by inspiring us to pace that extra mile to write to the journal of International Studies and the ISSA family who were behind this effort from the commencement up to the final launch of the journal. I would also grab this prospect to prompt my best wishes for the launch of the fifth volume of the journal of which I am prominent to be a part.

Hiruni Jayaratne
Journal Editor
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Popular Geopolitics and Motion Pictures: Cold War in James Bond Movies

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Abstract

Since its inception in 1962, James Bond is the longest running and most commercially successful cinematic franchise of all time. At its surface, James Bond or “007” is a popular Western pop icon. At a deeper level however, there are meaningful undercurrents, themes, symbols, and messages that operate as popular geopolitics. This article will provide an in-depth analysis of the Cold War as presented in the Bond films. It will discuss how each film can be connected to contemporary world events; how Bond acknowledges other states; how British, American and Russian identities are presented in the viewpoint of the West; and the how Communism and Espionage are symbolized in the movies. The study is based on the detailed examination of six James Bond movies, namely *From Russia with Love* (1963), *Thunderball* (1965), *You Only Live Twice* (1967), *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977), *Octopussy* (1983), and *The Living Daylights* (1987). They were compared and contrasted for visual and textual representations of the Cold War. The critical conversation revolves around the extent to which the selected James Bond movies have been influenced by Cold War politics. The importance of studying geopolitical images and themes of Bond movies rests in their capability of influencing mass audiences and functioning as propaganda. The paper concludes that the Bond movies draw people’s attention to the social insecurities of the era before ultimately reinforcing the message that the West and its allies will prevail against any threat to security.

Keywords: Popular Geopolitics, James Bond, Cold War, Propaganda, Popular Culture

Introduction

Ian Fleming's James Bond is the most iconic spy figure in international cinema. Popular culture has made him one of the most recognizable and successful characters in modern fiction. The novels have sold over 100 million copies, and the film franchise is the longest running and second most successful film franchise worldwide. In fact, it has been estimated that around 20% of the world's population has seen at least one James Bondfilm.¹

The fictional British Secret Service agent James Bond (codename 007) was first introduced in Ian Fleming's 1953 novel *Casino Royale*. Drawing from his own experiences as a British Naval Intelligence officer during World War II, Fleming wrote twelve James Bond novels and nine short stories. Fleming's 007 novels achieved moderate success and critical acclaim; however, what catapulted James Bond into fame was the movie series starting from "Dr. No" in 1962 starring Sean Connery. As of 2018, there are 24 official James Bond films produced and released by Eon Productions. They have enjoyed enormous success and popularity during its 50-year history.

At its surface, "007" is merely a Western pop icon. There is, however, much more meaning in the novels and films than is apparent. In fact, there are deeper undercurrents, themes, symbols, and messages that operate as psychological warfare and propaganda. This article will provide an in-

¹ Derek, S., & McCormack, P. (2006).

depth analysis of the Cold War elements, geopolitics, and national identities represented in selected Bond movies. The importance of these geopolitical and ideological images and themes lies in their capability of influencing mass audiences and functioning as propaganda. The paper concludes that the Bond movies draw people's attention to the social insecurities of the era before ultimately reinforcing the message that the West and its allies will prevail against any threat to security.

The Study

This study is based on six James Bond movies produced during 1962-1991. Chronologically, they are: *From Russia with Love* (1963), *Thunderball* (1965), *You Only Live Twice* (1967), *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977), *Octopussy* (1983), and *The Living Daylights* (1987). Although almost all the James Bond movies produced during this period incorporate propaganda element, these particular six movies were selected to study the diverse aspects of the Cold War. They were compared and contrasted for visual and textual representations of the Cold War.

This article attempts to respond to, and build upon, the Bond literature in several ways. First it analyzes how Bond movies evolved with the changes to the social, cultural and political backdrop to remain relevant and popular during the Cold War. Next it considers how British, American and Russian identities have been represented in the movies. The paper also briefly discusses Communism and Espionage symbolized. The critical conversation revolves around the extent to which the selected James Bond

movies have been influenced by Cold War politics and as a result, contain possible Cold War propaganda elements.

Motion Pictures and Geopolitics

As an immensely popular form of entertainment, films are highly effective in grabbing the attention of mass audiences. Beyond just transporting viewers into new worlds and fantasies, motion pictures can help to create “understandings of particular events, national identities and relationships to others” (Dodds). As Mark Lacy (2003) has noted, “the cinema becomes a space where „common sense“ ideas about global politics and history are (re)-produced and where stories about what is acceptable behaviour from states and individuals are naturalised and legitimated.” A number of scholars have argued that the relation between cinema and enactments of geopolitical intervention must be understood not only in terms of geopolitics but also the codes, scripts visual, textual and emotional engagements (Dodds,2008b).

According to Dodds(2008a) popular visual expressions can be used to frame “structures and agents of global politics.

” Films can be used to critically engage with interpretations and representations of war, nationalism, colonialism, world orders, the War on Terror, international political economy. Dodd adds that“Hollywoodhasoftenbeenmorethanwillingandabletoproduceandmarketfilmsdesignedtoraise“ national morale and spirit.” Commenting particularly of James Bond movies, Dodds notes:

The geopolitical contexts used in the films matter in terms of ensuing some kind of contemporary credibility so that it came as no surprise to this James Bond fan that the latest movie, *Casino Royale* (2005) used the backdrop of global terror networks to geopolitically situate the latest 007 mission. (2008a)

Many times, International Relations and Security Studies have also been concerned with the role of film, popular culture and representations of global politics. Movies such as *Salvador* (1986), *Three Kings* (1999), *Syriana* (2005), *Thirteen Days* (2000), *Redacted* (2007), *The Lives of Others* (2006), *Tinker Tailor Soldier Spy* (2011), *Argo* (2012), and *Bridge of Spies* (2015) are famous geopolitical & social thrillers that capture contemporary International Relations.

A propaganda film is a film that involves some form of propaganda. They include content that “convince the viewer of a specific political point or influence the opinions or behavior of the viewer, often by providing subjective content that may be deliberately misleading” (Bisbey, 2017). According to Stern (2011), films are effective propaganda tools because they establish visual icons of historical reality and consciousness, define public attitudes of the time they’re depicting or that at which they were filmed, mobilize people for a common cause, or bring attention to an unknown cause. Political and historical films represent, influence, and create historical consciousness and are able to distort events making it a persuasive and possibly untrustworthy medium.

The earliest known propaganda film was a series of short silent films made during the Spanish–American War in 1898 created by Vitagraph Studios. Bisbey notes that in the 20th century, films emerged as the new cultural agents, depicting events and showing foreign images to mass audiences in European and American cities. Politics and film increasingly interlinked political and military interests. It was useful in “reaching [to] a broad segment of the population and creating consent or encouraging rejection of the real or imagined enemy.” They also proved to be a useful platform in bringing the public’s attention to contemporary events (Bisbey, 2017).

Cold War and Propaganda through Motion Pictures

The Cold War was the state of geopolitical tension after World War II between powers in the Eastern Bloc (the Soviet Union and its satellite states) and powers in the Western Bloc (the United States, its NATO allies and others) from 1947-1989.

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union invested heavily in propaganda designed to influence the hearts and minds of people around the world, especially using motion pictures (Shaw & Youngblood, 2010). According to the Shaw & Youngblood, the Americans took advantage of their pre-existing cinematic advantage over the Soviet Union, using movies as another way to create the Communist enemy. American films incorporated a wide scale of Cold War themes and issues into all genres of film, which gave American motion pictures a particular lead over Soviet film. Although the public was mostly disinterested in

Anti-Communist/Cold War related cinema, the films produced evidently did serve as successful propaganda in both America and the USSR.

Previously, the influence of the Cold War could be seen in many, if not all, genres of American film. In the 1960s however, Hollywood began using spy films to create the enemy through film. These films rose in popularity because of their entertaining portrayal of the invisible, covert side of the Cold War. In the 1960s, spy films were extremely popular and largely able to infuse a general suspicion of foreign and domestic threats in the minds of people (Classen, 2011). Movies such as the James Bond Series (1962 – Present), *The Spy Who Came in From the Cold* (1965), *The Ipcress File* (1965), *Torn Curtain* (1966), *The Double Man* (1967), *The Kremlin Letter* (1970), *Telefon* (1977), *The Falcon and the Snowman* (1985),

And No Way Out (1987) all featured spies, intelligence services, conspiracies and cover-ups. But out of all these, Bond films remained the most successful due to its large-scale reception worldwide (Barber, 2015).

The Bond films were so successful as propaganda that it provoked a Soviet response. Nelson (2016) has identified the short miniseries premiered in the Soviet Union titled “Seventeen Moments in Spring” as the Soviet answer for James Bond. Screened in 1973, directed by Tatyana Lioznova, and based on the novel of the same title by Yulian Semyonov, the series portrays the exploits of Maxim Isaev, a Soviet spy operating in Nazi Germany under the name Max Otto von Stierlitz, tasked with disrupting the secret negotiations between Karl Wolff and Allen Dulles taking place in Switzerland, aimed at forging a separate peace between Germany and

the Western Allies. Stierlitz is very different to Bond. Though Stierlitz was a spy like James Bond, he held to Soviet values. Stierlitz was fiercely devoted to his wife, never womanized, never smoke, and never drank. Stierlitz was the Soviet Union's response to the creation of the new Cold War hero of Britain and the United States. The series became one of the most successful Soviet espionage thriller ever made, and is one of the most popular television series in Soviet history.

Image making has been central to the Cold War – from the evil spirit of Communism, to the western ideals of capitalism, and the glamour of the Free World. In this regard, James Bond films are a cinematic phenomenon unlike any other. It brought the battle between democracy and communism to the silver screen with themes of espionage and the threat of nuclear warfare.

Literature Review

James Bond has won the recognition of many scholars' interest due to its multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary nature. The series has been studied under many academic fields including political history, film history, cultural and gender studies, and post colonialism.

Although there is no substantial amount of literature that studies Bond from the viewpoint of Politics and International Studies, as well as the sub-discipline of Security Studies, there are prominent texts that have laid a foundation for further studies. Scholars including (among others) Chapman, Black, Dodds, Funnell, and Lindner have analyzed Bond of its

historic images of national identities, security studies, and geopolitical and postcolonial structures of power in detail.

James Chapman (2007) has undertaken by far the best work so far in the field of political science and political history with *License to Thrill: A Cultural History of the James Bond Films*. Chapman connects each film to world events, contemporary social attitudes towards issues such as class, race, gender and imperial decline. Quite similar to Chapman, Jeremy Black (2001), in his book *The Politics of James Bond*, offers an account of the political content of Fleming's novels and the films up to *The World Is Not Enough* (1999), focusing on Bond's engagement with Cold War geopolitics. Black sheds light on the changing images of Britain, the United States and the world, Anglo-American competition, Britain's diminished political and military presence in Cold War confrontations and a corresponding need to adapt to the United States and addresses themes such as the space race, nuclear confrontation and drugs. Both Chapman and Black expanded the study of James Bond beyond the literary and filmic texts, placing Bond within the sociopolitical concerns of post-imperial Britain and Anglo-American relations. Both scholars sought to understand Bond in the context of British political, social, and cultural history. They asserted that socio-political and cultural concerns of post-war Britain can be identified, assessed, and analyzed through the Bond universe.

Christoph Linder's collection (2010), *The James Bond Phenomenon: A Critical Reader* provides theoretical perspectives on James Bond as a cultural figure. The collection highlights the social, historical, and political

contexts of Fleming's novels and the Bond films, and explores the significance of Bond across the franchise's history.

Klaus Dodd's has conducted extensive research on Bond films and geopolitics. Dodds's 2005 paper; *Screening Geopolitics: James Bond and the Early Cold War films (1962–1967)* examined popular geopolitics by considering the role and significance of places and their inhabitants in shaping the narrative structures of Bond films. By using the example of the James Bond series from the 1960s, he suggested that there is more a complex series of geographies to be acknowledged. In 2015 Klaus and Funnell further studied the changing contours of the post-1945 geopolitical world, and the Anglo-American "special relationship" in *The Anglo-American Connection: Examining the Intersection of Nationality with Class, Gender, and Race in the James Bond Films*.

Shaken Not Stirred: The Cold War Politics of James Bond, From Novel to Film authored by Noah Lewis in 2018 is a comparison of the Bond works *Casino Royale* (1953), *Dr. No* (1958) and *Gold finger* (1959) with their official Eon Productions film adaptations released in 2006, 1962 and 1964 respectively. It shows how the original plots have been successfully adapted in order to evolve with changes to the social, cultural and political backdrop and to remain relevant and popular long after the end of the Cold War.

Data presentation and Analysis

A Cold War Timeline in James Bond

Chapman (2007), each James Bond can be connected to contemporary world events and politics. The plotlines feature various incidents that occurred throughout the Cold War. Accordingly, using the six movies considered in the study, a timeline can be drawn by juxtaposing their Cold War elements in the following manner:

Nuclear arms race (1945-1990)

The nuclear arms race was a competition for supremacy in nuclear warfare between the United States, the Soviet Union, and their respective allies during the Cold War. Both governments spent massive amounts to increase the quality and quantity of their nuclear arsenals.

In *Octopussy* (1983) General Orlov of Russia asserts superiority of Russian forces over the NATO. He claims: “The West is decadent and divided. It has no stomach to risk our atomic reprisals” and explains to the Soviet committee:

Orlov: “Must I remind you, the committee, of our overwhelming superiority over NATO forces before we give it away? In East Germany under my direct command, I have divisions, including tank divisions and another five in Czechoslovakia. In support, on the Russian western border are divisions, including tank divisions. In all, an advantage. American and West German forces can field at most ten armoured divisions. The British maintain only a token force.”

He proposes to invade Eastern Europe but the committee dismisses it claiming “NATO will counterattack with nuclear weapons.”

During the 1950s the nuclear arms race between East and West was in full swing and there was a global fear of the threat of nuclear war. The fear of nuclear war is depicted in many of the early Bond movies. *Spy Who Loved Me* (1977) captures the threat of nuclear war perfectly. In the movie, Bond investigates the hijacking of British and Russian submarines carrying nuclear warheads, with the help of a K.G.B. Agent. The villain Stromberg has planned a simultaneous launching of nuclear missiles from British and Soviet submarines to destroy Moscow and New York City. This would trigger a global nuclear war, which Stromberg would survive in Atlantis and subsequently a new civilization would be established underwater. Although this storyline is rather farfetched, the movie shows the danger and fragility of nuclear weapons. As M, the head of MI6, claims: „Someone can now locate a submerged nuclear submarine in exactly the same way, by its wake. But that means they can totally undermine our Western Defense strategy. “ This shows the fear of the Western governments that the ever-escalating arms race with the Soviet Union could result in a nuclear war at any time.

You Only Live Twice (1967) is inspired by the doctrine of mutually assured destruction (MAD)⁶. In the movie, American and Soviet space crafts are captured in orbit by another unidentified craft belonging to the criminal organization SPECTRE. Here, nuclear war and global destruction is exploited by a third party in order to gain supremacy in the world. In the

Living Daylights (1987) General Koskov reveals a KGB plan named Smiert Spionam, meaning Death to Spies, which Bond believed will “lead to nuclear war.”

Height of Cold War (1953–1962)

The period 1953–1962 within the Cold War was an era of unprecedented tensions between the West and East. From the death of Soviet leader Joseph Stalin in 1953 to the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, the period witnessed, among others, the Kennedy presidency, East Germany uprising, Creation of the Warsaw Pact, Bay of Pigs Invasion, Berlin Crisis, and Space Race.

These tensions are obvious in *From Russia with Love* (1963). In the film, SPECTRE devises a plan to play British and Soviet intelligence against each other to procure a Lektor cryptographic device from the Soviets. Taking advantage of the tensions between the two blocs and their desire to be technologically superior to the other, SPECTRE sets as bait a cryptographic device which the SIS and CIA have been after “for years.” Another instance of friction is when an assassin is sent to kill a Bulgarian secret agent working for the Russians in order to provoke hostilities between British and Soviet Intelligence. As Klebb, an agent of SPECTRE claims: “Who can the Russians suspect but the British? The Cold War in Istanbul will not remain cold very much longer.” Much of the action takes place in Istanbul and on the Orient Express which starts from Istanbul and crosses through Serbia, Yugoslavia, Croatia, and reaching Italy. The landscape runs through Eastern Europe which is geopolitically significant.

Space Race (1955 - 1991)

6 MAD is a military theory in which a full-scale use of nuclear weapons by two or more opposing sides would cause the complete annihilation of both the attacker and the defender.

7 The Space Race began on August, 1955, when the Soviet Union responded to the US announcement four days earlier of intent to launch artificial satellites for the International Geophysical Year, by declaring they would also launch a satellite in the near future. The end of the Space Race is harder to pinpoint, but it was over after the 1991 dissolution of the Soviet Union.

The Space Race refers to the 20th-century competition between two Cold War rivals, the Soviet Union and the United States, for dominance in spaceflight capability. The real importance of the Space Race was reflected in the fictional sabotage of American rockets and space program in Bond movies.

In *You Only Live Twice* (1967), when an American NASA spacecraft is hijacked from orbit by an unidentified spacecraft, the United States suspect it to be the work of the Soviets which the Soviets vehemently deny.

US diplomat: "I hereby give notice that in 20 days" time the United States intends to launch her next spaceship into orbit. My government has instructed me to inform you that any interference will be regarded as an act of war."

Soviet Diplomat: "May I ask what motive our Russian friends would have for wishing to destroy American spacecraft?"

US diplomat: “My government sees this as nothing less than a blatant attempt to gain complete control of space itself for military purposes.”

The space race in the movie eventually turns into an almost-war when a Soviet spacecraft is then captured in orbit by another unidentified craft, heightening tensions between Russia and the United States. The Americans believe that the Russians are behind the space hijackings and will now use the excuse of losing their own spacecraft to shoot down the next Jupiter launch. Hearing the news of the second hijacking, Bond exclaims “Now the Russians are accusing the Americans. Next time it will be war.” Subsequently, NASA changes the launch date of its next Jupiter launch while the American president speaks on TV giving a last warning to Russia that any sabotage will be retorted with war.

The British intelligent forces suspect a different country’s involvement in the hijacking. It soon turns out that criminal organization SPECTRE has been hired by a government of an unnamed Asian power, implied to be the People's Republic of China to provoke war between the superpowers. As Ernst Stavro Blofeld, head of SPECTRE claims: “As you see, I'm about to inaugurate a little war. In a matter of hours, when America and Russia have annihilated each other we shall see a new power dominating the world.” The film capitalizes on the Space Race tensions between USA and USSR and their competition to become the first nation to successfully land a man on the moon. This film also reflected how 'hot' the Cold War was at this time, when even the slightest provocation could cause a devastating escalation.

An international peace movement took root and grew among citizens around the world, first in Japan from 1954, but soon also in Europe and the US. The peace movement, and in particular the anti-nuclear movement, gained pace and popularity from the late 1950s and early 1960s, and continued to grow through the '70s and '80s with large protest marches, demonstrations and various non-parliamentary activism opposing war and calling for global nuclear disarmament.

In *Octopussy* (1983) General Orlov, a Soviet general who is seeking to expand Soviet control into West- Central Europe, plans to explode a nuclear warhead at a US Air Force base in West Germany and make it look like an accident by the United States. Orlov hopes that Europe would seek disarmament, forcing the NATO to order nuclear disarmament throughout Europe so that he may invade Western Europe with no opposition. His proposal is to make use of the “daily demonstrations demand[ing] unilateral nuclear disarmament” throughout Europe. However, the plan is dismissed by the Soviet committee as far too extreme.

Détente and Arms Control (1969 - 1979)

By the 1970s, both West and East had become interested in creating a stable and predictable international system, ushering in a period of détente. However, Détente collapsed at the end of the decade with the beginning of the Soviet–Afghan War in 1979.

Détente is clearly seen in *The Spy Who Loved Me* (1977) Where KBG agent Natasha Amasova and James Bond join forces to investigate the hijacking of British and Russian submarines carrying nuclear warheads. A

truce is agreed by their respective British and Soviet superiors which General Gogol, head of KGB claims “a new era of Anglo-Soviet cooperation” and hopes that it will “help to make Anglo-Soviet cooperation a reality.” Détente, in this movie, comes through the cooperation between Britain and Russia as their nations fight a common threat.

The Soviet–Afghan War (1978–1989)

The Soviet–Afghan War began after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The Soviet Union intervened in support of the Afghan communist government in its conflict with anticommunist Muslim guerrillas. The mujahideen groups¹⁰ were backed primarily by the United States, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan, making it a Cold War proxy war.

The *Living Daylights* (1987) features Afghanistan when Bond is taken to Afghanistan as a prisoner by General Koskov, a renegade Soviet general. Bond escapes prison, freeing another condemned prisoner at the same time who is revealed to be Kamran Shah, leader of the local Mujahideen. Bond discovers that Koskov is using Soviet funds to buy a massive shipment of opium from the Mujahideen. With Shah’s help, Bond stops the trade. Bond later saves Shah by blowing up a bridge, hindering Soviet advances against them. In many ways, the film discusses the dangers of proxy wars in places like Afghanistan in the grand scheme of the Cold War.

Political Geographies

Political geographies present in James Bond can be studied through the representation of inter-relationships between people, state, and territory. In many of the Bond films, Bond’s success depends on British alliances

with other Western powers or Western alliances. In *You Only Live Twice*, Bond is aided by Tiger Tanaka - the Head of the Japanese secret service, and the Japanese Secret Service and Maritime Forces. With Tanka's help, Bond infiltrates a remote Japanese island to find two American and Soviet manned space crafts which disappear mysteriously in orbit. Similarly, the CIA is an active ally of Bond, with CIA agent Felix Leiter appearing in most movies. Especially in *Thunder ball*, where Bond's mission is to find two NATO atomic bombs stolen by SPECTRE, which holds the world to ransom for £100 million in diamonds, in exchange for not destroying an unspecified major city in either the United Kingdom or the United States, Felix Leiter's help is essential. Apart from the CIA, the United States Coast Guard, US Air Force and U.S. Coast Guard also appear in the movie to supply reinforcement that Bond needs. The CIA is present in many of the Bond movies, albeit it plays an insignificant role other than occasionally supplying Bond with intelligence and equipment.

Bond movies highlight "special relationships" Britain enjoyed with countries that shared the Western ideology. As Dodds notes:

contribute[s] to the generation and reproduction of a series of geographical imaginations and traditions, which help to sustain particular national visions of states and territories. The popular geopolitics of James Bond could be seen as part of Britain's repertoire of geopolitical traditions – Britain as a global player allied with a special relationship with the United States. (2006)

Political geographies of the Cold War era are also represented through the placing of the storylines in geopolitically sensitive locations such as Istanbul (*From Russia with Love*), Berlin (*Octopussy*), Eastern Europe and

Afghanistan (The Living Daylights). These locations promote the idea that danger springs from countries or cities that are not under the Western influence.

The significance of the political geographies of the Cold War era in Bond movies lies in Black's argument (as cited in Hasian, 2014) that during the 1970s and 1980s, there were few representatives of the „Third World.““ They were not allowed any type of visibility in Bond films unless they were aligned with either Britain or the United States. For example, Egypt provides just a staged backdrop in *The Spy Who Loved Me*, local law enforcement agencies are not involved in *Octopussy*, and viewers learn little about the views of the Turkish government in *From Russia with Love*. Hasian quotes Black; “It is as if these countries are ungoverned, ripe for exploitation by international megalomaniacs, and waiting for the order... brought by Western intervention in the shape of Bond.” Furthermore, Bond villains are mostly non-British racial others. These characters, which include Bulgarians, Italians, Germans, Yugoslavs, Russians, Koreans, Turks, and Indians, are the victims of shameless racial stereotypes and ethnic slurs. Non-Western local populations are primarily presented in terms of native colour, for example crowded street scenes and festivals, as in the films *Thunder ball*, *The Spy Who Loved Me*, and *Octopussy*.

British Identity

During the Cold War, Britain struggled to define its identity. As a result of decolonization and the slowed economic recovery from World War II, Britain was confronted by its decreasing status in the world. The two superpowers dominated the world arena while Britain was on the sidelines.

McMillan believes that especially in the aftermath of the Suez Crisis², Britain was “forced to reassess itself” and “develop a new sense of identity.” Britain needed to project itself as the strong empire it used to be, not affected by the setbacks after losing the empire and global presence it maintained for over two centuries. In response to these anxieties, Ian Fleming created a true British hero, who was patriotic, indestructible and was the epitome of Britishness. As McMillan writes;

National events such as the Coronation and the achievements of sportsmen helped to restore a certain amount of pride and a sense that Britain was still present on the world stage, even if not playing a major role. Popular culture too played its part, and writers such as Fleming helped to develop „a new notion of Britishness“ by creating the character of James Bond, who would maintain the myth of British ... particularly English – superiority“.

James Chapman has remarked that Bond's Britishness “has been central to the ideology of national identity which the films project” (Chapman as cited in McMillan, 2015). In the films, Bond's Britishness is quite explicit. In the opening of *The Spy Who Loved Me*, Bond is enjoying a romantic tryst when he is suddenly called into action: “Something came up,” he tells his lover; “James I need you!” she pleads, to which Bond replies: “So does England!” Next moment Bond skis off the edge of a mountain to avoid KBD agents pursuing him and plummets through the air, when suddenly

² The Suez Crisis was the invasion of Egypt in 1956 by Israel, the United Kingdom and France. However, they later withdrew due to international political pressure. The episode humiliated the United Kingdom and France.

his parachute bursts open, emblazoned with the Union Jack. In similar fashion, Bond saves Octopussy in a hot air balloon with Union Jack colors. Bond justifies his work by claiming they are in defense of the “Queen and country” in *Thunder ball* and that he is “keeping the British end up” in *The Spy Who Loved Me*.

Through Bond, Fleming tries to rebuild the British image of power and status. The movies deny the decline of British power and instead, construct the image that Britain still occupies center-stage in world affairs. Funnell & Dodds (2015) note Britain’s relationship with the United States “is seen as something that is invited and strategic rather than desperate and unreflective.” As Nelson (2016) writes,

In the Bond world, the British Empire, while not politically existent, still had real power in the world. Bond’s British identity was his ticket to unlimited access around the world. Bond was hypersexual and hyper masculine. He embodied the ideas of loyalty, patriotism, and sexuality that appealed to British men struggling to come to terms with their economic and social problems.

Bond acting as the protector and savior of the world conveys the ideological message that Britain is still very much in the forefront of the world arena. Even in his relationship with CIA agent Felix Leiter, Bond takes the lead while Leiter takes orders from Bond, here again asserting British power to the world.

American Presence

During the Cold War, Anglo-American forces were devoted to the war against Communism. The special relationship between Britain and the United States is reflected through the collaboration of Bond with American

allies. Funnell & Dodds (2015) note that the two nationalities share similar class, gender, and race and it results in a long-term alliance.

Of all the cooperative relationships in the series, the most important is with the CIA as personified by Bond's closest associate (other than M, Money Penny, and Q)³ Felix Leiter. Leiter is a CIA agent, and assists Bond in his various assignments, both in the United States and abroad. He is one of the main non-British recurring characters. Nelson (2016) claims that Bond has great affection for his American counterpart which prompts him to form an alliance and lifelong friendship. The cordial Bond-Leiter relationship based on the shared geopolitical interests of their agencies and nations is symbolic of the Anglo-American partnership during this era.

In the films, however, Bond remains the primary hero of the films while Leiter serves more as a supporter. Bond dramatically, and frequently, saves the United States. Only Bond is able to thwart Largo's attempt to blow up Miami (Thunderball, 1965), prevent SPECTRE from sabotaging American space program (You Only Live Twice, 1967), or stop a nuclear attack New York City the megalomaniacs Stromberg (The Spy Who Loved Me (1977)). The relationship between Bond and his American allies is reframed as one where Bond leads while Leiter provides the impetus needed. For McCrisken & Moran, there is an underlying sub context that alleges that "while the US may have great military strength, it is Bond's ingenuity and

³ Fictional characters appearing in James Bond books and films; M is the Chief of the British Secret Service and Bond's superior. Miss Money Penny, is secretary to M. Q is the head of Q Branch, the fictional research and development division of the British Secret Service.

talent that inevitably saves the day by defeating threats to Western security.” They further maintain;

The relative decline of US power in global affairs has exercised a range of scholars since at least the 1970s, and this debate is reflected in the films. In the late 1960s and early 1970s films, the Americans are portrayed as less reliable and effective, as the debacle in Vietnam demonstrated their real-life impotency. Moreover, the CIA plays a gradually less prominent role before disappearing altogether.... (2018)

Regardless of how America is portrayed, the depiction of Bond working with American allies helps to connect the common geopolitical interests of Britain with America. As the film series demonstrates, the Anglo-American connection is strong, and is essential to maintain international order, set an example for other states, and thwart any threats to national and international security.

Otherness of Russia

Bond films propagate both linguistic and cultural hegemony over the Soviet Union and its allies. Lawless (2014) suggests that the prevailing ideological message of the Bond movies about Russians and their culture is predominantly negative. The films are full of stereotypes of Russia and frame Russians as ‘Others’ by subjecting them to negative labelling and generalisations.

Four out of the six movies studied in this paper feature Russians. In the movies, Russian characters are usually described as tough and ruthless, often acting mad and psychotic and are usually involved in killing, stealing

and betraying their countrymen. Colonel Rosa Klebb has defected from SMERSH to become a member of SPECTRE (From Russia with Love), General Orlov is a common thief who wants to satisfy his personal paranoia (Octopussy), while General Koskov is a defector who betrayed the Russians, the British and even his fiancée Kara (The Living Daylights). The same pattern could be traced in the portrayal of Russian associates, which are mostly unfavorably described. Grant is a homicidal paranoiac (From Russia with Love), Krilencu is a Bulgarian assassin who works for SMERSH (From Russia with Love), Ernst Stavro Blofeld is a Greek-Polish evil genius with aspirations of world domination (From Russia with Love, Thunderball, You Only Live Twice), Octopussy is a jewel smuggler (Octopussy) and Brad Whitaker is an international black market arms dealer from the United States (The Living Daylights). As Lawless notes; “[T]he integrity of Russian male characters is further undermined by their liaisons with murderers and smugglers, who they refer to as their usual friends.” As a result, it is “difficult for the audience to form a positive connection” with Russia due to the depiction of Russian characters as “impulsive and reckless people.” The end result is that after seeing Russian characters as inhuman and violent, “the audience gets reassurance in its own sophistication and superiority.”

Lawless compares Russian male and female characters and suggests that contrary to Russian male characters, the female characters are almost exclusively identified based on their physical appearance. Unlike Russian men, who are associated with power and threat, Russian women are associated with art and sex. Tania is one of the most beautiful girls Bond has ever seen who had three lovers and trained for the ballet (From Russia with Love), Ania has a figure hard to match and was more than friends

with one of the Russian agents (The Spy Who Loved Me) and Kara is a talented scholarship cellist (The Living Daylights).

The early Bond movies associate Russia with military or nuclear power and, consequently, a danger to the rest of the world. Repeated references to the Soviet Union create a clear wall between the West and the East, implying to the audience that Russia belongs to the „other“ side. Russia is depicted as a totalitarian regime so severely controlled, that its citizens constantly desire to defect to the West (ex: General Koskov in The Living Daylights).

Anti-Communism

In Ian Fleming's early novels, Bond was a clear barrier to the spread of Communism in the 20th century. On the screen, however, Bond's Cold War connotations were gently toned down: his early enemies, for example, work for the international crime network SPECTRE⁴, not (as in the books) the Soviet intelligence agency SMERSH.⁵

The theme of Communism appears in almost all the early Bond films through the use of either Russian or Eastern enemies although not explicitly. The friction between the two power blocs is ever present and is

⁴SPECTRE (Special Executive for Counterintelligence, Terrorism, Revenge and Extortion) is a fictional global terrorist organization featured in the James Bond movies.

⁵ SMERSH is a fictional Soviet counterintelligence agency featured in Ian Fleming's early James Bond novels as agent 007's nemesis. SMERSH is the acronym of SpetsialnyeMETodyRazoblacheniyaSHpionov, meaning "Special Methods of Spy Detection."

central to the plotlines. The hostilities between the East and West are portrayed to be results of the ideological antagonism and tensions based primarily on clashing geopolitical objectives.

Soviet expansionism is not directly addressed in James Bond movies. However, in *Octopussy* (1983), Soviet general Orlov follows an ambitious plan to expand Soviet control into West-Central Europe. His scheme to invade Western Europe is dismissed by the Soviet Chairman who declares that “World socialism will be achieved peaceably.”

In the 1960s, when the Soviet Empire was at the height of its power and its spies had infiltrated all major governments around the globe, James Bond represented the Western power against the Socialist bloc. For Burnett (2014), Bond is a resourceful man who, confident in himself and his mission, overcomes all of the evil minds and deceitful plans of the Russians or any other threat against the West. It was propaganda of hope for the Western allies that West will always prevail against the East.

Espionage and Intelligence Services

Espionage among countries existed since before the beginning of the cold war, and all the way through the late 1960s and even continuing until today. The Cold War period is full with stories of spies, agents and assassins, operating undercover and living double lives to infiltrate enemy governments or societies. While the extent of Cold War espionage is often exaggerated, both the United States and the Soviet Union certainly spent heavily on recruiting, training and deploying spies and agents (J. Llewellyn et al., n.d).

James Bond is a fictional British Secret Service⁶ agent, as such is a spy for Britain. Fleming uses his own experiences of his espionage career as a British Naval Intelligence officer during World War II. In his missions, Bond is tasked with eliminating threats to national/global security by infiltrating enemy territory, trying to discover information while staying undetected, decoding encrypted information, and using various skills to gain an advantage over other enemy countries.

The relationship between SIS and other intelligence services, particularly the CIA, is central to many of the Bond stories. Cooperation between services is portrayed as essential – whether it is with Felix Leiter of the CIA or Tiger Tanaka of Japanese intelligence. During the *Détente*, Bond collaborates with his enemies in the KGB, often with the recurring character General Gogol who works tirelessly in several films to try to keep a balance between East and West. In the *Spy Who Loved Me*, the fictional head of the KGB announces: “We have entered a new era of Anglo-Soviet cooperation.” Not only does Bond work alongside Soviet intelligence officer Anya Amasova as an equal in the film, but the plot also sees Bond commanding British, American and Soviet forces together against the common foe of Stromberg. Interestingly, as McCrisken & Moran (2018) point out, throughout the films it is the British intelligence that is the most professional service, which can best understand the villain’s scheme, possess the best technological spy gadgets and always remain undefeated.

⁶ Secret Intelligence Service (SIS), commonly known as MI6, is the foreign intelligence service of the government of the United Kingdom.

Bond relies on a variety of spy gadgets. The movies feature exotic equipment and vehicles, which often prove to be critically useful. The gadgets are supplied by the Q Branch of the SIS often prove to be invaluable to Bond in the field. Though they fall on the line of fiction, the fantastic technology certainly makes the movies more appealing to the audiences.

Conclusion

The ability of film to shape public opinion has been widely discussed by many scholars. A vast number of researchers have studied how films have represented race, gender, class and sexuality; the impact of those representations on the audience and its consequences in the real life. Studies have shown that movies have the power to influence audiences through language, images, representation and stereotypes making movies a useful source of propaganda.

James Bond is the longest running and most commercially successful cinematic franchise of all time. The very words „Bond“, „James Bond“ and „007“ have a cultural resonance that gives deep meanings beyond the mere name or number of the fictitious secret agent. On the surface Bond films may seem to be nothing more than adventure stories, at a deeper level certain ideological structures are apparent. Bond was a product of the Cold War and the stories often expressed underlying tones of the tension in the international political setting between the East and West superpowers. Bond propagates the Western agenda through his implicit fight with communism. The movies are full of geopolitical and ideological rhetoric.

There are however, criticisms that James Bond is merely a popular franchise with no real propaganda agenda behind it. The Bond films do not address serious geopolitical issues such as humanitarian intervention, or genocide. It is only committed to mostly-improbable situations such as the hijacking of rockets and nuclear submarines. Even the space race and nuclear arms race are blown out of proportion to create the sense of impending doom. The threat posed by Russia or other threats are exaggerated such as in the case of *The Spy Who Loved Me* where the villain plans to create a new civilization under water.

However, cold war elements present in the Bond series are undisputable. As the criticism in this paper shows, James Bond movies explicitly depict the geopolitics of the Cold War era. Each film can be connected to contemporary world events, such as the space race, the energy crisis, nuclear confrontation and imperial decline. It shows how Bond movies evolved with the changes to the social, cultural and political backdrop during the Cold War. Next, as the paper discussed, the British, American and Russian identities can be connected to the contemporary geopolitical competition. The movies deny the decline of British power and instead, construct the image that Britain still occupies center-stage in world affairs. The Anglo-American connection is strong, and is essential to the world. The Anglo-American relationship is equaled to the real-life relationship between Britain and the USA. Russians are outsiders and subjected to negative labelling, generalizations and marginalization. The movies acknowledge Western values and reinforce that the Western always prevail against all threats to national and international security. While

Communism is not explicitly addressed, the underlying theme is West's victory against the East.

The movies, especially the early Bond movies portray security fears from the Cold War. The threat of nuclear annihilation, spread of communism, terrorism, bio-threats and transnational crime are underlying themes of the Bond movies. Cordiality between Britain and America, hostilities between Eastern and Western blocs are underlying features. Shifts in the Cold War are charted with the height of the Cold War, Détente, and its eventual end. The politics of James Bond relate not just to the specifics of the Cold War but to changing aspects of social history, social custom, political behavior, and the conceptualization of Britain itself. Thus, it could be concluded that James Bond movies have been heavily influenced by Cold War politics and as a result, acted as propaganda for the West.

One reason that both Fleming's novels and their American adaptations achieved such success is that they directly spoke to different concerns of Anglo-American audiences. Ian Fleming created a British Cold War hero that embodied the West and its ideals of individualism, perseverance, and greatness. Bond ushered in hope and faith to the West at times when the Soviet Union seemed to be winning the Cold War. He is more than a mere serialized action hero for, even though the Cold War ended over 20 years ago, Fleming's hero can still be used as an icon in modern Western propaganda. Bond is an undying hero, so powerfully rooted in Western popular culture with the power to influence audiences even in years to come.

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Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children in South Asian Region.

(With special reference to India)

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Abstract

Economic and social inequalities and political conflicts have led to the movement of persons within each country and across the borders in South Asia. “child” means any one below the age of 18, and “sexual exploitation defines as “The sexual abuse of children and youth through the exchange of sex or sexual activities by forcibly due to the Illiteracy, dependency, violence, social stigma, cultural stereotypes, gender disparity and endemic poverty. The terms “sexual exploitation” or “commercial sexual exploitation” to acknowledge that the use of children and youth for sexual acts is abuse and is inherently exploitative. Child pornography and prostitution are two of the most disturbing issues in the world today. This illicit business has contributed to the emergence and breeding of the cavernous problem of sex trafficking in the entire region. Asia is seen as the most vulnerable region for human trafficking because of its huge population, growing urbanization, and ever-present poverty. (India, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Maldives, and Bhutan) are the countries in south Asian region that illicit trafficking masters earned billions from this illicit business. This alarming spread of sex trafficking has fueled the spread of HIV infection in South Asia, posing a unique and serious threat to community health, poverty alleviation and other crucial aspects of human development. Countries of the region should make a concerted effort to treat trafficking victims as victims of human rights violations in all anti-trafficking strategies and actions.

Key words-Human trafficking, Child Sex trafficking, South Asia, Human Rights violations, India

Introduction

“Normally they are promised, words like ‘okay you will be a house help, you will be a saleslady, and you will be a cashier in this restaurant. ’But no, it will be something else,’ said Victoria Juat later they find out no, they will be brought to a brothel, they will be brought to karaoke bars and they will become something else.” Victoria Juat U.N Children’s Fund Child protection officer.

Trafficking in persons, especially women and children, is a reflection of many of the complex social issues facing the global society today. Gender inequality is widely prevalent in South Asia. Girls and women in South Asia face harsh discrimination that compromises their right to survival, growth, development, protection and participation. Girls in many parts of South Asia lack equal access to education with boys, so the region is home to the largest gender gap in education levels in the world. South Asia is also the only region in the world where men outnumber women. An estimated 79 million women are ‘missing’ through discrimination, neglect and violence.¹⁰ Gender based violence is common given the patriarchal structures in the region. This is illustrated in emerging statistics on female infanticide, honor killing, acid and dowry deaths and numerous other forms of violence against girls and women. Sexual violence is directly linked to increased vulnerability amongst girls and women to sexually transmitted infections (STIs) including HIV/AIDS. Gender based violence tends to increase in refugee situations More than 26 million refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons are registered world-wide and millions more are unregistered. Fully 50% are girls and women.

Commercial sexual exploitation of children and child sexual abuse in South Asia very often have undertones of gender discrimination against females. Girls are at greater risk of commercial sexual exploitation than boys because they face double discrimination and vulnerability, suffering on account of their gender as well as their socio-economic status. Sexual abuse and exploitation have been found amongst the most prevalent forms of violence that affect girls throughout childhood and adolescence. However, boys are also clearly at risk of commercial sexual exploitation and sexual abuse. Sex trafficking has serious public health implications. Victims of trafficking often suffer brutality that results in physical, sexual, and psychological trauma. The main objectives of the study are, first examining the child sex exploitative trends and patterns and secondly examining reasons why they forced to engage this sufferings in the south Asian region, and finally legal mechanisms to overcome this suffering issue.

Methodology

This article is based on qualitative secondary data obtained from online scholarly articles and other sources such as articles in internet, journal articles by intellectuals, UN reports convention articles as well as public speeches given by officers. Also, the reports of statistics by UNODC, Ministry of Home affairs and country Police Headquarters. The data is analyzed using previous reports and documents which have been published regarding this topic.

Literature Review

This literature review seeks to develop to understanding of commercial sexual exploitation of children in South Asian region. And its effects to illicit business trafficking masters and the health risks and consequences include sexually transmitted diseases, and other communicable diseases not only to its victims, but also to the general public. It also identifies sexually exploitation patterns, and legal mechanisms and negotiation able suggestions to overcome this hazardous issue. Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children (CSEC) refers to a “range of crimes and activities involving the sexual abuse or exploitation of a child for the financial benefit of any person or in exchange for anything of value (including monetary and non-monetary benefits) given or received by any person.” (OJJDP n.d.).

Child sexual exploitation and abuse have been recognized at the international level through various instruments such as the Convention on the Rights of the Child (1990) (CRC), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1981) (CEDAW, the ILO Convention 182 (1999), recognizing child prostitution and child pornography as one of the worst forms of child labor are the International Instruments Addressing Child Sexual Exploitation and Abuse. However, when a youth is under 18 years of age, it is a crime for an individual to exchange money or anything else of consideration for sexual acts with that youth, as outlined in Section 212(4) of the 'Criminal Code of Canada.'

Some of the scholarly articles literature has addressed the child sexual exploitation trends and patterns in the region. Commercial sexual exploitation manifests in numerous forms, such as sex trafficking, prostitution, sex tourism, pornography, early marriage, performance in sexual venues, and online or electronic transmission of children engaged in sexual activities (OJJDP n.d.). Sex trafficking is also a form of human trafficking (President's Interagency Taskforce to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons).

Recent estimates by global organizations suggest that around 27 million people worldwide are current victims of human trafficking (Williamson 2012). Sex trafficking is most common in Europe, Central Asia, and the Americas (Greenbaum 2014). The majority of trafficking in India, both trans-border and in-country, happens for the purpose of sex work, and over 60% of those trafficked into sex work are adolescent girls in the age group of 12—16 years (UNDP, 2005). In and South Asia, women are now reported to constitute up to 35% of new HIV infections (UNAIDS, 2000). It is these photographs, videotapes, films and magazines of children in sexual poses and acts that make up the multimillion dollar global world of child pornography. (Missing Children, 1997).

Typically, the literature concerns legal frameworks to overcome this excruciating issue. In south Asian region all the members of the region meet at once to discuss and make recommendations to this hazardous problem. The South Asia Initiative to End Violence against Children (SAIEVAC) has been coordinating action among SAARC countries. An important milestone was reached at the 4th SAIEVAC Ministerial Meeting

(9-11 May 2016) which resulted in a joint commitment by SAARC Member States to develop a region-wide strategy aimed at addressing this violation, online, in human trafficking, and in travel and tourism.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Human trafficking is the trade of humans for the purpose of forced labor, sexual slavery or commercial sexual exploitation for the trafficker or others. Human trafficking can occur within country or transnationally. This illicit business generates billions of dollars every year to the slave masters. Its same to the modern-day slavery which means loss of freedom, people are no longer have the audacity to question their superior or slave master. It is basically violations of Human Rights and the crime against the person because of the coercion and commercial exploitation ‘Anyone below the age of 18 is a child, who performed some type of work known as child labor’ (UNICEF). Trafficking of children involves the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of children for the purpose of exploitation. Sex trafficking is based on the interaction between the trafficker selling a victim to customers to perform sexual services. Sex trafficking crimes are defined in three ways

1. Acquisition
2. Movement
3. Exploitation.

Sexual exploitation is the sexual abuse of children and youth through the exchange of sex or sexual acts for drugs, food, shelter, protection, other basics of life, and/or money. Sexual exploitation includes involving

children and youth in creating pornography and sexually explicit websites. . While the Criminal Code of Canada defines sexually exploited youth as under 18 years of age, the Child, Family and Community Service Act is applicable to youth under age 19. Child trafficking is a global phenomenon, which is not limited to any geographical region or country. It is a gross violation of children's rights. It infringes upon the child's physical and mental integrity, which is central to the experience of human dignity, and poses a significant threat to the child's life. Although reporting is limited in scope, it indicates that trafficking occurs in the majority of countries in South Asia, most of which are countries of origin, destination and transit in the trafficking chain internal trafficking (i.e. trafficking within national borders) is also an issue in most countries. Trafficking is reported to occur both within the region and also between South Asia and other regions, including East Asia, Europe and the Gulf States. However, South Asia is primarily a region of origin. Children are trafficked in South Asia for various purposes. Sexual exploitation is a major purpose.

As is labor exploitation for work in agriculture, factories and domestic servitude. Children are also exploited for begging and criminal activities. Trafficking for forced or arranged marriage is another issue in the region, and occurs in countries such as Afghanistan and Bangladesh. In Afghanistan, debt release, dispute settlement and forced military recruitment are other causes of trafficking of children. Girls are at higher risk than boys of feticide and infanticide, and their basic needs are often neglected, especially where family resources are scarce. Their mobility is often restricted, and in many communities, girls have less access to education and household nutrition. To avoid the social and economic

consequences of having an unmarried daughter, some family members promote early and arranged marriage. This makes the girl vulnerable to early pregnancy, sexual abuse and violence.

Trends and patterns of sexual exploitation of children.

Child prostitution, sale and trafficking of children for sexual purposes and child pornography, involving both boys and girls, are closely linked. Child prostitution is frequently combined with the production of pictures, videos and other sexually explicit visual material involving children. This is not only an issue in Asia but in every country in the world, everyone needs to help save these innocent children and put a stop to child prostitution and pornography. Because of poverty, family debts and the vulnerability of children, many children in Bangladesh, India and other South Asian countries are forced into child prostitution and pornography. Although many of the children are forced into it by their parents, a great deal to it voluntarily because they are not properly educated to make a better decision. New forms of child prostitution are emerging. As brothels cease to be the hub of prostitution and sex workers flee ongoing economic transformations. The dance cafés and bars, massage parlors and cabin restaurants that are proliferating to serve locals and tourists now offer food, music, alcohol and the opportunity of some kind of sexual diversion. To please customers, girls are subjected to sexual harassment and sexual and verbal abuse. The understanding is that they must allow clients to watch and touch them and, if requested, talk with them, with the ultimate objective of inducing the client to consume overpriced food and drinks. South Asia is a popular tourist destination. The growth of sex-tourism is

another pattern of sexual exploitation of children. India remains the most popular destination in the region, followed by the Maldives, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and Nepal.¹⁶⁶ India also represents the largest intraregional tourism-generating market. Besides being the most popular hub for child sex tourism in South Asia, India has also become a source of sex tourists to South Asian, Southeast Asian and Gulf countries. Likewise, South Asian countries have used children for commercial sexual exploitation by travelling sex offenders has also flourished in other countries. Children are trafficked from rural areas and made available for prostitution to tourists. As well as child marriage also opens a primary door to child trafficking. When poor parents with one or more uneducated daughters are approached with promises of marriage with no dowry, they may be tempted to hand over the child even to a stranger from a faraway town. Then most of the child brides have physically abused and caused by the domestic servitude become a sexual trafficking of children.

South Asian countries and sexual exploitation of children

An increase in the number of girl children from poor, rural and urban families. Sexual exploiters and prostitute users are the same clusters of men who abuse children. Although Increasing use of technology to market women and children for prostitution, bride trade, pornography and other slave-like practices via the Internet. The mainstreaming of prostitution in legitimate business and occupational categories in tourism, hospitality, health and entertainment establishments which are famous business around the world.

Afghanistan is both a source and transit country for women and children trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation and labor. Children are trafficked to Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia for begging, labor, and prostitution, often with the consent of their parents who are told they will have better educational and job opportunities abroad. Over 200 Afghan children were repatriated from Saudi Arabia in early 2004.

Women and girls are kidnapped, lured by fraudulent marriage proposals, or sold for forced marriage and prostitution in Pakistan. Women and girls are also trafficked internally as a part of the settlement of disputes or debts, as well as for forced marriage and labor and sexual exploitation. Boys are trafficked internally mainly for labor and sexual exploitation. Iranian women transit Afghanistan to Pakistan where they are forced into prostitution a recent research assessment of the situation of trafficking in persons in Afghanistan conducted by the International Organization for Migration reveals that armed conflict, lack of internal security effects of drought and socio-economic pressures are the key responsible factors. Integral to development policies of governments.

Bangladesh is a country of origin and transit for women and children trafficked for the purposes of sexual exploitation, involuntary domestic servitude, and debt bondage. Human rights groups in Bangladesh estimate that 10—20,000 women and girls are trafficked annually to India, Pakistan, Bahrain, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). A small number of women and girls are trafficked through Bangladesh from Burma to India. Bangladeshi boys are also trafficked into the UAE and Qatar and forced to work as camel jockeys and beggars. Women and children from

rural areas in Bangladesh are trafficked to urban centers for commercial sexual exploitation and domestic work.

India is a source, transit, and destination country for women, children, and men trafficked for the purposes of sexual and labor exploitation. Indian men and women are placed into situations of coerced labor and sometimes slave-like conditions in countries in the Middle East and children are forced to beg or work as camel jockeys. Bangladeshi women and children are trafficked to India or transit through India en route to Pakistan and the Middle East for purposes of sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, and forced labor. Nepalese women and girls are trafficked to India for sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, and forced labor. UNICEF estimates that there are at least a million child prostitutes in Asia alone with the greatest numbers in India. India is also a growing destination for sex tourists from Europe, the United States, and other Western countries. Internal trafficking of women, men, and children for purposes of sexual exploitation, domestic servitude, bonded labor, and indentured servitude is widespread. Nepal is a source country for girls and women domestic servitude, forced labor, and work in circuses. Many victims trafficked to India are lured with promises of decent work or marriage. Other victims are sold by family members or kidnapped by traffickers. Women are trafficked to Saudi Arabia, Malaysia, the United Arab Emirates and other Gulf countries, as well as the Hong Kong SAR for domestic servitude. Internal trafficking for forced labor and sexual exploitation also takes place. Pakistan is a source, transit, and destination country for trafficked persons. Women and girls are trafficked to Pakistan from Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Iran, Burma, Nepal, and Central Asia for commercial sexual exploitation and bonded labor. Girls

and women from rural areas are trafficked to urban centers for commercial sexual exploitation and labor.

Women trafficked from East Asian countries and Bangladesh to the Middle East often transit through Pakistan. Men, women, and children are trafficked to the Middle East to work as bonded laborers or in domestic servitude. Tougher enforcement efforts in Pakistan and the ban on child camel jockeys in the United Arab Emirates are believed to have reduced the numbers of boys trafficked through Pakistan for that purpose.

Sri Lanka is a source country for women who are trafficked to Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Qatar for the purposes of coerced labor and sexual exploitation. A smaller number of Thai, Chinese, and Russian women were trafficked to Sri Lanka for commercial sexual exploitation. Women and children are trafficked internally for domestic and sexual servitude. Boys and girls are victims of commercial sexual exploitation by pedophiles in the sex tourism industry. Due to this illicit business children have faced health risks and consequences include sexually transmitted diseases, and other communicable diseases; unwanted pregnancy, forced abortion, and abortion-related complications; rape mental and emotional health problems including nightmares, insomnia, suicidal tendencies; alcohol and drug abuse addiction; and even suicide/murder, also other physical assault. Sexual abuse and exploitation of children results in physical injuries such as bruises, unwanted pregnancies and infections in the vagina and anus. Sexual abuse and exploitation also subjects children to mental and psychological trauma as well as exposing them to social ostracism and a future of violence and poverty.

The notion of ‘personhood’ of children and women is severely undermined through sexual abuse and exploitation. The psychological and emotional impacts include depression, fear, mental disturbances, sleeping problem and low self-esteem. The trauma the children experience renders them further susceptible to drug abuse, with adult traffickers and other child sex exploiters encouraging drug use and addiction in order to gain more control over the children. Child victims may become both physically and emotionally dependent on their abusers. Community-based rehabilitation is the most sustainable way of ensuring rehabilitation and reintegration of the victims of sexual abuse and exploitation.

Conclusion

Commercial sexual exploitation of children is not get rid of the word but some of the institutional projects have combat this hazard for some extent by ratifying the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, all countries of South Asia have become accountable to their citizens, including children, and to the international community, to respect, protect, promote and fulfil child rights. They must take deliberate action to ensure the progressive fulfilment of rights and the transparent assessment of progress. Most countries in South Asia have compiled laws relating to children, but governments have adopted a piecemeal approach to making them conform to the CRC. Although the CRC has to some extent influenced fresh legislation, few child rights laws appear to have been enacted or amended specifically in response to it. Commitments to address commercial forms of sexual exploitation of children were made in 1996 at the first World Congress in Stockholm by adopting the Stockholm Agenda for Action. As

participants in the Stockholm Congress, Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka all adopted the Agenda for Action. The Agenda provides a checklist of essential actions that range from criminalizing adult exploiters to non-penalization of child victims and increased protection of children through more effective law enforcement. In Nepal, a National Plan of Action (NPA) to Combat Trafficking in Women and Children for Commercial Sexual Exploitation was prepared in co-ordination with ILO/IPEC in 1998. The Cabinet formally approved it in 1999. Then India, Pakistan and Bangladesh also adopted the NPA to combat Trafficking in Women and Children for Commercial Sexual Exploitation. In Sri Lanka, the National Child Protection Authority (NCPA) has developed a draft Plan of Action for combating child trafficking with the assistance of ILO/IPEC in 2001. However, there is no Plan of Action specifically to combat commercial sexual exploitation of children. This become unstoppable billions earning illicit business among slave masters and couldn't put a full stop to this matter for ever. But it has combat some extent from this conventional amendments and governmental projects. Finally, can draw upon a conclusion saying that 'one child, one teacher, one book, and one pen can change the world. Education is only solution. (Malala Yousefzai)

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Illegal migration from Sri Lanka to Australia

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Abstract

Immigration means non-native people moving to a new place to settle any country. But illegal immigration is the act of living in a country without the state government permission and without valid documents. But some people have entered the country legally through a visit visa, but decided to stay illegally working in various places. “the irregular migration, undocumented migration and unauthorized migration” are the other types of names of it. This paper provides information on the back ground of undocumented or irregular migration from Sri Lanka to Australia. This paper investigates about characteristics of the moves and the decision-making processes to undertake or not return. It examines how individual family and contextual factors influence the migration as well as the role of social networks and the Sri Lankan diaspora. According to the findings the paper realizes the responsibilities of and roles were given by two counties to control that illegal migration issues.

Key words- immigration, irregular migration, Sri Lanka

Introduction

The term “migrant worker” refers to a person who is engaged or has been engaged in a remunerated activity in a state of which he or she is not a national. (United Nation)

Immigration means non- native people moving to a new place to settle any country. But illegal immigration is the act of living in a country without the state government permission and without valid documents. Some people have entered the country legally through a visit visa, but decided to stay illegally working in various places. “The irregular migration, undocumented migration and unauthorized migration” are the other types of names of it. “The irregular migration may be seen as a societal security threat as it challenges a state’s traditional national identity and core values (Heisler and Layton. Henry 1993, 158)”. Another way in which immigration has been argued to pose a threat to a state’s national interest is through its impact on the state’s economy. In addition, irregular immigration poses the number of challenges to receiving countries. When will be discussed about, what are reasons for illegal immigration by people that can be identified as; poverty, unemployment, overpopulation, crisis and wars and asylum seekers, deprivation of citizenship and etc.

Irregular migration poses multiple challenges to countries of origin, transit and destination, as well as to migrants themselves. Migrants in irregular situation are particularly vulnerable to discrimination, exploitation and abuse. Such migrants are also in danger of being exploited by crime organizations involved in human trafficking and migrant smuggling—

crimes that constitute a serious violation of the human rights of its victims. Refugees and asylum seekers, despite the protection granted by international law, also face many difficulties in their migratory process, especially as the process of obtaining refugee status has become increasingly complicated, and it is more and more difficult to find countries willing to receive refugees.

This paper provides information on the background of undocumented or irregular migration from Sri Lanka to Australia. This illegal immigration has two sources. First, it has been revealed that large numbers of visitors arrive at Australian airports with temporary visas. Secondly, the problem of “boat migration “has become increasingly obvious. Not only Sri Lanka many of these boat people originate from China, Afghanistan and Iraq to migrate Australia. When they arrive within the Australia, jurisdiction they commonly claim rights of entry as refugees. Again, they are provided with financial resources by the Australia.

Sri Lanka is one of the contemporary world’s major emigration nations. Sri Lankan immigrants are the 13th largest overseas-born group in Australia and their movement to Australia had a long history. It has become increasingly complex with movement in levels of both permanent and non-permanent migration. This complexity increased with the immergence emigration of over 6,000 Sri Lankan Irregular Maritime Arrivals (IMAs) seeking asylum and the repatriation of significant numbers in past years. Australia is an important destination country and home to Sri Lankan diaspora, who maintain strong linkages with its home.

Migration outflows from Sri Lanka can be permanent, temporary and circular. Irregular migration has been, and continues to be, an important element of Sri Lankan emigration. Sri Lankan immigration to Australia has increasingly become skill dominated in recent years. Australia's introduction of a skilled temporary worker visa, as well as student and working holiday maker visas in the mid-1990s, reshaped Sri Lankan migration to Australia. Australia is the destination of over a third of Sri Lankan students going overseas. A pattern has emerged of Sri Lankans travelling to Australia as students or skilled temporary workers and, upon completion of their studies or work contracts, taking out permanent residence.

Interestingly, the permanent flow in the other direction – from Australia to Sri Lanka – is highly skilled, giving weight to the notion of Sri-Lankan-Australian migration being complex, interactive and multi-directional rather than unit-directional. Linkages between Sri Lanka and its diaspora have become increasingly important. The Australian Sri Lankan community is tightly knit and maintains strong linkages with the homeland, including through the sending of remittances. For many young Sri Lankans considering migration, the effects of remittances are testimony to the success which can be achieved through migration.

Sri Lanka has been a significant source of both asylum seekers and refugees since the mid-1980s. The impacts of the 30-year civil war between ethnic Sinhalese and Tamils has had a major impact on the migration patterns of Sri Lankans, particularly in relation to a continuous outflow of

asylum seekers and refugees. Irregular maritime migration, however, is not a new phenomenon or an issue solely affecting Australia.

Although Australia became the preferred destination of smuggled migrants in 2012-13, Italy was one of the major destinations in the past. In recent years, Sri Lankan IMA compositions have included both Tamils and Sinhalese. Suggesting that the reasons to travel irregularly by boat may not be purely related to Protection. There is a major issue in Australia that media was reported that the number of asylum seekers in Australia is increasing. Australia treats asylum seekers differently when they arrive by boat. Generally, arrivals by boat and arrivals by plane came from different countries. The specially boat arrivals are mainly from Sri Lanka (27%), Iran (24%) and Afghanistan (20%) by sea and plane arrivals are more of a mixed bunch. The Sri Lanka has taken a few rates of plane arrivals to Australia more than others.

But in last years, Australia was announced a notice to that anyone entry found to country without a valid visa is locked up on the islands of Nauru and Manus. But now, despite a clear warning issued by the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC) of the government of Australia to the Unauthorized Maritime Arrivals (UMA) that “If you come here by boat without a visa, you will not be settled in Australia,”

That is the major international problem between these two countries. The illegal immigration is a threat to Australian internal factors and maritime security in its region. Other impact is that situation was given many issues to Sri Lanka.

Methodology

This paper grounded on secondary data collection. Secondary data will be collected through books, website, published reports, journal and newspaper articles and scholarly articles. The study utilized the qualitative data approach. Accordingly, qualitative data primarily used to core analysis, also qualitative data used for improving that qualitative data in this article.

Literature Review

This literature review seeks to develop to understanding of illegal migration and its effects to relevant countries (Sri Lanka and Australia). It also identifies migration patterns, causes, effects as well as migration related threats and measures to overcome them. Specifically, this section examines the relevant migration theories and strategies while taking into account the dynamic nature of the present threats. The people found new ways to earning money rather than traditional ways. As a result, human migration for foreign employment has started as that new method. The labour migration is the most important migration since the modern world. Migration is the physical movement of humans from one area to another, sometimes over long distances. Migration has continued under the form of both voluntary migrations within one's region, country or beyond and involuntary migration (Castle 2002, Brochmann & Tamas 1997). And also, those men and women who migrate to seek short term jobs are normally temporary residents of the destination country. It is most common in the Middle East where thousands of men and women from developing

countries migrate for short term jobs mainly as domestic workers, janitors, industrial helpers and similar types of jobs. In contrast, highly educated, skilled and professional people from developing countries migrate permanently with their families to developed regions such as Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. (Haque, 2005).

Data Presentation and Analysis

Sri Lanka is one of the contemporary world's major emigration nations. The United Nations (2013) has shown that there were 1.25 million Sri Lankan-born persons living outside of their country of birth, equivalent to 5.9 per cent of the current Sri Lankan resident population. Australia is one of the important destination countries, with an estimated 106,280 Sri Lankan-born residents in 2013 (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2013). While Australia has only 7.9 per cent of the overseas Sri Lankan Population, it is an important part of the Sri Lankan diaspora. Not only has the Sri Lankan presence in Australia been established for a long period (Weerasooria, 1988), but as well it comprises predominantly permanent settlers who have maintained important linkages with their homeland. There is a long history of migration from Sri Lanka to Australia extending over most of the period of European settlement. Table 8.1 summarizes the major historical waves of Sri Lankan settlement migration to Australia. e Sri Lankan community in Australia is currently the sixth largest in the Sri Lankan diaspora. Accordingly, it is suggested that steps be taken by the Sri Lankan Government to create legal alternatives to IMA migration to Australia by setting up the full infrastructure to recruit, process etc. international labour migrants in the region for the Middle East and

Southeast Asia. It is would also involve providing training facilitators for local people, to the needs of employers in the Middle East and Southeast Asia.

A major policy is that, rather than try to prevent migration from the 'hot spots' from which IMAs have left, seek to facilitate legal migration through regular channels to the Middle East and Southeast Asia. It is builds on the considerable infrastructure and experience that already exists in other parts of Sri Lanka. It builds on the culture of migration in the area, but channels it into other more secure pathways to legal movement overseas.

Schain (2013) also said that illegal migration can also involve legal migrants illegally overstaying the duration of their visa. The author concluded that corruption can both drive legal and illegal migration, as well as facilitating illegal migration. The literature surrounding illegal migration and its causes identifies the lack of opportunities and lack of security as two keys drivers of illegal migration (Sirkeci 2009 and Poprawe 2015). And also, Rothsein and Holmberg (2011) argued that there is ample evidence of corruption has impact on economic opportunities and security while suggesting that it is an indirect driver of migration. The literature also focuses on corruption at border crossing points where bribery, corrupt border officials and the use of fraudulent documents allow for illegal migration to occur (Chêne 2008, and OECD 2015).

The Sri Lankan civil war that started in 1983 caused many Tamils to migrate to western countries. According to the available statistics, approximately 800,000 Sri Lankan Tamil expatriates fled to those western

countries during the war period for their survival. But they have chosen to illegal way than legal migration. Approximately 620,000 Tamils fled to the USA, Canada, Australia and other European countries, while 180,000 took residence in Scandinavian countries and South India (UN 2008).

Conclusion

After the end of civil war in 2009, tourists are the main category of temporary immigrants came for Sri Lanka. In 2015, approximately 1.7 million visitors came to Sri Lanka. And also, legal immigrants to the country include not only the tourists, but also include Tamil returnees, job seekers with visas, and temporary business immigrants.

Sulakshani Perera has explained that there were some 140,000 Sri Lankan refugees in 65 countries with a majority 70,000 in 112 refugee camps and other 32,000 living outside camps in Tamil Nadu. Hence, many Tamils who have been living in Western countries are in the process of returning to Sri Lanka to resettle, visit, or to claim their abandoned lands. From the very beginning of human civilization, human migration has been “influencing the place of origin and the place of destination.” The migration process has attracted the attention of social scientists, but most of the discussions are related to rural urban migration and its consequences.

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China's String of Pearls Strategy and Sri Lankan relations with China.

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Abstract

China and Sri Lanka have extensive historical links, initially religious and cultural, and later also economic. The strategic location of Sri Lanka, between key shipping lanes and the so-called 'String of Pearls Strategy', has significantly enhanced the two countries' economic relations in recent years. By examining the state of those relations in two comparative contexts: briefly explanations of 'String of Pearls Strategy', Strategic importance of Sri Lanka and the effects of China's 'String of Pearls Strategy'. This study is a qualitative research based on secondary data. The results highlight a number of findings and contrasts. First, get to know about the String of Pearls Strategy and what kind of changes China did in the Indian Ocean. Mainly the idea of String of Pearl Strategy made by the Booz Allen (2004) published 'Energy Future in Asia' article. China create a network on military, commercial facilities among nations in the Indian Ocean to attain their economic ambitions through the nations in the Indian Ocean

Key Words- Indian Ocean Region, Strategy, location, economy

Introduction

China, officially the People's Republic of China is a country of East Asia which has the largest population in the world. It occupies approximately one fourteenth of the land of earth and it is almost as large as the whole Europe. Not only the demographic factors but also the economic and political factors of China affect whole of the world. The Chinese economy remain the second largest nominal GDP grown in April 2017. With the help of these highly protective economy and stable political system, they have a huge ability to influence the world as a Great power and emerging super power, also the have very strong foreign policy and strategic thinking power is highly influence to the world. China want to protect their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and also, they create new reforms to keep the world peace and common development process to the international arena. To achieve these goals China maintains relationships with the all countries in the world. Mainly Indian Ocean region (IOR) is becoming increasingly important to China's economic and security interest.

Indian Ocean is the 3rd largest sea area of the world. It takes a very significant place and strategically important in current world economy. Because of the most developing economy as China, India and Japan in this IOR. According to the "journal of the Indian Ocean Region" more than 80% of world seaborne trade in oil transits through Indian Ocean choke points with 4% passing through the Strait Hormuz, through the Strait of Malacca and 8% through the Bab el-Man dab Strait. It is not only about the Sea lanes and trade. With concerning these importance of the Indian

Ocean, China tries to dominate the region by capturing strategically important maritime harbours in the IOR.

China's interest and its strategy in maritime ports in some countries in the region can be simply known as 'the String of Pearls Strategy'. According to the Booz Allen in 2005 reported the term "String of Pearl" as an energy future of Asia. Also, with the help of these strategy China will attempt to expand the naval power through the IOR with creating very strong and friendly relations with the IOR nations. On the other hand, China will attempt to uphold their economy, military, diplomatic and political standard through the IOR. There are 5 main pearls in their string. According to pearl proponents China is forming strategic partnership with a number of littoral states with in the Indian Ocean in order to surround India with a string of navy bases. The Pearls include Gwadar in Pakistan, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, Chittagong in Bangladesh, Sittwe in Myanmar and Maldives are the Pearls of the String. These ports are strategically very important and therefore all the powers keep their eyes on these.

In these pearls china introduces Sri Lanka as a diamond of their string. Because Sri Lanka is located in very significant place in India Ocean. This place is strategically important to whom seeking the naval power of Indian Ocean. Ancient maritime silk route also located near to the Sri Lanka. Also, Sri Lanka have natural harbors as well as manmade. That's also very important facilities for the ships. On the other hand, Sri Lanka is full of natural resources. Mainly Ceylon Tea is popular all over the world as well as lot of tourists come to see the natural beauty of Sri Lanka. Because they truly believe Sri Lanka has very peaceful environment to them. After more

than 30 years' war with LTTE all the people and the tourists feel the peace in Sri Lanka. Also, Sri Lankan government help local and foreign investors to invest in the country. So that China offer lot of opportunities for Sri Lankan economy for its development. Also, China help to developed Sri Lankan economy. Before making economic relation with China, Sri Lanka has very strong relationship with China in religious and cultural ways. That history ran more than hundred years back. However, china use the ancient relation and the current relations with Sri Lanka to fulfill their hidden objective like to be take a power of Asia against India and to be a major power of the world.

Literature review

Reading the String of Pearl Strategy, there are numerous definitions of String of Pearl Strategy. Scholars gave various definition on their point of view. In a simple way String of Pearl Strategy can be define as a theory on Chinese intervention of the IOR. Mainly China create a network on military, commercial facilities among IOR nations to success their economic ambitions through the IOR nations. According to the Booz Allen (2004) published 'Energy Future in Asia' which contained the first idea of the String of Pearl Strategy. In this publication furthermore explain the China's investing process to harbours in IOR can be spread their Naval superiority through the nations. He was the founder of this String of Pearl Strategy and give the clarification upon this Chinese investment process on seaports in IOR. Moreover, this is the strategical concept to protect china's energy interest by making friendly relations from the nations in

Middle East to South China Sea. It is kind defensive method they use to secure their national interest.

Mainly China is the most commercialized country in the world. They need lot of energy to do their industrial works. The majority of China's energy needs, about 70% is currently met by Coal, because China is the world's largest producer and consumer. Other 30% of energy completed by 25% - oil, 3% - natural gases and other remaining 2% by other energy sources like nuclear and hydro power. According to the International Energy Agency (IEA) reported 2010, China has now taken over the US consumption of oil. That is why China always secure their energy ways through the String of Pearl Strategy, making relationships with IOR nations.

According to the Lieutenant Colonel Christopher J. Person, china achieves all the power across South Asian Littoral. The manifestation of the Chinese geo politics influence in IOR, development of Diplomatic relations and the modernization military forces extended from South China to Strait of Malacca.

However, scholars describe the String of Pearl Strategy in economically and tactically ways, but the Colonel Dai Ya of the Chinese Military Officer (Global Times, 2008) explain the String of Pearl Strategy is the mission of eradicate the Sea Piracy on the world. This String of Pearl Strategy is kind an anti - piracy operation. China want to protect IOR on the threats from the piracy. So that china intervention to protect the peace in IOR through maintaining healthy relations with IOR nations. Similarly lack of military and infrastructural facilities to mooring the Chinese vessels, China help

these IOR nations to develop their ports and airbases. Also, the Professor of IR, University of Renmin Jin Canrong view his point same as to the Colonel Dai Ya (2009) view. China did not want rule the overseas bases because the IOR should have the ability to protect their naval bases and air bases. The former director for China affairs in policy planning at US department of Defence Ms. Cristina Lin (South China Morning Post, 2018) mentioned this String of Pearl Strategy like ‘Dragon’ who dominate the Sea power of IOR. In that idiom she splashed about the dominant power of China’s String of Pearl Strategy.

String of Pearl Strategy stand for not only the economic purposes. It stands as well as the diplomatic and military relations. However, within that china will able to ensure mutual beneficial trade and export agreements between IOR nations. Final capital ambition is the String of Pearl Strategy is to secure the china’s economy and to be the Super Power in the world. The study of the department of Global Politics and Economics of Tamkang University in Taiwan, Professor Shee Poo Kim describe the ways that China used to enter into the IOR nations or how to become a pearl in the String of Pearl Strategy? He describes two ways. In that China mainly used the Dollar Diplomacy and Infrastructure buildup. In this way China abled to spread their superiority through giving grants, economic aids, loans even technological expertise to IOR nations. On the other hand, except India other pearls in the strategy are developing nations. They already want a help from a rising power or a country who have strong economy to build up their economy. For an example After 30 years’ war China left lot of economic aids, loans, to developed Sri Lankan infrastructure facilities like roads, highways, ports, airports etc. However, it is kind a showing neo

colonial or empirical ambition to the world. According to the Major General Dharav Katoch expressed the String of Pearl Strategy had not provide any evidence to be an empirical or neo colonial ambition. But it is a kind a doubtable thing in the International system.

In the String of Pearl Strategy Sri Lanka take a very significant place, because of its strategic location and the resources it has. Sri Lanka is an example of a small island state, strategically set in the Indian Ocean, which strives to follow an independent policy for its own security. It is an island off the south-east coast of India, and the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Manner separate it from India. Between Sri Lanka and India there are a number (in a chain) of small islands, which is popularly called Adam's Bridge. The total area of Sri Lanka is 25,332 square miles. From north to south of the island the widest length is 273 miles, and the greatest width is 137 miles. The commanding position of Sri Lanka at the southernmost point of the mainland of Asia, on the world's highways between East and West, had drawn to its shores divergent peoples from early times. Due to trade and commerce, it lured the Greeks, the Romans and Arabs; subsequently in the modern era, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British and the French. While these are in outline the main streams of relations in Sri Lanka with lands overseas, closer to home, its geographical position in relation to India steadily exerted a profound and enduring influence historically, socially and culturally.

The Trincomalee Harbour is the most valuable asset of Sri Lanka. It is one of the world's great natural harbours, placed in a strategic point near the Bay of Bengal The British Admiral, Horatio Nelson had introduced the Trincomlee Harbour as a the finest Harbour in the world.

Sri Lanka was suffering 30 years civil war till 2009 between LTTE. They fight for the separate state for the Tamils. However, under the leadership of the government and armed forces it was successfully destroyed in 2009. According to the Asia Economic Institution (AEI) proved Sri Lankan economy grown after 2009 with double foreign direct investments to develop infrastructure, transport and education etc.

However, the economic trend come in to the east of the world Indian Ocean played a major role in that sphere. In that point Sri Lanka also had to play a major role because of its location. According to the senior researcher Abhijit Singh, Sri Lanka become a hub of Indian Ocean, because of maritime silk rout located near to Sri Lankan sea. In that case Colombo has significant role to play in the naval routs. Colombo harbours is one of the ancient and busiest harbours in South Asian region. Lot of naval vessels request their need from the Colombo harbour. That's why the Sri Lankan location is important to all world.

On the other hand, according to the Dr. Harsha de Silva the economist and the politician of Sri Lanka (the telegraph 2018) mentioned the important of Sri Lanka on the Bay of Bengal side. Sri Lanka is the ultimate place of Bay of Bengal Trade. In that case all the regional plays like China and India encourage the foreign direct investments in Sri Lanka. Considering the Sri Lanka and China relationship, it go back to 2000BC. Sri Lanka and China have very strong economic relationship based on the spices like Cinnamon of Sri Lanka and tea. That spices relationship known as 'Spices Rout'. Also because of the China's maritime Silk rout Sri Lanka got lot of

benefits too. Likewise, the relationship between Sri Lanka and China has very long history.

However, the current situation is completely different when we compare to the past. With a GDP of 10,982.83 US\$ billion, China has become the world's second largest economy with growing influence throughout the Asian region. Sri Lanka is a small economy that is ranked as a lower middle income country, but which has nevertheless achieved significant economic improvements in recent years. Irrespective of the sizes of their economies, Sri Lanka and China have developed substantial links over time, providing a model of good relations between large and small economies. Diplomatic ties that have lasted for 60 years between the two countries have mutually benefited both countries, and currently both nations are looking for greater and more effective links in the future. Sri Lanka's strategic location in the Indian Ocean has particularly attracted China's attention recently, due to its economic and strategic reasons.

The golden jubilee celebration of Sri Lankan - Chinese diplomatic relations, in 2007, was a landmark in bilateral relations. Former President Mahinda Rajapaksa visited China that year for the official celebrations, and signed two bilateral agreements: The Economic and Technical Cooperation agreement, and the Friendship City Relationship agreement between the city of Guangzhou of China and the District of Hambantota of Sri Lanka. Apart from that, several Memorandums of Understanding (MoUs) were signed by then President Rajapaksa with China's Ministry of Construction, Ministry of Commerce, the Film Bureau of the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television of China, the Red Cross Society of China, the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Mechanization

Sciences, and the Beijing Foreign Studies University of China. In addition to these MoUs, the China Development Bank and Central Bank of Sri Lanka entered into an Investment Facilitation Agreement to strengthen the long-term economic linkages between the two banks.

Methodology

This research is a Qualitative research based on secondary data. Main sources of data collection include book, journals, websites, etc. This is a case study which looks into the nature of Sri Lanka China relations in relation to the latter's String of Pearl strategy.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Relations between Sri Lanka - China have existed for almost over two millenniums. In ancient time, these were mainly religious and cultural, rather than commercial or trade relations. They began with the great traveler monk from China, Fa Xian, who visited Sri Lanka as far back as 411. Sri Lanka and China established formal diplomatic relations in 1957, although their historic Rubber-Rice Pact was initiated 5 years before even this official milestone.

Sri Lanka's strategic location, between major shipping lanes and on the 'String of Pearls' has attracted renewed attention from China in recent years. China-Sri Lanka relations in the 21st century have been enriched by a number of high profile meetings held in both countries, attended by top-level delegates of both countries, and the advancement of economic

relations in trade, investment and tourism. The concluding remarks below summarize the analysis of this paper of these three areas and suggest how Sri Lanka – China economic relations may be further enriched with regard to trade, investment and tourism.

Currently, China is the second largest source of imports to Sri Lanka, accounting for 19.65% of Sri Lanka's total imports. Although India is the largest importing partner of Sri Lanka, the growth rate of China's imports during the period of 2010-2014 is 175.3%, while imports from India grew at just 56.2% in the same period.

Although China is a key source of Sri Lanka's imports, it is not ranked even among the top 10 export destinations of Sri Lanka. It was the 14th largest export destination of Sri Lanka in 2014. This import-centric trade relation has led to a severe trade deficit for Sri Lanka. This deepening trade deficit currently accounts for 26.4% of Sri Lanka's total trade deficit. Nevertheless, this import-driven trade deficit should not be regarded as entirely unfavorable, as Sri Lanka's major imports from China include raw materials for producing the island's main exports, particularly garments and textiles. Imports from China remain vital for Sri Lanka to expand its textiles industry and to ensure growing demand for its garment products.

China has clearly emerged as a major tourist partner of Sri Lanka. It became the second-best tourist partner of Sri Lanka in terms of tourist arrivals by 2015, pushing the UK into third position. Although India has alternatively been the top and second-best tourist partner of Sri Lanka in terms of the number of tourist arrivals, a growth rate of Chinese tourist arrivals in recent years indicates the significance and potential further growth of China as a tourism partner of Sri Lanka.

Specifically, after the end of the civil war in Sri Lanka in 2009, China became the key sponsor for most of the 'mega infrastructure' development projects in Sri Lanka. China has funded the Norochcholai Power Station, Mattala Airport, Hambantota Sea Port, Southern and Katunayake Expressways, Nelum Pokuna (Lotus Pond) Theater, Lotus Tower in central Colombo, Colombo Port City (now renamed the International Financial City) projects, and the Northern Road Rehabilitation Projects. There remains debate as to the interest rate attached to the loans, and other conditions of Chinese aid and loans. At the same time, however, it is clear that the aforementioned infrastructure development projects could not have become a reality without the financial and technical assistance of China. All these infrastructures made on the loans and aids from the China. But all these projects not create money to send the interest and money back so Sri Lankan economy stuck on that point. According to the Sri Lankan reports, China has emerged as the largest development aid giver to Sri Lanka in 2012 with a commitment of \$1.05 billion while India providing over \$700 million was in the second place. According to the Sri Lanka Ministry of Finance and Planning's External Resources Department's 2012 report. The total assistance extended by China during the period between 1971 and 2012 was \$5.05 billions of which \$4.76 billion, representing around 94 per cent, was extended during the last 8-year period from 2005 to 2012, the report said. India extended a total assistance of \$1.45 billion between 2007 and 2012. Out of this amount \$1.12 billion was loan assistance and 326 million was grant assistance. So that it kind a trap. But Sri Lanka already trapped it because of the poor governing process of early governments. On the other hand, according to the Bank report 2016 at present over 25,000 Chinese workers are in various projects in Sri Lanka

and there is a fear that many of them may stay on. Of greater sensitivity are Chinese deals to build telecommunication and information technology networks in Sri Lanka. These would increase China's options to eavesdrop on Indian and Indian Ocean communication and to carry out electronic warfare. It also had a great impact of our working people and also impact to the increasing the rates of unemployment rate in Sri Lanka. At the finally all above authors, researchers and the various reports done by the government of Sri Lanka explain their views that belong to their perceptions on the effects of String of Pearl Strategy towards Sri Lanka in economic fields.

Conclusion

The close cultural and historical links between China and Sri Lanka have grown in the past five decades as the economic and diplomatic ties between the nations have strengthened. Particularly under the post 2005 period, bilateral relations have reached a new peak with Sri Lanka enjoying a steady source of aid and economic assistance. This is due to the fusion of two forces, viz., and the post-2005 government increasingly going for bilateral loans, where no strings are attached and where the period of repayment is negotiable. China is increasingly attempting to assert its global power and the Asian regional presence via bilateral loans to developing countries. In addition to economic support, China has also been a crucial source of diplomatic support having consistently backed the Sri Lankan government in international forums and multilateral organizations such as the United Nations. China has not interfered in the domestic policy in Sri Lanka and therefore is not regarded as a 'bully' by the public of Sri Lanka.

China has become a noteworthy export market, the source of FDI, and a source of low cost imports. However, China is yet to acquire the position of India as a large market for exports, largest source of imports, and a significant source of FDI although China is far ahead of India in terms of financial and technical assistance. Thus far, Sri Lanka has not made full use of the strong relationship with China predominantly in terms of trade and the APTA remains under-utilized. Sri Lanka is expecting the proposed FTA to trigger more trade between the two countries.

Relations with China present both opportunities as well as threats. While Sri Lanka has already gained significantly as a result of its close relationship with China, the future presents Sri Lanka with an ideal opportunity to gain even more with high growth in China. As China continues its rapid pace of growth and becomes increasingly dominant in the world economy, many nations see China as a possible threat. And this is particularly so for China's rival in the region, viz., India. Sri Lanka has to have the best of relations with India which is its only neighbor, with whom there is both a regional agreement (SAARC) and a free trade agreement. The strengthening relations between China and Sri Lanka should not come at the cost of geo-political security concerns of India. If that happens, the threat will offset all opportunities from China and it is imperative for the government of Sri Lanka to work out a reasonable balance in its bilateral relations between the two emerging giants of Asia to work out a 'win-win-win' situation.

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Significance of India's LGBT Rights Movement on Its Society

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Abstract

Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender (LGBT) rights have emphasized and recognized as a significant issue in contemporary world. This is a controversial phenomenon; one of the most fundamental LGBT rights, for example, same sex marriage has been legalized in locales within North and South America, Netherlands, Canada, Spain, Europe, and Africa. These developments have further helped spread the globalization of discourse on LGBT rights into many parts of the world, including the South Asian region. This study attempts to discuss the evolution and the Significance of India's LGBT rights movement and to analyze its trends and implication on the diverse and highly cultural Indian society. The study is a qualitative case study research based on secondary data, and the main sources of data collection includes e-books, research articles, reports, journals, e-journals and scholarly articles. As far as India is concerned, it is diverse and based heavily on social and cultural norms. Due to the lack of sexual literacy, contemporary Indian culture has been discriminating the LGBT rights for a long period of time. However today as a new trend India has taken huge step forward to adopt LGBT rights without discriminating it. This progressive approach in India, with regards to human rights in general and LGBT rights in particular has a direct and positive impact on other Asian countries. The immediate effect of globalization factor and the Other LGBT movements around the world has also made a huge impact to mold the Indian LGBT rights movement. The rise of the educated middle-class society which has a broad mind about modern world is also a fundamental reason for these new trends. As per the new statistics about Indian literacy rate shows that it is increasing gradually.

Key Words: lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, human rights,

Introduction

When we consider about LGBT rights, it can be also known as lesbian, gay, bi sexual, transgender rights. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights includes the right of every person to life, privacy, health and equality before the law, as well as the right to freedom of expression and freedom from discrimination and violence, including torture. Lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) persons are constantly at risk of persecution and gross violations of their fundamental human rights in a number of countries. Many LGBT persons fear or face imprisonment, torture, abuse and even murder, solely because they live in a context that does not tolerate their sexual orientation, gender identity or gender expression.

When we evaluate the trends and patterns of LGBT rights movement, it has emerged as a controversial issue around the world. Therefore, we can argue that this has been a worldwide occurrence. As an example, same sex marriages has been legalized in locales within North and South America, Europe, and Africa due to the direct involvement of LGBT rights movements of respective countries. The involvement of LGBT rights movements of different countries around the world has created direct and indirect impacts on India's LGBT rights movement and it has shaped India's LGBT rights movement.

The presence of homosexuality in Indian history is well-preserved in relics from ancient times and well documented in the ancient texts like Kamasutra and Manusmriti. The ancient Indian societal views about

homosexuality were not rigid but flexible and scientific. When we evaluate the historical Background of Indian homosexuality, it runs back to pre-colonial era in India. Homosexuality was identified as criminal offence in Manusmrithi and punishment for such offence was can be recognized in that time period. As per the readings of Manusmriti, Homosexuality was recognized as a serious offence and for it more seriouspunishment was there. When the Islamic rulers govern the India, the Muslim Shariatlaw was the supreme law of India. According to the Muslim Shariatlaw, homosexual conduct treated as a serious offence. Therefore, in different religion had different punishments for homosexual offences in India.

British era Started the procedure of legal codification, which was took place for uniform criminal laws in India in 1860. According to the Indian Penal Code uniform prescription of homosexual behavior in the form of unnatural offences its nature and punishment has been recommended. Although less privileged sexuality minorities have always lived in India sometimes in various forms like culturally sanctioned such as the hijra and at other times in invisibility and silence, the issues of these sexual minorities has never seriously been answered.

Prior to the era of 19th century these issues were only restricted to the society, During the era of 19th century the rights of LGBT minorities raised their voices against violation of their human rights. The main reason behind this achievement can be identified as the direct involvement of LGBT rights movement of India. These kinds of fundamental issues identified by various civil society organizations in India. In India the first

gay magazine Bombay Dost in the late 1980's and the starting of a lesbian collective in Delhi called Sakhi,

lesbian, gay and bisexual issues were first articulated in a public forum. Since this Magazine LGBT minority movement has been increased in India. This study will thoroughly evaluate the significance of India's LGBT rights movement.

The degree of cruelty of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation was very low in comparison with modern 21st century scenario. But nevertheless, a development was lately visible, with a team from leading non-governmental organization and individuals working on LGBT rights has done a significant work to set out legal frame work to LGBT community of India by getting a favorable judicial decision to LGBT community of India. When we examine the recent trends of India's LGBT movement, India's top court unanimously voted to scrap a colonial-era ban on homosexual sex on Sept. 5. And also A court in India's southern state of Kerala has ruled in favour of a lesbian couple who want to live together.

Indian society could be considered as one of the most diverse, colourful, stratified, rigid and equally progressive societies with scientific temper. This study is going to evaluate how the diverse and highly cultural Indian society has adopted LGBT rights.

Research Methodology

When we evaluate this study, it has used some fundamental methodologies to achieve the objectives of the study. The study has used qualitative secondary data retrieved from e-books, research articles, and scholarly articles in order to gather in depth understandings. This study has used documentary analysis and conceptual analysis as its fundamental analysis methods.

Documentary analysis defines a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give a meaningful study. In the documentary analysis, it collects available documents and data which are related to the particular study and interpret them to find out specific issue.

The conceptual analysis is often developed around a review of the study literature related to the concept under consideration. This can be further illustrated as a process of inquiry that explores concepts for their level of development as revealed by their internal structure, use, representativeness and relation to other concepts.

Furthermore, use of direct quotation in the study helps the researcher to present an accurate depiction of what is being evaluated.

Literature review

The literature review of this study will guide in order to develop understanding of the significance of India's LGBT rights movement. And to have a deep understanding about trends and its implication on the diverse and highly cultural Indian society.

The charter of United Nations 1945 encourages the respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction in Chapter I, Article 1. Similarly, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948 states in Article 2: "Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind." Therefore, LGBT community is eligible for human rights and for fundamental freedoms without any discrimination. (Charter of the United Nations 1945 and Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948)

Above mentioned United Nations charter and Universal Declaration of Human Rights has molded India's perspective on human rights. According to the Aniruddha V. Babar, the constitutions of India is bound to protect the basic human rights of all citizens of India and are put into effect by the courts, subject to certain limitations. When we evaluate the Article 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 of the Constitution of India that emphasize the right to Equality alongside with Article 1, 2, 3, 7,12 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a ray of hope appears from darkness. The words reflected in Constitution of India and Universal Declaration of Human Rights are beautiful, attractive, encouraging, promising and true to the fundamental ideals of the law of nature(Babar, 2015)

And also, Aniruddha V. Babar reviews that the homosexual population is approximately 10% to 13% of the total population of India which is considerably large but comparatively less (the exact statistics on LGBT population is not available. The approach of Indian society and Government towards sexual minorities is sadly homophobic, less compassionate and largely ignorant. The “fear factor” about LGBTs (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals and Transsexuals) that is instilled in the minds of people proved crucial factor in the battle for LGBT Rights and their social recognition. According to numerous LGBT Research reports the major problems community faced is a problem of marriage, sexual liberty, social discrimination and identity. (Babar, 2015)

Homosexuality of India has a rich History. It is well-preserved in relics from ancient times and well documented in the ancient texts. As per the Studies of Vensus George in the year of 2008, In Hinduism, Shiva is still worshipped as an Ardhnarishwara, i.e. half-male and half- female form. Shiva's symbol, which is today known as Shivalinga, actually comprises a combination of a 'Yoni' (vagina) and a 'Ling' (phallus). The third genders have been ascribed spiritual powers by most indigenous societies. (George, 2008)

One of the myths about homosexuality is, its identified as a mental disease by the modern society, but when we Evaluate the Studies of Louise Gray, we can argue that the homosexuality is not a mental disease. The traces of homosexual tendencies can be found in animals too. According to latest study homosexual behavior is widespread in animals.(Gray, 2009)

According to (Gray 2009) “Writing in Trends in Ecology & Evolution, Dr Nathan Bailey, an evolutionary biologist at California University, said previous studies have failed to consider the evolutionary consequences of homosexuality. He said same homosexual behaviour was often a product of natural selection to further the survival of the species. Dr Bailey said: "It's clear same-sex sexual behaviour extends far beyond the well-known examples that dominate both the scientific and popular literature – for example, bonobos, dolphins, penguins and fruit flies.”

When we Examine the evolution of Indian LGBT movement as per the reviews of Karnataka People's Union for Civil Liberties though sexuality minorities have always existed in India sometimes in forms, which are culturally sanctioned (such as the hijra) and at other times in invisibility and silence, their issues have never seriously been articulated. It is only recently that the rights of sexuality minorities as an issue have been taken seriously in India by various civil society organizations. With the founding of India's first gay magazine Bombay Dostin the late 1980's and the starting of a lesbian collective in Delhi called Sakhi, lesbian, gay and bisexual issues were first articulated in a public forum. Since those early beginnings, the fledgling sexuality minority rights movement has grown increasingly vocal and articulate. (Karnataka PUCL 2001)

The modern trends of Indian LGBT movement has done a significant job to ensure the LGBT rights. According to the reviews of Joanna Slater India's top court overturned a 157-year-old law criminalizing gay sex in a landmark victory for gay rights in the world's largest democracy.

A panel of five judges issued a unanimous judgment striking down the provision and affirming the right to equality and dignity. (Slater. J 2018)

Above controversial decision has changed the perspective of Indian community regarding the LGBT minorities. That decision also sets an example for whole judicial system of modern India. As per the Reports of Times of India in 2018, a court in India's southern state of Kerala has ruled in favour of a lesbian couple who want to live together. This decision is shaped by the the previous judicial decision given by the Delhi court on September 05th 2018. (Times of India 2018)

Data Presentation and Analysis

The evolution and the Significance of India's LGBT rights movement

The India's LGBT Rights movement has a rich history. In Indian history Homo sexuality is described and documented in various kinds of eras. Ancient temple carvings which indicates same sex activities and the kama sutra can identifies in the earliest documentation of homosexuality. In ancient India, there were a few examples of LGBT related issues. Here can be given an example of Shikhandi of the Mahabharata who was a eunuch or transgender or third gender. It is described in Vedas and in Kama Sutra also that there are three types of human nature known as Pums Prakrti (male nature), Stri Prakrti(female nature) and Tritiya Prakrti(third nature). Provenance of three types of gender is described in the foundation of Hindu law Manusmriti: "A male child is produced by a greater quality of male seed, a female child by the prevalence of the females, if both are equal, a third-sex child or boy and girl twins are produced" (Manusmriti, 3.49). But

in the case of homosexuality, it is described in some ancient books like Arthashastra, Manusmriti that homosexuality is a very minor offence.

With Turkish, Persian and Arabian influences and the advent of Islam in the medieval period, the specifications of taboo and tolerance do not seem to have been overwhelmed by any common code. While the Quran or the shariat might seem to have a more unequivocal condemnation of same-sex acts related to the Christian condemnation of 'sodomy', the shariat was never strictly adhered to by the kings and the emperors of the pre-mughal or mughal period. Rather, there were many contending authorities: different schools of Muslim law jurists differed in their outlook, and the Hanafi School that gained prominence in India was among the less severe. The diplomacy of the state towards indigenous elites, as well as the role of syncretistic Sufi orders in spreading Islam's influence, ensured a growing openness to traditions like polytheism.

In different stages of Indian History, homo sexuality has been accepted as a sexual behavior, and also at some stages of the history of India, homo sexuality is discriminated legally and morally. Homosexuality was a criminal offence under section 377 of the penal code of India during the British era. During the 1980's homo sexuality has become an emerging and controversial topic in Indian society because of LGBT communities of the society raised their voices against the discrimination of LGBT rights. Upto now, Indian LGBT rights movement has taken some reasonable steps to safeguard LGBT rights.

As an organized political movement, the modern Indian LGBT movement is still quite young, having taken its first steps only in the early 1990s. However, it is not as if the movement started overnight. Rather it was a result of several visible and invisible developments taking place over the years in the world and Indian contexts. As of current knowledge, these developments in modern-time India can be traced back to the early 20th century, though even this boundary is likely to be constantly pushed back. Till perhaps categories such as modern-time and earlier India blur and merge with each other. As some people argue, developments whether in the past, present or future are all part of a single continuum and linked in both obvious and unexpected ways.

When we evaluate the recent past, in the year of 1922 a poem written in prison” by Gopabandhu Das, a freedom fighter and a Gandhian, is published. He wrote these poems while in prison for nationalist activities. At least two poems address male friends and co-workers, and the author describes these relationships in terms that are intense and erotically charged though not overtly sexual. The poems became an accepted part of Oriya literature and are included in Oriya school text books till date.

In the year of 1929 Mahatma Gandhi enters the debate on same-sex relations once again with a letter in “Young India”, in response to queries on “unnatural vices” in schools. In the open letter, he puts the blame on general social apathy, on the neglect of religious education in schools, and the lack of dedicated teachers. However, he does not single out homosexuality and instead locates it as but a symptom of a larger disease affecting society. For him the “solution” is not in “sitting in judgment of others” but individual reform.

When we examine the studies of Rajendra Yadav, a leading Hindi novelist, publishes his story “Prateeksha” (“Waiting”). The story depicts a homosexual relation between two women without censure and in detail, and as such is notable coming from a leading literary figure. And also publishing of “The World of Homosexuals” by Shakuntala Devi and the journal “Gay Scene” in the late 1970s, and Marathi plays “Begum Barve” in 1979 and “Mitrachi Gosht” in 1981 also important to the evolution of Indian LGBT movement.

Modern LGBT community in India has faced various kinds of discrimination. But in ancient era homosexuality is identified as a sexual behavior. But suddenly as a new trend India has taken huge step forward to adopt LGBT rights without discriminating it. The reason behind this new trend has a direct impact on other LGBT movements around the world which has shaped the Indian LGBT movement directly. And also, the rise of the educated middle-class society which has a broad mind about modern world is also made a huge impact on this matter. So called countries with high sexual literacy and follows democratic principles has unable to perform such kind of progress.

The degree of cruelty of discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation was very low in comparison with modern 21st century scenario. But nevertheless, a development was lately visible, as mentioned earlier in the literature review, with a team from leading non-governmental organization and individuals working on LGBT rights has done a significant work to set out legal frame work to LGBT community of India by getting a favorable judicial decision to LGBT community of India. When we examine the

recent trends of India's LGBT movement, India's top court unanimously voted to scrap a colonial-era ban on homosexual sex on Sept. 5. And also, A court in India's southern state of Kerala has ruled in favour of a lesbian couple who want to live together.

Conclusion

Conclusively, we can identify the modern trends and patterns of LGBT rights movement happening around the world and also it has emerged as a controversial issue around the world. Therefore, we can argue that this has been a worldwide occurrence. As an example, same sex marriages has been legalized in locales within North and South America, Europe, Australia and Africa due to the direct involvement of LGBT rights movements of respective countries. But when we evaluate the Indian LGBT rights movement with the rest of the world, we can identify a significance in Indian LGBT rights movement because of unlike other western and developed nations around the world, Indian society is lack of proper sexual education. And also, when we compare India with other developed nations, India has the lowest literacy rate. As mentioned earlier Indian society is heavily depends on social and cultural norms and the society is diverse. LGBT problem is a long-standing problem in India. A few people said that this very movement is elitist in nature and since LGBT people are a minor section in India, so if the state does not minister their problem or does not entertain their issues nothing adverse will happen to the Indian society. Some religious leaders do not support this gay right movement and they advocate for retain of section 377 of IPC as it is. But one thing will be kept in mind that there is a long tradition of democracy in India. As a democratic

country India has to minister the aspirations of all sects of people whether it is majority or it is minority. Democracy does not allow any deprivation of any community because in democracy all sects are same to the state. LGBT movement is that type of movement where a particular section of people are willing to eradicate discriminations which they faced for a considerable time. So, they have been demanding justice from the state for a considerable period. We know that ‘justice delayed is justice denied’. India has to follow some progressive countries where LGBT community has already acquired their rights. Being a democratic, developing and progressive country India have to look forward to progressiveness. This responsibility lies on common people as well as on civil society. New Social Movement is not only a medium to fulfil some demands; rather object of New Social Movements is to give momentum to the process of social development. In future, we hope, through this very movement and its consequences, India will take off to reach her another station of progressiveness.

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Regional Cooperation for Energy Security in South Asia

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Abstract

South Asia has witnessed a growing imbalance between energy demand and its supply from indigenous sources resulting in increased import dependence. Energy endowments differ among the South Asian countries. However, access to the significant energy resources in the neighboring countries is denied, which increases the cost of energy supply and reduces energy security of the individual countries and of the region as a whole. The countries in the region could benefit significantly only by strengthening the mechanism of energy trade through improved connectivity. Therefore, greater cooperation within South Asia could be one of the most effective ways to deal with this Regional Energy deficit and ensure Energy Security of the Region. This paper considers prevalent models of cooperation in energy security of other regions and argues how it can be relevant to the context of South Asia. The role of various actors essential for promoting cooperation in energy security¹ in South Asia is discussed in this paper.

Key words: South Asia, Energy Security, Regional Cooperation, Regional Integration

Introduction

The IEA2 defines energy security as “the uninterrupted availability of energy sources at an affordable price”. Energy security has many dimensions: long-term energy security mainly deals with timely investments to supply energy in line with economic developments and sustainable environmental needs. Short-term energy security focuses on the ability of the energy system to react promptly to sudden changes within the supply-demand balance. Lack of energy security is thus linked to the negative economic and social impacts of either physical unavailability of energy, or prices that are not competitive or are overly volatile.

On the other hand, Energy security is term we often here these days, especially when we are listening different reports about the world running out of oil. The best way to define energy security is to say that this term refers to availability of natural resources for energy consumption in a given

1 Energy security is the association between national security and the availability of natural resources for energy consumption. Access to cheap energy has become essential to the functioning of modern economies.

2 The International Energy Agency is a Paris-based autonomous intergovernmental organization established in the framework of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in 1974 in the wake of the 1973 oil crisis period of time (short or long-term period in order to estimate future energy security). Each country must think about its future energy security because this is one of the main prerequisites for the future economic growth. Our economy is traditionally based on fossil

fuels (oil, coal and natural gas), and this fact leads to conclusion that only the adequate supply of fossil fuels can guarantee future energy security. The transition to renewable energy could change this but all current estimates say that our economy will continue its dependence on fossil fuels till at least the end of the century. Under this scenario fossil fuels will continue to determine the destiny of future global energy security and oil will likely continue to shape up the global economic growth.

The role of renewable energy in improving energy security is not to be overlooked because more renewable energy coming from domestic renewable energy sources means less need for fossil fuels and expensive foreign fuel import. Going for more domestic energy resources instead of relying on expensive foreign fuel import is very positive thing for future energy security. The bigger percentage of renewable energy sources in country's energy portfolio also means improved energy independence. Energy independence and energy security are two closely connected terms, basically in most cases improved energy security means also improved energy independence.

There are many different threats to energy security, for instance political turmoil's in rich oil producing countries, the rise of new economic giants (China and India that present heavy competition over energy sources), natural disasters and accidents, etc. Also, energy security doesn't refer just to the amount of energy resources that are at disposal to certain country but also to a security of energy supply (adequate distribution network). Energy plays key role in the national security of any given country because without energy there's no economy, and without economy there's no

progress of society in general. Major oil exporters today play key role in global energy security. Many powerful countries are looking for long-term solutions to increase energy security by reducing dependence on foreign oil import. This has not only resulted in the growth of domestic renewable energy resources but also in different measures aimed to improve energy efficiency and energy conservation.

Methodology

This is qualitative case study research on South Asia's energy sector. It looks into current situation and future trends in South Asia's energy security. Main sources of data collection include books, journals, websites, annual reports, etc.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Energy security in South Asia

South Asia is at a critical juncture today. Development is the overriding priority for the region because of the high incidence of poverty but energy is proving to be a critical constraint. The entire region is suffering from an acute energy crisis. There are three major concerns with regard to the energy sector. Firstly, South Asian countries are confronted with the huge challenge of securing energy to sustain rapid economic growth and meeting the rising aspirations of the people. Secondly, the region is home to a huge population that lacks access to clean forms of energy. A large section of the population, particularly in rural areas lacks access to

electricity and relies on the traditional use of biomass for cooking. With limited domestic energy sources, most South

3 Renewable energy is energy that is collected from renewable resources, which are naturally replenished on a human timescale, such as sunlight, wind, rain, tides, waves, and geothermal heat.

Asian countries are also highly dependent on energy imports, particularly crude oil, from other regions. The mismatch between energy demand and resource endowments in individual countries builds a strong case for energy cooperation.

Energy cooperation in South Asia has occurred at the bilateral as well as regional level. But bilateral energy cooperation has been more successful, particularly between India and Bhutan. India has provided technical and financial assistance to Bhutan in the development of hydro power and that form of energy is Bhutan's main export to India. Bhutan exports about 1,000-1,200 megawatts (MW) surplus power to India. The first ever Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) benefits were realized by India-Bhutan hydro trade in 2010. Recently, India and Bangladesh have signed a memorandum of understanding (MoU) under which 100 MW power will be exported to Bangladesh. India and Nepal also have engaged in significant energy cooperation.

Four hydroelectric schemes with an aggregated installed capacity of about 50 MW have been implemented in Nepal with assistance from India. The two countries have also signed an agreement worth US\$ 1.04 billion under

which a 900 MW plant will be built on the Arun River. There are possibilities of further expansion of electricity trade between India and Nepal as till date only 600 MW of hydro power has been developed against Nepal's economically feasible hydropower potential of about 40,000 MW. However, tensions between Nepal and India endanger the possibility of greater energy cooperation between them. Further, India has emerged as a significant source of refined petroleum for the region. India currently supplies the entire demand for petroleum products in Nepal and Bhutan. India also exports petroleum products to Bangladesh.

But when it comes to recent south Asian region, we can see following three things. First, South Asia has witnessed impressive economic growth in the last decade. Second, regional economic integration is weak in South Asia. Third, the peace process between India and Pakistan will remain fragile and susceptible to several unpredictable conditions. In these circumstances the primary concern is to find a functional area, which will unleash the forces of integration in South Asia. Considering the overall situation, a combined endeavour to overcome the challenge of energy scarcity in South Asia can bring desired results. In this it is also a matter of fact that economic growth does burden the energy security of the region, causing uncertainty about the future. Demand for energy in South Asia will become more intense in the coming time and it will probably be more than double in next 30 years.

During the same period Indian demand is projected more than 140 percent. South Asia is also a region where the majority of the population lives in rural areas and only 25 percent of them have access to electricity. This is a

huge gap, hampering the potential for economic growth. There are other such calculations of energy demand projections based on the assumption that the present economic growth will continue. There's a huge future requirement of South Asian countries in every sector of energy resources. Countries like India and Pakistan are more vulnerable and there is a compelling need to find a viable solution. What eases the situation is the abundance of energy resources in countries with less demand. This opens a gateway for cooperation in the energy sector of South Asia. Energy requirement is not only crucial but also essential for the future growth of the region and turning a blind eye towards it will only complicate the matter. At present major demand for energy in South Asian countries are fulfilled through expensive import from other regions. The dependence on imports can be reduced substantially through the interdependence of South Asian countries in the energy sector.

Challenges and defects

Regional energy cooperation efforts began in 2005 when the SAARC energy Centre was created. However, regional energy cooperation efforts have been less successful because of the overarching political differences between the SAARC member countries. The signing of the SAARC energy agreement last year provides a ray of hope but continuing tensions, particularly between India and Pakistan, cast a spell of doubt with regard to its implementation. In the absence of a strong political will, this initiative is also likely to fail like other SAARC proposals. South Asian leaders need to look at energy cooperation as a means of achieving peace in the region. Mobilizing financial resources to develop the necessary energy infrastructure is a major challenge to enhance energy security in the region.

Therefore, South Asian countries need to develop policies that will attract investment in the region. The private sector can play an important role in this regard but given the volatile nature of South Asian politics, the private sector may be reluctant to invest in mega projects without the necessary legal regimes to protect investments.

One of the major defects of energy cooperation efforts in the South Asian region is the state- centered approach towards energy security that is based on government to government interactions and the use of public sector enterprises. Moreover, the regional cooperation efforts have paid limited attention towards the potential of renewable energy in meeting the present energy demand- supply gap. It is important to recognize that in South Asia, the issue of energy security goes well beyond the macro concerns to the challenge of providing the poorer sections of society with access to clean energy. Therefore, the scope of energy cooperation in South Asia must be widened and greater emphasis must be laid on renewable energy sources such as solar and wind. So far, there has been an overemphasis on facilitating electricity trade and pipeline projects in the region. India's advantage in solar energy needs to be exploited effectively. Indian institutions are already engaged in providing solar powered lighting, water and space heating, and water pumping in countries such as Afghanistan and Pakistan. These initiatives need to be scaled up to meet the development needs in the region. Greater cooperation in providing decentralized energy solutions to neighbouring countries will also contribute towards peace and development in the region.

Looking into Solutions

Considering the demand and supply estimates of energy in South Asia it is clear that it can be a functional area for future regional integration. Some of the possible methods for achieving this cooperation are discussed in this section.

In India there was a problem of how to distribute electricity throughout the country, and to overcome this problem the Power Grid Corporation of India⁴ (PGCI) was established in 1989. PGCI was entrusted with the responsibility for transmission of electric power across the country. Although this has not solved the power crisis in India, it is an example that can be applied at the level of South Asia. Indian Minister of State for Power K C Venugopal supported the concept of a South Asian power grid. Speaking in a round table conference he said, “SAARC power grid linking Bangladesh, India, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka has the estimated potential to install at least 100,000 MW in the region for the common use among its member states.”¹² Adding to the issue Venugopal also mentioned problems concerning cross-border trading, markets, technology and finances. This is not a maiden concept but there are functional examples of regional grids like the grid connecting Norway, Denmark, Sweden and Finland and another that connects South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe. SAARC can learn from these regional electric grid models to build its own grid. In the case of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Finland a unique system is formulated to ensure the best utilization of resources, minimizing total production costs and optimizing efficiency. There are diversified generating systems ranging from a 100% hydro system in Norway to a 95% thermal system in Denmark. Finland and Sweden have

a mix of nuclear, hydro and fossil capacity. This system was achieved by ensuring that production units were used in order of increasing cost irrespective of location. Production in one country then probably does not match its consumption. This led to an optimal exchange of occasional power.¹³ In the case of Scandinavian countries political differences are not the case, and also the economic status of every country is quite good. It was an integration to maximize gains, not to make electricity a key to instrument of integration. The other model is the South African Power Pool (SAPP), which was created in 1995 and presently has 12 members. These 12 members are Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Angola, South Africa, Lesotho, Namibia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. It is interesting to note that SAPP itself was created to put energy at the center of achieving the political objective of regional integration. When the idea of SAPP was floated several doubts were raised about its rationality and viability. The region lacks the high socio-economic profile of the Scandinavian countries. There was a question as to how the electricity would be distributed but the economic development of South Africa underwent a change. Later on, demand for electricity in the region had gone up due to energy-intensive mining, mineral smelting and energy intensive industrial operations in South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The electricity generation system like in the Scandinavian countries is divergent. The current generation mix in SAPP is 74.3% coal, 20.1% hydro, 4% nuclear and 1.6% diesel and gas. The coal generation is predominantly in the south (South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe) and hydropower in the north in the Zambezi Basin (Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Malawi) Congo and Cunene. The nuclear power station is in the Western Cape and most of

the diesel power plants are for small isolated rural networks. In these two models the SAPP is close to SAARC requirements since there are many similarities between the two regions. The most striking similarity is the objective of using the energy sector for larger economic and political integration in the region. The SAARC grid will also support the integration process along

The Power Grid Corporation of India Limited, is an Indian state-owned electric utilities company headquartered in Gurugram, India. POWERGRID transmits about 50% of the total power generated in India on its transmission network with other advantages. At the official level there are available studies on how to proceed towards the trade of electricity in SAARC. According to one such report on SAARC Energy Centre, eight steps are suggested for giving practical shapes to electricity trade in the region. These are as follows;

1. Licensing: A uniform licensing policy needs to be adopted for the entire region for electricity generation, transmission and trade.
2. Transmission and load dispatch: There is also no uniformity in the transmission and load dispatch system, and it is essential that a single system prevail for regional trading.
3. Electricity regulatory commission: A regional electricity regulatory commission is needed to look into electricity trading as a whole in the region.
4. Electricity trade: Except for India, there is no separate agency for the trade of electricity and at the regional level one such nodal agency is essential.

5. Electricity tariff: There is subsidised electricity in every SAARC country, and for regional trade cross-border tariffs may be developed based on a transparent process of competitive bidding.
6. Dispute resolution: There is also a need for a common dispute resolution body acceptable to all SAARC countries.
7. SAARC expert group on electricity: This function as a nodal agency to carry forward all the activities related to regional electricity trading.
8. Further study: The report also highlighted the need for further study on this issue so to develop a clearer idea on the issue.

There are examples of regional grids around the world and SAARC officially supports this concept. Thus, it has both practical and theoretical approvals and it just requires the political will to implement.

Cooperation efforts of SAARC and The SAARC Energy Ring

This is not a new concept and was floated in 2007 during the SAARC Energy Ministers meeting at New Delhi. It proposed transnational lines for trade in electricity, gas and oil. Comprehensive work was done on creating an energy ring and the final approval was given at the third meeting of energy ministers held at Colombo in 2009. The creation of an energy ring is possible because Nepal and Bhutan have enormous hydrocarbon potential. Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and Bangladesh have substantial coal resources. There are also huge untapped petroleum resources in Bangladesh, Pakistan and in India. Once this energy ring is established it will open ways for SAARC countries to establish easy energy trade

connections with Central and West Asia. Regional gas pipelines and regional electric grids will help the countries of Central and West Asia link up the supply to any SAARC country utilizing the established SAARC energy ring network. This will not only make the import of energy in the region easy but will also substantially reduce the passage cost. It will also open prospects for poor countries of the region to earn revenue by providing passage routes for the import of energy resources.

Strengthening SAARC Energy Centre

The SAARC energy center was proposed in the Dhaka Declaration of the SAARC Summit in 2005. As per the declaration, “the head of the State or Government welcomed the Joint Statement of the first SAARC Energy Ministers meeting in October 2005 in Islamabad. They agreed to the recommendation to establish the SAARC Energy Centre in Islamabad; to promote development of energy resources, including hydropower; and energy trade in the region.” It was after this declaration that the SAARC Energy Centre (SEC) was set up in Islamabad on March 1, 2006. As per the official SEC website¹⁶ the primary objective for the establishment of the Centre is to have a regional institution of excellence for the initiation, coordination and facilitation of SAARC programmes in energy. There are eight goals enunciated on the portal encompassing almost all the major points of regional cooperation in the energy sector. As far as SEC’s official position is concerned it is well defined but not enough work has been done to activate SEC. A number of useful and purposeful studies have been carried out by the SEC and thought-provoking concepts have been flashed but more has to be done on practical fronts. There is no serious work from the SAARC countries to start energy cooperation at the regional level. One

institution, which has some concrete and applauding research, can be regarded as a small part of the solution but not a complete end in itself. The responsibility of the SAARC countries does not get over with the setting up of SEC because any organization is just a skeleton without proper organic functioning. SEC should focus on what are the steps taken/initiated to materialize the outputs of its research studies. How the governments of SAARC countries are advancing their programmes to fulfill the commitment for regional energy cooperation is a major point and it has to be taken seriously by the SEC. Some kind of grading or point system has to be formulated to keep an account of every major and minor step taken by the governments in regard to implementing the agenda of regional energy cooperation. An annual report of SEC with transparent grades for every country should be circulated widely. This account can be treated as a report card quantifying the intention of every country to promote regional cooperation in energy. SEC in this regard can act as a watchdog to keep citizens of the region alert. Public pressure sometime plays a positive role in the performance of government. There is another issue worth considering for SEC and it concerns collaborating with other regional organizations like SAPP, which have knowledge and expertise in regional energy trade. SEC has enormous potential and can play a critical and historic role in driving regional cooperation in South Asia.

Role of International Agencies

International agencies also have a role in promoting regional cooperation in the energy sector at the level of South Asia. While pointing to the role of international agencies, it is necessary that a roadmap for such

cooperation be formulated and finalized by SAARC countries. On a number of

occasions international agencies have their own ideas with regard to solutions, which they try to pursue as a precondition for providing help and support. In the case of South Asia there are experts with adequate knowledge and they are well aware of both prospects and challenges of regional cooperation. There is no lack of concepts and ideas but the real problem is at the level of finance. Considering the economic constraints of South Asian countries it is important that international agencies fund the projects of regional cooperation in energy. The Asian Development Bank⁵ (ADB) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) are actively engaged in projects related to energy cooperation in South Asia. USAID has a project titled South Asia Regional Initiative for Energy (SARI/E) which has three focused areas viz., cross border energy trade, regional energy market formation, and regional clean energy access partnerships. International agencies can also provide technical assistant teams, technical consultations and required technologies for the purpose of linking the energy resources of the South Asian countries.

Conclusion

The world had changed and every country in South Asia accommodated the international concepts of globalization, market economy and liberalization. There are tremendous debates on the advantages reaped from globalization, but governments are unwilling to change the course of current policy. Without touching the intense discourse on globalization, it is interesting to note that the same governments are indifferent towards the

process of regionalization. There is no hesitation on the part of governments of SAARC countries to enter into free trade agreements (FTA) with countries and organizations which are not a part of South Asia, but a similar proactive approach is absent to boost regional trade. Energy is an important sector and every South Asian country is going to suffer if it does not have a future plan to meet the coming challenges. Regional cooperation to fulfill the energy demand is one way to address these challenges and it is an appropriate time to start working seriously on this issue. Let us hope that regional energy trade will start a cycle and afterwards other integrating factors will get attached to it. It would be incorrect to draw a parallel between Europe and South Asia to predict that energy will be the binding factor in South Asia, but its potential cannot be ruled out. There can be a question as to why it is only energy and the simple answer is because there is a deficit in this sector and this deficit will only multiply in the future. To sum up we can quote John David Ashcroft, a well-known American legal expert, who said that, “if necessity is the mother of invention, it is also the father of cooperation.” Energy security is a necessity for South Asia and cooperation is well desired. Boundaries are man-made and only by effort can we render them obsolete. In the case of regional cooperation in South Asia, energy security can bring desired results.

The Asian Development Bank is a regional development bank established on 19 December 1966, which is headquartered in the Ortigas Center located in the city of Mandaluyong, Metro Manila, Philippines. The company also maintains 31 field offices around the world to promote social and economic development in Asia.

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Interaction between hard and soft power related to global power shift.

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Abstract

As the essence of the international relations and the international politics, power is the ability of an actor to get others to do something they would not do. Everything is depending on the power capabilities of the state or territory. Power is not only about the military capabilities. It consists with different kinds of economic development, industrial capacity, technology, geography, natural resources, quality of government, national character and morale and diplomacy. There are two aspects of power as hard power and soft power. Hard power is connected with an anarchic international system by using threat and coercion. And soft power is attractive power. It rests primarily on three resources such as culture, political values and foreign policies. Combination of these three elements soft power could interact towards international relation of the state than hard power as a strategy. In the 21st century the world order or international arena were changed and developed by different means. But they are having strong interaction between soft and hard power related to the global power shift. In most of cases soft power has been used as the best way to resolve the disputes and as the secured and demanded tactical elements than hard power.

Key Words: International Relations, Power, Military capability, Soft power, Hard power

Introduction

Power is not only about the military capacities. It includes deferent aspects and concept related to nation building such as, economic development and industrial capacity, Technology, Geography, natural resources, Ideology, organization and quality of government, National character and morale and Diplomacy. These power elements are two types as power have two means. Its hard power and the soft power. With the combination of these two-power position the new concept super power of sharp power has been emerged in the international system.

According to the realism Morgenthau on his great writings (politics among the nation) proclaimed that the politics is a struggle for power. According to waltz international politics is the realm of power of struggle and of accommodation. Thomas Hobbes, argued that in the absence of an overarching power human beings exhibit “a perpetual and restless desire for power after power that ceased only in death” therefore power is essence of the international relation.

This power can be identified under the two main aspects. Soft power and hard power. Hard power is older than soft power and everyone is familiar with hard power. Hard power is defined as the capacity to get what you want through the use of economic power or through the use of military force by threatening others. In contrast soft power rests on the ability to shape the preference of others, without use of force, coercion or violence. Soft power can be defined as pre-political or nonpolitical concept, related to the social sphere.

In every nation throughout the world they try to increase their power position by threatening each other. In here they use deferent kinds of power elements as hard power and soft power. The global power shift is influence by these soft and hard power elements direct and indirect ways.

Methodology

This study is entirely based on qualitative secondary data retrieved from online scholarly journals and other sources such as e-books, articles in the internet and other sources of information pertaining to the subject available in the internet. The author has conducted a content analysis based on the information from these sources and the reference to scholarly journals on the subject of global power in particular has added value to the study.

Literature review

Power is the essence of the world without power there is nothing. According to great scholar of international relations Hans J. Morgenthau once state that power is the most prominent and essential concept of the world. Not only has that power had different perspectives some are hard and Soft power elements. Based on these power elements the global power position may be changed or replace.

As David A Baldwin states power and International relations the long history of discussions of the role of power in international interaction, however has fold to generate much agreement. Scholars disagree not only

with respect to the role of power but also with respect to the nature of power. Hans j. Morgenthau (1964, p.27) suggest that “the concept of political power poses one of the most difficult and controversial problems of political science. Kenneth N. Waltz (1986, p. 333) notes that power is a key concept in realized theorist of international politics while conceding that its proper definition remains a matter of controversy and Robert Gilpin describes the concept of power as one of most troublesome in the field of international relations (1981, p.13) and suggests that the number and variety of definitions should be an embarrassment to political scientists (1975, p. 24)

Waltz advances a structural theory of international politics. One of the defining characteristic of the structure of the international system the distribution of capabilities. Since judgments must be made about how capabilities are distributed waltz must conformant the issue of how to measure them. Realizing that his theory requires the rank ordering of sates according to their capabilities he resists the specification of scope and domain necessitated by a relational nation of power. Rankin the capabilities of states is much harder if power (or capacity) is conceived as multidimensional thus he asserts that their economic military and other capabilities of nations cannot be sectored and separately weighed (1979, p.131)

According to the Rothkopf David J. 1998.” Cyber politik” the changing nature of power information age. “Journal of international affairs” for three hundred years, the aspiration of nation states and their leader have been the principle drives in international relations. Throughout that period, the ability of those nation states to achieve their goals has rested on three Pillars: economic power, military power and political power. Economic

power was derived from the resources that lay within the nation's borders and its ability to trade those resources or their by-products on favorable terms with the rest of the world. Military power derived also from available resources of people and material. Political power was drawn alternatively or in combination from the strength of leaders and institutions, the will of the people and or the support of the nation state.

Further James F. Hoge, Jr. stated that related to the global power shift on his article "A global power shift in the Making" The transfer of power from west to East is gathering pace and soon will dramatically change the context for dealing with international challenges as well as the challenges themselves. Many in the west are already aware of Asia's growing strength. This awareness however, has not yet been translated into preparedness. And therein lies a danger: that western countries will repeat their past mistakes. Major shifts of power between states, not to mention regions occur infrequently and are rarely peaceful. In the early twentieth century, the imperial order and the aspiring states of Germany and Japan failed to adjust to each other. The conflict that resulted devastated large parts of the globe. Today the transformation of the international system will be even bigger and will require the assimilation of markedly different political and cultural traditions.

When considering the theoretical approaches, Measheimer, 2001, Dune, Kurki, and Smith, 2003 stated that While realists are in agreement that power is a key determinant in political relations, there is a variation in how individual realists understand the concept. For instance, classical realists posit that the permanent struggle for power stems from the fundamental

human drive for power. In contrast for structural or neo-realists, it is the architecture of the international system that forces state to pursue power and maximize their power position.

Data presentation and analysis

Power in the international relations

“The cause of war and peace are mainly a function of the balance of power”- Mearshemier (1995, p.13)

The essence of the international relations is power capability, sovereignty, foreign policy, democracy, rules and regulations, and security. All these things can be identified as the different aspects of power. But these all are highly based on the power. In the international relations power is the most important and most discussed concepts in the field of international relations according to the American political scientist Joseph Nye define that the power is the ability to influence the behaviors of others to get a desired outcome. That’s why here firstly I mentioned about the Meashmier’s thought on power as the “cause of war and peace are mainly a function of the balance of power”. Everything of the world including war and peace are highly based on the power. At the most general level power can be define as the ability to influence the behavior of others to get the outcomes one wants.

Many scholars such as political scientist, historians and diplomats who belong to the different perspectives they define the power in many areas

I. Power as a goal of states of leaders

- II. Power as a measure of influence or control over outcomes, events, actors and issues
- III. Power as victory in conflict and the attainment of security
- IV. Power as control over resources and capabilities
- V. Power as status, which some states or actors possess and others do not.

Not only that, power can be define in international relations as security, goal, capability etc. But undoubtedly power acts as a major theme within the study of international relations, yet as a concept it is highly contested and difficult if not impossible of define.

As we know power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes that one who wants. One country, state or as an individual or group of an actor can be affected to others by three ways,

- I. By threatening coercion
- II. By offering inducements or payments
- III. By making others to do what who wants

According to Nye political leaders mainly define power as the possession of the resources and they make the thing what they want to do using their power capabilities.

When considering about the theoretical background of power Morgenthau, who is the most famous scholar in international relations. Morgenthau's second principle of realism, as identified in "politics among the nations" define interest in terms of power. And according to the theoretical assumption of realism, they emphasize that international system is anarchic. And the most important thing is power. Not only that but also

they realized that power can be change everything and there is no validity of morality. And they always emphasize the power is the primary and fundamental elements of the international system. According to the realistic approach war is an inevitable and it can justify.

As we know that hard power is commonly associated in International relation with realism; it is totally about power politics, force and violence. So hard power is the extent of the oldest form of power. It directly connected with idea of anarchism.

Hard power and soft power

Once the Charles W. Freeman Jr define the power is the capacity to direct the decisions and actions of others. Power derives from strength and will. Strength comes from the transformation of resources into capabilities. Will infuses objectives with resolve. Strategy marshal capabilities and brings them to bear with precision. Statecraft seeks through strategy to magnify the mass relevance impact and irresistibility of power. It guides the ways of state deploys and applies its power abroad. These ways embrace the arts of war espionage and diplomacy. The practitioners of these three arts are the paladins of statecraft.

Power is not only about military perception of the state. And it's about the morality, nationality and resume of the different aspects which is including both tangible and intangible asserts.

More than two decades ago (1990) there is a strong argument related to the global power shift and position by Nye. He distinguished that there was a difference between power as two concept as hard power and soft power. Further he defines that power as the “ability to affect others to get the

outcomes one wants” (2009, p.61) and command or hard power as coercive power wielded through inducements or threats (2009, p.63). According to Wilson (2008, p.114) he said that hard power is based on military intervention, coercive diplomacy and economic sanction. But they are not only the factors that implies about the hard power. All the tangible factors which are included the element of the national power simply they can have identified as the hard power. As the example the German invasion into Poland in 1939 and the UN economic sanctions against Iran in 1991 following the first gulf war.

The fundamental assumption of hard power is coercion. It implies that the resounding theme of hard power. In most generally a country is recognized as a great power due to some kinds of power elements. Such as its size, capacity and quality of resources. This includes its population, natural resources, military capacity, territorial integrity, strength, economic capabilities and all the tangible resource.

Thus, in simply terms, hard power is a foreign policy tool used by the nations whatever the ways and means to fulfill their requirements and achieve their certain goals. So, every states wish to increase their hard power by different means. Especially state can apply hard power through the military means such as coercive diplomacy, military interventions, threats or use of force or through economic means such as economic sections, reduction of trade barriers and other ways. There are many examples of hard power in the practical sense. As,

- I. The invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 by the Soviet Union
- II. The invasion of Iraq in 2003 by the United States allied force

- III. Trade embargoes imposed on countries such as Iran Cuba in the 20th century by the US
- IV. The German invasion into Poland in 1939
- V. UN economic sanction against Iraq in 1991 following the first Gulf war

And as the very recent example North Korea and other states who are intervene this issue there is being a cold war between them. Not only that when consider about the new Gulf crisis as Qatar issue; most of South Arabian countries were imposed some tariffs and they impose the restriction on air and land by using their hard power capabilities.

In contrast, soft power is somewhat difference from the hard power concept “soft power is the capacity to persuade others to do what one wants”. (Wilson, 2008, p. 114) In the international relation soft power is the ability to affect others by attraction and persuasion rather than through the hard power of coercion and payment.

The concept of soft power is firstly introduced by Joseph Nye. It is defined as a persuasive approach to international political relations, involving the use of a nation’s cultural, historical and diplomatic influence. Despite the hard power used the coercion or force the soft power is not based on those factors. And soft power has the ability of a state to indirectly convince other to desire its goals and vision. According to Nye, persuasive power is based on attraction and emulation and associated with intangible power resources such as culture, ideology and institutions, (2009, p. 63)

And further “the soft power of a country rests primarily on three resources; its culture (in places where it is attractive to others), its political values

(when it lives up to them at home and abroad) and its foreign policies (when they are seen as legitimate and having moral authority) (Nye, 2004, p. 11)

Soft power is always work by influencing how actors define their ends, goals or means and how that they employ to achieve those things. Thus, the soft power operates at the level of interests or motivations or vital goals and preferences, or strategies for achieving vital goals (Jervis, 1999) International relation theory has long debated the role of interests and their preferences with rationalist scholars of both the realist and the institutionalist traditions typically presenting interests, most notably survival as taken as given or exogenous to typical behavior models, while preferences such as competition or cooperation, may vary based upon the constraints and opportunities presented by the system (Waltz 1979, Keohane 1984, Oye 1986 , Keohane and Martin 1995, Mearshemer 2001) As we know soft power is the somewhat of persuasive approach is applied through cultural, historical and or diplomatic means. In most of time it may arrange by the foreign policy formulation and implementation. And it's all about attracting co-opting and indirectly convincing.

Soft power is not good or bad in itself. It is not necessarily better to twist minds than to twist arms. As the example Osama bin laden neither threatened nor paid the men who flew aircraft into the world trade center, he had attracted them with his ideas.

On the modern world most of countries use soft power than hard power to resettle their every kind of strategies, according to the Monocle soft power

survey in 2014 recognized the United States as the most effective country to apply soft power in its foreign policy. Germany follows in second place. Countries such as United Kingdom, Japan, Canada, Switzerland, Australia and even France constitute some of the top ten countries that which is effectively use soft power as a foreign policy tool in international relations.

As a very recent example about using soft power in US foreign policy formulation is there had been a summit between US president Trump and North Korean president Kim Jong-un for resolve their unresolved disputed about nuclear weapons. About this summit Mr. Trump described as a” one time shot” at peace and said the two were in unknown territory. So both of these two actors will use soft power towards get the impartial solutions for their problems.

In the modern context of the international relation most of actors may control and shape their foreign policy and power capabilities towards the new power concept as smart power.

Theoretical and practical elements of soft and hard power

Power is the most important concept in the world. Every nation tries to acquire the capabilities with using their strength and they may create the strategically power position under the pressure of the actors of the international arena. They are using some kinds of factors which are together called the components or elements or determinates of power. If the country wants to build up the strong position in the world they should have make the better power position among their neighbors by using different kinds of factors. They may be somewhat practical or theoretical elements. There is no single factor or element that are capable enough for

buildup power position in the world. There are a number of elements of power which is direct, indirect, permanent, temporary, tangible, intangible or qualitative or quantitative.

Geography, raw material, natural resources, population and technology can be identified as the tangible element, whereas ideology, morale, leadership, personality, organizational efficiency and quality of diplomacy are the intangible elements.

As per the generally we can resume the elements of power as below,

- I. Geography
- II. Natural resources such as raw materials and food
- III. Economic development and industrial capacity
- IV. Technology
- V. Military preparedness
- VI. Ideology
- VII. Leadership
- VIII. Organization and quality of government
- IX. National character and morale
- X. Diplomacy

Power can be defined under the two main aspects as hard power and Soft power. The term hard power and Soft power represent two important concepts in the field of international relation. As we acquainted power is the ability to threat or control the behavior of others as what we want or need. Therefore, soft and hard power are the two types of tools which are effect for the control or influence others. These elements can be defined

under the theoretical and practical scenario as the elements of national power.

As we acquainted Geography is the one elements which are directly influence for the power capability of the nation. It is most stable, tangible, permanent and natural element. According to the observed by Napoleon, he stressed that “The foreign policy of the country is determined by its geography”. It includes some of features as map, size, location, climate, topography, boundaries etc.

When considering about the size, it can be both helping as well as a hindering factor. A large size with inadequate natural resources, inaccessible forests and mountains, unhealthy climate and topography can be hindrance in the way of national power. It can impose a defense problem also. And a large size state can accommodate a large population, offer better natural resources and raw materials and finally it may be a highly effect for the defense principles of the country. As the example large size of the erstwhile Soviet Union that helped it to defeat the forces of Hitler. Japan even with its small size, scored a victory over Russia in 1905. The USA has a relatively smaller territory than Russia yet it has more power than the later. Israel offers another striking example of a small sized country that has a disproportionately large amount of power.

Therefore, the size as a geographical element of power it can be identified the most important element of the hard as well as soft power, especially hard power.

Geographical location can help a nation to be powerful and an unfavorable location can limit the national power. As the example England could become a big naval power and thereby an imperial power because of its

location. Not only that the location of USA helped it to adopt (1823-1945) and follow the policy of isolationism. Middle East and continental Europe have been the potential zones of power rivalry because of their geographic and strategic location. In some cases, this geographic location hindered the rivalry of power such as Canada has hindered its emergence as a great power. This situation can be identified as one of the practical elements of hard power.

And the helpful climate can be a source of power and an unkind climate can be a source of weakness. Not only that geographical terrain can influence the power of a state and its potential for offense, defense and growth. Natural boundaries are most important practical element of the hard power. As the example since mid-1950's defense of the Himalayas has been a source of limitation on India's power. And the Atlantic and Pacific oceans have provided strength to the security of the United States. Apart from the geography as an influential practical elements of hard power natural resources also most important aspects. The territory which is not adequately graced by natural resources they can't expect to be a powerful nation. No nation can be a powerful without becoming a developed industrialized nation and the chances of becoming an industrialized nation are basically have connected with the possession of natural resources. Through the natural resources territory can survive and maintain their power position in the international relations.

As the practical power elements of hard power, the population can be observed as an important element of military power. And population factor determines both national needs as well as policies designed to serve these

needs. But the high population always not the elements of national power. Disproportionately large population with a high growth rate have been hindrance in the way of China and India. Population factor has been a source of limitation on India's national power. India as a major country of the South Asian region, but he is not the developed country by everything. Just because some state of India has been largely affected by poverty.

Economic development and industrial capacity is another one elements which can identified as the practical element of hard power. A nation with developed, healthy and growing economy alone can be a great power in the world politics. Because of that they cannot defeat the poverty. Poverty always pay a crucial role as a source of limitation of power. By using economic means a nation tries to exercise its national power in a productive and useful way. Today the United State, the United Kingdom, France, Japan and Germany are the praise of industrialization as an economic means and they are the powerful nations because of their huge industrial capacities. The modern warfare has made industrial capacity a significant factor of military power of the nation. On these days there is a "trade war" between US and other European countries because of that new tariff imposes by US president Donald Trump to the aluminum and steel industries.

As the practical element of hard power military capability is prominent factor. Military power is not national power, nevertheless it is an important part of national power which contributes to its strength and effectiveness. The nation who are trying to achieve the status of major power or super power they are practiced military army with an advanced and technological

armaments. As the example the Russia launch an advanced technological new weapon in Russia's arsenal; the Sarmat intercontinental ballistic missile nicknamed "Satan 2". According to the Russian state news outlet Sputnik, the RS-28 sarmat rocket is capable of wiping out parts of the earth the size of Texas or France. It is one of the example that how to deal the nation with the highest technology towards incensement of the military capabilities as a practical element of the hard power.

Theoretical background of the military capabilities as the theoretical element of the hard power, every nation follows the strategically and advanced war knowledge and they are planning those missions with secretly. War technology, quality of military leadership, quality and quantity of soldiers are more important in here.

When we consider about the theoretical and practical elements of soft power, Ideology has been a main instrument. Ideology is an intangible element of national power, it can be a source of both friendship and enmity in international relations. Ideology helps a nation to influence the exercise of its power. It serves as a source of unity and strength both at home and abroad. Capitalism vs Communism paved the way for the emergence of a cold war between the west and east. It kept the powers of two super power conditioned and limited. So, Ideology has a crucial role related to the global power shift as the theoretical and practical elements of global power shift.

The leadership is another important human element of power. It comes up with the utilization of natural resources, raw materials, man power

resources, technology, industrial capacity, military power and ideology for strengthening the national power of a state is dependent upon the qualities of the leadership that runs the government of the state. Efficient, devoted and mature leadership can be a source of national power as the very practical element of soft power. Based on the leadership nation can develop their power capability as the theoretical and practical ways.

As another practical and theoretical element of the soft power organization and the quality of government is one of the most important aspects. The mere possession of material and human resources cannot lead the national power if the inadequate influence by the organizational structure and the less quality of government. If the country isn't well organized, efficient and effective the national power will be threatened. As the example for decades China (before 1949) remained a weak power because, among other reasons, the central government lacked effective control over major points of the country. Case of France is similar the situation of China. Until De Gaulle took control in France in the year 1958, even political power remained divided among a number of political parties. And Osama bin Laden neither threatened nor paid the men who flew aircraft into the World Trade Center, he had attracted them with his ideas.

National character and Morale are also can be define as the theoretical and practical elements of soft power. National character is a collective name referring to the traits of the people, and aptitude towards work and national needs. They are influences national power in direct ways. Every nation have unique feature characteristics such as Russians are known for their sturdiness, elementary force and persistence. Americans for their

inventiveness initiative and spirit of adventures. Indians for their tolerance, idealism and faith in rich cultural traditions and Chinese for their cosmic un-changeability.

National morale as the example of strong element of soft power, Japan after 1945 the attacked of the nuclear bomb, even if they totally vanished they never thought as the weakened nation as well as in the modern world they can be identified as the industrial and developed country in the world. Diplomacy can be identified as the essential and essence of the soft power which is related to the global power shift. Diplomacy of high quality can bring the ends and means of foreign policy into harmony with the available resources of national power. Who had the strong diplomatic relations with the outside world they are the powerful countries of the world. Even the nation cannot settle the disputes using by hard power they can settle those issues by using diplomacy as a smart tool of soft power.

Apart from the elements of national power, there are something important aspects which is limited the national power as below,

- Balance of Power
- International Law
- International Morality
- World public opinion
- Collective security
- International Organization
- Disarmament and arms control

Interaction between Hard and Soft power related to the global power shift. A coercive approach to international relations and employs the use of military or economic power to achieve certain outcome can be defined as the hard power. And the themes and essence of hard power is coercion, use of force, or provide payment as a means of persuasion. The soft power is always works by influencing how actors define their ends, goals or means and how that they employ to achieve those things. This persuasive approach is applied through cultural, historical or diplomatic means. According to international world order the power position of the nation is not permanent. And it always depends upon their capabilities. In such a case if they are not enough sufficient capabilities to prevent a threat which is come from the outside the actors of the major power are changing of their disability.

From the ancient period the hegemonic power position in the international relation have been always change. Each of the actors are increased their power capabilities and among the rivalry of them one who nation or group of the nation implies as the super or major power in the world order. The changing nature of the hard and soft power is main reason for that one.

Within the last two decades USA, China and other European countries change their power position in the international world order by using different theoretical and practical elements of hard and soft power. When we consider about the 21st global power shift “there are two big power shifts going on in the 21st century, one is among countries, from west to east, and the other one is from governments to nongovernmental actors

regardless whether it is east or west. I call the first of these power transition and the second power diffusion. (Joseph S. Nye, Jr.)

At the colonized period United Kingdom (Britain) could be play a crucial role as the major power of the world. But hereafter the collapse of the British Empire they had to have decolonized their colonial territories. So at that time their geography, natural resources, topography, location and specially economic and military capabilities as well as the national interest were all changed. So, the interaction between soft and hard power actually influenced by the changing situation of the Britain's major power position of the world.

In the 21st century lot of soft power ways are influenced than hard power elements towards achieve the global power position. Even though when we are in the information and technologically superior age these things can be happened influenced by itself. When considering the problem of terrorism, terrorist have military power, but instead use of the military power they use their strong soft power. As the example Osama bin Laden didn't point a gun at the head of the people who flew into the World Trade Center. He did not pay them. He attracted them by using his deepest sounds about Islamism as well as his opinions. Anyone cannot defeat like that problem only using hard power.

“A great power as a country that was able to prevail in war. But we have to go beyond that limited way of thinking about what power means in the 21st century, and see it as much more three dimensional including not only

military power but also economic power and soft power. (Taylor A.J.P, The struggle for mastery of Europe in the 19th century)

From 1945-90 the major powers in the world are USA, Russia, France, UK, Italy, Germany. And they are questionable comparing these states capabilities as major power. In the cold war period Germany did not consider as the major power. But after the cold war period (post-cold war) international actors consider that the Germany as one of the major power in the world.

As we know geography size isn't decide the power position in the world. If the geography size is vast but it's not always define as a major power. As the example, India, Australia they have vast geography size, but they are still not enough as the major power. And if the nation who has an advanced and technological capabilities cannot define it as a major power.

As the example Israel, even it is a small country they have highest military power. But they didn't consider as the major power or super power in the international relations.

When considering the global power shift in various time period USA, China and Russia has been play a greater role as an emerging super powers in the world. They using and practicing different kinds of hard and soft power elements.

In here China using different kinds of soft and hard power elements as an emerging global power in the world to threatening superior power of USA. Some Chinese scholars have written about the America in decline. Once

Russian president Dmitri Medvedev said the financial crisis was the beginning of the end of American power in the world. Since now America has been some economic unstable situation and china increasing her economic political relationship with the outside world.

China has spent billions expanding china central TV's broadcast in English and other languages and opening 450 Confucius institute around the world for teaching Chinese language and culture. Using such kinds of elements China try to build up her image as the super power in the world. China is the world largest country. It has taken advantage of its bountiful labor force to fuel its export-oriented economy. IMF has rated China's ranking to number one economic super power in the world surpassing the United States of America. Therefore, China's economic growth effect on the US economy. China is the largest foreign holder of US treasury bills, bonds and notes. As of June 2017, China owned \$1.14 trillion in treasury.

David dollar stated that China's policy toward, foreign direct investment is highly asymmetric. China is now encouraging its firms to invest abroad in all sectors. According to the organization of economic cooperation and development measure of investment restrictiveness, china is the most closed of major economies. It is significantly less open than other emerging markets such as Brazil, India, Mexico or South Africa. And China has been growing the relationship with the South Asian region also by using different kinds of soft and hard power strategies and power elements.

When considering US respond about this The US as considered the world leader in the soft and hard power.US soft power is complicated system based on US unique history of creation and development. And the most of

nations were attracted by the American culture towards themselves. As the example the number of people who wanted to migrate there and who wear baseball caps, eat American style fast food, listen to American music and watch the Hollywood movies. Apart from these soft power USA using hard power to survive there power position in the world. Before using military force in Iraq and Syria against Islam state the Obama administering utilized soft power to maximize compact of the use of its hard power.

Today US foreign policy is combination of soft and hard power elements. And especially US foreign policy is closely connected with its foreign policy priorities. Trump's victory in 2016 elections turned out to be a serious challenge for US soft power. (McPhillips,2017,O'Sullivan,2017) But as the modern situation USA try to build up the coalition with the North Korea according to the BBC news on 11th of June 2018 the president Donald trump of USA and the North Korean president Kim-Jun were met at Singapore for the summit.

The US Africa command can be seen as an unsuccessful soft power strategy. According to Morrison and Hicks, it was initially set up for three reasons, oil, terrorism and a governed space in Africa and China increased influence in Africa (2007, p. 1) despite these hard power reasons, AFRICOM was sold as a soft power strategy which resulted in the perception of imperialist intention the USA might pursue in Africa (Hack Barth, 2008, pp. 9-10) together with the isochronal Iraq invasion this perception damaged the American soft power.

An example for using smart power is the US American effort to strengthen its influence in Africa Hack Barth (2008, pp. 6-10) define that under the three instruments as,

- The African growth and opportunity act is a program of bilateral trade agreement bound to certain political economic and social reform (*ibid.* pp. 6-7)
- The president emergency plan for AIDS relief is the largest commitment ever by a single nation towards an international health initiative (The president emergency plan for AIDS relief , 2009, p. 1)
- The millennium challenge cooperation is a financial and program based on the principle that aid is most effective when it reinforces good governance, economic freedom, investment in people. (The MCC 2008 cited in Hack Barth, 2008, p. 8)

According to the Mead (2004, p. 51) “The generosity of U.S humanitarian assistance abroad enhances US soft power.” Further considering about the Russian situation of the interaction between hard and soft power Russia is traditionally relies on hard power capabilities. Therefore, they always practice different kinds of practical elements of hard power. But in 2007 the Russkiy Mir Foundation was setup for distribute the Russian language and culture throughout the world as the elements of soft power. And they offer many scholarship programs for the foreign students for instance, in 2014 they offer 15000 scholarships for the foreign students. The improvement of Russia’s image abroad was also mentioned as one of key objectives of major international events, such as the Petersburg Dialogue (since 2001), the Valdai discussion club (since 2004), the 2014 winter

Olympics in Sochi and the 2018 FIFA World Cup.(HSE-MGIMO group, Power in International Politics; Does the World go hard?)

There is a power rivalry among the super powers and other states to become the hegemonic power in the world. Therefore, they used different kind of hard and soft power elements and there's been a strong interaction between them towards the global world.

Conclusion

Power is a complex and contested concept in large part because there are important, but distinctive ways to understand how social relations shape the fates and choices of actors. As the essence of international relations power conclude the combination of some kinds of national economic and military capabilities, sovereignty, foreign policy, democracy, rules and regulations, security etc. Therefore, every concept of the international relation including war, peace and sustainable development are highly based on power.

According to the theoretical approach which are related to the international relation, realism is highly described the interaction of the power in the international relations. In realist theory, Hans Morgenthau (1985) has suggested that the main purpose of international politics is to have national interest that is essentially based on power. And in every time, there had been struggle for power in every means.

According to the Joseph Nye he introduced concept as "power conversion". This approach implies that power is a behavioral factor,

namely aggregation of certain elements directed to affect another actor's behavior.

Power can be defined under the three main assumptions. Mostly it represents decision making process and its results. As the second assumption is called the restrictive face of power which emphasizes the dynamic of non-decision making. And the third is basically affected by institutional perception and traditional processes systematically.

Power is not only about military perception of power. There are some different aspects. Mainly power could be categorized as hard power and soft power. With the combination of these two power processes smart power also exists in the world. The meaning of the term "hard power" can be defined, ranging from economic sanction to the threat and use of military force. All the tangible factors which are included the elements of national power simply they can be identified as the hard power.

The concept of soft power was first introduced by Joseph Nye. He defined soft power as a persuasive approach to international political relations, involving the use of a nation's culture, political values and foreign policies. Soft power is not good or bad in itself. It is not necessarily better to twist minds than twist arms. But it has enough capability to formulate foreign policy and implementation.

In the 21st century most of countries use soft power than hard power. They always believe that fighting with using armaments is not the ultimate goal answer for every problem. Therefore, global power shift was influenced

by these power capabilities and as the combination of these two-power dimension, smart power also effects to the global power shift as the advanced process of the power.

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The political economic dimension of the US's withdrawal from the Paris agreement

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Abstract

Applying qualitative method, this article explains the political economic driving forces behind the US president Donald Trump's decision to withdraw from the Paris Agreement and assesses its economic impacts on China. The most prominent political economic reason for this withdrawal is the domestic political and economic pressures the electoral importance of the regions of the USA where coal industries are concentrated; the economic centrality of that sector to the federal government and the political clout of the domestic groups. The overriding political economic bargaining power of the USA to keep China economically controlled is the next most prominent political economic impact of this withdrawal. In view of this sudden renouncement of the US's climate leadership, this position is ceded to China. However, this leadership is costly: China is still a developing country and there is a higher propensity for China to loss its annual gross domestic product. This article tries to articulate the political economic assumptions to analyze these reasons behind this withdrawal and its impacts on China.

Key words-Climate change, global warming, political economy, America first policy, gross domestic product

Introduction

Climate change is a tentative matter of concern worldwide. The global nature of climate change arises from the fact that irrespective of where on earth greenhouse gases are emitted they are rapidly absorbed into the atmosphere and spread around the globe. (Owen & Hanley, 2004) The consequences of the resulting global climate change, however, are projected to be far from uniform, with some countries expected to suffer far greater adverse impacts than others. In addition, unilateral action by any one country could not alter this situation significantly. It therefore requires concerted remedial cooperative action at the international level to address the problem. Paris Agreement (here in after referred to as “agreement”) on Climate change is the biggest agreement on climate governance that has been drafted so far given its universal membership. Though the United states of America under Obama’s leadership ratified the treaty, the incumbent president Donald trump in June ,2017 announced that the USA wishes to withdraw from the agreement.

This decision received both positive and negative criticisms from domestic and international leaders, organizations, civil society and media (Hai-Bin, Cheng, Lai, & Wang, 2017).At any time after three years from the date on which the agreement has entered into force for a Party, that party may withdraw from the agreement by giving written notification to the Depository (UNFCC, 2015).Hence, as per the agreement, even though America has got four years for its withdrawal to be officially confirmed and in between its intervening interval of four years America is obliged to adhere to the provisions, But, Trump has stressed that the USA would

cease to contribute to its Intended Nationally Determined conditions (INDS) and financial contributions. America being the second largest Green House Gas emitter in the world, next to China (IPCC, 2014) deciding not to give its contribution to emission reduction and mitigation, looms problems in climate governance than solutions. These facts frame the central questions addressed in this research article: What are the political-economic driving forces behind America's decision to withdraw from this agreement and the possible economic burdens which are likely to be impinged on China in view of this USA's unilateral political decision.

Methodology

Secondary qualitative and quantitative data is used throughout this article upon which all the analyses were made. But, a higher weight is given to qualitative data. For qualitative analyses, socio-economic assumptions were used to analyze how the economic instincts of America has shaped up this political decision and China's economic burden given this withdrawal. Since most of the researches have attempted to provide either economic or political analyses to describe the reasons behind the US withdrawal from the Paris agreement, nowhere could be found an analysis done amalgamating economy and politics to describe the reasons and impacts upon which my research questions are based.

Literature Review

After analyzing some qualitative statements made by Stavins(2017),Haas(2017),Kemp(2017), Zhang Hai-Bin(2017) et al. in

their research paper entitled "US withdrawal from the Paris Agreement" has proposed answers to the reasons and aftermaths related with this withdrawal both qualitatively and quantitatively at a more in-depth level. He has proposed a collective approach consisting of China and Europe to lead the global climate governance, given the US's withdrawal. James S. et al (2015) in the book entitled "Choices for America in a turbulent World", has pointed out the impotence of previous climate agreements and how a government-guided decarbonization programme can emphasize rule making and a market-guided decarbonization policy can emphasize Research and development regarding climate mitigation and adaptation methods. Jonathan T. Park (2015) has identified a few anomalies of modern global economic system as to which the modern haphazard trends of consumption has ill-defined the authentic sense of classical liberalism. He has identified the difference between the Smithian projection of a consumer based prosperous economic model and the producer based marginal model exists today which from his own perspective is the back force behind climate change.

Complementary to Jonathan's findings, G.R. Bassiry & Jones (1993) in their research paper entitled "Adam Smith and the Ethics of Contemporary Capitalism", have pointed out the two reasons named concentration of economic resources and the social shift from production to consumption to prove the ethical transformations of classical liberalism to contemporary liberalism by allegorizing America and its stand on climate change. David G. Victor and Charles F. Kennel (2005) had proposed the importance of a bottom-up approach to address these climate related issues and moreover they had substantiated the idea that rather than setting up binding targets

on climate governance, using methods to sharing low-carbon economies through bilateral and multilateral platforms would be successful. As a whole, above analyses are either qualities, quantitative or both and fall short of combining economy to politics as a triggering factor to this issue. With this regard, this research seeks to approach the research questions in a political economic dimension by catering ideas of international political economy.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The political economic reasons behind the US's withdrawal from the Paris agreement President Donald Trump's announcement in his decision to withdraw from the Paris deal in June, says the accord costs America trillions of dollars, killed jobs, and hinders the oil, gas, coal and manufacturing industries. Furthermore, he has stated that he is open to re-engaging in the Paris Agreement if the United States can identify terms that are more favorable to it, its businesses, its workers, its people, and its tax payers. (US submits official withdrawal from Paris Climate Pact, 2017). Moreover, he declared his administration intends to cease all implementations of the nonbinding parts of the Paris Agreement. This includes the goals and actions to reduce emissions outlined in the U.S. Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) as well as any further contributions to the Green Climate Fund. (Trump's exit of Paris Climate Accord strengthens China and Europe, 2017).

These above indications have the active participation of domestic consumers and interest groups of the USA which shape the climatic policies of the USA. To elaborate more, the Trump administration is

closely aligned to fossil fuel industry and the interest groups are an indispensable part of the USA economy. Through a letter written by twenty-two senators of the USA, the president of the USA had been urged to back out from the agreement. These senators have received more than 10 million dollars from coal companies in the USA during the past election cycles. (McCarthy, 2017). The amount of donations to Republicans have exceeded than to Democrats in the 2016 election cycle which means that the fossil fuel industries have powerful influence over the Trump administration and the Republican Party. The federal government's institutional leaders were also divided on this withdrawal, where Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt and chief strategist Stephen Bannon urged withdrawal, the energy secretary Rick Perry favored renegotiation. The clean power plan established under the leadership of Obama in 2015 which was renowned as the strongest action ever taken on climate change by a US president, was also paused through a high court ruling (year) and this earned a few political points for Trump administration from narrow interest groups. (Smith, 2017). He has criticized this clean power rule of Obama as having unnecessary burden on American workers and struggling US coal industry.

What all of these details reveal is the domestic pressure groups' clout on the decision-making process of the federal government. In this scenario, the influence of the business interest groups of Americas is the most imminent factor which insisted the federal government not to abide by the NDCs (Nationally Determined Contributions) of the Paris agreement and abstain from financing developing countries. This is one dimension of political economy where the economic basis of political action force and

mold government policies. The other dimension is the political basis of economic actions, the ways in which government policies affect international market operations. The latter part is discussed in-depth in the third section of this paper by giving light to this withdrawal's influence on China's economy.

Political pressure groups, politicians, and government bureaucrats have at least as much effect on economic outcomes as do the laws of the marketplace. (A.frieden & Lake, 2000).In this closely knitted world, politicians pay close attention to economic tendencies and economic actors keep track of political tendencies' rich picture of this withdrawal can be understood only through an integrated understanding of both political and economic interactions between the federal government and economic interest groups of it,and not through studying the two realms separately. The federal government's decision not to cut emissions 26%-28% by 2025 compared with 2005 levels substantiates that the USA's firms are capable of riding free on their GHG emissions. This decision of government influences the economic trends of the industrial firms and power plants to enhance their productivity without paying attention to the negative externalities of fuel combustion.

According to Frieden J. el al (2000) there are four different perspectives of international political economy namely international political view, international economic view, domestic institutional view and domestic societal view. Among these views the latter two views can be utilized to analyze the political economic inclination of this decision. Here, the domestic institutional view tends to downplay the constraints emanating

both from international system and from domestic interest groups. National policy makers are thus seen as predominant actors in implementing policies. This kind of a tendency could be seen in Obama's ruling of the USA. But Trump's way of taking decisions exhibit the views of domestic societal category where the international constraints on setting up targets for greenhouse gas emissions are minimized and the socio-economic pressures at home are emphasized. President Donald Trump has announced in his decision to withdraw from the Paris deal in June, the accord costs America trillions of dollars, killed jobs, and hinders the oil, gas, coal and manufacturing industries, (US submits official withdrawal from Paris Climate Pact, 2017) which in other words, the domestic social and economic pressures has brainwashed him to turn towards his nation. This could be another dimension of America First policy of president Donald Trump.

As stated above he has given priority to his nation's people and energy industries in taking this decision where he tries to protect the domestic booming coal industries and related jobs from external constraints. Trump believes that according to National Economic Research Associates, cost to the economy by this climate accord is close to \$3 trillion in lost GDP and 6.5 million industrial jobs, while households have \$7,000 less income. (Statement by President Trump on the Paris Climate Accord, 2017). A new political form of American nationalism and a protectionist tendency in terms of protecting domestic coal industries can be witnessed in this regard. Or rather according to realism, the state rationality to weigh costs and benefits and to choose the path which exceeds benefits than costs at the expense of the developing world, can also be witnessed in this move

Impacts on china

America's withdrawal from Paris accord reflects the implicit antagonism between China and the USA where Washington was trying to limit the space for China to thrive economically. The carbon emission space is squeezed for China in this regard. In addition, carbon prices and macroeconomic costs are highly likely to thwart the economy of China. China being the second largest per capita GHG emitter in the world is the next to-be leader in climate governance given the vacuum created by the USA. Sameen though a significant rhetoric is going on as to prospect the benefits China could reap owing to this withdrawal, these benefits are less likely to surpass potential costs on its economy. China is neither well-positioned to single-handedly fill the leadership vacuum left by the USA nor capable of doing so. (Hai-Bin, Cheng, Lai, & Wang, 2017). The incident happened in July, 2018 where the USA raised a substantial tariff on certain Chinese goods clearly manifests the counter-attacking tenor of Washington against Beijing. This move pushes up the price of Chinese goods to make the US-made option more attractive. In this case, Trump is attempting to get companies to use less Chinese-produced goods and opt for items made in the USA or an imported from a friendlier trade ally. (Bryan, 2018). According to the market-clearing equilibrium model, when a price of a market good rises, the demand for that good decreases to match with the intersection of demand and supply curves. (A. Frieden & Lake, 2000). The same scenario happens considering this withdrawal where the increments of carbon prices and resultant price increases of commodities of Chinese goods could reduce the demand for those goods and decrease the GDP of China in the long run. . In 2030, under the 2 degrees Celsius target, the carbon price will increase by 4.4-14.6 US\$ t⁻¹ in China in view of this

withdrawal and under the 2 degrees Celsius target, the GDP loss of China would increase by US\$ 22 -71.1 billion. (Dai-Han-Cheng, Zhang, & Wang, 2017). America is well awarded about these macroeconomic losses on China's economy and this reflects none other than a conflictual zero-sum game initiated by the USA regarding climate change where America's win signals defeat for China.

According to realism, nation-states are always prepared to defend itself to the best of its ability and politics is largely a conflictual zero-sum game. (.Frieden & Lake, 2000)In other words, if one nation is to win, another must lose. When applied this political-economic idea to the victory of the USA on its willingness to ride freely on its carbon emissions, it undoubtedly squeezes China's booming economy.

During the period between World Wars I and II, and especially in the 1930s, almost all European nations and the United States were highly protectionist. In order to get rid of great depression in 1930s most of the western economies including the USA shifted for protectionist policies. The same kind of political demeanor can be seen from the USA's front to solve out this new phenomenon of "climate recession". Protectionism in its real sense is meant for protecting domestic economies from unnecessary overseas competition. Trump's policy deviates from this theoretical connotation where he is trying to form a newer shape of climatic protectionism to protect his country's domestic economy from unnecessary commodity price soars.

For most of the analysts of international political economy, America's global dominance was the principal determinants of Western interests and policies and, in turn, of the liberal international economy. So, any decision taken by the USA affects global political economy. (A.frieden & Lake, 2000) In this view, America's unilateral decision not to abide by any burden imposed by the Paris agreement and its economic impacts on China determines the overriding power of a super power to shift the economic directions of other nations. Moreover, these political economic analysts tend to refer to the internationalization of production and finance and the rise of economic interdependence as responsible for creating vested interests on its players. This speculation gives light to the USA's unilateral reaction at the face of climate change which is a by-product of economic competition and interdependence and the rest of the world's including China's collaborative reaction on this issue. To elaborate more, the USA as usual is striving to defend its economy keeping China at the forefront to bear-up all the economic consequences.

Conclusion

This article explores the political economic aspects of the USA's withdrawal from the Paris accord: the reasons and impacts on China. The most prominent reason which insisted Donald Trump to withdraw from this agreement is the pressure emanated from domestic business groups of the USA. The senators who were said to have received millions of Dollars from coal companies shaped up the decision of the president so as not to go in line with the burdens of the agreement. Moreover, Trump's reiterated rhetoric regarding the articles of the agreement which denoted the

overlapping financial contributions America is obliged to adhere to is the next substantial reason for this withdrawal. In other words, as per these contributions America has to bear up the burden of financial outflow from the country's GDP to that of developing countries, to compensate the historical emissions. Trump, being a man having some business acumen is highly likely to weigh costs and benefits of this agreement and ditch any contribution which outweighs costs than benefits. So, he ditched the agreement claiming that the agreement kills jobs and trillion of Dollars. From this withdrawal, one clear analytic conclusion is that domestic political and economic pressures the electoral importance of the regions of the USA where coal industries are concentrated; the economic centrality of that sector to the federal government and the political clout of the domestic groups have expedited this withdrawal.

China is the next to-be leader to fill up the leadership vacuum created by the USA given its withdrawal from the Paris accord. But, there is a higher propensity for China that this withdrawal squeezes out China's emission space and causes GDP losses in the long run. This, impact from one hand signifies the hegemonic power of the USA to maneuver the economies of its rival powers. In this case, China being the number one booming economy in the world alerts America to create measures to keep China's economy in control or otherwise the economic hegemony of the USA is at stake. So, in view of this withdrawal, China's carbon prices are highly likely to be increased and in turn it causes nearly 22 to 72 billion-dollar losses by 2030. So, this withdrawal takes the shape of a zero-sum game where America gaining extra emission space achieves the victory while having higher propensity for China to lose the game. In political economic

perspective, the overriding political and economic bargaining power and the vested interests of hegemonic powers are capable of controlling the economic and political realms of the rest of the world. In this scenario, USA as usual is striving to defend its economy keeping China at the forefront to bear-up all the economic consequences.

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**Cultural Diplomacy as a means of soft power Strategy:
case of Indian Foreign policy**

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Abstract

Cultural diplomacy plays an important role in Indian foreign policy making and its helps to promote strong linkage with international system. With the pushes of globalization states cannot no longer exist individually in international system. And in the world of interdependence, cultural diplomacy plays a prominent role in foreign policy making activities of countries all over the world. As a part of soft power strategy India recognize the important of cultural diplomacy in promoting national interest of the country as well as to promote itself as the ascendant regional power in the region and global power. In recent years India's leaders have focused on promoting of cultural diplomacy as a foundation to build mutual trust among the neighbor states and international system. Indian diaspora, multicultural ethics, ancient practices like yoga and Indian Ayurveda system, signing of cultural agreements and exchange of cultural programmers were key steps to promote cultural diplomacy by the Indian leaders. This article attempts to highlight the importance of cultural diplomacy and analyses the present dynamics of cultural diplomacy in India a soft power strategy plays an important role in foreign policymaking of India.

Key words: Foreign policy, Globalization, soft power strategy, Cultural diplomacy, National interest

Introduction

Diplomacy is the means by which states throughout the world conduct their affairs in ways to ensure peaceful relations. Due to the changes which occurs in international system like globalization, various new paths diplomacy has been added to the mechanism of diplomacy. In early days' diplomacy was limited to the hard power as the key instrument of foreign policy making and diplomatic practices. But with the introduction of soft power concept in to the diplomatic practice various new alternatives were added to the world of diplomacy parallel with the hard power strategy which use in foreign policy making. The concept of soft power arose with the globalization which refers to the meaning of ability to persuade others to do something without using force or coercion by means of culture, spirituality, music, cinema and political ideologies. The concept first introduced by Joseph Nye and Nye defined soft power as ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion means that it arises as a result of attractiveness of nations ideals, culture and policies. In promoting soft power of a country cultural diplomacy plays an important role and cultural diplomacy means the course of actions which are based on the exchange of ideas, values, traditions and aspects of culture or identity to strengthen the relationships among the states, to enhance socio cultural cooperation, to promote national interest of the states.

Focusing on the importance of cultural diplomacy in the process of foreign policy making, cultural diplomacy can help to promote new thinking pattern to the international system based on knowledge and culture, and directly helps to gather ideologies of different cultures and helps to promote values and image of the countries in the foreign audience and

helps to create the mutual coexistence among the states. Because of that cultural diplomacy plays a prominent role in foreign policy making process.

In the context of India, India is not a neophyte to the term of cultural diplomacy and Indian cultural diplomacy ran up to the history of ancient dynasties. India's image as a "golden bird" "a land of spiritual knowledge and full of natural resources create a wider opportunity to build up cultural relations with other countries in international system. Aggressive foreign policy of ancient leaders like King Asoka, Akbar's foreign policy initiatives and religious expansions like Buddhism and Hinduism have cultivated the roots of cultural diplomacy from the ancient era. And after the independence under the various leader's Indian cultural diplomacy have been reshaped. With the globalization many of the nations around the world have focused their interest on Indian culture including Indian Yoga, Indian cuisine and specially focused on the Bollywood and contemporary art and music. This study attempts to focus on the present scenario of Indian cultural diplomacy and look forward how it affects to foreign policy initiatives of India.

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to emphasize the importance of the effective cultural diplomacy in the foreign policy making activities of India and the article refers to the various institutions and tools which have been used by the Indian government to expand cultural diplomacy and focus on the use of cultural diplomacy for the nation branding mechanism of India. By

using qualitative data which have been gain from the secondary data resources the analysis was done to prove the importance of soft power for the foreign policy making process of a nation.

Literature Review

Diplomacy is the means by which states throughout the world conduct their affairs in ways to ensure peaceful relations. The term of diplomacy is derived from Greek word which means ancient diploma, composed of “Diplo” meaning folded in to two and suffix “ma” meaning an objective. The folded document conferred a privilege often a permit to travel on the bearer and terms come to denote documents through which prince granted such favors.

And diplomacy is establishment of methods of influencing the decisions and behavior of foreign governments and people through dialogue, negotiations and other measures short of war and violence.

According to the Statow ‘s diplomatic practice diplomatic document is the copy of a letter from the mesepothemian kingdom of ebla to the amazi

With the changes in international system the concept of the soft power was introduced to the diplomatic practices. In early practices diplomatic practices mainly focused on the hard power .and later diplomats and policy makers understand the value of soft power for the diplomatic practices as well as the foreign policy making activities. In the present scenario most of the nations in the international system are practiced to used soft power parallel with the hard power in foreign policy making activities. (Giulio, 2011)

The concept of the soft power arose with the globalization which refers to the meaning of ability to persuade others to do something without using force or coercion by using other means of culture, spirituality and political ideologies.

The concept first introduced by Joseph Nye and Nye defined soft power as the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion means that it arise as a result of attractiveness of a nations ideals, culture and policies. (Nye, 2004)

The soft power of a country reset primarily on their resources, its culture, its political values and its foreign policies. When a country 's culture includes universal values and its policies promote values and interest that other share, it increases the probability on obtaining its decisive outcomes because of the relationships of attractions and duty that it creates. (Andrew, 2013)

When promoting soft power of the country cultural diplomacy plays an important role and typically mean as the course of actions which are based on the exchange of ideas values, traditions and other aspects of culture or identity to strengthen the relationships, enhancing socio cultural cooperation among the states in the international system.

When moving to the how India used cultural diplomacy for its foreign policy building, India is not a neophyte to the concept of cultural diplomacy. Indian cultural diplomacy ran up to the history of ancient dynasties. India's image as a golden image as a "golden bird "a land of spiritual knowledge and full of natural resources create a wider opportunity to build up cultural relations with other countries in international system.

Foreign policy of ancient leaders like King Asoka, Akbar's foreign policy initiatives and religious expansions like Buddhism and Hinduism have cultivated the roots of cultural diplomacy from the ancient era. (Burton, 2010)

According to the Arthashastra, Kautilya mentions that diplomatic representatives were sent to the plenipotentiaries and various envoys were engaged in diplomatic activities. According to Deepawamsa and Mahawamsa, Buddhism was introduced into Sri Lanka in the third century BCE after the Third Buddhist Council by Arhanta Mahinda Thero, son of Emperor Ashoka and various envoys were sent to various countries like China, Thailand and many other countries. Among those religious envoys, many of the cultural troops were sent to those countries to promote culture and religion of India. So it's proved that King Asoka used cultural Diplomacy to expand his foreign policy initiatives.

According to the Mahawamsa during the Gupta and Maurya dynasty, many of the universities of India like Taxila and Nalanda were open to the international students.

After the independence, the Indian Council of World Affairs was established in 1943 as a think tank which promotes cultural Diplomacy of the country. The main objective of this council was to promote India's relations with other countries through the educational sector, exchange of cultural ideas and information with other organizations. And India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru's policy towards soft power is also important and under the Nehru's guidance, the Indian Guidance Council for Cultural Relations

was established in 1950. And later Rajiv Gandhi has open up new path for the cultural diplomacy by launching Indian festivals around the world.

With the globalization many of the nations around the world have focused their interest on the Indian culture like Indian yoga, Indian and specially focused Bollywood, music and contemporary arts. Indian Diaspora play an important role in Indian cultural diplomacy and Indian government have been taken several steps to promote Indian diaspora. cultural agreements with various countries like Malaysian 1978, Afghanistan in 1963, Australia in 1993, Bangladesh in 1972, china in 1956, Pakistan in 1988 and Sri Lanka in 1997.

As the key note speaker of the 18th china shanghai international art festival Amarendrakhatu, the new director of Indian council for cultural relation (ICCR) stated that “Cultural diplomacy is poised to play a bigger role in India’s foreign policy calculus in days and months to come and promote Brand India. (Cultural diplomacy poised for a bigger role, to promote Brand India, n.d.)

According the rising soft powers in India popular culture is the greatest untapped resource in cultural diplomacy and when focusing in to India Bollywood and Indian yoga have become most famous instrument of the Indian diplomacy and many of the countries focus on India due to the Bollywood and Indian yoga. (Asghar)

After changing of Indian government under the Prime Minister Narendra Modi many of the changes have been paper in the Indian diplomatic practice. according to Amarendra khatu, director of Indian council for cultural relations he stated that “Both Prime Minister Narendra Modi and

EAM Sushma Swaraj want a streamlined, transparent and efficient working of Indian council for Cultural Relations. He further stated that “Under the new leadership, we are making efforts to promote ‘Brand India’ through emphasis on traditional Indian cultural and scientific mores, yoga, Ayurveda, Sanskrit, Vedas, folk arts and culture, Puranic and historic cultural and philosophical linkages between India and the world,” (www.indiawrites.com, n.d.)

According to Amerendra Khatu “Promotion of soft power adds up to all our diplomatic initiatives as cultural inputs improve people-to-people contact, continuing interaction, academic and other ideas exchange and brand image,”

The last years have seen culture moving to the center-stage of India’s diplomatic outreach, with Indian cultural values and traditions striking a chord across the world. In a landmark achievement, the UN unanimously adopted a resolution declaring June 21 as the International Yoga Day following an inspirational address by Prime Minister Narendra Modi at the United Nations General Assembly in September 2014. Since then, the Yoga Day has been celebrated with passion and panache across key world capitals. (India and the world, n.d.) the article further discussed about the key features and importance of the cultural diplomacy and its importance to the foreign policy decision making activities.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Cultural Diplomacy of India

Importance of cultural diplomacy for a country

Cultural diplomacy which belongs to the track two diplomacy which was known as the non-conventional diplomatic practice mainly focused in the cultural patterns of behaviors of two or more competition groups to find out a common group of dialogue, while presenting culturally sensitive aspects.

Simply cultural diplomacy can be explained as exchange of ideas, information, art and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples to foster mutual understanding. when focusing on importance of cultural diplomacy for a country diplomacy mainly involve in promoting nation's image and values in the foreign audience as well as to promote mutual understandings among the states. Further cultural diplomacy create to decrease the discriminations among the states and helps to forge the friendship among the different nationalities. And also, cultural diplomacy can be further functioned beyond the traditional functioning of the embassy. For the example cultural diplomacy programs expose businessman and investors to the economy of the certain countries. And also, the cultural diplomatic programs which based on the youth community helps to increase the interactions with youth and foreign countries allow a country to have positive impact on the individuals to improve their leadership and diplomatic skills.

Moreover, cultural diplomacy as a means of soft power clear up the misunderstandings ignorance among the respective states and it will be directly effects on the peace-making activities of the states.

Background of Indian Cultural Diplomacy

When moving to the how India used cultural diplomacy for its foreign policy, India is not a neophyte to the concept of cultural diplomacy. Indian cultural diplomacy ran up to the history of ancient dynasties. India's image as a "golden bird" "a land of spiritual knowledge and full of natural resources create a wider opportunity to build up cultural relations with other countries in international system. foreign policy of ancient leaders like King Asoka, Akbar's foreign policy initiatives and religious expansions like Buddhism and Hinduism have cultivated the roots of cultural diplomacy from the ancient era. (Burton, 2010)

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With the globalization many of the nations around the world have focused their interest on the Indian culture like Indian yoga, Indian cuisines and specially focused Bollywood, music and contemporary arts.

Indian Diaspora play an important role in Indian cultural diplomacy and Indian government have been taken several steps to promote Indian diaspora. Cultural agreements with various countries like Malaysia in 1978, Afghanistan in 1963, Australia in 1993, Bangladesh in 1972, China in 1956, Pakistan in 1988 and Sri Lanka in 1997. When focusing on Indian diaspora 30 million of people have been spread across the 120 countries as non-resident Indians and persons of Indian origin helps to promote cultural diplomacy. And another major policy initiative of the spreading of diaspora is the "Pravasi Bharatiya Diwas" which was begun in 2003 held annually in every January.

Cultural diplomacy incorporates activities undertaken by or involving participations such as artist, singers and academics and scientist for the example coke studio musical program been organized to create the mutual understanding among the India and Pakistan. Various cultural festivals also have been established to foster the relationships among the neighbor states of India.

When looking in to the boarder insight of cultural diplomacy of India it includes the educational scholarships, cultural performance and artist performance and exhibitions and festivals abroad. For the examples cooperates libraries with India and other countries may help to develops the India's image in the international system. Presentations of books and musicals instruments to visiting dignitaries and diplomatic missions have been most prominent feature in Indian diplomatic practices.

Indian cinema which was prominently known as the Bollywood has able to spread up Indian culture. And in present scenario it has been able to become global recognition and able become most potent cultural exports. As the above mention India recognize the important of cultural diplomacy in promoting national interest of the country as well as to promote itself as the ascendant regional power.

Present Situation of the Indian Cultural Diplomacy

With the changing of the Indian government in 2014 In under Narendra Modi, Indian prime minister saw the culture as anew path for the Indian diplomatic activities. Best cultural trait which have been projected by

Narendra Modi was the expansion of Buddhist related religious activities during his visits to the different South Asian countries. As the example India hosted for the Buddha Purnima Diwas on 4th of May 2015, which commemorates the birth, enlightenment and Mahaparinirvana of the Lord Buddha. And also, implementation of Buddhist learning and teaching centers in New Delhi is another way of expansion of soft power by the Indian government. Further India took opportunity to promote cultural diplomacy through Buddhism by expanding cultural relations with Nepal, Bhutan, China and Sri Lanka which consist highest Buddhist population. Nalanda University scholarships of Buddhism and implementation of the Jaffna cultural center which was funded by the Indian government were best examples for the above-mentioned fact.

Yoga is also a key asset of the Modi's cultural diplomacy tools. Prime Minister Narendra Modi often talks about the importance of yoga in his speeches during the meetings with the world leaders. Many reporters viewed that Modi discussed the benefits of yoga with US former president Barack Obama over dinner at the White House in 2014. Modi's government won the support from United Nations for the first international Yoga Day which is on 21st of June 2016 and marked an early morning Yoga session with about 30,000 devotees in North Indian city Chandigarh. Millions of participants have been participated for this program including thousands of Australian citizens. From that Prime Minister Narendra Modi has been able to promote India brand through the international day of yoga.

Bollywood as a part of cultural diplomacy which has been won the global recognition and in present Bollywood is a prominent tool of cultural

diplomacy in India. And Indian literature and the music, and language also key elements of the modern cultural diplomacy of the India. And most of the time India practice to use Music Dancing and Bollywood to expand relations with neighbor states for the example coke studio musical program is organized by the musicians of both Indian and Pakistani musicians to expand mutual trust among the two states. And Bollywood also pays massive role regarding the cultural diplomacy because of the Indian cinema most of the states in the international system interested in the Indian culture. And also, Indian Ayurveda system and cuisines have also been able gain up more value to the Indian diplomacy in the present scenarios. As mention above, Indian government promotes soft power strategy through the cultural diplomacy to promote the main goals of countries' national interest than achieving through the hard power strategy.

Conclusion

Cultural diplomacy as a means of soft power plays a prominent role in foreign policy making activities of India. In recent years Indian leaders have been much focused on the soft power initiatives than the hard power because the soft power become most suitable mechanism which can easily create the international interactions with other country .among them cultural diplomacy is most easy and best way to communicate with other states because India fulfill with many cultural values like Yoga, IndianMusic, Indian dancing, literature etc. in the present scenario Indian leaders have been used culture as a diplomatic tool to decrease the discriminations among the neighboring states and to forge inter relations among the states of the international system . the core aim of the Indian

national interest is to become a regional hegemony of the south Asia and India use culture as a diplomatic tool to achieve its national interest goals and objectives rather than moving to the hard power policy

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One Belt One Road initiative and the economic enhancement of China

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Abstract

One belt one road is a strategy which is initiated by china. It is introduced by president Xi Jinping in 2013. OBOR is China's broadly sketch vision of how it plans to develop and cooperate between different countries in Asia, Europe and Africa. According to many scholars Belt Road Initiative is a new type of marshal plan. It is an influential strategy in the contemporary world and through this strategy they wish to enhance their economy. As well through this strategy China hope to provide world peace. The main purpose of this study is to explore implication of One Belt One Road. It also describes the economic, political, social and environmental aspects. This article also identifies the objectives of the OBOR, opportunities and challenges to China. The research takes up a Qualitative approach and to that end up it gathers secondary data particularly, conference proceedings, various documents of government, books, journal articles, magazine articles, and various websites of internet have use to this article. OBOR is an influential factor to the world. China is going to be the challenger of the existing super power through this amazing strategy. Small states must adjust with the changing system and their policies. This study is significant in way of foreign relations and the power status of China in future.

Key words: One Belt One Road, OBOR, BRI, Belt Road Initiative, China, economy

Introduction

The world system is influential and effective phenomenon. Every state pay attention to the contemporary world system and its changes. The nature of the world system is constantly changing. Great nations always compete with each other to stable their position in the international arena. According to the past century, four states rise as great powerful nations. Then world became a multipolar one. The downfall of these great nations gave an opportunity to other nation to emerge as a great power. After the period of the cold war, the world system was changed with the fall of Soviet Union. Since then USA emerged as a super power and world became to the unipolar one. In the contemporary world, it can be identifying that China and India emerging as potential great powers. According to this situation, the world polarity system will change. In the contemporary world, China has gain more attention to be as next emerging super power. President Xi Jinping has a great idea to be a super power by the year of 2050. To fulfill their ambition, it is very useful to have such an amazing plan like OBOR. This strategy merely shows that China is moving from being a power reacting to events, to one that is shape the global system. That means China will influence to the polarity system in the future world. By using OBOR, China will astonish the world.

Therefore, this research focuses firstly attempt to analyzing the ‘One Belt-One Road’ strategy thereby determine the possibilities of China to emerging as a super power in the international arena.

Methodology

This research is entirely based on secondary data collected through previously conducted research, journals, books and web based academic publications. The above-mentioned objectives will be achieved in the light of several theories and concepts, like ‘Realism, classical geographical theory as well as national power concept.

Literature review:

Xi Jinping is the president of China since 2012 and he has great ideas to transform China as a next key player in the international arena. According to that he proposes the grand strategy in year 2013 named ‘One Belt One Road strategy’. The “One Belt, One Road” initiative was included as the focus of the year’s work in the Chinese “Government Work Report” in 2015.

It is important to notice that China engaged with the world in ancient period through the Silk Road and President Xi Jinping proposed a new Silk route through the ocean. Therefore, this grand strategy has two main routes. One is the ancient Silk Road based economic road; it implies from the article of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Commerce as follows,

The Belt and Road run through the continents of Asia, Europe, and Africa, connecting the vibrant East Asia economic circle at one end and developed European economic circle at the other, and encompassing countries with huge potential for economic development. The Silk Road Economic Belt

focuses on bringing together China, Central Asia, Russia and Europe. (affairs, 2015)

As well it has twenty first century maritime silk route. It also describes in previously mentioned report as, the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road is designed to go from China's coast to Europe through the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean in one route, and from China's coast through the South China Sea to the South Pacific in the other. (affairs, 2015)

In an address at the forum's opening ceremony, Xi said his nation would "foster a new type of international relations based on mutual co-operation, coexistence and co-prosperity, there by attempting to lace a check on the existing order that is centered on the United States. (Jinping, 2013)

OBOR is network of power grills, roads, railways and other infrastructural projects. This fact can be identifying according to following statement. With the significant investments under the plan One Belt, One Road, China also intends to compensate for the over-capacity that characterizes many sectors of its industry (steel, aluminum, cement, machinery, turbines, heavy goods vehicles, basic chemicals) by transferring part of the production over-capacity to countries that are along the new Silk Road. (Tamborrino, 2017)

To promote the Silk Road spirit, we need to respect each other's choice of development path. People don't need to wear the same shoes; they should find what suit their feet. Governments don't have to adopt the same model of governance; they should find what benefits their people. (Jaber, 2014)

OBOR is a huge infrastructural project and it is not easy task to fulfill. Therefore, China has to face to much kind of challenges. One of main challenges that China has to face describe by Xiaohua Yin as, a huge amount infrastructure development requires enough time to accomplish. No infrastructure will be effective for economic return before full accomplishment. (Yin, 2018)

Every state which participate to the OBOR initiative are not same. Some states has less requirements and some states has so many requirements for infrastructural developments. Therefore, china has a challenge to collect partners and gain their attention to this strategy. That is also describe by Xiaohua Yin and according to him the infrastructure of OBOR is not enough for bring proper economic benefits from OBOR initiative. The infrastructure of partner countries should be considered during infrastructure development for effectiveness of OBOR initiative. Some advanced countries have no requirement for infrastructure development but some developing countries require enough infrastructure to connect with other partners. (Yin, 2018)

Some states has major disputes and they are not good and favor to the OBOR initiative. That is also a challenge to China and it also can identify in some journal article as follows. Geopolitical challenges are the major challenge for implementation of OBOR initiative. Relationship between India-Pakistan is not good and favor to OBOR initiative. Since China-Pakistan corridor passes through Pakistan controlled Kashmir which is extremely opposed by the Indian government. Dispute between Russia and Ukraine, civil wars in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan are not favorable for

OBOR initiative. Some other partner countries are suffering from political instability, and sanctions, corruption, expropriation and inefficiencies. (Harris, 2018)

States formed strategies to gain much kind of opportunities and those are related to the national security and the national objectives. Therefore, it is important to identify the opportunities which can fulfill national interest. When look at the opportunities as a china' side it can identify some opportunities as follows. The major opportunity that China can gain from the Belt Road initiative is to enhance their economy. New commercial opportunities are led to build with this. This is emphasizing by the China-Britain business council and according to them, UK companies can play an important role by supporting the development and connectivity of China and beyond. Thereby contributing to continue strong and sustainable growth in China while simultaneously benefiting from new commercial opportunities. (China-Britain Business Council, 2017)

They hope to increase not only the economy but also many sectors. According to that council, they believe the potential exists for powerful partnerships between British and Chinese companies, playing to respective strengths. A wide range of business models may be deployed, including; joint partnerships, technology transfer, investment funding, changing supply chains. (China-Britain Business Council, 2017)

Data Presentation and Analysis

China in the world

China is a state with a long history and ancient civilization. The history of the civilization of China is begun along the Yellow River In the Shang era. China is located in the continent of Asia and it covers 9,569,901 square kilometers of land and 27,060 square kilometers of water, making it the fourth largest nation in the world with a total area of 9,596,961 square kilometers. China was founded as a distinct and original nation in 1368. The population of China is 1,343,239,923 (2012) and the nation has a density of 140 people per square kilometer. China shares land borders with 16 countries: Kazakhstan, Russia, North Korea, India, Mongolia, Burma, Vietnam, Hong Kong, Macao, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan, Nepal, Bhutan, Pakistan, and Tajikistan.

China is a state which hopes to enter to the polar system in the year of 2050. To fulfill this ambition, it China has emphasize some significant factors as follows. In the contemporary world, China plays a global role. China is a member of multiple organizations like WTO, BRIC, APEC, G-20 e t c. China has world's largest standing military power and it can be identifying as a nuclear weapons state. It has second largest military budget and they arrange their military sectors with new military equipment. China is playing a key role in financing western countries' economies; this financial and political move may show a new turn in recognizing China as a key world player.

Historical aspect of the enhancement of the Chinese economy

Economy is a main factor that state can visualize their stability and the position in the international arena. Therefore, states with the great ambition to enter to the polar system should try to enhance their economy. In the period of World War, I, China entered a long period of civil war. According to that China divided to two main groups. One party is called as 'Nationalist' and the other one is the 'Communist' party. However, the Communist party won the civil war and the members of the Nationalist escape Taiwan. In 1949 Mao declaimed the People's Republic of China. Under the Mao's period they wanted to eliminate capitalist and it emphasis on property rights, profits and free market. China became isolated state from the world in the period of Mao Zedong. It actually not opens to the world. This Cultural Revolution ended when Mao died in 1976. Then the economy of China was fall in to the crisis and peasants were abounding collective farming, producing food on their own to sell at rural free markets. People throughout privately-owned businesses reduced unemployment, cut prices, increased tax revenues, tamped down social unrests. Then the Deng Xiaoping came in to the leadership as the leader in the communist party. But he had capitalist ideas. He adopted capitalist methods to China's economic growth. as well he legalized private enterprises owned by individuals, partners and shareholders. Then the China's private enterprises became the major component of the socialist market economy. It can be identifying the eastern coastal provinces and cities as a special economic zone. In the contemporary world, China's leadership focus to work with the world and through that they want to fulfill their great ambition and they try to enhance their economy. As a

result of that, China has transformed into world fastest growing economy after the introduction of market based economic reform in 1978 and now china become to the second largest economy in the world.

“China is a sleeping dragon. When it awakes, the world will shake”. This prophetic comment is made by Napoleon Bonaparte regarding China in 1808. It would seem that today China has indeed awoken. China has had unprecedented economic growth at around 9.5% per annum, a statistic even more impressive amazing bearing in mind that only in 1978 China was poorer than Korea and Taiwan were in the 1960s. China also shows signs of extending its economic reach and is expanding its ventures into developed states. To enhance their economy china, use different strategies like string of pearls. When we look at in the contemporary situation of china, it can identify the China introduced a new influential strategy named ‘One Belt One Road Initiative’. Now china opened to the world than ever before.

One Belt One road initiative and economic aspects:

One Belt One Road is a grand strategy introduced by Chinese president Xi Jinping in 2013. It is a silk road based economic programme. OBOR initiative is totally not a modern initiative. In the ancient time of period people used silk route to connect with the world. President Xi Jinping proposed a new silk route apart from the ancient Silk Road and it named as a 21st century maritime silk route. Therefore, this strategy is initiating through the two major silk routes. It comprises about 65 countries and 900 projects with an investment volume of 850 billion dollars. The aim of the OBOR is to connect Asia, Europe and Africa through strengthening

partnerships among the countries. OBOR is a network of power grids, ports, oil pipe lines, air ports, railway, bridge and many other infrastructural projects. This strategy is very special. Because it is not a programme which hopes to add another state forcefully to this plan. Every state joins to this plan as a result of the benefits. Therefore, OBOR is a volunteer program, never force any poor country to join in. it is equal business good for everyone's income growth.

The vision of OBOR is to connect the people over the world in terms of political dimensions, economic dimensions and cultural dimensions. The major goals of OBOR initiative are achieving policy coordination among partners, building infrastructure for improving connectivity, promoting trades, motivating financial integration and improving relationships among the people of partner countries. Policy coordination also requires agreement between partners particularly free trade agreement in terms of custom, approval and inspection management. The OBOR initiative already focuses on missing links in existing routes of transportation, port facilities, high quality railways, airways and sea ways, pipeline of oil and gas and telecommunication for enhancing connectivity among partner countries. The Silk Road economic belt connects China to central Asia, Russia, central Asia and west Asia through Gulf

Mediterranean Sea and China to Southeast Asia and south Asia through Indian Ocean. On the other hand, the 21st Century maritime Silk Road connects china to Europe and Africa through South China Sea and Indian Ocean.

According to China dream, by 2020, china's GDP and per capita income for urban and rural residents will double the 2010 figures, and building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects will be accomplished. By the mid-21st century, China will be turned into a modern, prosperous, strong, democratic, culturally advanced and harmonious socialist country. They hope to use this amazing strategic plan to fulfill their above goals. As well china hope to do this by using the win-win method. That's means every parties who participate to this strategic plan will obtain mutual benefits.

As well China can maintain good will in the political economic sectors with other states in the world. It is very important to maintain good will with every state, as a state which has a great ambition as next super power in the international arena and as a state which initiate such a grand strategy. As a result of this strategy, China can connect with so many states. From that they can provide diplomatic relations with each state. As well they can decrease disputes with nations and connect with the world with peaceful ways. This can emphasize from the speech of president xi jinping as a key note speaker introduced this grand strategy as follows,

“First we should build the Belt and Road into a road for peace. Ancient silk routes thrived in times of peace, but lost vigor in times of war. The pursuit of the Belt and road initiative requires a peaceful and stable environment.” (Jinping, 2013)

To initiate this amazing strategy, it is important to provide good will with every state. To provide that china should give freedom to other states to

take their own decisions. As a result of that China can success their future targets through this amazing strategy.

This strategic plan is an opportunity to China to enhance their economy towards the world. China invests to this plan \$3 trillion and because of this China can internationalize renminbi. Not only that, this strategy is a way to find up the friendly relations with each state. That is help to promote world peace. As well it promotes the global partnership and that is very important to develop the economy of every state. Implementation of this roadmap will require the development of global partnerships, such as those envisaged in the Belt and Road initiative. Support from both public and private sector investment will be required for sustainable infrastructure.

According to my point of view this strategy is a good answer for the terrorism. OBOR is a project that world will become to new types of relations. According to that the states can promote their friendly relations and it is a big opportunity to decrease disputes especially as terrorism.

OBOR is a huge financial programme and major financiers can divide in to two major groups as financiers of Chinese companies and financiers of projects in BRI countries. Financiers of Chinese companies are the Chinese policy bank which China Development Bank and the Export- Import Bank of China and the Silk Road fund which established in 2014 with USD 40 billion of initial total capital. Financiers of projects in BRI countries can divide in to two major groups. The first one is the Asian Infrastructure Development Bank (AIIB). That was established in 2015 with USD 100

billion of initial total capital. Other one is the New Development Bank which is established in 2014 by the BRIC countries.

Challenges Related to Implementation of OBOR

This strategy is amazing. But China has to face much kind of challenges. OBOR is a huge infrastructural project and it is not easy task to fulfill. Therefore, that is one of challenges that China has to face a huge amount infrastructure development requires enough time to accomplish. No infrastructure will be effective for economic return before full accomplishment.

As well, the geography and topography of all partner countries are not same. It is very difficult to make smooth transportation way connecting high topography to low topographical region. Long distance, high and low topography, densely forest areas and High Mountain should be considered during planning and construction of land routes.

It is very important to get social interest to initiate that kind of strategy. It is not only about the domestic interest, but also the other countries interests. It is one of challenges that china has to gain. Last year, the state lender China Development Bank granted loans totaled to \$160 billion to countries involved in the belt road initiative. President Xi Jinping has also announced China's commitment to spend \$900bn to fund the initiative that involves building ports and railways in Africa and Asia. However, most of these countries are low-income economies and thus making a profit return is a slow process. Chinese people will question and in fact, are asking who is paying for the bill and if China is subsidizing development projects in

those countries, why aren't the government doing so in China. The high economic boom of China in the late 80s to early 2000s has created a huge inequality, and many provinces are still live below the poverty line. Social unrest and protests of the inner China have become more frequent and their dissatisfaction will be exacerbated if Chinese people do not see themselves benefiting or even losing out on these foreign projects.

Apart from that some states has major disputes and they are not good and favor to the OBOR initiative. Geopolitical challenges are the major challenge for implementation of OBOR initiative. Relationship between India-Pakistan is not good and favor to OBOR initiative. Since China-Pakistan corridor passes through Pakistan controlled Kashmir which is extremely opposed by the Indian government. Dispute between Russia and Ukraine, civil wars in Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan are not favorable for OBOR initiative. Some other partner countries are suffering from political instability, and sanctions, corruption, expropriation and inefficiencies.

Opportunities Related to Implementation of OBOR

There are so many opportunities China and other participation countries can obtain through this strategy. States formed strategies to gain much kind of opportunities and those are related to the national security and the national objectives. Therefore, it is important to identify the opportunities which can fulfill national interest. When look at the opportunities as a china' side it can identify some opportunities as follows. The major opportunity that China can gain from the Belt Road initiative is to enhance their economy. New commercial opportunities are led to build with this. This is emphasizing by the China-Britain business council and according

to them, UK companies can play an important role by supporting the development and connectivity of China and beyond. Thereby contributing to continue strong and sustainable growth in China while simultaneously benefiting from new commercial opportunities. As well, developing a new opportunity for China to partner and co-operate with the various countries along the routes, many of which are developing countries. It increased integration, connectivity and economic development along both routes.

They hope to increase not only the economy but also many sectors. According to that council, they believe the potential exists for powerful partnerships between British and Chinese companies, playing to respective strengths. A wide range of business models may be deployed, including; joint partnerships, technology transfer, investment funding, changing supply chains.

When we look at the private sector, it also can get more opportunities from the OBOR initiative. Chinese POEs are typically most active abroad when growth slows at home and as they look for alternative markets for either sales or margin growth. The BRI region's demand for smart phones is huge Chinese smart phone manufacturers are leading the charge abroad as the BRI moves quickly to mobile technologies and the cost of Chinese products falls sharply.

When it focusses on the Chinese equipment suppliers, Chinese equipment manufacturers are already exporting to BRI markets. They will benefit as more Chinese SOEs go abroad and bring their supply-chains with them. Chinese property developers should be major winner's Chinese developers

are able to build at scale and low cost in challenging markets. They will increasingly compete in the BRI region with firms such as Dubai's Emaar.

BRI will encourage factories to shift offshore, Factories are already moving at the margin to escape higher costs. More may follow if only to serve domestic markets. But most will retain large capacity in China.

Data Presentation and analysis

- China is a state with second largest and the fastest economic growth state in the world.

- President Xi Jinping proposed a grand strategy named One Belt One Road in 2013.

- The Chinese government announced pledges of over \$100 billion in Chinese investment to support their new "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) program. Some analysts anticipate that this investment could increase to over \$1.4 trillion in Chinese funds. This ambitious investment would bolster China's economic and geopolitical strategy to link together continental Asia and Europe.

- The One Belt, One Road initiative appears to be a combination of geopolitical, economic, and military strategy put forward by Chinese President Xi Jinping to achieve multiple Chinese aims.

- OBOR will help China's national security because the government believes it faces an internal threat from the Muslim-majority Xinjiang region. By linking Xinjiang to eastern China, it will both encourage economic growth and migration of ethnic Han Chinese to the region.

- The mark of a global superpower is the ability to shape geopolitics through long-term strategies lasting decades. If it is sustained, the One Belt, One Road strategy shows that China is moving from being a power reacting to events, to one that is trying to shape the global system.

Conclusion

China's wielding of this economic statecraft strategy derives from several collocations. On the political front, since late 2012, President Xi has been promoting the 'Chinese dream', involving the 'great revival of the Chinese nation'. Such revival requires a restored global position and identity for China. Earlier iterations of OBOR involved the catch-phrases 'common development' and 'win-win cooperation' to characterize the relations between China's development and that of its neighbours. China also promoted a 'China-ASEAN community of shared destiny'. But these smaller initiatives have burgeoned into the Eurasia-wide OBOR, bringing into play the PRC's massive capital reserves both state and private achieved through 40 years of rapid economic growth, and offering an outlet for the vast excess production capacities which exist today in China. Regardless of the credence which one assigns to the various interpretations of the OBOR initiative, progress thus far makes it clear that as Australia

becomes increasingly tied economically with China, there is a need to maintain a close watch on the progress of the OBOR initiative globally. It also suggests that Australia needs to adopt a more economically and strategically prudent attitude in determining how the Australia-China economic relationship is to further develop.

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Reparations in Transitional Justice; and its relevance to

Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Reparation refers to compensations which are given for an abuse or injury. Now reparation refers not just war damages, it means compensation and other measures provided to victims of severe human rights violations by the parties responsible. The United Nations has been secured the right of a victim to receive the reparations and the duty of the responsible parties to compensate to the victims. In transitional Justice reparations are measures which taken by the state to redress gross violations of human rights law or humanitarian law through some form of compensation or restitution to the victims. Transitional Justice attempts to address the large scale of human rights abuses through various judicial or non-judicial procedures and provide remedy to the victims. And reparations must be employed alongside other transitional justice measures such as prosecutions, truth seeking, and institutional reform. Because such mechanisms ensure that compensatory measures are not empty promises, temporary stopgap measures or it is not an attempt to buy the silence of victims. The main objective of this research paper is to examine what is the reparations means in the context of transitional justice and to explain the current condition of the Sri Lankan reparation process. This research is a qualitative research and was done with the assistance of relevant administrative bodies. This paper encourages the use of reparation for the reconciliation process of the post war period in Sri Lanka.

Key words: Transitional justice, Sri Lanka. Human rights law

Introduction

Meaning of the reparations has been changed over the last century. In the early 1900s, reparations were punitive exchanges among the states. In this context, the surrendering side of a conflict should compensate to other country based on the treaties among them. For instance, in the First World War reparations paid by Germany and its allies. But reparations ruined the German economy and didn't result in reparations to individual victims. Therefore, it wasn't a support to solve world issues. So, the world tends to take a different approach to reparations to establish reconciliation in the post-war period. With the emergence of international organizations such as United Nations the meaning of the reparations has changed into an effective remedy for victims of serious human rights violations rather than mere compensation for the war damages.

In transitional justice reparations are unique, because they directly address the situation of the victims. Well-designed reparations should acknowledge the victim's suffering, offer measures of redress, as well as provide some form of compensation for the victims. In the context of transitional justice, post conflict period is the most problematic era of a state. For instance, in Sri Lanka many issues were emerged, such as allegations of war crimes, isolation in the international community, ethnic conflicts etc. To provide answers for the accusations, Sri Lanka had to cosponsored to the 30/1 resolution of the Human Rights Council, in October 2015. Under the resolution government of Sri Lanka undertakes many efforts to provide reparations to the victims of the civil war. These include land restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, memorialization etc.

The reason is to heal the wounds of the victims which were remained by the civil war. The only cure which can heal the souls of those victims is reparations. Through the reparations those victims can better process their past and to be harmonized as a nation.

In addition to Sri Lanka throughout the world reparations have been provided based on the process of listening to victims, acknowledging wrongdoing, and recognizing the consequences of the violations committed. As a final result of reparations, we can lose hostility and can go forward as a stable nation.

Methodology

This is a qualitative desk study which attempts to understand the meaning of reparations in the context of transitional justice and to explain the current condition of the Sri Lankan reparation process. This study is based on secondary data and main sources of data collection include books, journals, websites etc.

Literature review

Magarrell, Lisa in her book "Reparations in Theory and Practice" has mentioned there are several types of reparations. All these types have based on two components of legal concept; those are the right of a victim of an injury to receive reparation, and the duty of the party responsible for the injury to provide a remedy. Individuals can seek reparations through judicial system or they can be administrative policies introduced by the government to redress the concerns of the victims. The second strategy is

often the more efficient way to recognize concerns of more people rather than the first strategy. According to the United Nations Basic Principles and guidelines on the Rights to a remedy and reparation for Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law, there are five categories of reparations. First one is the restitution. This refers to measures which help to restore the victim to the original situation before the gross violation occurred. This can include restoration of liberty, family life and citizenship, return of one's place of residence, restoration of employ and return of property. In the case of Bosnian restitution, this included 200,000 claimed homes, supporting the return of about half of those displaced by the conflict and restoring an important economic asset to those who chose not to return. This was included in Coates, "The Case for Reparations".

According to ICTJ's research the second one is compensation for the damages. Under this, compensation is provided for any economically assessable damage, considering gravity and the circumstances of each case. Such damages can be physical or mental harm, lost opportunities, moral damage, material damages and loss of earnings, cost of legal, medical, psychological and social services. "Argentina, Chile or even South Africa to the more recent transitions in Sierra Leone, Timor-Leste, Morocco, Peru and Nepal. All of these countries have tried to respond to the unique needs of specific groups of victims, such as the families of the disappeared, or have offered benefits across several categories of victims, such as compensation for torture, killing, or sexual violence."

Sahana in her research Issue Brief Women in Conflict Mediation: Why it Matters – (2013) has explained on rehabilitation. Rehabilitation is the third

type of reparations. Rehabilitation can be provided by giving medical assistance, psychological, social services and legal assistance. In Sri Lanka, Rehabilitation of child soldiers has three stages, those are Disarmament, demobilization, Reintegration.

According to Bickford Satisfaction is another category of reparations. This includes various measures for the cessation of human rights violations and abuses such as truth seeking, searches for the disappeared, recovery and reburial of remains, judicial and administrative sanctions, public apologies, commemoration and memorialization. The National Day of Commemoration, Iranian Annual Commemoration of the Iran-Iraq war. Magarrell, Lisa in her book "Reparations in Theory and Practice" has explained on Guarantees of non-repetition. This refers to the reforms which ensure the prevention of future abuses. This includes civilian control of the military and security forces, strengthening an independent judiciary, protection of civil service and human rights workers, the overall promotion of human rights standards and the set up a mechanism to prevent and monitor social conflict and conflict resolution. In Africa, ICTJ recently offered their recommendations to the Ugandan government's Justice, Law and Order Sector (JLOS) on institutional reforms, now ICTJ and Uganda working on how a national reparations policy can begin to be implemented.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Who receives the reparations?

The most important point we should focus on is, who have right to receive reparations. In the context of transitional justice, victims of violations of

International Human Rights Law and Humanitarian Law have the right to receive sufficient, effective and prompt reparation. In this case victim can be individuals or a collective group who suffered similar violations.

Such victims, has defined by the UN Basic Principles as below,

“Persons who individually or collectively suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss, or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that constitute gross violations of international human rights law, or serious violations of international humanitarian law... the immediate family or dependants of the direct victim and persons who have suffered harm in intervening to assist victims in distress or to prevent victimization’’. (Magarrell,2007)

Who provides reparations?

The next thing is who provides the reparations. The state is the authority which responsible for ensuring the protection of the citizens. Therefore, the state is the one which responsible for providing redress for abuses and injustices suffered by their citizens. And also, UN basic principles have stated that if a person or entity can be found liable for the violations, in such situation that party is responsible for providing reparations either directly to the victim or to the state.

Who provides reparations and who receives reparations have described in several human rights and humanitarian treaties and conventions, such as The Universal Declaration of Human Rights-Article 8,The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights-Article 2,The International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination-

Article 6,The United Nations Convention against Torture -Article 14,The Convention on the Rights of the Child-Article 39,The Hague Conventions respecting the Laws and Customs of War on Land-Article 3,Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts -Article 91,The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court-Article 78 and 75. (Coates,2018)

Reparations efforts around the world

We can find many examples of reparations programs in the world. Canada for more than 100 years removed indigenous children from their families and placed them in the church-run Indian Residential schools, and prohibited the native languages and cultural practices, because the Canadian government wanted to homogenize Canadian society. In 1991, the Canadian government set up the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. It explored the relationship between aboriginal peoples, the government and society. According to the recommendations of commission the government symbolically issued a statement of apology, known as “Statement of Reconciliation “. And admitted that government has violated the fundamental rights of indigenous people. And also, Pope Benedict XIV issued an apology behalf on church members who are responsible for the case. In addition, the government provided \$350 million fund to help to indigenous people. In 2006 the federal government signed the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement and agreed to provide the reparations for the victims. The total amount of the reparation program is CAN\$2 billion including financial compensation, a truth commission, and support services.

In 1990, Chile's newly elected president Patricio Aylwin set up the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate the human rights violations during the period of General Augusto Pinochet's (1973-1990). The commission investigated many crimes such as disappearances, political executions and torture. The commission published the Rettig Report including their findings in 1991. Afterwards the National Corporation for Reparations and Reconciliation recommended reparations for the victims including monthly pensions, education benefits for the children of disappeared, exemption from the military service, priority access to health services. But some complained that there were many weaknesses in the reparation program, such as the failure to recognize victims of torture who are suitable to receive reparations. And some said government used reparations to hide the real criminals of the crime.

We can find another example from Morocco. During the period between 1960-1990 referred as "years of lead". During this period there were massive human rights violations were occurred in Morocco. Such as political oppression, executions, torture etc. In 1990 King Mohammed VI set up the Independent Arbitration Commission to compensate to the victims. The commission investigated more than 1500 cases and awarded a total of US\$100 million, but some accused about lack of transparency in the tribunal's procedures and demanded truth seeking measures in addition to financial compensation.

In addition to these reparations programs there are many reparations programs have been proposed and implemented in Argentina, Brazil, Cambodia, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, East Timor, El

Salvador, Germany, Ghana, Guatemala, Haiti, Iraq, Malawi, Liberia, South Africa, Kenya, the United States etc.

Reparations in Sri Lanka

As Sri Lankans we all live in a post-war period. Under the 30/1 resolution of UN, Sri Lankan government taking many efforts towards the reconciliation process. So, there are many reparations programs implement in Sri Lanka to provide a sufficient remedy for the victims of the civil war. The history of the reparations programs in Sri Lanka goes beyond the civil war period. After the ethnic riot in 1983 Sri Lankan government created a special organization named “REPPIA” the Rehabilitation of Prison, Properties and Industries Authority under the act of parliament no.29 of 1987. REPPIA provide financial assistance for the rehabilitation of persons, properties and industries. Any affected person in all 25 districts of Sri Lanka is entitled to get his rehabilitation assistance in the form of compensation and loans (REPPIA,2018). The affected person could obtain his assistance as per the damages, destruction or loss estimated by the relevant authorities. REPPIA acts a huge role in the reparations process of the post war period. But in reality, REPPIA is a relief program. It is not undertaken to recognize the wrong against victims, but to provide support. They provide housing grant under unified assistance scheme for affected or resettles due to war or terrorism. And provide self-employment loan for war affected widows and others, provide payment of compensation for damaged or destroyed properties of the victims of war. They implement special programs for the welfare of the affected persons and for the displaced families, gives a huge contribution for the establishment of

resettlement of the model villages for the displaced affected families and assist war affected orphan children and widows. (REPPIA,2018)

But international experts say that REPPIA is not enough to provide reparations for the victims of war. Therefore, Sri Lanka should be established an office of reparations as pledged under the 30/1 resolution. The government of Sri Lanka has already committed to creating Commission on Truth, Justice, Reconciliation and Non-Recurrence and an office for Reparations. These mechanisms will provide a structure for a program of administrative reparations need to be implemented in the future. And the government can make a national policy on reparations based on the recommendations of the commission. (Thiyagarajah, 2016)

Restitution and compensation may be awarded through a judicial process. But most of the time victims don't tend to choose a judicial process, because it tends to be onerous and exceedingly long. But through the passed office on Reparations by the Parliament victims can solve their problems and can be received a remedy easily. Payments of restitution and compensation should be given together with judicial accountability and apologies. Otherwise victims may define compensation as a bribe which use to buy their silence. As a measure of restitution lands occupied by the military should be returned. Current government has been releasing the lands of war affected areas. By 1st of December 2017, the army has released a total of 55,510.58 acres of private and state land in Jaffna, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu, Mannar and Vavuniya in the Northern Province, in addition 133.34 acres has released on 28th of December 2017 in Keppapilavu. (REPPIA,2018)

The office for National Unity and Reconciliation (ONUR) is already working on conflict transformation programs to resolve socio-economic

issues in the post war period. Still there is no health program of Health ministry to provide public health service and mental rehabilitative services to conflict survivors. If proposed office on Reparations could work with Health Ministry to rehabilitate victims properly it will be a great help for the reconciliation process.

Victim groups and civil society in North and East of Sri Lanka have indicated that the public apologies and acknowledgment will be valuable to transitional and rehabilitation process. And also, memorialization can be healed the wounds of the victims. There are state sponsored memorials in Sri Lanka. Such as Elephant pass memorial, Puthukudiyiruppu war museum memorial in Mullaitivu and the statues of Batteramulla. But this memorial are considered hurtful for the victims, and were not built in consultation with them. They are not part of the solution but the problem. In addition, the Herstories project, the community Memorialization project are important. But in here Tamil people say that they want to commemorate their relatives. (Hettiarachchi,2016) But LTTE is a forbidden terrorist group. So, it is not allowed to commemorate them. So Tamil people try to celebrate Maaveerar Day to commemorate the former LTTE carders. This creates a social tension throughout the South of the country. So, this is a practical problem which government facing in the reparations process. Therefore, present government has allowed Tamil people to commemorate their relatives without the symbols of LTTE.

Conclusion

Even though reparations programs have been implemented throughout the world. There are common potential problems in those programs. Especially when defining the objectives, goals and the whole process these problems can be emerged. With the financial strength of some countries it is difficult to compensate properly. Especially in estimating the abuses and covering the whole group of the victims, such problems could be impact on the procedure.

And nowadays reparations programs have been critiqued for ignoring the needs of women in the transitional justice process. Therefore, some feminist groups have taken some noteworthy efforts such as “Nairobi Declaration on Women’s and Girl’s Right to a Remedy and Reparations.” In this declarations state that reparations should be focused beyond the immediate cases and consequences of the violations, they must aim to address the political and structural inequalities that effect on women’s lives (ICTJ 2007). On the other hand, children always have been excluded from the reparations process. Because reparations often give to the hands of parents and are only indirectly given to children. And reparations programs don’t take to their accounts that children and adults are affected violence differently. Even though there are some weaknesses of reparations programs it provides a huge contribution to the reconciliation process.

In the context of Sri Lanka, we can’t be satisfied with the current situation. For the efforts of non-recurrence, Sri Lankan government should bring institutional reforms, credible judicial system and successful truth-seeking process. However, including all these components Sri Lanka can create an

effective reparations program. For this process many NGOs, institutions and civil society have contributed in many ways. For instance, International Organization for Migration, Search for Common Ground, International Committee of the Red Cross etc. But in the reparations process Sri Lankan government has to struggle with many issues. Such as misconceptions on reparations, lack of awareness of the public, lack of efficiency of judicial process and financial problems. Even though Government has been committing provide reparations to fulfil the pledges in 30/1 resolution, the problem is government's commitment is not sufficient to solve these issues. If government could act strategically to provide reparations, reconciliation process will be more realistic in the future.

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Experimenting Federalism in Sri Lanka.

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Abstract

The state of Sri Lanka has been fought a civil war for several decades. After gaining independence, Sri Lanka had to face ethno-racial issues. Because of that Federalism has long been advocated as a mean of resolving the ethnic issues and unbalanced development in Sri Lanka, as the unitary system caused for the disparity among the people. Federalism has proposed as a method of sharing power among the ethnic communities in the country. However, government has been reluctant to implement a solution and it has been caused several severe problems in the society. The term federalism has been often misinterpreted and distorted by the politicians. Therefore, the objective of this research is to discuss the suitability of applying federalism in Sri Lanka as a solution for the ethnic issue and how the minorities had been suppressed by the majority by neglecting their demands for these self-determinations. This article is largely based on the research articles which has been published earlier. Using those published data, careful assessment has been done regarding the need of federalism in Sri Lanka. The research findings manifest that although the federalism has adopted, and the autonomy has been granted for the regions, it will not be affected for the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka. This request of minorities is a hardest thing to grant, but if that can be achieved, its results will be benefited to all the Sri Lankans to live without any fear.

Key words: federalism, autonomy, sovereignty, territorial integrity, ethnic

Introduction

Sri Lanka has been experiencing ethnic problems consequently among the communities for more than three decades. It has been led to a mass destruction and loss of both human and physical resources. Because of that even though the civil war is over, Sri Lanka had to face allegations of human rights violations constantly from the international. At present, there are discussions about how to prevent another ethnic crisis or racial discriminations. This is a discussion that all the levels; national and international, should focus on. Many political scholars have recognized federalism as one of the major alternative solutions for resolving this problem. Federalism has been suggested as the best option of resolve all the problems Sri Lanka is facing now, because as a unitary state Sri Lanka is failing to resolve the ethnic issues and unbalanced developmental so. In Sri Lanka the western province dominates over the other 08 provinces. Despite declining regional disparity Western province continues to contribute most to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) contributing 42% of the GDP while the second highest the Southern Province only represents 10.8% of the GDP while Uva and Northern provinces representing the least with 5% and 3.6% respectively. Other provinces also have trouble attracting capitals. This has resulted in calls for the abolishing of the unitary system and powers being devolved. (Anon., 2017) according to the discussions held recently political heads of Sri Lanka has been agreed to use federalism as a tool to prevent ethnic issues from now on. Especially the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka is under represented despite being the majority in the Northern Province. This also led to a civil war between the government and Tamil nationalist militants. After the end of the war

Northern Province shares the troubles of finding funds to rebuild damaged infrastructure and as a result of provincial governments being unable to finance the reconstruction of destroyed factories and damaged infrastructure to create employment. Federalism has been proposed as a method for sharing power. (Anon., 2017) According to Kelemen R. Daniel federalism can be defined as an institutional arrangement in which,

(a) public authority is divided between state governments and a central government,

(b) each level of government has some issues on which it makes final decisions, and

(c) a high federal court adjudicates disputes concerning federalism.

According to Hueglin and Fenna, in a federal system of government, sovereignty is shared, and powers divided between two or more levels of government each of which enjoys a direct relationship with the people. Basically "federalism" is a system of government in which sovereignty is constitutionally divided between a central governing authority and constituent political units (such as states or provinces). Though it is 10 years after the Sri Lankan Tamil militants was defeated, still the government failed to place a meaningful and stable solution to the satisfaction of the Tamils and other minority groups as well as the international community. Because of these issues there are other ethnic issues have been establishing. Recent incidents with Muslims in Digana and Beruwala area are examples for this escalating issue. In this paper author is trying to discuss the benefits of federalism as a beneficial solution for the current situation in Sri Lanka.

Literature Review

One of the biggest challenges facing Sri Lanka is managing relations between its two largest ethnic groups: the (predominantly Buddhist) Sinhalese majority, and the (predominantly Hindu) Ceylon Tamil minority. The problem in Sri Lanka has been characterized as the strong commitment of the Sinhalese majority to the ideal of a unitary nation-state, and the equally strong commitment of the Tamil minority to the ideal of national self-determination. (Edirisinha, 2015) Granting the recognition for basic rights of a person does not mean that it conceded all the demands of the minority, it only means the willingness to share the power in a civilized manner. According to the Author of the article, “Experimenting Federalism in Sri Lanka”, Ayathuray Rajasingam (2014) recognition of the fundamental rights of the ethnic community is only possible through the incorporation of the obligations in the Constitution. Such obligations on the part of the central government towards the Units and the obligations of the Units toward the Central Government can only be found in Federal constitutions.

Further he describes that, it signals the expansion of democracy. It is these obligations which symbolize as constitutional guarantees which will ensure the people of each Province some sense of security. In a democratic country; specially a developing countrylike Sri Lanka with all the plural societies it has, self-determination is the most important thing that a country can granted to a person who lives in that country. According to Ayathuray Rajasingam (2014) any fear that such obligations (federalism)

would lead to separation is totally baseless and groundless. Mention should be made that the right of self-determination as expressed by the Sri Lanka ruling politicians had been misinterpreted as conceding to the demands of the Tamil community. The Thimphu Declaration of 1985 and the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace accord endorse the right to self-determination. (Rajasingam,2014) So, basically if the people want the freedom, government should be able to grant it without holding the power. Throughout the troubled history of modern Sri Lanka, federal and quasi federal solutions have been central to the constitutional debate on the resolution of the conflict in the north east. Although ethnic minorities in Sri Lanka were unreconciled to the constitutional arrangements in the time of transfer of political power in 1948 from Britain to Sri Lanka, few expected that majority rule would be so quickly followed by discriminatory legislative measures. (Oberst,1988) These legislative measures, such as citizenship law led to the formation of ethnically based Tamil parties. Those Tamil parties urged the creation of a federal constitution. But the government was reluctant to adopt the policy until now.

Methodology

The methodology of this article is based on the research objectives. Research objectives focused on the acquisition of knowledge regarding the forming a federal government in Sri Lanka to prevent the escalation of another civil war because of the ethno-racial issues. Debate about the federalization has been begun in the recently and the politicians are misinterpreting the demands of Tamils because of the corrupted party

politics in Sri Lanka. So, the direct aim of this article is to clear the distorted public opinion about the federalization. To achieve this aim, the researcher had used the secondary data available on the accessible media (especially in the internet) in order to collect sufficient and accurate data with regard to the research topic.

Data Presentation and Analysis

According to the accessible data that the researcher used it was clear that this is a problem, which its roots spreads to the ‘The Ceylon Citizenship Act No. 18 of 1948’. Starting from that point, as a minority, Sri Lankan Tamil people lost their basic rights to live in this country too. As a result of that it led to the creation of ethnic parties to voice their demands. From then, they have been urged a constitutional solution. But Sri Lankan unitary governments declined that for last sixty years and finally it ended up as a civil war. This civil war has begun because of the incapability of the government. Another step of this was the Thimphu Declaration of 1985 and the Indo-Sri Lanka Peace accord endorse the right to self-determination. But unfortunately, Sri Lanka was reluctant to give power to the North-East Province. Sri Lankan government failed to realize that the voice of the people especially of the aggrieved community is considered as an essential integral part for the preservation of democracy and unity of a country. (Rajasingam, 2014)

The principle of self-determination will not result in impairment of the territorial integrity and unity of a sovereign and independent State. If a country is unable to solve its racial problems, then it signals the beginning

of the absence of rule of law. The cause of the absence of rule of law is poor governance. Corruption, political instability, absence of rule law and ineffective government contribute to poor governance. (Rajasingam,2014) All those reasons led to a civil war in the country and it unstable the government of the Sri Lanka. National and international discussions had started to implement a solution for this problem and the federalism is the suggestion of international community. But it has been become a controversial topic because the majority (predominantly Sinhalese) has not been agreed to this because of they have a distorted and misinterpreted opinion about the federalism.

Conclusion

Concluding the article, every country has its own problems. These problems could be related to race, religion and language when its constitution allows room for discrepancies. Therefore, framing a constitution which maintain the peace and rule the country for the benefit of the people without any discrimination is the responsibility of the legislative, executive and the policy makers. When the fundamental rights of the minorities have been suppressed by any authority it is a violation of basic rights of a person. It is the time for experimenting Federalism in Sri Lanka because the ruling politicians and government had been failed over sixty years without having a proper solution to the ethnic issues in Sri Lanka. Even the government tried to reconcile and peace building after the civil war it doesn't have any result. Recent incidents with Muslim minority have been proved that. So, the constitutional change is needed in these circumstances. It needs not to endorse the granting of full independence to

the regions where the minority community lives as a separate entity but a regional autonomy as it exists in India, Canada, Switzerland and other Federal countries, which, if granted, will not affect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country. (Rajasingam, 2014) and this implementation and the adoption of the federalism policy will be a long-lasting resolution for the escalating ethno- racial issues in Sri Lanka.

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Stockholm to Paris and Future Global Cooperation on Climate Change

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Abstract

Today, the global climate change has emerged as one of the pungent issues in the world. It has moved to the apex of the major international heeds in recent years. Climate change is a global crisis which needs a cooperative global conversation. In fact, the climate change is caused by various day-to-day human activities and each and every person is affected by its consequences despite the territories or jurisdictions where these activities take place. So that in order to control these climate changes, coordination and cooperation of the global community is needed. Therefore, the global community has taken diverse measures or immediate actions to reduce their contribution to climate change. However, despite various global approaches, climate change is worsening day by day. Main reason for this is, the uneven contribution of nations to the problem. Thus, the major hapless contention that the global community face today is the creation of a worldwide climate change reduction programme.

Keywords- Climate Change, Global Crisis, Human Activities, Cooperation, Uneven Contribution

Introduction

What is Climate Change?

Climate change is a widely discussed topic in the international system. It undergoes various changes with the changing world and also the global community has widened the scope of the so-called matter, climate change. According to the definitions given under article 1 of the Rio Declaration, “Climate change means a change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods”.

United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change defines climate change as, “A change of climate which is attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and which is in addition to natural climate variability observed over comparable time periods.” (<http://unfccc.int/2860.php>)

According to a report of Washington State’s Integrated Climate Response Strategy published in 2012 identifies several climate change issues. According to that high levels of carbon dioxide (CO₂) and other heat trapping gases have warmed the earth causing wide range of impacts. (<https://fortress.wa.gov/ecy/publications/documents/1201004.pdf>) This report adds that the global community should take steps to reduce greenhouse gas emissions to avoid bad climate changes. Under climate change comes two important impacts;

- (1) Global warming.
- (2) Ozone depletion.

Greenhouse effect warms the earth's surface. Generally, the sun's energy reaches the earth's atmosphere and reflect back to space but some remains in the atmosphere and absorbed to earth's atmosphere. Main reason affect for this process is the emission of greenhouse gases. These gases include CO₂, methane, Nitrous Oxide, Chlorofluorocarbons etc. Most of the above gases are man-made and CO₂ is responsible for 64% of man-made global warming.

Another critical issue of climate change is, ozone depletion. Ozone is a molecule consisting of oxygen atoms. It is rare in the atmosphere and most of it is found in the stratosphere between 10 and 50km above the earth's surface. It is called as the ozone layer. Ozone layer absorbs nearly all the high energy ultra-violet rays from the sun. Thus, it protects plants and animals from its damaging effects. But this ozone layer is highly vulnerable to chlorine, fluorine and bromine which are highly reactive. The creation of Chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) and halons worsen the effect of reactive gases. Because they are created of compounds containing chlorine, fluorine and bromine. Each atom of chlorine can destroy an average of about 100,000 ozone molecules before it is removed from the stratosphere.

Thus, the issue of climate change has put so much pressure on the international community. UN draft decision on the Adoption of the Paris Agreement at the 21st session declares that, "climate change represents an urgent and potentially irreversible threat to human societies and the planet and thus requires the widest possible cooperation by all countries, and their

participation in an effective and appropriate international response, with a view to accelerating the reduction of global greenhouse gas emissions.”

Literature Review

Climate change is a global challenge that does not consider national borders. Therefore, in order to address these challenges of climate change, it requires a coordination at the international level or on the other hand an international cooperation. This deserves a collective global effort masterminded by the global community. However, in the modern world international cooperation plays a vital role in tackling global issues. Generally global cooperation can be defined as the act of all countries working together to accomplish global issues as a community. As we all live in a complex society where interdependency creates every relationship, global cooperation can be considered as fundamental. Under the theme of cooperation, there are international as well as regional groupings. However, when considering international cooperation on climate change, it has a wide range of organizations. United Nations (UN) is the main forum of international cooperation. Generally, it tries to address “issues confronting humanity”. At the beginning, environmental degradation was not a major issue in the international system. But with the expansion of industrialization and globalization environment has become a priority in the UN. Environmental threats like ozone depletion, global warming has now created a major discussion among the global community. When tackling these, UN plays a major role because it is an international body with a wide mandate, membership and also a body with an impact extending beyond national boundaries.

Under the guidance of UN, international cooperation has assigned through Sustainable development goals. According to the definition given by the sustainable development commission of the United Kingdom, “Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” The seventeen sustainable development goals of 2030 agenda for sustainable development were adopted on 1 January 2016 and climate change is one of the prominent topics. Other than international cooperative methods, various regional blocs also have cooperated to curb effects of climate change. For example, ASEAN member states have taken actions to address climate change through various environmental, economic and social activities. Some ASEAN members have announced voluntary mitigation targets. And has reached several milestones in climate change like ASEAN Joint Statement on Climate Change and ASEAN Cooperation on Climate Change.

SAARC as another regional grouping also has measures to address climate change. Primarily SAARC Declaration on Climate Change adopted on the 7th December 2007 mentions that, “the best and most appropriate way to address the threats of climate change is to adopt an integrated approach to sustainable development”. And also, it further emphasizes the importance of UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol as multilateral frameworks to address climate change.

Methodology

The discussion on climate change is apparently a highly unavoidable topic in the contemporary international system. Most of the nations suffer from these climate change issues and the international community as a whole has taken various measures to control the bad impact of these changes. The influence of these changes affects social as well as the economic status of countries and finally interrupts the whole international system as a whole. As mentioned earlier there are various initiatives taken by the international actors to control this global crisis to a certain extent.

This study provides basic and fundamental components of these initiatives or legal instruments giving more advertence to the activities of states. Most of the data is based on documents, articles, news reports and journal articles of authoritative bodies. And also, this study emphasizes more on the cooperation between nations to overcome this issue.

Information of global cooperation is included in this study in order to assess remedies for the issue and this study attempts to analyze that information paying more attention to strong collective global effort rather than going to individual or country wise remedies.

Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1 Global Climate Initiatives

Generally global environmental initiatives date back to 1900s. In order to overcome global climate challenges, diverse conventions, protocols and treaties were established. During the early ages, major concerns on

environment were mainly evolved around pollution and environment protection. With the increase in international environmental concern in the 1960s, a new standpoint was created through 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment (Stockholm Conference). Its main aim was to establish an international framework to promote a more coordinated approach to control pollution and other environmental problems. This conference was the UN's first major conference on international environmental issues. At this conference a declaration concerning the environment and development and an Action Plan with recommendations under 06 broad areas were adopted. Some principles in the Stockholm Conference strengthen the framework for future environmental cooperation. Principle 21 and 22 of the declaration are generally considered as the cornerstones of modern international environmental law. According to the principle 21 of the Stockholm Declaration, "States have, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign right to exploit their own resources pursuant to their own environmental policies, and the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment of other States or of areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction".

The Stockholm Conference led to the establishment of global and regional environmental monitoring networks to tackle environmental problems like marine pollution, ozone depletion etc. and this conference established the UNEP (United Nations Environmental Programme). Its main aim was to coordinate environment related activities of other UN agencies. UNEP has been responsible for the development of a number of cooperative

initiatives: Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer (1985), Montreal Protocol (1987), Convention on Biodiversity (1992). And also, this gave the birth to international environmental law. Finally, this conference stimulated the national interests in environmental protection and many governments created ministries for the environment and national agencies for environmental monitoring.

Again in 1985 the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer was signed and it was a framework convention and it did not oblige parties to reduce their consumption of CFC or other ozone depletion substances. As a result, in 1987, Montreal Protocol was signed in order to strengthen the regime to prevent the depletion of the ozone layer. The Montreal Protocol was agreed by 24 main industrialized states and parties to this were obliged to cut their consumption of 05 types of CFCs by 50% by 1999. Again, the UN established a World Commission on Environment and Development chaired by the then Prime minister of Norway, Gro Harlem Brundtland to make new proposals. In 1987 Brundtland Report was published and gave a priority to achieve sustainable development.

The UN conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) was fixed to take place in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992. As a result, in 1992, negotiations were made at Rio Conference which was one of the biggest summits ever held. Negotiations were centered on two main documents, a statement of agreed principles which later emerged as Rio Declaration and a detailed programme of action for sustainable development which was known as Agenda 21.

The Rio declaration contained non-binding principles. This was also a framework convention which means that they established basic aims, principles, norms and procedures to coordinate international actions. But during this period the lack of legally binding commitments to limit emissions was a major concern. At the Rio Conference a new institution was established named as the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change. It entered into force in 1994. Under article 7 of the UNFCCC, the parties decided to meet annually from 1995 in Conferences of the Parties (COP) to evaluate the progress of the programmes. In 1997, a global forum took place in Kyoto, Japan. Under Kyoto Protocol parties agreed legally binding targets to limit or reduce their greenhouse gas emissions. To achieve these goals a flexibility mechanism was established. Finally, for the first time of UN's climate negotiations, the CoP 21 accomplished a legally binding and universally accepted agreement on climate change, the Paris Agreement of 2015.

4.2 The Paris agreement.

Negotiations for the Paris Agreement were started in Durban, South Africa at the CoP 17. This is also known as the Durban Platform. At this forum, parties to the UNFCCC agreed “to establish a working group to negotiate another legal instrument or an agreed outcome with legal force”. (<https://library.un.org/>) As a result of these negotiations a new agreement was adopted at the Paris Climate Summit or CoP 21. Its main aim was to acquire deeper emissions reduction commitments from all countries, developed and developing countries.

Therefore, the Paris Agreement aims to achieve a goal of maintaining the level of global warming below two degrees Celsius, a level that “the assembled nations could lead to an urgent and potentially irreversible threat to human societies and the planet”. And about 195 signatories have agreed to hold the above target. And also, parties further agreed to achieve emissions reduction targets through national climate plans which are improved every five years.

4.3 The fate of future cooperation on climate change

From the Stockholm conference to the Paris agreement, world’s global environmental perspective has experienced a long journey abounded with various ups and downs. Started by addressing issues from a primary level, global community has now achieved a significant cooperation regarding climate change and environment. Some environmental problems are inherently global. Since these effects are global, problems can only be tackled through cooperation on a global scale. Over – exploitation or environmental degradation are relatively local or national in scale but when they are experienced in large they can be considered as global problems. In the preamble of the Stockholm declaration mentions that, “The protection and improvement of the human environment is a major issue which affects the well-being of peoples and economic development throughout the world; it is the urgent desire of the peoples of the whole world and the duty of all Governments”.

Even though the international environmental issues emerged as a major focus in international politics, international cooperation is very hard to

achieve. This is because there is a conversation that developing countries have less responsibility for global climate changes or environment issues than industrialized countries. This is also called as North – South gap which defines the general relationship between developed and developing countries. Principle 11 of Stockholm declaration mentions that “the environmental policies of all States should enhance and not adversely affect the present or future development potential of developing countries...”

As the foundation declaration of global environment, Stockholm declaration brought forth the provisions for global cooperation on environment under principle 24. Prominently, the powerful countries refuse to collaborate with other nations, because of the socio – economic and political ideologies. And each nation has its own national development objectives that may conflict with other countries’ goals, thus it is very hard to create collaboration among the nations regarding a certain matter. For example, in 1972, Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia boycotted the Stockholm conference for foreign policy reasons. Main reason was the dissatisfaction over the ineligibility of East Germany to participate. And on the other hand, the development agendas were never seriously followed up and the UNEP established at Stockholm conference lacked the institutional weight to coordinate other UN agencies. Again in 1985, the Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer proclaimed the importance of international cooperation. Article 2(2) highlights the importance of cooperation and further provisions are added under the article 4, Co-operation in the legal, scientific and technical fields. Montreal Protocol of 1987 was progressively strengthened in London (1990),

Copenhagen (1992), Vienna (1995) and Montreal (1997). Under this, parties were agreed to cut their CFC consumption. And it had a target to expand the agreement including the Soviet bloc countries and developing countries. Because at the end of the 1980's production and consumption of CFCs in these countries were apparently high. And it was crystal clear that countries like Russia, India and China would have to join the agreement to make that accord a long term one. Soviet Union and its allies were persuaded to join but most of the developing countries refused to accept commitments to phase-out CFCs and halons unless industrialized countries paid the incremental costs they incurred in implementation. This had created a tug-of-war between developed and developing countries and haggling between parties.

The UNFCCC (1992) dealt with a much more intractable problem, the global warming. Under article 3(5) UNFCCC also highlighted the importance of collective contribution and further added some cooperative commitments under article 4. And continued the ideology of developed and developing gap. In the same year Rio declaration was adopted and it also declared provisions to support cooperation among states to overcome climate issues. Principle 7 mentions that "States shall cooperate in a spirit of global partnership to conserve, protect and restore the health and integrity of the Earth's ecosystem". And principle 15 mentions that "In order to protect the environment, the precautionary approach shall be widely applied by States according to their capabilities". This statement has marked a remarkable position by changing the traditional ideology of north south gap and by insisting every state to take measures according to their capabilities. Under Kyoto Protocol, which was legally binding, more

stringent commitments were put on industrial states. However, oil-exporting OPEC countries and their allies of G77 campaigned strongly against these substantial commitments fearing that emission reduction measures would reduce demand for oil and thus threaten their economies. Though the USA signed the protocol in 1998 during the Clinton presidency and the article 2(1)(b) of the Kyoto protocol proclaims provisions to “cooperate with other such Parties to enhance the individual and combined effectiveness of their policies and measures”, the USA still has not ratified the protocol. Since USA’s emissions are such a large proportion of the total, in practice USA’s cooperation is greatly needed. Without the USA the protocol’s effectiveness is in a controversial situation.

Similarly, in the Western hemisphere, EU and some other western countries broadly supported emissions reduction targets of 5 – 10 % by 2010, several other developed countries including the USA, Japan, Australia and Canada were reluctant to support these emissions reductions. Thus, the international cooperation was highly debatable during this period. EU members such as Poland adopted EU targets, while Russia, Ukraine and New Zealand agreed to stabilize their emissions at 1990 levels. And Australia, Iceland and Norway managed to negotiate limited increases in their permitted emissions. (Baylis, 2001) The effectiveness of many environmental treaties on the global level is also a problem. The treaty-making process is rather slow and in the field of environmental protection extended time durations may be too long for an effective response to challenges requiring immediate action. For example, in the case of Montreal protocol the CFC reduction rates established in

September were already outdated when the protocol entered into force. (Malanzuk, 2002)

After a series of complications, a successful, legally binding agreement was attained in 2015, known as the Paris Agreement. This agreement is unprecedented in its scope. Paris Agreement provides provisions for all major emitters, the industrialized nations, major emerging economies and the community of developing countries. This agreement is also immediate in its impact. The national climate plans are now being translated into domestic regulations.

According to a report published by “We Mean Business” organization in, Paris Agreement has marked some milestones on global climate. (<https://www.wemeanbusinesscoalition.org>). Unlike its predecessor the Kyoto Protocol, the Paris Agreement requires emissions reductions by all countries, regardless of their economic development, all countries are subject to the same framework to report and verify their greenhouse gas emissions and the private sector is recognized as an integral part of the global solution to address climate change.

The Paris Agreement includes a stronger transparency and accountability system for all countries. The new transparency regime is legally binding and applies to all countries. Countries must report their greenhouse gas inventories and progress towards their emissions reduction targets every two years. The Paris agreement also highlight the importance of cooperation among global community under article 11(3). With compared to earlier agreements Paris agreement can be considered as one of the successful climate agreements. Previous attempts to negotiate a universal

agreement on climate change have either failed or resulted in a limited set of countries and also uneven contribution and lack of institutional framework. But the gradual evolution of the Paris Agreement is a controversial issue today. As a result of global political contentions, the measures taken to curb climate changes has started to crumble. Mainly with the withdrawal of the USA under Trump government.

The USA, a major power in the international system and the second largest global emitter announced in June 2017 that they will exit the agreement. Most of the international actors decried the decision of the new American president Donald Trump insisting that the American exit will weaken the global cooperation on climate change. They further highlighted that it will lock in the future climate measures. President Donald Trump strongly opposed the Paris Agreement which was reached by Barack Obama in 2015. The main argument brought forward by Trump was that the global deal to cut back carbon emissions would kill jobs and eventually impose regulations on US economy. Therefore, Trump administration has taken measures to repeal various Obama-era rules. For example, suspended the Clean Power Plan introduced during Obama period to curb greenhouse gas emissions from power plants. And he further added that this accord will provide unfair advantages to other countries like China and India. Several times Trump understate the threat of climate change calling it a “hoax”. Above idea of the US president created a crack in the global cooperation. Some argued that the retreat of USA on climate would empower China to fill the leadership vacuum in climate change cooperation and China would forge alliance with other countries mainly with EU to promote climate policies without the USA.

Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang announced that “China would work with the EU to fight climate change and fighting climate change is a global consensus, it is not invented by China”. Through this he answered to a statement made by Trump, who claimed that “global warming was a Chinese-created hoax”. And also china further mentioned that it is an “international responsibility”. At the beginning of the creation of Paris Agreement, India was considered as an obstacle to curb climate change. But with the exit of the USA, India’s approach to climate change has altered. Speaking at a conference in France, Narendra Modi declared the “duty to protect Mother Earth”. And Modi promised that India would work “shoulder to shoulder with France”. Trump’s decision to leave the Paris Agreement has created some internal crashes as well. Despite Trump’s decision 34 state governments led by California and New York have undertaken their own carbon reduction plans. Governor Jerry Brown of California and Governor Andrew Cuomo of New York released a joint statement reaffirming their commitment to curb carbon emissions in their states. They mentioned that “climate change is real and will not be wished away by rhetoric or denial. We stand together with a majority of the American people in supporting bold actions to protect our communities from the dire consequences of climate change”.

However, under Trump government, the First Energy Plan is committed to eliminate harmful and unnecessary policies such as the Climate Action Plan. And also, it mentions that “Trump Administration will embrace shale oil and gas revolution to bring jobs and prosperity to millions of Americans”. (<https://www.whitehouse.gov/america-first-energy>) And on

the other hand Trump's Federal Budget, several measures have taken related to climate. (<http://www.npr.org/>)

Some of them are to end programs to lower domestic greenhouse emissions, slash diplomatic efforts to slow climate change and to cut scientific missions to study the climate. Mick Mulvaney, Director of the Office of Management and Budget mentioned that "we consider climate funding to be a waste of your money to go out ...". The proposed budget discontinues funding for the Clean Power Plan, international climate change programs, climate change research and partnership programs and related efforts. And also, it eliminates the Global Climate Change Initiative and the payments by eliminating US funding related to the Green Climate Fund and its two precursor Climate Investment Funds.

Thus, the USA's actions regarding climate change and environmental protection creates a great impact on global cooperative measures that have established so far. However, scholars mention that EU and other countries like China and India will be able to counter the damage done by Trump's decisions. But it is not easy to achieve the goals without the contribution of USA and further a collective leadership will be more important.

Conclusion

International community has taken various measures to curb the impacts of climate change. Most of the international agreements focused on environmental protection or pollution without concerning further development plans. Since 1972, global community has established diverse conventions to bring every nation to one platform on climate change. But

there were divisions among nations and cooperation was very hard to achieve. For many years, there was a collective belief that the UN environmental programme is responsible for the creation of cooperation among nations. But protecting global environment has proved to be an impossible task for an agency with a limited budget and no power to compel states to act in a certain way. Earlier climate negotiations were centered on a firm division between developed and developing countries. But the Paris Agreement was fundamentally different and all countries are supposed to curb emissions. Recent exit of the USA from this agreement created a controversial situation. And with the exit of the USA some other nations have agreed to follow up the agreement. This has changed the direction of global cooperation. Thus, global cooperation on climate change is highly debatable but in order to curb climate change each and every nation has their own responsibilities to protect the environment irrespective of their interests and needs.

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The Role of UNICEF in Ensuring Child Rights in Sri Lanka

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ABSTRACT

UNICEF is one of specialized agencies which works for the betterment of children in different aspects. Among those areas where the UNICEF is working on, education occupies a prominent place. UNICEF's work in Sri Lanka began in the 1950s and the first UNICEF country office was established in 1973. Having understood the major issues in the education system exist in the country, UNICEF has been working to resolve some of those major issues. Against this backdrop this particular study focuses on understanding the existing challenges of the education system of Sri Lanka and the role of UNICEF in finding sustainable solutions for those issues. This is predominately a qualitative case study research of Sri Lanka which attempts to understand various issues exist in the present education system of Sri Lanka and to evaluate the role of UNICEF in supporting the government in resolving these issues. Despite many research has been done on various specialized agencies of the United Nations and their role in Sri Lanka, there hasn't been adequate research on this particular research area. Given the fact that despite the high literacy rate levels achieved by Sri Lanka, the country still finds it difficult to address some of the major issues in the education system of Sri Lanka. Looking at the findings of the research, it can be noted that various programs have been initiated the UNICEF in collaboration of the government and those initiatives have proved to be effective as a significant improvement can be observed in the education system of the country, especially in the rural areas.

Key Words: UNICEF, Child Rights, Education, Achievements, Sri Lanka.

Introduction

UNICEF is an inter-governmental agency mandated by the United Nations General Assembly to advocate for the protection of children's rights and to support governments in realizing their rights. UNICEF mobilizes political will and material resources to help countries, particularly developing countries, build their capacity to form appropriate policies and deliver services for children and their families. UNICEF works with partners from both the private and public sector in more than 190 countries and territories through country programmers or national committees.

Children Rights Convention is one of most significant legal frame for ensuring children rights in the world and it also one of legal action in Sri Lanka and convention of child rights implements by Sri Lankan government and UNICEF mainly supports to implementations of child rights. It has been supported to the Millennium Declaration and achievements of the "Millennium Development Goals" (MDGs). UNICEF is better way to effective implementation of the CRC and calls for the development of national and International legislation, policies, actions plans and other measures to promote and protect the rights of the child. UNICEF supports to Sri Lankan education child Rights and development children education situations and it implements more activities and programmes to increase education opportunities in Sri Lanka.

Each country office carries out UNICEF's mission through a unique programme of cooperation developed with the host government. The government. The five-year programme focused on practical way to realize

the rights of children. Regional office guides its work and provide technical assistance to country office as needed. Overall management and administration of organization takes place headquarters, where global policy on children is shaped. Guiding and monitoring all of UNICEF work is an Expectative Board made up 36 members who are government representatives.

As Sri Lanka transitions to recovery and development, UNICEF's focus too has shifted to supporting policy and good practice to ensure that rights of all children and, especially the most vulnerable who are at risk of abuse, neglect and exploitation are not forgotten. UNICEF currently supports national policy development, capacity building, research and, pilot projects that showcase model or innovative approaches that advance the rights of children.

The origin rights-based services for Sri Lanka children began soon after independence. It started when the post-independence political leadership at that time decided to provide free health and education to all children, including boys girls. This decision upheld the principle of universality, bereft of gender discrimination. Further developments occurred much later in the 1970s, when the principle of primary health care services was adopted, particularly family health, nutrition access to safe water and sanitation. UNFPA has initiated a well-found population programme, which included family health services, excluded by UNICEF.

Children Rights Convention is one of most significant legal frame for ensuring children rights in the world and it also one of legal action in Sri

Lanka and convention of child rights implements by Sri Lankan government and UNICEF mainly supports to implementations of child rights. It has been supported to the Millennium Declaration and achievements of the "Millennium Development Goals" (MDGs). UNICEF is better way to effective implementation of the CRC and calls for the development of national and International legislation, policies, actions plans and other measures to promote and protect the rights of the child. UNICEF supports to Sri Lankan education child Rights and development children education situations and it implements more activities and programmers to increase education opportunities in Sri Lanka. The children are most significant part of a country, because they are future in the country. So that any country has big responsibility to protect the children. States have been implemented many programmes to ensure child rights. Most of country has signed UN convention of child rights and let in to their constitutions. And also, countries establish governmental and non-governmental organizations to ensure child rights within the country. Sri Lanka was signed the convention on child rights and has implemented many programmes to protect the child rights.

Most of the time several children are start's the education on time of over aged and also after started the education. They dropped out in secondary level. So, the main reasons of the challenges are poverty, lack of awareness, food insecurity and the nutritional problems. Rural children are affected by the same funding cuts that all schools face. The impact is grater is small rural school districts, because they don't have the economies of scale that larger urban districts have. United Nation launched new programs as Millennium Developing Goals and sustainable Developing

Goals for the member country to achieve development of countries. Sri Lanka has attained the numerical goals relating to universal primary enrollment and completion and Sri Lanka has also attained MD goals of gender parity in primary and secondary school enrollments. However, Sri Lanka faces considerable challenges in ensuring good quality primary education with sustainable shortfalls in cognitive achievement in the country as a whole. Further Sri Lanka experiences shape regional disparities in learning outcomes improving the quality of primary education in the country with special emphasis on educationally disadvantaged areas, will require strategic policy development, effective service delivery and efficient investment of resources. After 2015 the sustainable Development Goals replaced the Millennium Development Goals. Through these programs Children education rights were developed and achieved many Development Goals in Sri Lanka. In this research, will explain how UNICEF became as successful organization in ensuring child rights and what they have done for education of children.

Literature Review

International cooperation refers to the collaborative interactions among different actors across international borders to address common issues or problems. Such cooperation involves both governmental organizations and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and may take an array of forms. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) is the United Nation agency. With the development of a diversified society, nongovernmental organizations are playing an increasingly important and dynamic role in the international community. The growth of NGOs reflects a new

enthusiasm on the part of citizens to engage more directly in public problem solving Intergovernmental cooperation may be defined as an arrangement between or among two or more local governments for achieving common goals, providing a service or solving a mutual problem. International and regional cooperation agreements are typically harder to achieve than national ones because, given the absence of courts or higher authorities to which to appeal, the enforcement of property rights is ambiguous and weak at the international level. As a result, international agreements must be self-enforcing, which, in turn, reduces the set of feasible cooperative solutions, possibly to nothing. The term 'human rights' which is used since World War II, gained importance in contemporary debates and became a universal phenomenon. After the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on December 10, 1948 by the United Nations, it was seen by many as a sign of. Optimism for the better protection, promotion and enforcement of human rights Concern about the fulfillment of human rights has grown steadily since the Second World War. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights applies to everyone whatever their age, however, only two of its articles include specific reference to children's education and social protection during childhood. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted unanimously by the UN General Assembly in 1989, sought to remedy this omission. International agencies, governments and scientists have been slow to catch up with the implications of the Convention. All of above concepts theories and declarations have affected to ensure the child rights with UNICEF. Because it is one of specialized agency of United Nation and as non-government organization.

Cooperation occurs when “actors adjust their behavior to the actual or anticipated preferences of others” (Axelrod / Keohane 1985: 226). Therefore, international cooperation describes interactions to achieve common objectives when actors’ preferences are neither identical harmony nor irreconcilable conflict. (Paulo, International Cooperation and Development,2014). To be implemented effectively, cooperation agreements usually need specialized institutions, including mechanisms to enforce the provisions, to deal with disputes on how to share benefits, and to deal with changes in situations that require the renegotiation of agreements. (Schiff and Winters, 2003).

According to Beitz (2009) and Raz (2010), tradition aims to ground human rights in its political practice. According to the political tradition, human rights should not be seen as a concept that is the product of moral theories. Instead, human rights originate in political practice. Current human rights documents are codification of already existing moral human rights, but were created by the drafting of those documents. The United Nation’s Covenant Human Rights (1948) is the most important treaty in this respect, though some see the Treaty of Westphalia as the first predecessor of concurrent human rights practice (Gross, 1948, pp. 21-22).

The term 'human rights' which is used since World War II, gained importance in contemporary debates and became a universal phenomenon. After the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) on December 10, 1948 by the United Nations, it was seen by many as a sign of optimism for the better protection, promotion and enforcement of human rights. However, 50 years since the adoption of the Universal

Declaration of Human Rights, it has been reported that human rights abuses has not decreased. The world is filled with examples of violations of basic rights such as censorship, discrimination, political imprisonment, torture, slavery, disappearances, genocide, extrajudicial killings, arbitrary arrests and killings, poverty, etc. The rights of women and children are also ignored in many different ways. (Byrne,2005).

Human rights are the rights that everyone has equally by virtue of their humanity. It is grounded in an appeal to our human nature. Christian Bay defined human rights as any claims that ought to have legal and moral protection to make sure that basic needs will be met. (Vincent,1968). Human rights can be defined as those minimum rights which every individual must have against the state or other public authority by virtue of his being a member of the human family. Shree P. P. Rao said that human rights are the inherent dignity and inalienable rights of all members of the human family recognizing them as the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world. For D. D. Raphael, human rights in a general sense denote the rights of humans. However, in a more specific sense, human rights constitute those rights which one has precisely because of being a human. (Rajauat,2001).

Concern about the fulfillment of human rights has grown steadily since the Second World War. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights applies to everyone whatever their age, however, only two of its articles include specific reference to children's education and social protection during childhood. The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, adopted unanimously by the UN General Assembly in 1989, sought to

remedy this omission. International agencies, governments and scientists have been slow to catch up with the implications of the Convention, although 191 governments ratified it in the ten years following adoption. In 2001, discussion of child rights tends to deal with particular rights rather than rights representative of the Declaration or the Convention as a whole. Steps remain to be taken to bring different indicators together to permit measures to be taken of the numbers of children in different countries lacking access to a number of rights or to rights in general. UNICEF has decided, as an experiment, to examine indicators of development collected and published by international agencies such as the World Bank, UNICEF and UNDP, to find whether a 'conventional' international measure can be constructed and whether and why that measure falls short of what is desirable. (Gordon, Pantazis, Townsend, Summary Report to UNICEF,2000).

“Education is much more than an entry to the job market. It has the power to shape a sustainable future and better world. Education policies should promote peace, mutual respect and environmental care.” (Ban kin Moon, 2015). All children have the right to a primary education, which should be free. Wealthy countries should help poorer countries achieve this right. Discipline in schools should respect children’s dignity. For children to benefit from education. Schools must be run in an orderly way-without use of violence. Any form of school discipline should take into account the child’s human dignity. Therefore, governments must ensure that school administrators review their discipline policies and eliminate any discipline practices involving physical or mental violence, abuse or neglect. The Convention places a high value on education. Young people should be

encouraged to reach the highest level of education of which they are capable. There continue to be challenges in national implementation. Such as absence of explicit policies and detailed implementation strategies for human rights education and the lack of systematic approaches to the production of materials, the training of teachers and the promotion of a learning environment which fosters human rights values.”(World Programme for Human Rights Education, Phase 1 Evaluation (UN, 2010: 20).

Every child has the right to education and other fundamental human rights are dependent upon the realization of the right to education. Though we have achieved a high level of enrolment and participation, yet a policy adjustment will need to consider the removal of disparities and provide equality of educational opportunities by meeting the needs of those who have been denied an opportunity so far. The participation in school education is characterized by a great imbalance with the privileged enjoying the best while the disadvantaged are unable to either to enroll or stay in the system. Non-participation is the combined effect of deficiencies in the school system and socio-economic discrimination in favor of backward poor, disadvantaged schools and an allocation of resources on a need-based scheme has to be made a pre-requisite. This demands a deliberate policy of greater attention to disadvantaged vulnerable groups of children, to remote rural schools, providing basic and essential infrastructural needs of the schools which have so far remained deprived. The State, the major agent, providing the opportunity for the right to education should translate the international commitments to legislation and action, fulfilling the state obligation with respect to the right to education

by ensuring availability through promoting free and compulsory education with political and financial commitment, accessibility by providing equality of opportunity within safer physical distance and a policy of nondiscrimination, acceptability by allowing the parents and children to choose the type of education culturally appropriate in pupil friendly learning environment and adaptability by providing an education determined by the child's future needs and giving prominence to the best interests of the child. (New Education Act for General Education in Sri Lanka, Final Report,2017).

Methodology

This research is a qualitative case study and based on both primary data and secondary data. Primary data collected through speeches. Secondary data collected academic journals previously conducted research, books, and other web based academic publications. The research assumes qualitative approaches. The above-mentioned objectives will be achieved in International co-operation and convention of child rights. Finally, this abstract "The Role of UNICEF towards ensuring education rights in Sri Lanka's a documentary analysis in descriptive way.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Education is one of the most important factors in helping people emerge from generational poverty. Without it, children in poverty face an uncertain future. Although Sri Lanka has experienced serious difficulties with its education system in the past, substantial gains in education reform

been made in recent years. With a literacy rate of 92.3 percent and increased primary school enrollment, Sri Lanka seems to be set to accomplish its goal of ensuring that all children have the opportunity to attend school by 2015. However, despite the progress that has been made, many children still lack the educational opportunities they need. To understand the complex factors behind this issue UNICEF always supports to increase educational opportunities. Sri Lankan education situation has been increased than early. UNICEF is main reason for this improvement. It always tries to develop educational situation and for ensuring child rights. Through their work Sri Lanka has been reached the successful level of education.

UNICEF has a long history in Sri Lanka on partnering with Government to collect, analyze and use data to improve the situation of children and women. UNICEF enhance this support in the coming two years to ensure that data collection and analysis focuses on gaps and disparities, and most importantly, is generated to enhance policy dialogue and advocacy on key child rights issues. In doing so, UNICEF will ensure quality assurance in research design and forge partnerships with academia and civil society. UNICEF also strengthens the overall monitoring of child rights in the country in partnership with sectoral ministries, national/provincial authorities, and civil society organizations, including child rights non-governmental organizations and youth networks.

Capacity development has always been one of UNICEF's key programme strategies, contributing to functioning immunization programmes, improved learning environments and better trained education, health and

social service professionals. In the coming years, UNICEF will re-direct this support to strengthen national systems for neo-natal health, multi-sectoral nutrition promotion, child-friendly education, improved water safety, enhanced child protection and advocacy for social protection systems that boost children's welfare and build social cohesion and support reconciliation among the community's children live and grow up in.

Partnership Building is key to how UNICEF works in any country, and here in Sri Lanka, they count on our partnerships to help deliver results for children. In the years, they intend to strengthen our existing partnerships with national and local governments, civil society, academic institutions, the private sector and members of the United Nations family with a greater focus on addressing gaps and equity issues. In UNICEF's ever-changing world, countries can learn much from each other in terms of their experiences of development.

Sri Lanka has some of the best health and education indicators in the South Asia region. They look forward to working with the Government of Sri Lanka to help them document and share their best practices within the region and beyond, as well as bring in global knowledge for local solutions. Sri Lanka has made impressive gains in improving the health and nutritional status of its population. However, regional disparities still exist in terms of quality of outcomes and services, and UNICEF will place an emphasis on equity of access to and quality of services for all children.

Conclusion

UNICEF works all over the world for children's welfare. Despite enormous progress, millions of children are still unable to attend school and suffer from UNICEF works for children's rights, the fulfillment of their basic needs and to improve their future prospects. UNICEF's principal task is to promote the rights enshrined in the Convention on the Rights of the Child. UNICEF is committed to ensuring that all children, without discrimination or preference, have the opportunity to survive, thrive and fulfill their potential. UNICEF works to create appropriate conditions for children's development and is particularly concerned with the protection of children in conflicts and emergency situations.

Finally, as an international agency as well as non-government organization, UNICEF had played significant role in Sri Lanka and it had to good targets and achieved them using better ways. Yet UNICEF is achieving their targets through many programmes. UNICEF under the millennium development goals it has been achieved Universal Primary education rights and is achieving educational development targets under sustainable development programs. However, in past years it was successful in ensuring education rights in Sri Lanka. But in some areas especially education policies and involving governmental educational sector, UNICEF plays silent role. It is not positive fact Sri Lankan education and children education rights. Through joining with these areas, it can be more successful and it will affect to develop and increase education rights in Sri Lanka.

In education, UNICEF appeared to make the transition reasonably systematically from relief through recovery to a broader development focus largely, bringing much of its other work in the sector within this ambit. The same principle of integration can be applied by the Ministry OF Education in making explicit the underlying consistencies in terms of objectives among the psychosocial, disaster management, health and hygiene, and community outreach, and working to ensure the human resources and delivery mechanisms are in place to implement them. This implies increasing support to long-term professional development strategies for building relevant capacities of education officials, school managers and teachers; and for confirming and reinforcing the structures and functions of mechanisms like Teacher Centers, District Children 's Committees, School Attendance Committees (SACs) and SDSs. For that If will join with MOE, that outcomes will be more successful.

Developing a training programmes for County Office professional staff in the theory and practice of mentoring, and formally encourage its use with partners is more efficient action for education sector. Informal mentoring of policy makers, education officers, and teachers by UNICEF and other international agency staff has probably had a more significant and lasting influence than has direct, typically cascaded, training. This can be more embedded in UNICEF culture by more explicit planning and resource allocation that officially recognises the time and effort made by staff to engage as mentors.

Engaging other NGOs and Institutions is good way to achieve UNICEF's goals. It can be more with respect to education quality. The aim is not to

replace Ministry of Education line units, but to recognize that, especially in an emergency, creating holistically child-friendly schools necessarily implicates other sectors, such as, women's affairs and child protection. Partner with national NGOs and community-based organizations.

Build on good practices that reduce the rate by which children enter institutions. Proper training of government actors, coupled with case conferencing, appears to be capable of reducing the rate by which children enter institutions. UNICEF should assess how these and other efforts can be taken to scale and replicated in other areas.

Promoting participatory approaches to planning and implementation. The inability to link the various levels of government policy making together, while also consulting with NGOs, CBOs and community members, is an obstacle to effective policy formation and implementation. Participatory approaches to assessment and planning are both practical and beneficial. UNICEF and relevant government and non-governmental actors should explore ways to build on participatory approaches to protective environment planning and implementation.

Professionalize the field of child protection in Sri Lanka. UNICEF should promote high quality technical support to the Ministry of Child Development and Women's Empowerment to develop standard operating procedures for its programmes. UNICEF could also work to promote partnerships with universities to ensure professional training for all future protection and social service providers. Current practitioners could benefit from short courses and distance learning programmes. Support for programme learning, inter-agency evaluations, and pilot projects to link

economic strengthening with child protection outcomes would be important.

Provide methods training for all UNICEF protection staff to build capacity. UNICEF's child protection programme is not yet equipped to use or promote new methods that establish prevalence rates on key child protection concerns. One of the results of this deficit is a one-size-fits-all approach to Core Commitment applications. It is therefore recommended that UNICEF promote a skills-based initiative for its entire protection staff as a key next step in agency capacity building.

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Socio-Economic Impact of Immigration on Australia

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ABSTRACT

Today Australia has become a major destination for tourists, migrants across the world. During the immediate post Second World War period, the Australian government had an intention to increase their population, largely for economic purposes. Thus, they started an immigration programme. After the Second Post War, this policy was abolished by the Act of 1958. After that, the migrants came to Australia around the world. Against this backdrop, this study discusses the nature, legal background and impact of legal immigration trends in Australia (special reference with 2000-2015). This study is a qualitative case study research on Australia where special emphasize is made on the immigration trends. This study is based on secondary data and the main sources of data collection include journal articles, annual reports, reviews etc. The research findings reveal that the implications of immigrations to Australia are multidimensional. Thus, the research discusses the implications of such immigration trends under two main themes, namely social and economic. As a whole, these immigrations have both negative and positive effects. For instance, Multicultural society, Language diversity and Globalization from social inclusion are the positive outcomes while Pollution, long distance nationality and regression of infrastructure are the negative outcomes of the migration.

Keywords: Australia, Migration, Immigration, Social Impacts, Economic Impacts

Introduction

Australia is one of the largest countries in the world but the combination between population density and area is a mismatch because of that there is not equilibrium. In the history Australian immigration programme informally started with the arrival of at 1845 Chinese immigrants. They arrived to Australia for in search of Gold but thousands of Chinese immigrants' arrival made a critical condition in Australia. At the 1901 Australian Migration Act imposed a law as "white Australian Policy" according to this policy Non-Europeans had not permission to enter Australia. Before 200 years Australian government opened the country doors for European migrants but the government did not accept Asians and Africans. Under the law of 1901 Act being a European was sufficient to immigrating Australia without the any other qualities. New Zealand and Canadian governments started immigration program at the same time with Australia but there were not policies as "White New Zealand policy" or "White Australian Policy". White Australian policy restricted the arrival thousands of educated and skilled Asians and African immigrants. At the Second World War period Japan and Indonesia attempted to conquer Australia. At that time the Australian government deduced colonization is important to the sovereignty of Australia. During the Second World War period, Australia had a popular slogan "Populate or perish" that said by the first minister of Immigration, ArchurCarwell. From this slogan can get a crystal clear deduction as the Second World War period there was a critical condition about less population. Under the law of 1901 Act being a European was sufficient without the any other qualities. But in this period In 1967 Australia entered into its first migration agreement with a non-

European country which was Turkey. Then at 1973 acknowledged as a “multicultural” society and they abolished racial discrimination and apartheid. Migrants do invaluable service to Australian Economy and Society but there are some critical conditions from over migration. In the 21st century Australian gave resident visa to millions of migrants. As an example, 2005-2015, they gave permanent visas to 1 712 481 migrants. These migrants are not systematically increasing because of that Australia face negative and positive impacts.

Migrants arrival Australia based on many causes According to Lee’s Push and Pull theory the reasons which are reasoning migrate from home state are Push factors and the reasons which are immigrate to host country can identify as Pull factors. The countries which are Developing and under developing countries people have many reasons to migrate from that country and also Developed country makes hundreds of reasons to immigrate there. Australia has a peaceful society with wealthy economic sector and this background makes an attractive image about Australia. Today Australian immigration programme give prior condition to enhance and develop the economic sector of the country because of that the Australian government give priority to skilled and young immigrants. Australian government attempts to make a better place in Australia to the world young migration population because skilled young person is a priceless gift to the country.

Methodology

The article is a qualitative case study research of Australia and the main source of data collection is secondary data. The main source of data collection includes Journal articles, books, researchers, the reports of the Australian central bank and other relevant documents. These will be taken into consideration in evaluating positive and negative impacts. Finally, the documentary is analysis in a descriptive way.

Literature Review

Migrants are one of the most important phalanxes of the world. At the ancient time, migrants did a remarkable role for propagated to ancient civilization sure enough at the today migrants play a massive role to development of Globalizing and also immigrants are the informal cultural ambassadors. “Immigration is the act of leaving one's countries and moving to another country of which they are not natives, nor citizens, to settle or reside there, especially as permanent residents or naturalized citizens, or to take-up employment as a migrant worker or temporarily as a foreign worker” (U.S. Immigration Glossary, (n.d)) Because of that migrant have a very important and defensive circumstance in the world. The countries with less population like Australia created a migration programme to becoming a populated country. But 1901 “White Australian Policy” introduced restriction to Asian and African people. According to that Act, African and Asian people could not migrate to Australia. “The White Australia Policy which was introduced by the Commonwealth parliament in 1901 through the immigration restrictive Act of that year

prevented a non-European person from migrating to Australia.” (Weerasooriya, 1988, P.30). At the Second World War period after that 1958 they seek migrates from non-European countries. The Australian first Immigration minister Arthur Carwell did a remarkable dynamic to the development of Australian Immigration Programme. “The Post Second World War policy was that Australia’s population should grow by 1 percent a year from immigration. Although this level was not achieved, immigration continued to make an important contribution to Australia’s population growth. The country experienced a large inflow of migrants during the ’50s and ’60s.” (Weerasooriya, 1998) The Australian migration programme gives permanent visa under three main categories as Skill migration, Family migration, and business migration. Thousands of migrants come to Australia under the Australian migration programme. Since beginning of Australian government give priority to skill migrants but give opportunity to Vietnam refugees and few other countries refugees but Australian government adamant law for the refugees and illegal immigrants.

The Lee’s push and pull theory analyze reasons that induce people to move out of their current location and move to new location. Push factors are the reasons to move out of current living place and pull factors are the reasons to go new destination.

“According to Lee, each place possesses a set of positive and negative factors. While positive factors are the circumstances that act to hold people within it, or attract people from other areas, negative factors tend to repel them (Lee, 1975, p.191). In addition to these, there are factors, which

remain neutral, and to which people are essentially indifferent. While some of these factors affect most of the people in the area, others tend to have differential effects. Migration in any area is the net result of the interplay between these factors.” (Farid., 2018)

Australia has somewhat of these pull factors because of that under developing countries people and developing country people willing to move countries like Australia. As an example, for describe that,

“Most of the developed member states of the Commonwealth spend more of their government allocations on health and education than on military expenditures. Member states such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the UK spend over 5% of GDP on education and health and less than 2% on the military. In member states such as India, Nigeria and Pakistan which are highly populated have high poverty levels and engage in protracted armed conflicts, GDP allocation for education and health are lower than military expenditure.” (Abhayagunawardena, 2014, p.63)

Migrants are willing to move out of their habitual place and make their residencies in Australia because of its comfortable living conditions. However, Immigrants mainly affect to the Australian society because they have to integrate with the Australian society. Language, culture and day to day life style al are changing in the new country but the immigrants have not ability to change their minds according to the Australian society. Through this situation there are extrovert and introvert conditions. Multicultural society, Language diversity and globalizing from the social inclusion are positive social impacts of the immigration.

“The Australian Government is committed to a just, inclusive and socially cohesive society where everyone can participate in the opportunities that Australia offers and where government services are responsive to the needs of Australians from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds. Australians from all backgrounds will be given every opportunity to participate in and contribute to Australia and its social, economic and cultural life. Australians from all backgrounds are also entitled to receive equitable access to government services. The Government will strengthen its access and equity policies to ensure that government programs and services are responsive to the needs of Australia’s culturally and linguistically diverse communities. Australia’s multicultural policy aligns with the Government’s Social Inclusion Agenda where Australians of all backgrounds feel valued and can participate in our society.” (Encina,(n.d))

Australian government activates many strategies for the conciliation of the society; mainly demonstrable activity is the primary school children’s multiculturalism attitude development projects. Australian Judicial system legally restricted apartheid in Australia. In this background Australian society is comfortable residence to the immigrants around the world. However, there are some disadvantages to the Australian society. Long Distance Nationality, Population harm to Environment and Lack of Infrastructure are some facts to indicate the negative side of the increasing population density

Australian Immigration programme mainly affected to the Economic sector of the country. Australian present necessity is the workforce and consumer community. That indicated by Australian Prime minister Scott Morrison,

“Morrison said his government intended to address, as its major priorities, “Australia’s “economic and national security”. But he also nominated Australia’s long-running drought – 100% of the state of New South Wales is currently drought-affected – as a key issue. This is our most urgent and pressing need right now” (Doherty, 2018).

However, Australia identified as peaceful country of the world but there are some Socio-economic impacts because of the Increasing the population.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Australia maintains one of the world best immigration systems. Everything has good and bad consequences and it is the same goes with the immigration program of Australia as well. Therefore, Australian immigration programme has negative as well as positive outcomes to the Australian society and its’ economy. Wherever the place is, any newcomer from anywhere needs some specific time period to enroll in a new society. Hence, the same conditions apply to Australia as well. This time period was found to spend horrible to immigrants and the Australian society. This happens because immigrants fail to change their habitual lifestyle in the same way they change their living place at once. There are positive and negative social impacts of the immigration on the Australian society. Also, immigration can affect the economic sector of the country; it can give positive and negative impacts on the economy.

The present situation of Australia indicates a multicultural society in the world because it has migrant who comes from all over the world. These

backgrounds of the multicultural society is consist with many traditional values come from immigrants. This is a positive condition for the country. These immigrants give their knowledge to the development of Australia. Mainly cultural diversity can be divided into three main categories as Diversity of birthplace, Diversity of language, Diversity of religion and spiritual beliefs. “In Australia, multiculturalism means you can bring your culture, language and your religion with you. But you would be frowned upon if you started parading them around. It is un-Australian to do so. The Australian way is to fit in and become Australian” (Hartwich, 2011). Language diversity is another gift to the country, come through the immigration. New languages are the not enemies to the country it is like a new opening knowledge bank to the country. These all languages have literature and knowledge this can empower the Australian literature. Globalization from the Social inclusion is another positive impact from the immigration. If a society moves with world communities, it can get many ideas about the development, management of day-to-day life and bring out their own work to the world. As an example, Australia has the immigrants who came from Japan and China, from these immigrants Australians can get some ideas for their day to day life. Australia is a country fulfilled with many values of other countries; they can use these for their development. This can be called not only globalization but also integration with the world communities.

Immigration is affect to Australian society in many ways, which are positive impacts and negative impacts. In the above discuss about the positive impacts of the immigration but discussing the negative impacts is most important thing to the development and progressive of the country.

Immigrants are come from the countries around the world and they have dignity about their nationality; long distance nationality arises with the feelings about the home country. Long distance nationality is based on the globalization and immigration. Immigrants are permitted to immigrate as residents by the Australian government then after they get the ability to live in Australia but getting stable geographically does not give feeling of nationality. As a simple example, if there is a cricket match between Australia and India the people who migrate from India support Indian cricketers because they are descending from India and also, they still feel as Indians but the reality is now they are Australian citizens. The people who are without feeling about the nationality are threat to the host country. Diaspora is another kind of long-distance nationalism. The same race people or same home state people get together and make a diaspora for their community or for their country. Sometimes this is harmful to the nationality of the current state they live because some Diasporas exercise boycotts and agitations.

Increasing immigrants means increasing of the population. As most of the immigrants select their apartments near to the urban areas, cities of these areas become more populous. Australia is a less populated country at the beginning of migration programme but after the migration programme, many of main cities became urbanized. Many difficulties might occur for both Australians and immigrants with this growing population. Traffic, Housing costs, Pollution, Water supply, and Garbage are some of them. As a simple example increasing population means increasing the buildings and other infrastructure for this process remove the environmental areas like woodlands which can destroy Carbon Dioxide (CO₂) and Sulfur

Dioxide (SO₂). People pollute the air and also, they destroy the areas which can reconciliation the air.

The government of Australia does not construct new infrastructure facilities; due to that reason natives and Australians face difficulties to in their day to day lifestyle. “There is not much advance transport planning. Indeed, Sydney is still struggling to build the infrastructure it should have provided decades ago for its north-west suburbs. Property developers have prospered without contributing much to urban design. In many ways, today's situation is reminiscent of the 1950s and 1960s, when new developments chewed up bush land around Sydney, Melbourne, and Brisbane” (Stewart,2017). Most the immigrants come from the countries which are less infrastructure because of that they are satisfied with Australian Infrastructure facilities according to their home country infrastructure. But the Australians are not satisfied with the infrastructure facilities of their country.

Economic and Population is the double side of the same coin and both of these can affect the power of a country. If a country has a large population it is a benefit for the workforce. The Large workforce can provide a lot of manufacturing and it can empower the economic sector of a country. Australian economic sector mainly seems about skilled immigrants, they can do a great support to the economy of the country. A highly skilled and educated person prefer to immigrate Australia is considered as a gift to the country but it may have cost some family and their birth nation many hundreds of thousands of Dollars to raise and educate that person, finally they immigrate to Australia and empower the Australian economy. “cites

International Monetary Fund estimates showing Australia 's migration program will add up to 1% to annual average GDP growth from 2020 to 2050 because it focuses on skilled migrants of working age, which limits the economic impact of Australia 's aging population" (Hutchens,2018). According to this clearly illustrates the immigrants do a great work to increase Australian GDP level. Skilled migrants bring the knowledge for filling the empty positions of the workforce of Australia and also critical positions of the working hierarchy. Directly immigration supports to increase the workforce of Australia Some of the immigrants established in the business field and expand their business and provide job facilities to natives and the immigrants. Australian natural resources are petering in the next decades then they want new business partners to continue their economy. In the above illustrates how important is the consumer community to the Economic sector and also youth and young persons are very important to the economic sector of the country because they are the future generation of the economic sector and the youth persons are the most powerful group of the community. Because of that Australian government give the 30 points to the skilled migration who willing to migrate in the 25-32 age category.

Then family migrant category immigrants and all other categories immigrants make the consumers to the Australian market. Consumers are the most important group in the market. If there are a large number of consumers their productivity is in the upper level and also consumer society is less number their productivity is in few extents but this condition is a rough experience to the business. Australian situation is their consumer group is in less number and its' difficult condition to the buying and selling

economic system. But immigrants spend money for their day to day needs such as foods, domestic things, and fundamental needs. Because of that not only skilled migrant but also family migrant are playing the important role in the Australian economy. Less consumer community is the burning problem to Australia. Because of that closed the Australian car manufacturing factory in Adelaide and it was the only Australian car manufacturing factory and it closed in 2017 but this is in the closing level in few decades; Finally, Government said that the company was closed and Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull said that is not the fault of government and also He pointed to the continued strength of the Australian dollar, high production costs, and a small domestic market that is both competitive and fragmented. According to these factors proves the how important of the large consumer community to the economic sector of the country. Because of Australian low population immigrants are very important to the Australian economic sector as the consumers.

Unemployment is a burning problem to the countries around the world and this is the same condition to Australia. Mainly there are both categories of unemployment as Short-term unemployment and long-term unemployment. At the 2018 Australian unemployment rate is 5.4 percent but USA rate is 3.7. Therefore, immigration affect to the increase of the unemployment rate of Australia. And also, Australian government allocates a wide range of percentages for Welfare service. A huge amount of money allocated to the welfare services from the annual Budgets and these welfare services are Income support for seniors, Income support for cares, Childcare fee assistance, Parents income support, Assistance of the unemployed and sick, Assistance to the veterans and dependents, and other

welfare service expenditure. This huge amount of welfare money is the taxation of the workforce. Economist said that this welfare service is one of the reasons to underdeveloped infrastructure facilities. There is another impact from increasing population; Essentially Immigrants settled down near to the urban areas of Australia; Sydney and Melbourne are the important cities to the immigrants. As a result of that there housing cost and living cost goes high standard.

Conclusion

The children of immigrants have to learn in English but their native language is not English as a result of that at the primary classes they get a big effort to improve their English language to understand other subjects. Therefore, the children of Immigrants have to face difficulties in Australian Primary Education system. As a solution for this language issue, the Australian Education Ministry can enroll assistance teachers from the students' native languages. Then they can improve English through the native language. This is not want to the students for more than 10 years. But the children under 10 years cannot give a big effort to improve English language and learn other languages through the English; it is hard to target to them. The Education ministry

Australia can give a solution to this difficulty because those children are the future of Australia. Underdeveloped infrastructure is the burning problem of urban areas like Sydney and Melbourne. Underdeveloped infrastructure makes difficulties as road trafficking, lack of accommodations and makes some difficulties to day to day lifestyle. This

affects to not only the natives but also immigrants because of that Australian government can develop the infrastructure facilities of the country. Pollution is another burning problem to the Australian society but this is not only the responsibility of Australian government but also the society. The government can introduce concepts like “3R” as a short-term solution; from this concept introduce three ways to reduce pollution that are “Reduce, Re-use and Recycle”. Introducing this concept is a not hard thing the Australian society. Also, pollution can reduce from the in search of the ways of most pollution. Then the government can give the solution to one by one. This project can get a few time periods but that can give long term consequences. As an example, factories are one of most air pollution way but there are many technological methods to reduce the air pollution from the factories. The government can introduce these ways to all domestic and huge factories.

The increasing population of the urban areas of Australia is one of the burning problems of Australia. As a solution for that, the Australian government can proceed with the accommodation form a little bit far away from the urban area. And also, the small cities like Adelaide, New Castle, Gold Coast can develop as same as Sydney and Melbourne. The fundamental facilities of these cities should develop more than the current situation.

Australian less population affects the economy but it is not a matter of land; it's a problem of balancing. Australian government activates immigration programme as the answer to this matter. If Australian government do a special for the natives or Immigrant, there will be a critical condition of the

political stability because of that government have to equilibrium both of these parties. This process not only for the few years but also this should activate the all future governments of Australia. The Australian government can establish new job opportunities but the government should not give priority to Immigrants or natives because it can make a critical political condition of the country. Definitely, Australia is a multicultural society but peaceful society is not in the same way every day. The Australian government has to do more things to conciliation of the society because of that there can exist the ethnic problems as France. The Australian government has to empower the defense of the country and empower the military forces.

The vast land area of the Australian continent is dry zone because of that the government can precede a project to cultivate these lands as the system and using the technology of Middle East Countries. It will be a relief to the fundamental needs of the increasing population. Water supply will be the difficult to the relative to the increasing population because of that Government can start projects for the collecting rainwater. This can improve step by step as the domestic level to the state level.

The Australian unemployment rate is in high rank of the world hierarchy because of that Australia wants to establish new job opportunities not only immigrants but also native Australians. The government can give loans and other monetary support for the employees to establish and enhance the new job opportunities. Development of domestic job opportunities is most important to the economic sector. The government can reduce the cost of raw materials which are essential for the manufacturing sector. This is

detrimental for the government economy but the government can sell the raw materials to the cheap price and after the selling of manufacture again they can get some tax from the employee. The government can publish a limit for the wages of the employers that can be a solution for the competitiveness of occupations.

Australian government authority can sign the agreements with foreign employees to enhance the occupation opportunities to the immigrants and native Australians. That is a very important path to domestic employees to enhance their manufacturing sector and sign agreement with the foreign employees. And also, less consumer community is the prior matter of the Australian economy because of that the distributing part of the business face critical experience. The Australian government can enhance their distributing market around the world. The government can do this through the agreements, aids, and loan with the conditions. Enhance the consumer community through the loans make auspicious consequences to the country because Australia can find new consumer community and the loan interest from the same country.

Immigration makes positive and negative social impacts. Australian multicultural society system is a very attractive Social system of the world. The German government is exercising the “open door policy” for the Refugees and at the beginning, German government thought to establish a multicultural social system in German. But the German Chancellor said that they are failing in exercise the multicultural society. Because of that Australians multicultural society is very important to the universal system. English is the native language of Australia but there are hundreds of

languages but the Australian government maintains these languages diversity very well. Immigration guides to the go in front with the globalizing the world; that is very important to the large island as Australia. There Definitely, Australian immigration program is a fruitful one to the country. At the present the government main ambition is develop the economic sector through the immigration programme. According to these factors Australian government do a respectful work to protect the peace of the Country but there are some main factors to further more prosperity of the country.

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The Practice of Economic Diplomacy as a Foreign Policy Tool in Sri Lanka Post 2015 Period

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Abstract

The pearl shaped island state of Sri Lanka is strategically situated in a way India's security is ascertained. This new era of political collaboration through silent revolution has begun by the good governance government since 2015 and the new foreign policy has been guided by the principle of non-alignment based on the strategy of 'Asian Centric Middle Path'. 'Economic Diplomacy' is the most significant tool in foreign policy. Has Sri Lanka able to achieve economic goals & find solutions of financial issues through foreign economic policy since 2015? Are the foreign economic policies being diplomatically effective & productive to reach correct & positive direction of economic development in Sri Lanka? These problems would be answered through this research by soft power theory. The research findings reveal that although Sri Lanka has been following Non-alignment policy, should pay attention to the absence of long term national economic strategy plan and large differences of implementation of policies and promises for rebuild the national economy.

Key words: Sri Lanka, Foreign policy, Economic Diplomacy, political economy, Good Governance.

Introduction

Asian poets, have mentioned the geographical location of the island and lauding its beauty, called it the "pearl upon the brow of India." The strategic position of the pearl shaped island in the Indian Ocean, at middle of the maritime silk route from China to Europe, made it a hub for ancient trade since historically. This island located approximately halfway between the Suez Canal and the Strait of Malacca, the key maritime choke points to the East and west, and along routes from the Strait of Hormuz, through which most of Asia's energy supplies transit. Sri Lanka still continues to be surrounded by vital sea-lanes that carry raw materials, finished goods and energy to and from some of the world's largest economies. Starting from the ancient history, international economic relations of Sri Lanka has growth throughout over the years. This article fills a gap in the literature by focusing on the growing economic links through Foreign Direct Investment, International Trade as well as Tourism of Sri Lanka post 2015.

Economic diplomacy is utilizing of the full spectrum economic tools of the state to achieve its national interest. Economic Diplomacy consists all the economic activities, including but not limited to export, import, investment, lending, aid, free trade agreements etc. This researcher will analyze only practicing of Foreign Direct Investment, Tourism and International Trade of Sri Lanka post 2015 throughout this chapter. First, it was difficult to sustain the growth rates of the 2000 to 2015 period in the E7, ASEAN and other major emerging markets, given the combination of economic bottlenecks and institutional deficiencies.

As well as its proximity to all major ports in the Indian sub-continent, especially those of India, makes Sri Lanka a prime location that is able to provide fast and easy connectivity to the Indian sub-continent through its feeder & massive network. Especially due to this location of Sri Lanka the European colonists arrived in the 16th century, after the disestablishment of the Sinhalese monarchy in 1815. The Portuguese arrived in 1505 & the Dutch ruled from 1656 to 1796. Finally, the British governed the Sri Lanka during 1796-1948. 2015, was a much significant turning point for the foreign policy of Sri Lanka and measures were taken to sort out many issues during this year. The foreign policy of the present government of Sri Lanka has been guided by the principle of non-alignment through Asian Centric middle path policy and based on the theory of ‘friendship with all but angry with none’. In this context global economy has shifted from western towards Asian path.

The Soulbury commission was responsible for constitutional reforms towards a dominion status for Sri Lanka (Ceylon), based on the 1944 draft constitution of the board of Ministers and headed by Hon. D.S.Senanayake. Sri Lanka gained her independence in 4th February, 1948. Sri Lanka has redefined both economically and politically over the past three years. With the successful defeat of terrorism in the country, the economy has changed. Especially the political changes in 2015 of the good governance government has its own implications for the country’s economy. The current government has promised, a renewed policy focus on an outward oriented development strategy. Some of the measures include simplifying the tariff structure by introducing a 3 – band system, removing several para tariffs, negotiating trade agreements, introducing a

national trade policy and drafting a National Export Strategy. According to Lakshman Kadirgramar; ‘The role of a diplomat is not to go to the Buckingham Palace in top-hat and tailcoat but to diplomatically work out economic and trade agreements beneficial to all the people of Sri Lanka’. (The fine art of economic diplomacy, 2016). Sri Lanka has obtained international attention due to its location, size and natural resources. As the result of above reasons, Sri Lanka had to face many consequences since pre- colonialism era. At independence, rice was imported and 90% of foreign exchange earnings came from three crops of tea, rubber and coconut. At that moment, Ceylon was by far the most prosperous country in South Asia. Per- capita income was a fifth higher than the South Asian average.

This particular study is carried out to answer two main research questions, namely:

01. What is the important of practice of ‘Economic Diplomacy’?
02. How Sri Lanka has been practicing ‘Economic Diplomacy’ post 2015?

Main objectives of the research include;

01. To understand the importance of concept and practice of economic diplomacy.
02. To understand the practice of economic diplomacy as a foreign policy tool since 2015.

Methodology

This is a qualitative case study research, based on secondary data. The study will be conducted based on secondary data collected through various sources including books, journals, magazines, newspapers, Internet and annual reports, surveys and researches conducted by various national and international institutions. This study looks in to discuss broad frame work of statistics related to international trade, Foreign Direct Investment and Tourism to better understand the process of economic diplomacy as a foreign policy tool in Sri Lanka.

Literature Review

When evaluating the 70 years old history of Sri Lankan diplomacy, Sri Lanka was adept in projecting economic advancement as a major tool of Sri Lankan foreign policy. Further, Sri Lanka's regional and global image was exalted through these economically diplomatic moves. The Soulbury commission was responsible for constitutional reforms towards a dominion status for Sri Lanka (Ceylon), based on the 1944 draft constitution of the board of Ministers and headed by Hon. D.S.Senanayake. Sri Lanka gained her independence in 4th February, 1948. The Former president of Singapore, Lee Kuan Yew, had visited Colombo in 1950's and wished Singapore could graduate to the standard of this island. Some factors are useful to recognize the Sri Lankan economy looking both backward and forward in the areas of economic performance, episodic performance, location, trade policy, macro – economic management, conflict and institutions.

By the mid-1970s, the Sri Lankan economy had become one of the most inward – oriented in the world outside the communist bloc. Economic liberalization in 1977, marked a watershed in Sri Lankan economic policies. During the post 1977 period of trade liberalization and encouragement of foreign investment, there was a significant expansion and diversification of the industrial sector. Foreign investments that spurred economic development turned away to other countries in Asia such as Malaysia and Singapore. The government adopted a unified exchange rate, devalued the Rupee and adopted a floating exchange rate in 1977. In recent years, there have been significant conceptual shifts of economic diplomacy.

However, economic diplomacy important to an understanding of both the concept and practice of diplomacy. As the concept of economic diplomacy is concerned not only with the broader diplomatic agendas as they emerge from the processes of market integration, such as negotiations to achieve a low carbon economy, intellectual property rights bargaining, e-commerce agreements, and transnational finance negotiations, but also with changes in diplomacy and especially with the emergence of new modes of diplomacy, new diplomatic actors, and new formal and informal structures of diplomacy (Hamilton & Langhorne, 1995, P.68-81).

Traditional Trade Diplomacy was to bring peace but, modern Economic Diplomacy is to bring prosperity. The government of a country has a significant impact on the performance on an economy. Government policies which improve business and other activities can motivate market activities that may lead to increased competition. These actions can allow

the nation's population to develop the state's economic power. Economic development is the process which not only effects economic relations but also social, political and cultural relations of the society. And also the increment of per – capita income can be referred to as economic development. At the macro level, the increment of the Gross Domestic Product in a certain year compared to its rate in the base year is called economic development. (Joseph & Keohane, 1973, p.167-178). Sri Lanka's policies are of much interest in view of expectations that once again graduates Sri Lanka as the commercial hub of the Indian Ocean.

Sri Lanka has redefined both economically and politically over the past three years. With the successful defeat of terrorism in the country, the economy has changed. Especially the political changes in 2015 of the good governance government has its own implications for the country's economy. The current government has promised, a renewed policy focus on an outward oriented development strategy. Some of the measures include simplifying the tariff structure by introducing a 3 – band system, removing several para tariffs, negotiating trade agreements, introducing a national trade policy and drafting a National Export Strategy. However, driven by fiscal exigencies, some import surcharges were added to the list of para tariffs in the 2015 budget. We can recognize, when the governments were changing, national policies had also changed from 1948 to 2018. Not only policies, but also the foreign relations and behaviours of other states towards Sri Lanka had changed.

Accordingly, international trade and domestic economic fiscal policies and their implementation were also changed. Present day, Sri Lanka has the

major task of ‘rebalancing’ the status quo in the not only South Asian region between China and India but also European Community. Both these global powers showing particular interest towards the Sri Lanka in currently. First, there is China’s astonishingly rapid rise to great-power status, both militarily and economically. In the economic realm, the International Monetary Fund forecasts that China’s share of world GDP (15%) will draw nearly even with the U.S. share (18 %) by 2014 (Christopher, 2015, P.32).

The new world politics is not just multipolar, but multi conceptual. Strong trade and investment connections between the United States and China mean that, whatever their differences are, a significant level of economic interdependence remains central to their relationship as well as China exercises increasing power in the Western Pacific, confidence in the capacity of the United States to determine outcomes in the region is being gradually undermined... (Kaplan, 2017, P.172-231). Some scholars have argued that economic corridors due to sovereignty of the state. In early 2017 there were signs of this in Sri Lanka, where violent protests erupted at a ceremony to mark the start of construction of a Chinese special economic zone.

China was among the first countries that stepped in to assist the reconstruction of Sri Lanka after a civil war ended in 2009. According to estimate of Sri Lanka Ports Authority for the first phase of Colombo Port City Mega Project cost is 1.4billion US\$ and is to be invested by China Communications Constructions Company. This Massive project is most significant for Sri Lanka as not only economically but also strategically,

security and politically perspective through the benefits maritime silk route of one Belt – One Road.

India, who is the big brother of South Asia and Sri Lanka has located in a way India's security is ascertained and foreign relations between India and Sri Lanka has been maintaining since 3rd century. In recent years, Narendra Modi who is the Prime – Minister of India has been promoting economic integration through the 'Neighbourhood First policy' between these two states. President Maithripala Sirisena have utilized the art of economic diplomacy, having a plan of economic and trade agreements with Germany as a super power of Europe's economic.

German Government has reported that President Sirisena met the German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Economic Affairs Minister Gerd Muller and German entrepreneurs to improve economic investments and trade relations between the two countries in 2016. As the result of this meeting, agreements were signed to promote economic and technical cooperation between Germany and Sri Lanka, Accordingly, Germany donated 18 million Euros to Sri Lanka. And also signed the Agreements with the German Association for Small and Medium Sized Enterprises (BVMV) on Small and Medium Enterprise Sector Development. Sri Lanka had to face a lot of issues including GSP+ under the previous regime.

To elaborate more, Sri Lanka benefited from GSP+ since 2005, but the EU suspended Sri Lanka's GSP+ status in 2010. As the Result of it, Sri Lanka's textile industry faced a massive threat. According to Sri Lanka BRRIF "They had to face huge financial crisis, closing of over 30 garments factories and losses of thousands of peoples' job opportunities.

The EU market is the biggest export market of Sri Lanka and it accounts for 46% of the textile and garment exports, 30% rubber exports and 40% of the fish and crustacean exports of Sri Lanka. This had the greatest impact on Apparel Export sector” (Sri Lanka BRIEF, 2017). Sri Lanka regained GSP+ and enjoyed preferences tariff under this government since 2017. This achievement is most significant to rebuild development of this island through economic diplomacy in this period rather than previous era. And also now Sri Lanka is experiencing new record arrivals of the tourism industry which focuses on eco-friendliness and "quality not quantity". 350 hotels take part in a European Commission funded project called "Greening Sri Lanka Hotels" – targeted at enhancing the environmental performance of Sri Lankan hotels through improvement of energy, water and waste management systems up to 20 percent in order to enhance the environmental performance and increase the market acceptance of Sri Lankan hotels through promoting them as low carbon foot print green hotels. The Indian High Commissioner Office has emphasized, when considering FDI and Foreign Trade of this government, India has interested in investing over USD 2 billion, in the Container Terminal of the East port, with other projects like the oil tank farm in Trincomalee under a public-private partnership with the Sri Lankan government.

Sri Lanka engages with many states of various power balancing groups members such as India, China, Japan, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Singapore, Australia, Austria, EU, USA, Germany etc. Finally, according to the above overall picture, Sri Lanka has more active and significant opportunities for positive developments regionally and globally through economic diplomacy in this period than previous regimes. To take maximum

advantage of the shift in economic power to Asia, Sri Lanka should priorities economic diplomacy. Sri Lanka's future will be largely depending on the strategic utilization of economic diplomacy as a foreign policy tool.

This researcher is quite positive to address the practice of economic diplomacy other than touching on the concept of power as a core concept of International Relation phenomena. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the significance of economic diplomacy and its practice in depth by using theoretical form of Power through its approach of soft – power and its empirical background. Further, this part it is helpful to give a brief overview of the core of this research. That's why this author decided to begin this research by introducing 'Power'.

In the phenomena of international relations, the power concept is closely related with the realism theory. According to Realists, power plays a crucial role and implements a relationship between war and peace. In brief, the states are key actors in the international system, power and survival are the main issues that has been neglected. However, according to realists, states are struggling for gaining power and power is the core concept of international politics. Power connects with many branches. The concepts, theories, models, approaches and forms are also included in various disciplines such as in international relations, political science, economic, military science, ideological and religious, normative and legislative power and so on and so forth. It is a well-known fact that there are plenty of definitions of "power".

According to scholars of IR, hard power is the oldest power form of an anarchic international system. Hard power is a very common and is easy to observe than soft power. Hard power is based on tangible resources and it is definitely connected with realism (Waltz, 1979, P. 258). Therefore, international system is anarchical and States concern about their own survival. Then states try to maximize their own relative power, especially through military capabilities. This logic is directly connected with hard. Hard power is capable of resolving issues through the use of violence, force, war, coercions and threats.

According to Joseph Nye, power is like love and “is easier to experience than to define or measure (Nye, 1990). Two concepts describe the forms of power at the international level, namely hard power and soft power. According to Nye, “The power which able to guide the capabilities, culture, ideology and the social system of others can be called the soft power” (Nye, 2005). Joseph Nye explains this term as, “the ability to use the carrots and sticks of economic and military might to make others follow your will.” (Nye, 2003)

Where soft power pillars are namely; tourism, industries, international politics are included in spheres level. Laws, agreements, foreign exchanges, nation branding are consisted in instruments level. Although, according to Ney “the soft power of a country consists basically on three resources: namely; culture of state, political values of the state and Foreign policies of the state”. (Nye, 1996). States are capable of obtaining political values through policy. Policy is understanding of political values. If policy is based on broadly inclusive and far-sighted national interests, then it is

more attractive than narrow and myopic perspective (Lin & Hongtao, 2017). According to the President of USA John F. Kennedy, 'Domestic policy can only defeat us; but, foreign policy can only kill us'. That's why effective and correct foreign policy is capable of earning reputation and credibility for the national objectives. Generally, the head of a State assists three tools to conduct foreign policy. Namely: Diplomacy, Foreign aid and Military force.

According to William Thomas, 'The convention of Vienna' the diplomats enjoy fully freedom within the broadly through diplomatic negotiations (Worster, 2012, P.113). The diplomats enjoyed unlimited freedom of action and full power in matters of negotiations, due to lack of high technology facilities of communication between rulers and ambassadors in the traditional diplomacy era. Lee & Sharp explained, the main features of 'New Diplomacy' have been completely different than the features of 'Traditional Diplomacy'. Traditional diplomacy is capable of bringing peace, but Economic diplomacy is capable of bringing not only peace but also prosperity.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Identification of the Main Economic Diplomatic Tools in Sri Lanka

According to the number of chronicles namely, the Mahawansa, the Deepawansa, the Rajawaliya and the Chulawansa, have recorded events from the beginnings of the Sinhalese monarchy in the 6th century BC. Sri Lanka was one of the great emporiums & a hub of the economics of the

East. Merchants imported items both for export as well as for exchange. The day of ruled by kings Sri Lanka was a self – sufficient country due to wonderful & unique technology of irrigation system, long term cultivation concept based on paddy field as well as innovation of people. This researcher will focus to recognize & describe following main tools of economic diplomatic tools and will portray ancient history, with the modern vision for Sri Lanka to regain the status of the economic hub for Asia from ancient history to 2015 through combination of following tools.

01. Geography
02. Strategical location.
03. Ports & harbours.
04. Air connectivity.
05. Bi lateral & Multi-lateral Negotiations.
06. Organizations, Summits, Conferences & associations.
07. Diplomatic relationship.
08. The role of head of State.
09. The field of Tourism.

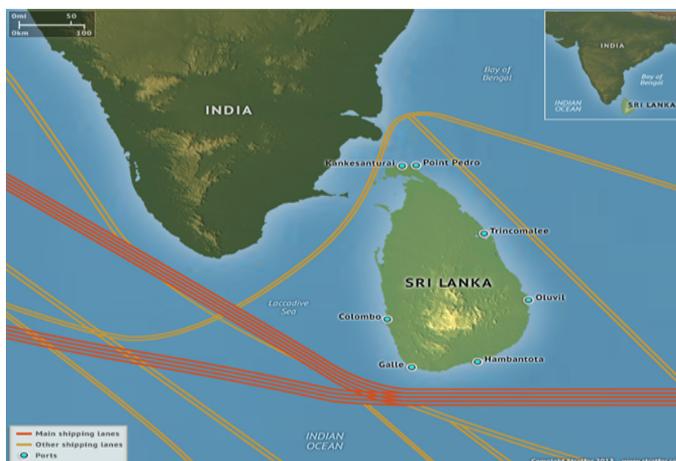
This Island is strategically situated in terms of India's defense. It stands at the junction of important sea route. On the nuclear map too, Sri Lanka well placed. Sri Lanka is separated from India by a narrow defile of water named Palk Strait which is less than 22 miles wide. The close proximity of Sri Lanka to India had provided it easy access to a diversity of socio-cultural influences from the mainland of India (Raghavan, 1969).

Especially due to this location of Sri Lanka the European colonists arrived in the 16th century, after the disestablishment of the Sinhalese monarchy

in 1815. The Portuguese arrived in 1505 & the Dutch ruled from 1656 to 1796. Finally, the British governed the Sri Lanka during 1796-1948. Sri Lanka regained her independence in 1948 from Britain. In the colonial era, Ceylon was exploited, with the introduction of cash crops mainly focus for export namely Coffee, Tea and Rubber. Sri Lanka is located the centre of all major sea routes connecting Asia to the rest of the world. The ancient silk route is moderating as the 21st century maritime silk route through the massive project of One Belt One Road.

This island located approximately halfway between the Suez Canal and the Strait of Malacca, the key maritime choke points to the East and west, and along routes from the Strait of Hormuz, through which most of Asia's energy supplies transit. Sri Lanka still continues to be surrounded by vital sea-lanes that carry raw materials, finished goods and energy to and from some of the world's largest economies.

Map 1- Significance of ports & harbours of Sri Lanka



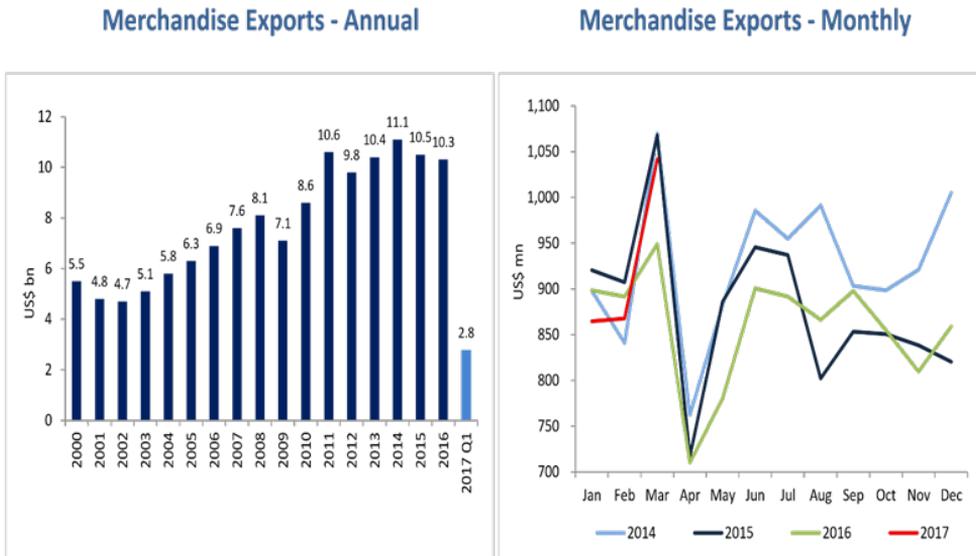
Source: Port Authority of Sri Lanka

The Significant of Sino –Lanka Rubber Rice pact

Last December remarked the 65th anniversary of the historic Rubber-Rice Pact between Ceylon and the People's Republic of China engaged on December 18, 1952. This Rubber-Rice Pact was the cornerstone for the expansion of bilateral trade between Sri Lanka and China, leading its way to closer and stronger economic cooperation between the two countries through economic diplomacy. As per this researcher, full credit of this Sino Lanka pact should be given to Hon. Dudley Senanayake who was the 2nd prime minister of Sri Lanka. This Sino-Lanka Rubber-Rice Pact was the most beneficial and successful trade agreement negotiated by then Ceylon and had been in operation for 30 years during 1952 – 1982. As a result of diplomatic relations, this was the 1st trade agreement between non – communist country and China. It was signed by the Minister of Commerce, late R. G. Senanayake and his Chinese counterpart in the presence of the Prime Minister of China, Zhou En Lai in Peking (now Beijing). Kodikara has emphasized that Sri Lanka was guaranteed 270,000 metric tons rice each year for five years and China agreed to buy 50,000 metric tons of Sri Lanka rubber each year for the same period through Rice – Rubber pact (Kodikara S.U., 1967, P.108). According to Nihal Mallikaarachchi who was the president of the Sri Lanka China Business Cooperation Council from 2002 to 2012, the country was benefitted by supplying the rubber at a higher price than the international price prevailing at the time, and China supplying the rice at a price lower than the world market price (Mallikaarachchi N., 2012).

International trade, FDI and tourism of Sri Lanka post 2015

Figure.1 – Earning from Merchandise Exports Annual and Monthly



Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka

Above charts demonstrates earning from merchandise exports annual and monthly of Sri Lanka. The highest earning from merchandise exports has been recorded by 2014, during 2000 – 2017 period. It can be observed as US\$ Bn 11.1. As well as during 2010 – 2017 demonstrates fluctuation of earning from merchandise exports. However, the amount of 2016 is lower than 2014 and it can be seen as US\$ Bn. 10.3. It has recorded 0.8 difference by previous 2 years. In overall, the lowest amount has been recorded by 2002. However, during 2015 – 2017 period, full amount of earning from merchandise exports of Sri Lanka is higher than the amount of 2000-2010 decades.

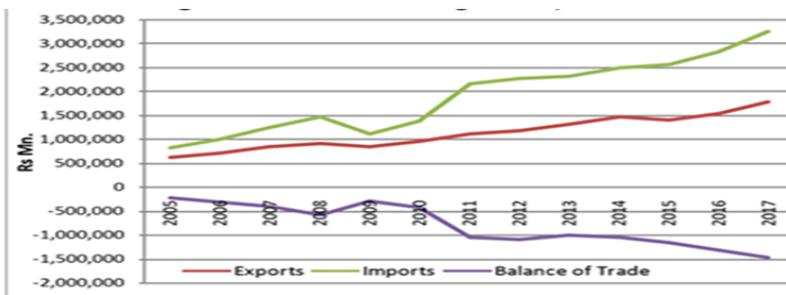
Department of Trade, Tariff and Investment Policy was established by new good governance government under the General Treasury, Ministry of

Finance with the broad objective of promotion and facilitation of country's international economic integration. The main objective of this department is formulation and implementation of sustainable policies on external trade, tariff and investment for the benefit of Sri Lankan economy and the people.

The total value of exports in 2016 was reported as US\$ million 10,217.28 which is a 0.05 percent increase compared to 2015 with US\$ million 10,211.92 export value (Table 4.2). The total value of exports has fluctuated during the last three years and recorded the highest value in 2014. The USA is the largest buyer of Sri Lankan products in 2016, which has a share of 27.5% of total export value followed by UK, India, Germany and Italy (Table 4.1). These five export destinations covered 52% of total value of exports in 2016.

The major export products to the world are reported as Apparel, which is the main foreign exchange earner covering 45% of total export value followed by Tea, Solid tires, Cinnamon and cinnamon-tree flowers.

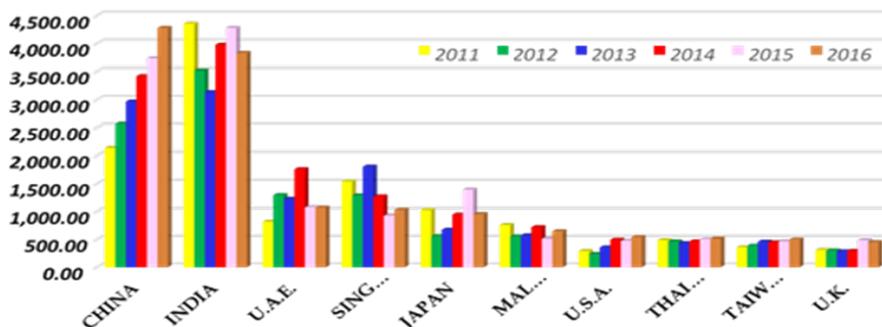
Figure 02: Trends in foreign trade 2005 – 2017



Source: Sri Lanka Customs.

The largest export destinations for Sri Lanka were USA and UK while India and China were the foremost import originations of Sri Lanka during the previous five years. While USA and UK are covering 27.5 and 10.2 percent from total exports, China and India are covering 21.9 and 19.6 percent from total imports of Sri Lanka in 2016. India, Germany, Italy, China, Belgium and UAE are the influential buyers of Sri Lanka while Japan, UAE, Singapore, Japan, Malaysia and USA are the dominant suppliers to Sri Lanka in 2016.

Figure 03: Main Import Partners



Source: Created by the researcher based on the annual reports of Customs

Currently, Singapore has invested altogether \$ 530 million in Sri Lanka, and Singaporean companies have expressed interest in number of key areas which urban infrastructure projects, construction of Export Processing Zones, projects in and around Colombo, and manufacturing. Interestingly, Sri Lankan companies have invested \$ 120 million in Singapore, and benefit from this agreement through greater access in which they can develop business in Singapore.

This FTA can be expected to encourage greater cross-border trade and investment flows among two States. Singapore's vision of a 'Global City' has resulted in a high influx of both high and low skilled foreign wage workers. This issue will impact towards unemployment issue of Sri Lanka. Next challenge is Sri Lanka has little to gain in the context of trading goods due to the minimum amount of exports and Singapore's existing duty free access.

On 19 May 2017 the EU granted Sri Lanka better access to the EU for its exports. Being able to export more to the EU will help Sri Lanka's economy develop and create more and better jobs for its people. The GSP+ scheme is conditional on Sri Lanka advancing human and labour rights and working towards sustainable development. The EU is Sri Lanka's second-largest trading partner after India but its main export destination, absorbing 31 % of Sri Lankan exports in 2015. Sri Lanka was the EU's 62nd largest trading partner in goods accounting for 0.1% of EU trade by 2016. Sri Lanka's exports to the EU are dominated by textiles and clothing, accounting for 82% of Sri Lanka's total exports to the EU in 2016. Textiles and clothing account for 61.9% of Sri Lanka's exports to the EU, followed by food products with 12.3% in 2016. As well as the GSP+ specially significant for the industrial of fisheries.

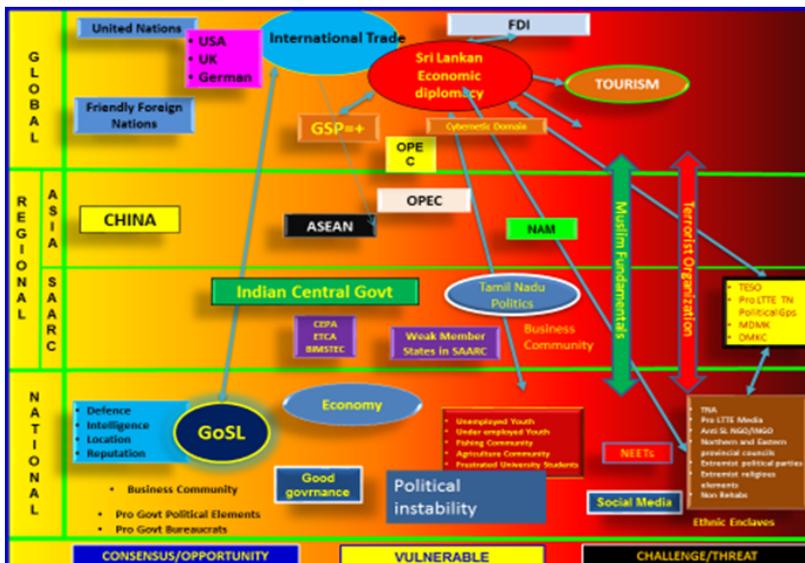
Foreign Direct Investment of Sri Lanka

Foreign Direct Investment in Sri Lanka increased by 387 US\$ Million in the first quarter of 2018. Foreign Direct Investment in Sri Lanka averaged 150.68 US\$ Million from 2001 until 2018, reaching an all-time high of 964 US\$ Million in the fourth quarter of 2017 and a record low of 20 USD

Million in the second quarter of 2001. Strategic location with sea and air connectivity, high literacy rate, well-educated and easily trainable workforce, market-friendly and transparent government policies, improved infrastructure, high quality education and healthcare facilities have made Sri Lanka an ideal location for foreign investors.

Based on Foreign Investment Act in 1978, investment policies in Sri Lanka have been implicated to attract foreign investment. The highest value of Foreign Direct Investment has been recorded by 2018. As well as the lowest amount of FDI has been reported by 2015. During 2015 – 2018 period, FDI has increased rapidly. According to new global economics shift China has become the largest investor of Sri Lanka.

Summary of SWOT Analysis of economic diplomacy of Sri Lanka



Source: Created by this author based on secondary data

The new good governance government follows a new business strategy with an expressed on expanding exports, strengthen industry and boosting private investment and public-private partnerships. Since 2017, having identified that Sri Lanka needs high levels of FDI and had been some changes and improvement investment law for boost FDI. Exchange Control Laws Applicable for foreign Investments.

Conclusion

The objectives of the current study is to understand the importance of the concept and practice of economic diplomacy and to understand the practice of economic diplomacy as a foreign policy tool since 2015. According to chapter two and chapter three of this study, practice of economic diplomacy mainly based on implementation of foreign policy by head of the state. In order to descriptive statistics, even though Foreign policy of Sri Lanka is based on Non – Alignment policy, the study observed plenty of leaders of UNP apply pro – west policy and SLFP leaders apply opposition policy of that policy in practical level since 1948. These policies offer positive and negatives consequences for economic sector of Sri Lanka. This author finds that there is a gap where a quick positive contribution is taken to analyze the current government’s (2015 – 1st half of 2018) inclination with South East States through Asian Centric Middle Path Foreign Policy”. In view of this, the new shifts towards Far East regarding Foreign policy of Sri Lanka can be utilized to create a new economic brand to optimize the benefits.

As the first Prime Minister, first Defense Minister and also first Minister of economic ministry of Sri Lanka, D.S.Senanayake had no any alternative path or selection except require assistance of westerns. The reason is at that time, Sri Lanka had to face a massive threat from India in regionally and internationally threat was the Soviet State. Therefore, he had to get this decision. D.S. had delivered the reason to this at a speech in parliament, that he had to gain support from British and the west because Sri Lanka at the time had no security measures or armed forces to secure the security of people and the country and he also had stated that he need Sri Lanka to be non- aligned. That's why, this researcher attempts to justify his foreign policy. This factor is viewed as a particular strategy in the period of D.S.Senanayaka as an economic diplomacy tool.

However, from D.S. to Maithreepala all the presidents utilized Non-Alignment foreign policy, but, since 2015 can observe Asian Centric Middle Path Foreign policy. It can be proved through bilateral agreements and economic diplomacy relations with Asian States named Sri Lanka – Singapore Free Trade Agreement. And also, China's FDI has increased by 2016 than previous years as well as implementation massive projects named Colombo Port City project in Sri Lanka. But in same time India's trade relation had decreased with comparison.

The most significant trade benefit is regaining GSP+ from European Union. China. Post-conflict Sri Lanka and its Ministry of External Affairs, over the past five years, had depended on haphazard and reactive arrangements, to say the least. In fact, the country lacked any coherent message on relevant issues with contradictory statements being made by

local politicians and diplomats. However, this researcher's argument is that it is necessary to investigate visits and diplomatic relation by this government since 2015, before understanding foreign policy of new good governance government.

Although recorders of Central Bank statistics, good governance government increasing FDI, Tourism and international Trade. But the country facing number of challenges named, budget deficit, devaluate of exchange rate, poverty, balance payment issue and political instability of good governance. As well as there is an issue of accountability of head of state and issues of ambassadress' responsibility. Finally, As the researcher, Findings of this research are Sri Lanka has been followed Non alignment policy, should pay attention absence of long term national economic strategy plan and large differences of implementation of policies and promises for rebuild the national economy.

Recommendations

01. Should create diversification of economic sector.
02. Establish long term strategic economic frame work
03. Promote domestic relevant economic frame work
04. Expanding Investment policies
05. Promote new technology training programme.
06. Create dialogue intellectuals who are experts in economics
07. Utilize blue economic trend
08. Solving the issue of center of gravity by hosting links with public, privet sectors along with public opinion in economy related policy implementations.

09. Expanding research and innovation sectors of international trade and tourism
10. Improve participation of people to overall economic process
11. Promote awareness programme for changing attitudes
12. Re – considering responsibility of ambassadors

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The Afghan war and its impact on Pakistan: Issues, challenges and way forward

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Abstract

The Afghan War and the problem of Pakistan have opened up a contentious issue in the international system. The Afghan war and the problem of Pakistan: The way forward - is an effort to understand how Afghan war created threats to Pakistan and the International security. Being the longest war, which USA military was engaged in, the Afghan war has created lot of consequences to its neighbours such as Pakistan, India, China, Russia and many other countries. Many countries are interested in Afghanistan because of its geographic proximity to Indian Ocean which has warm water throughout the year and easiness for the flow of energy. In this paper various events leading to Afghan war, strategies used by states who engaged in war, Brief history and background of relation between Afghanistan and Pakistan, Pakistan's Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan, Impact of Afghan war on Pakistan and interests of external powers in Afghanistan and threats for Pakistan has been discussed briefly. Afghanistan war was very controversial and this condition which existed in the Afghan region effected mostly to the Pakistan territory. As the objectives of the study, the significant results of the Afghan War in special reference to the impact on Pakistan has been identified. The intervening of external powers for this war such as, China, India, United States, and Iran can be seen as the policy of interventionism.

Key words- Afghan war, External Powers, Intervention, Foreign Policy, Threat

Introduction

All the states in the international system are power loving and they always try to accumulate power in order to become powerful in the international system and achieve their national interests. According to international relations theories such as realism states are interested in achieving power. They always try to become powerful than other states in the system. However, whenever there is a such a rising power, other states in the international system try to balance the power of that emerging state. They use either soft power or hard power over emerging countries to balance the power of international system.

Terrorism has become a great issue for states in the contemporary world. There are many consequences of terrorism in the rapidly globalizing world. The Afghan war is considered as the longest war which the US army was engaged in. This study is trying to explore knowledge on Afghan war and its impact on Pakistan, issues challenges and way forward.

1. The historical perspective and events leading to USA led invasion in Afghanistan

Afghanistan has been an unstable state due to power exchanges among various groups for years. In the early 1900s, Afghanistan was established as an independent state. But since 1970 there were lot of political changes that took place. In 1978 a civil war was started within the borders of Afghanistan between pro communists and anti-communists. The Soviet Union sent military forces to support the communists and USA provided money and other assistance to the anti-communists. This paved way for an

unnecessary bloody war. After this war there were various extremist groups that emerged from Afghanistan. So a group called Taliban has controlled many parts in Afghanistan since 1996. But after the USA invasion in Afghanistan Taliban was overthrown by UK and USA armies. When Taliban was controlling Afghanistan, they allowed an organization known as Al-Qaeda to have training camps there. But due to September 2001 terrorism attack in USA, nearly 3,000 people were killed. The United States accused that Osama Bin Laden (the leader of the Al Qaeda) was the man behind these attacks. So, there was a huge pressure on Afghanistan to hand over Osama Bin Laden. He had already been wanted by the USA for 3 years. But Taliban refused it and they demanded certain conditions to hand over Osama Bin Laden. USA didn't agree with those conditions and asked for enough evidences of Bin Laden involvement in the September 11 attacks. But USA dismissed the request and considered evidence as a delaying tactic.

Therefore, USA decided to use its armed forces against Afghanistan. In October 2001, USA and UK started bombing Afghanistan. They targeted Al Qaeda fighters and the Taliban. Later on, the Northern Alliance which had been fighting the Taliban in the ongoing civil war since 1996, joined the UK and USA armies. The code name of the war was 'Enduring Freedom – Afghanistan'. UK, Canada and other 40 nations including all NATO members supported USA. The public aim of the invasion was fall and crash of Taliban and Al Qaeda. But when we focus on national interests of USA, we can say that USA invaded Afghanistan due to its oil resources. However according to USA, their only objective was the eradication of the terrorism.

In November 2001, the Northern Alliance took control of the capital of Afghanistan, which is Kabul. USA, UK and other countries helped them. The Taliban were quickly banished from the Kabul. Many members of Taliban and Al Qaida couldn't capture, they escaped to neighbouring Pakistan. USA built military bases near major cities across the country. In December 2001, the UN Security Council established the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), to assist the Afghan interim authorities to secure the capital city. That was the first phase of the war.

At the Bonn Conference Hamid Karzai was selected as the head of the Afghan interim administration after Kabul became the Afghan Transitional Administration. 2004 election was popular and Karzai was elected as the President of the country. NATO joined with ISAF in August 2003. There were troops from 43 countries with NATO members in the ISAF forces. There was one portion of USA forces which was operated under NATO command, and the other remained under direct US command. In this situation Taliban launched an insurgency against the government and ISAF. In the first period of the insurgency there was little fighting, but from 2006 Taliban attacks became more tough and dangerous. So ISAF responded in 2006 by increasing troops for counterinsurgency operations. The aims of the project were to clear and hold villages and nation building projects to win hearts. The violence escalated during 2007-2009. So in the second phase of the war USA tried to rebuild the core institutions in Afghanistan.

In the third phase of the war USA tried to follow a counterinsurgency agenda. In this period, they tried to rehabilitate the insurgents and re-join to the Afghan society. However, in this case Pakistan is really an important country. Because of USA invasion in Afghanistan Pakistan had to face lot of issues. Pakistan and Afghanistan have a special relationship due to geographical location and cultural links. They are sharing borders; as a result of that there is always mistrust between them. When Taliban set up their government in Afghanistan, Pakistan and China were the only countries which accepted it as a government. So, there is a relation between Taliban and Pakistan. After the Afghan war many Taliban and Al Qaeda members escaped to Pakistan. As a result of this terrorism emerged in Pakistan.

Methodology

The method that used to collect data and information was based on qualitative secondary data obtained from articles, journals, reports and some other e-notes available in the internet regarding the discussed topic.

Literature Review

The Afghan war started in 2001 continued until 2014. This is considered as the longest war which USA military was engaged in. Afghan war began with the intension of eradication of terrorism and counterinsurgency in Afghanistan. There were series of incidents which caused this war and the most prominent one was the 9/11 attack and Taliban refusing to hand over

Osama Billaden. There are plenty of literature available based on Afghan war and its consequences.

In a paper named, “What Drives Pakistan’s Interest in Afghanistan?” written by Christopher L. Budihas in April 2001, the author examines how Pakistan’s external and internal security interests, internal political framework and economy are interwoven with its relationship with Afghanistan. The current regional dynamics reveal that, fundamentally, national security drives Pakistan’s ultimate interest in controlling Afghanistan. To preserve national unity, Pakistan must use Afghanistan to guard against internal militant groups as well as its aggressive Indian neighbour. Without stable national security, Pakistan will not be able to achieve the economic growth necessary to achieve global leadership within the international community.

Finally, the author provides recommendations for future U.S. strategies and finds that failure to understand the complexities analysed in this article could lead to a failed NATO strategy in Afghanistan, a debunked U.S, Pakistani, Afghan partnership and, worst case, a regional war between the two nuclear states of Pakistan and India. The findings also conclude that for Pakistan to achieve an enduring state of security there must be open and credible strategic dialogue between Afghanistan and NATO countries only such dialogue could deliver a mutually cooperative partnership and lead to collective diplomatic agreements. In addition, the author recommends parallel negotiations with India and Iran, which could lead to cooperative concessions, if not formal treaties or agreements, thereby mitigating those countries’ damaging policies regarding Pakistan. With Pakistan’s security, politics and economy inextricably linked with

Afghanistan, the relationship between these two countries must be recognized by regional and international policymakers.

Sripathi Narayanan was a M Phil student at the Department of Defence and Strategic University of Madras, Chennai, India. He wrote an essay named “Pakistan & Afghanistan-Understanding Islamabad’s Objectives and Strategies” when he was interning at the IPCS in 2010. In this essay he has pointed out that, in a single line the interests of Pakistan in Afghanistan can be summed up in the words of Gen Kiyani “we want strategic depth in Afghanistan but do not wish to control it”. The implication of this statement has already been put forth. But the General also said that “we can’t think anything for Afghanistan that we don’t think for our self”. Gen. Kiyani clearly describes here the policies of Pakistan towards Afghanistan. Pakistan try to adopt certain policies towards Afghanistan in order to eliminate threats to its internal security and stability.

In a thesis study of Talal Hassan named “Afghanistan complex situation and its Implications on Pakistan” highlights the Afghanistan complex situation and its implications on Pakistan. Though out the history, Afghanistan complex situation and weak government created a security threat for Pakistan. Since the late 1970s Afghanistan had suffered brutal civil war in addition to foreign interventions in the form of the 1979 Soviet invasion and the 2001 U.S. invasion. Pakistan is significantly and directly affected by the foreign invasion in Afghanistan. Pakistan is facing a variety of security threats; an internal threat, an Indian threat, and the threat from Afghanistan. He further mentions that, “in order to comprehend Pakistan's security dilemma, it is necessary to start our discussion with analyse the

Afghanistan geographically importance, foreign intervention in Afghanistan, Pak-Afghan relation, Pakistan's foreign policies towards Afghanistan, the resistance movement and refugee problems, and then evaluate the security situation. Admittedly, the India factor cannot be ignored in studying Pakistan's security dilemma.”

Vanda Felbab-Brown in the executive summary on “President trump’s Afghanistan policy: hopes and pitfalls” in 2017 says that “President Trump’s overall decision on U.S. policy toward Afghanistan—to stay in the country with a somewhat enlarged military capacity—is to a large extent correct. However, his de-emphasis on Afghan governance and political issue is deeply misguided and could be a fatal flaw in the strategy.” Further it includes following details.

The security situation in Afghanistan is worrisome. Amid persistent problems within the Afghan security forces, momentum has been on the Taliban’s side. The Haqqani network, Islamic State, and other actors have contributed to the deterioration in security. Most detrimentally, Afghanistan’s political system remains in dysfunction. The regional environment has also palpably worsened amid endless frustrations with Pakistan as well as challenges vis-à-vis China, Russia, and Iran. The principal objective of U.S. policy in Afghanistan since the 9/11 attacks has been to ensure that the country does not become a haven for terrorist groups. Other core U.S. interests in Afghanistan relate to regional stability and international credibility (i.e., honouring its commitments in Afghanistan).

The United States had principally three options regarding Afghanistan: full military withdrawal, limited counterterrorism engagement, and staying in the country with slightly increased military deployments and intense political engagement. The option the Trump administration chose staying in Afghanistan with a somewhat enlarged military capacity—is the least bad option. However, that strategy needs to be resolutely coupled with explicit and sustained emphasis on better governance and political processes in Afghanistan and intense U.S. political engagement with Afghan governance issues.

Thus, the Trump administration's announced approach to Afghanistan is not a strategy for victory. Staying on militarily buys the United States hope that eventually the Taliban may make enough mistakes to seriously undermine its power. However, that is unlikely unless Washington starts explicitly insisting on better governance and political processes in the Afghan government.

President Trump's overall decision on U.S. policy in Afghanistan is to a large extent correct. Staying in the country with a somewhat enlarged military capacity is the least bad option amidst difficult choices. His approach contains many good elements, such as focusing on conditions on the ground and recognizing that a precipitous withdrawal would severely undermine U.S. interests in Afghanistan, including and above all U.S. security and counterterrorism interests.

There is plenty of literature available on Afghan war and impact of it on Pakistan. However, there are no much studies related to Afghan war and its implications on Pakistan along with interventionism of external powers

of the international system such as China, USA, Soviet Russia, Iran and India. This study aims at discussing these facts together in order to achieve the objectives of the study.

Data Presentation and Analysis

2. Pakistan and Afghanistan relations

2.1 Brief history and background of relation.

The bilateral relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan has a long history. Both neighbouring states are Islamic Republics and members of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC). Pakistan shares its longest borderline with Afghanistan in the north-west, the Durand Line, that of 2250 km. So, they were expected to have a somewhat friendly relation. However, this prediction was proved wrong right in the beginning ever since Afghanistan refused to recognize Pakistan as a sovereign state in 1947. Ever since then, Pakistan's social, economic and political relations with Afghanistan have been turbulent.

However, the state with the closest ties and strongest links to Afghanistan is Pakistan. Afghanistan is one of the most important countries in Pakistan's Foreign Policy. Geographic contiguity, shared faith and mutual interests are the main factors driving Pakistan's approach towards Afghanistan. It is a proactive rather than reactive player. Pakistan saw the war in Afghanistan as an opportunity to reverse Pakistan's antagonistic relations with Afghanistan over Pashtunistan, providing it with "strategic depth" in its confrontation with India. Notwithstanding the fact that Pakistan and Afghanistan share a common border and have religious-ethnic commonality, Afghanistan – Pakistan relations have been marred

by mistrust and animosity which was exhibited right at the creation of Pakistan, tensions between Pakistan and Afghanistan have also emanated from their divergent strategic outlooks and dissimilar national ethos. Afghanistan is the only country to have opposed the admission of Pakistan in UNO. However, Pakistan always try to build up friendly relationship with Afghanistan.

2.2 Pakistan's interest in Afghanistan

2.2.1 Political Interest

Pakistan's foremost political interest is to see a strong, stable and united Afghanistan, with Pakistan-friendly government, giving the Pashtuns their due share in power. This would eliminate the threat of spill-over of any separatist tendencies to Baluchistan and NWFP. A friendly Afghanistan will also be an asset as it will support Pakistan's cause at international level, will respect the sanctity or validity of Durand Line and can make a common cause with Pakistan in international ventures like narcotics control.

2.2.2 Economic Interest

Pakistan's own location is vital in economic dimension in Afghanistan's context as Pakistan's geo-economic significance stems from its position at the junction of West, Central and South Asia. Moreover, Pakistan and Afghanistan's geo-strategic setting is between the energy loaded Middle East and Central Asia and also Pakistan needs energy for its economic revitalization and Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan-India (TAPI), with all its hurdles provides an energy source that will be Pakistan's capital stock for fifty years more.

In the post 9/11 milieu Pakistan has lost its strategic dominance in Afghanistan, while India has increased its influence. In this context, some argue that, “instability in Afghanistan serves Pakistan’s interests in making it more attractive” to key states and major energy companies alike and more likely that they would favour energy routes that pass through Pakistan.

Similarly, but from a different perspective some have argued that, Pakistan may now have a good strategic reason to maintain a porous border with Afghanistan, because the recognition of the Durand Line as an international border would restrain Pakistan’s scope for interference in Afghanistan; rather it wishes to stretch it down to central Asia. Nevertheless, the politics of growing regional pipeline diplomacy will shape the future of geo-politics not only in South Asia but also in West and Central Asia and Pakistan sees this as a vital interest.

2.2.3 Security Interest

In security terms, a strong and Pakistan-friendly government in Afghanistan will result in a secure western border. The first concern, therefore, is that Afghanistan should pose no threat to Pakistan. A stable Afghanistan with a Pakistan friendly government will also help achieve a secure border and to improve military ratio on the eastern border.

3. Pakistan’s Foreign Policy towards Afghanistan

Pakistan’s policy on Afghanistan was a policy of commitment guided by desire for the preservation of its independence, territorial integrity, and an end to the civil war and the establishment of a representative, multi-ethnic

Government. The stated policy of Pakistan, as projected by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was as follows:

- ✓ Pakistan pursues a policy of strict neutrality and non-interference in the internal matters and intra Afghan rivalries.
- ✓ Pakistan is supporting the ongoing efforts of the UN and OIC for peace, reconciliation and re-construction in Afghanistan.
- ✓ Pakistan endeavours to seek establishment of broad-based government reflecting the ethnic and demographic realities on ground in accordance with the wishes of the people.

4. Pakistan Role in Afghan War

As the U.S. led war in Afghanistan picked up pace and the role of Pakistan in that effort became both more necessary and more troublesome. Because the U.S. needs Pakistan to help carry out its Afghan strategy. As well as Pakistan needs the U.S. for foreign assistance, particularly military aid. So in 2001 America fought a Taliban-led insurgency in Afghanistan operating from a safe haven in Pakistan. From the beginning, America has had no ambition to dominate or subjugate the Afghan people or to stay in Afghanistan, once the threat posed by al-Qaeda had been removed and the Taliban defeated. Therefore, most Afghans have supported the coalition forces that overthrew the Taliban from 2001 onwards, although that support was dwindled as the coalition has failed to provide law and order and reconstruction.

However, President Obama as in a late 2009 meeting in his Oval Office said that, “We need to make clear to people that the cancer is in Pakistan”. The ‘cancer’ he refers to is the safe havens just inside Pakistan from which Taliban fighters launch attacks on NATO forces in Afghanistan. Yet,

despite the U.S. pleading and inducements to the Pakistani government, the Taliban strongholds remained by and large intact.

Pakistan's role in the Afghan war was that, Pakistan was the safe haven of the Taliban insurgency and its logistical supply line. Pakistan also served as the major logistical line for the NATO forces in Afghanistan. Over 80% of the supplies coalition forces depend on to survive arrive via Pakistan from the port of Karachi. Geography effectively precludes an alternative, unless the alliance was willing to rely on either Russia or Iran for its logistics. So, Pakistan has unusually strong leverage on both sides of the war. Therefore, the U.S. has sharply escalated its unmanned aerial drone attacks on the Taliban safe havens inside Pakistan. There have also been new instances of so-called 'hot pursuit' in which NATO forces crossed briefly into Pakistani territory to attack fleeing Taliban fighters. In one recent incident, a NATO helicopter gunship killed three Pakistani soldiers while attacking the militants. And also, in retaliation, Islamabad closed a key western border crossing at the base of the Khyber Pass, bottling up convoys taking fuel and other supplies to NATO troops in Afghanistan. Many of the trucks waiting in Pakistan to make the journey, which have no U.S. troop's protection were attacked and burned by Taliban fighters. And later Pakistani police for the first time began to arrest senior Afghan Taliban leaders, but the campaign was not sustained and proved to be a one-off. It is widely assumed in Pakistan that American and European patience to fight it out in Afghanistan was eroding. However, Pakistan's passive support of the Taliban was thus a useful hedge against the day, when NATO decided to start pulling out and gives up the struggle. Pakistan was then having a relationship with the Pashtun future of southern and eastern Afghanistan and had an asset in the struggle for post-NATO

Afghanistan. Thus, it was crucial that the alliance makes it clear to Islamabad that the Taliban were not going to succeed on the battlefield and that Pakistan must aggressively weaken both the Afghan and the Pakistani Taliban. While pundits may find the cliché that Afghanistan is the graveyard of empire simplistically attractive, there is every reason to believe smart policies can avoid such an outcome, but much depends on Pakistan.

5. Impact of Afghan war on Pakistan

The instability in Afghanistan is impacting the order of life in Pakistan. Due to wars, instability and involvement of world and regional powers, Pakistan has been affected very severely. So, there are many socio-political impact on Pakistan from wars that has happened from time to time in Afghanistan. So, these impacts mainly effected on Pakistan's role in Afghan war.

Pakistan is a poor country which was not in a position to face such huge bulk of refugees which came to Pakistan due to war. About 3 million people came to Pakistan which was a great challenge for the poor country having fragile economy. The daily cost of the Afghan refugees was \$1 million in which half was donated by UN and the remaining half came from Pakistan. It raised the debt burden on Pakistan economy. It also affected Pakistan's education, health and infrastructure.

As well as after Russian invasion a group of tribal and urban groups arose and all of these known collectively as the mujahidin and afterward they formed into now known Taliban. And also, when the Russia returned and

new government formed, very small number of refugees went back to Afghanistan. Afghan refugees have stayed in Pakistan and caused extra burden on the economy and they have not ID or any record to their permanent location. Most of the drug dealers, illegal arms dealers, car lifters or smugglers were Afghan refugees that have made their permanent shops in the borders areas. So, the Taliban's main source of income has been drug dealing and production.

However, after 9/11, America attacked Afghanistan which generated a fresh inflow of refugees to Pakistan. Due to this unchecked inflow of refugee militancy has grown in Pakistan. Pakistan was not in a position to handle such a huge number of refugees and the international community was not seriously supporting Pakistan. Another great impact was that camps of Afghan refugees were becoming nurseries of terrorists and militants which was a great threat to the security of Pakistan.

Nevertheless, war on terror, after 9/11 America invaded Afghanistan to end the Al-Qaeda and Taliban Regime, but things seem to have got worse for both countries. Pakistan was under pressure by US leadership to wipe out the Terrorist camps in the Northern borders of Pakistan. Pakistan has played a front-line ally in the war against terror since 2001. Therefore, to stop the infiltration of terrorists, militants and extremists, Pakistan has deployed more than 80,000 army personals on her western border. But due to long stay of Afghan refugees, Pakistani society has been infected with sectarianism, Kalashnikov culture, drugs, poppy and religious extremism. Finally, it can be identified that the Afghan war mainly affected not only Afghanistan but also Pakistan's socio-economic, political and security fields as well.

6. Interests of external powers in Afghanistan and threats for Pakistan.

Afghanistan is a landlocked country approximately situated in the centre of Asia. It is bordered by Pakistan in the South and East. The strategic location of Afghanistan has created interest of powerful nations of the world to work against possibility of threat of terrorism, religious extremism, smuggling and drug trafficking expanding far beyond its borders.

However, there are many external players interested in Afghanistan. These interests have created a threat for Pakistan in many ways.

6.1 Soviet Russia

The Soviet Union had been sensitive about its borders ever since the revolution in Russia in 1917, and one cornerstone of its foreign policy had been to stabilize its border areas. The Baltic States were taken over in 1940; the Eastern European states were secured after the Second World War. The loss of Afghanistan would have amounted to providing a vulnerable window on its borders to anti-Soviet forces. On December 28, 1979, Soviet combat troops moved into Afghanistan on a massive scale, killed President Hafiz Ullah Amin and installed Babrak Karmal as the new ruler of Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion created threats in the minds of Pakistanis. They feared that the next target of Russia would be the Pakistan. Many Pakistanis believed that after consolidating power in Afghanistan, Moscow will extend its interests beyond borders of Afghanistan in order to get access to warm water port in Indian Ocean. Russia wants to see hostile relations in between Pakistan and Afghanistan government.

6.2 USA

There were several interests of USA in this region. USA mainly wanted to acquire its interest of “Contain China” by presence of US forces in Afghanistan. They wanted to check the flow of narcotics emanating from poppy fields of Afghanistan. Another aim was to stop the spread of religious fundamentalism and terrorism from Afghanistan. The US is closely watching the co-operative framework between China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (i.e., Shanghai Co-operation Organization), that resulted in establishment of a new block in the region.

The presence of USA forces in Afghanistan and US invasion of Afghanistan in 2001 created a great threat to the security of Pakistan. Thousands of Taliban fighters and virtually the entire intact Taliban senior leadership shura (religious council) had found sanctuary in Pakistan’s federally administered tribal area (FATA) at the centre of the border, as well as in parts of the Pakistani province of Baluchistan to the west and the north west frontier province (NWFP) to the east and south. Taliban and other religion extremist elements are operating on both sides in Pakistan and Afghanistan. The US invasion in Afghanistan in October 2001, spurred an influx of Taliban and al-Qaida militant into the FATA that would eventually result in the consolidation of extremist control in the region. These extremists’ elements are great threat for Pakistan. Many Pakistanis believe that religious extremists will try to extend its influence in other provinces; they will try to enforce their agenda on Pakistani society.

6.3 China

China desires that Afghanistan should be free from any outside influences, including coalition forces, as this is likely to threaten the region's stability. Central Asian States and Afghanistan present a large market with rich mineral and human resources to China. China would also like to see a government in Afghanistan which is friendly to Pakistan. China is invested billions of dollars in Pakistan on different projects. China wants friendly relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan against Taliban and extremist.

6.4 India

India like to gain access to the Afghan market so that she could influence its policies. However, to be economically viable, she has to acquire land route through Pakistan. Notwithstanding the fact that India does not share contiguous borders with Afghanistan, she does not hesitate to express her interests in Afghanistan due to her regional aspirations. Traditionally India has always played a negative role in Pak- Afghan relations so as to keep the western borders insecure. She would also like to see a government in Afghanistan which is hostile to Pakistan so as to keep her out of energy game as well as to create a two-front dilemma on Pakistan in any future war with India. Her effort to provide an alternative relief zone to Afghanistan through the Iranian port of Chahbhar is required to be seen in this backdrop. Being an aspirant regional power, India would like to extend her area of influence to Central Asian States so as to encircle China. In countering China, Afghanistan may act as a stepping stone for India. She also has commercial interests in Afghanistan and Central Asian States.

6.5 Iran.

Iran shares a long border with Afghanistan. It has historical relations with Afghanistan. The Taliban's actions further strained ties between Pakistan and Iran. Iran has interested to Control of land communication and pipelines to Central Asia so that oil flows to Europe through Iranian route, which is considered as the shortest route to West. A stable Afghanistan would be in competition with Iran for the outwards flow of oil through Pakistan. In order to benefit from transportation of hydro-carbon resources of CARs, Iran would like that Afghanistan's Phuktoon dominated areas should remain relatively unstable, so as to strengthen the case for running the pipelines through Iran. After American invasion in Afghanistan, Iran government is supporting Balochi and Afghan terrorists in Pakistan (Baluchistan province), trying to create instability in Baluchistan province.

Conclusion

Afghanistan war was very controversial and this condition which existed in the Afghan region effected mostly to the Pakistan territory. As the objectives of the study, identified the significant results of the Afghan War special reference to the impact on Pakistan. The intervening of external powers for this war such as, China, India, United States, and Iran can be seen as the policy of interventionism. Specially, USA played an outstanding role and intervened more seriously in this issue. According to the Realists of International Relations, states are the actors in the international arena. Further, National strategies of a country demonstrate the National interests of a nation. The National interests of the external powers on this Afghan War was apparently reflected through the

interventionism strategy by utilizing both soft and hard power policies. Especially, in the inauguration of the war there was a strategy called “War on Terror” in order to eradicate Al-Qaeda extremists from the Afghan region in Bush Administration. Then, the Obama Administration applied the counterinsurgency policy for countering the terrorists from Afghanistan. Further, the economic policies of the countries who involved in this Afghan war could be seen throughout the historical events.

Accordingly, the United States approach in this war and also the National Security of the Afghanistan was not successful so far. It is because, both administrations were unable to success in any “War on Terror” strategy or the “Counterinsurgency policy.” Therefore, solving this Afghan war and the problem of Pakistan is a volcano which can be erupted in any moment, especially with the United States. In addition, Pakistan was affected mostly due to the Afghan War. The refugees who migrated to the Pakistan during the Afghan war suffered the nation of Pakistan and then the economy of the Pakistan went down due to the spending on refugees. Moreover, the National Security of the Pakistan also came to a weak condition due to Taliban terrorists and their colleagues, Al-Qaeda extremists.

Therefore, it is essential to recommend international peace process for this Afghan war and the problem of Pakistan. But, there may be some other crisis due to this involvement of the international community and peace builders. Both Afghan and Pakistan governments can build strategies in spite of struggling in order to solve this issue. And also Pakistan should halt the bilingual relations with the adversary parties who involved to the war with Afghanistan. Though United Nations Organization has provided

many economic aids to the refugees in Pakistan, there should be a thorough process in distributing aids to the refugees or stabilize them.

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The Nexus Between Human Security and Black Market: A Study on Human Trafficking in the Case of Africa.

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Abstract

"Black Market" is the richest market in the world today. The black-market functions in the areas or activities which are prohibited by law. This poses a negative impact on the factor of security. Illegal arms trade, human trafficking, drug trafficking are some of the growing areas of the black market to generate wealth. The wealth which is generated is utilized by terrorist organizations and other violent ethnic groups to disrupt peace and order of States to fulfill their narrow objectives. In this regard, human security is challenged. The main focus of this article is to identify the nexus between human security. The black market is based on one main channel of the black market which is; human trafficking. The study is only base on human trafficking in African region. Further, the study focusses on various aspects of generating wealth by black market by human trafficking in African region.

Key Words: Black Market, Human Trafficking, State Security, Organized Crimes, Trade

Introduction

The black market is the richest market of the world. It includes the illegal and prohibited activities to generate wealth for their activities. In other words, black market is the underground market where people buy or sell the products which are illegal. These activities are hard to trace because of the nature of the industry. Economic activities of black market happens outside of the government-controlled channels. Further, the transactions of the economic activities happen secretly without any documentation. Black market deals mostly with violent groups or with terrorist groups. Drugs, weapons and humans are the most illegally traded items around the world for commercial purposes. Black market is also known as 'Shadow Market' as the transactions and activities are not documented and they are not subjected to pay taxes. As a consequence of black market economic activities as such, may lead to violence or fraud and dangerous health issues to buyers have no recovery (As an example, adulterated products which are trafficked causes serious health issues which threatens lives of buyers). Black market is highly active in the countries that are economically fragile and as inflation rate is high and that has a fixed exchange rate. Because of these reasons, countries like Argentina, Venezuela and some countries in African region and some countries in Asian region have been identified as areas where the black market is strong. Transactions in black market usually involves cash or digital currencies such as bitcoin. The size of the black market varies from nation to another nation based on economic development and degree of police control and mafia organization. As an example, after the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 there was a huge development in black market as the

regulations and policies fell away after the decline of Soviet Union. Purchasing foreign currency at an unofficial rate can be also taken under black market activities.

The black-market business activities poses a direct threat to economy of the world as it affects to companies that sell legitimate products and on the other hand governments loses revenue that gain from taxes. Each country's law enforcement mechanisms try hard to tackle up with this growing threat of black market and the safety of the public. However, the black-market activities are still hard to control as it happens in the limelight. As per Interpol, black market sells hazardous items to buyers by disregarding the serious health implications that can affect to consumers. Law enforcement authorities clearly mentions that black market and the mafia groups have deep link and further it prove that illicit activities of black market including trafficking has a connection with transnational organized crime. Profits of these illegal activities inspire other criminal activities as well. As an example, people smuggling can be given.

| The Global Black Market | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| Counterfeit Drugs | \$200bn | Counterfeit Foods | \$49bn |
| Prostitution | \$186bn | Counterfeit Auto Parts | \$45bn |
| Counterfeit Electronics | \$169bn | Oil Theft | \$37bn |
| Marijuana | \$141bn | Human Smuggling | \$35bn |
| Illegal Gambling | \$140bn | Counterfeit Toys | \$34bn |
| Cocaine | \$85bn | Human Trafficking | \$32bn |
| Prescription Drug Abuse | \$72bn | Illegal Logging | \$30bn |
| Heroin | \$68bn | Methamphetamine | \$28bn |
| Software Piracy | \$63bn | Illegal Fishing | \$23bn |
| Cigarette Smuggling | \$50bn | Illegal Wildlife Trade | \$19bn |

Source : havoscope.com

Human trafficking is identified as a major business area for black market dealers. As per the havoscope.com it is accounted the total revenue collected from human trafficking as \$32 bn.

Methodology

The study is qualitative study and based on secondary data utilized from sources such as online journal articles written by various scholars in the field, UN websites and from various scholarly articles. Further, the study takes up a descriptive analysis approach to realize the objective of the study.

Literature Review

The threat of human trafficking is now a globalized problem. Commercial trade in organs of people is one purpose of human trafficking. Before 2000, this trend of human trafficking was highly active in Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia. Now, the organs trafficking which is one reason for human trafficking has spread throughout the globe. Organs trafficking basically means that illicit removal of persons organs and tissues or cells for transplantation. Mainly, it has been viewed that most of these trafficked organs are received by people in the Gulf States, Japan and other Asian countries. In 2008, Istanbul Declaration has further described about trafficking in organs and transplant tourism. World Health Organization has estimated that around 5-10% kidney and liver transplants which performed globally are illegal. The trend of this aspect of human

trafficking is viewed to be further increasing by numbers (Bos, 2015). These organ extractions affect directly to victim's life and health negatively.

Human Trafficking is also linked to sex trade which involves women and children. According to the study of Hoque, the situation in Bangladesh in illicit sex trade is pathetic. Furthermore, he states that the social and economic hardships in the system has fostered this trend and impelled the women to engage themselves in commercial sex trade. Trafficking in persons for sex slavery both happens domestically as well as outside the borders of a particular country (Bales, 2004).

Modern day human trafficking includes the movement of victims mainly women and children outside the border illegally or legally and either documented or without documented. Most of the victims who are transported outside are unaware of the results. They are often victimized by fraud. In most of the cases victims are bluffed by showing better opportunities outside. The main purpose of the human trafficking is sex slavery, forced labour, extraction of organs and other forms of labour or debt bondage. Most of the victims in sex trade are used in sex tourism, pornography, brothels and cheap labour. It is estimated by International Labour Organization that 12.3 million people are victimized by human trafficking and out of that, 2.5 million are forced to prostitution and sexual exploitation. Around 56% of victims who were forced to labour are from Asia and the Pacific while ,10% from Latin Americas and Caribbean, 9.2% comes from Middle East and Northern Africa, 5.2% is from Sub Saharan Africa. As of 2003 UNICEF child trafficking sheet it is estimated that 1.2 million children are trafficked in each year, and majority of the children

who are victimized by the trafficking is in the ages of 18-24. Further, 95% of these victims undergo physical or sexual violence while being trafficked (A.Rahaman, 2011).

A research study conducted by UNESCO on Human Trafficking in South Africa has revealed that their poor conditions of living fosters the organs trafficking. The poor people sell their organs to earn and the traffickers give only few dollars for that. These illegal organs trafficking often poses a huge threat to the lives of those who are providing the organs as well. Selling children for adoption is another aspect of human trafficking. This can be seen in India mostly. Infants are often trafficked to sell every year. This is sometimes happened without the consent of the parents of the infant (Mishra, 2015).

Some studies uncover human trafficking as a result of social inequality as well. The economic hardships and history of slavery facilitates the human trafficking. Poverty of countries make women more vulnerable to traffickers and creates a perfect atmosphere to victimize poor women and children by fraud (Barner, Okech, & A. Camp, 2014). This creates a breeding ground for human trafficking and transnational organized crimes. Due to that the governments should have clear concern on tackling economic hardships as a strategy to control the rising numbers in human trafficking mafia.

This particular phenomenon in black market generates enormous wealth for the illegal activities. The transactions related to human trafficking are often takes place online.⁷ Most of the money generating industry in black

⁷<https://www.novahti.com/trafficking-statistics/>

market is human trafficking. Lungs, hearts, cells, livers, tissues are the most common organs which are trafficked to generate money for the black market (Goodwin, 2006).

Human Trafficking is a crime against humanity. Human security has been threatened due to activities of transnational crimes. Human trafficking has been detected as the third largest growing industry of black market. It is considered as a criminal offence (Bello, 2016). Human trafficking is a severe human rights violation. Trafficking of humans directly violates, right to life, right to live without being subjected to any kind of discrimination, right to security and liberty, right to freedom of assembly, right to be protected from gender based violence, right to have an adequate life standards, right to be free from torture and inhumane treatment, right to have favorable conditions at work, right to attain highest standards of physical and mental health, right to movement. etc. Human trafficking is not allowed under international human rights law. It prohibits debt bondage, forced labour, slavery, forced marriages, child sexual exploitation and enforced prostitution (UNHRC, 2014). By viewing this it can be clearly mentioned above mentioned facts of human trafficking poses a direct threat to human security.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Defining Human Trafficking

Human trafficking is generally understood as illegal transfer or transportation of people for commercial purposes such as abduction or labour. Human trafficking is listed as one of the crimes against humanity by United Nations Organizations. Human trafficking basically means that

involuntary or forced labour. Human smuggling is also one related form of the human trafficking but it differs as the person is aware of the smuggling. United Nations defines the term “Human trafficking” in following words. *“Recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring, or receipt of persons by improper means (such as force, abduction, fraud, or coercion) for an improper purpose including forced labor or sexual exploitation. “*

To explain further about human trafficking The United States government defines the term “Human trafficking” in following words.

“Sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such act has not attained 18 years of age; The recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud, or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery”

Human trafficking affects badly to society. Human trafficking fuels organized crimes in countries. Human traffickers sell people to terrorist organizations and sometimes those people are forced to commit crimes intentionally or unintentionally. This situation exposes victims in to more insecurities. Apart from organized crimes following effects occurs due to the human trafficking.

- Deprives countries human capital
- Promote social break down
- Undermines public heal
- Subverts government authority
- Imposes enormous economic cost

The network of the human traffickers is much advanced than the State security systems. The weakness of the law paves the way for traffickers to

hunt the victims of human trafficking again and again. Thereat of this escalates further when the traffickers connect with those leading terrorist groups. In some occasions trafficked people are sold to terrorist groups and later they become the puppets of the terrorist organizations. Constructed fear towards pimps, violent groups or human traffickers' victims are committed to fulfill the orders. The profits that are collected from human trafficking is often enrich the monetary side of the terrorist organizations. It helps terrorist organizations to function much advanced manner and also facilitates those organizations to acquire more sophisticated and latest technology.

Human trafficking is the 3rd largest crime in the world and listed as a crime against humanity. Human trafficking is hard to detect as because some victims are afraid to seek for help from others due to their traffickers and some don't make complaints because they are afraid of law. Human trafficking is billion-dollar industry. Detecting human traffickers are hard. Eradication of human trafficking is also a hard task. The United Nations estimates the total market value of illicit human trafficking at 32 billion US dollars.

Human Trafficking and Human Security

With the conclusion of the cold war urgent to address the security emerged. The world community understood that the prevailing laws and regulations are insufficient to combat the threats to human security. After 1990's governments paid their concern on human security and identified individuals as a subject of security. Due to this the term "human security"

emerged. This term closely relates with the term “national security” as well. In this regard, United Nations Organization also paid a special attention on the security issue of individuals. As per the UN commission of Human Security, the term human security describes as follows,

“Protecting fundamental freedoms Protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and situations”

The phenomenon of human security has a wide scope. It includes principles of freedom which are now protected from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In order to tackle the human security issues traditional security mechanisms underwent necessary changes after the cold war period. Two great wars stressed the importance of new laws to protect individual rights. However, even though national security and individual security sounds much alike, sometimes these two terms goes hand in hand while, sometimes those act hostile to each other. According to Frerks point of view in some occasions individual freedom has to be subjected to certain limitations due to national security issues.

However, some experts in the discipline argue that the term human security is just a slogan which is poorly defined, unmeasured and inconsistent. According to some experts the concept of human security is a term which has no real meaning. Even for the scholars who finds particular validity in the term, criticize the term as an underdeveloped term. However, despite the limitations of the term, it has contributed largely in securing the individual freedom and rights.

Human Trafficking: Emerging Threat to Human Security

In definition, human trafficking is illegal transportation of humans without their will for commercial purposes. These commercial purposes include forced labour, prostitution. Human trafficking is entitled as the fastest growing transnational organized crime of the world today. Many countries around the world including United Nations has taken steps to tackle down the human trafficking. But, the industry remains unchallenged. Human trafficking is entitled as a crime against humanity because of the brutality of it. This affects communal groups all around the world and affects in macro and micro levels of the economy as well.

This particular transnational organized crime poses a huge threat to human security. In most of the situations victims of human trafficking are under aged individuals and youngsters. Further, illegal migrants and people who seek for jobs often get trafficked because of the lack of knowledge and social awareness about these types of crimes. The number of total trafficked population around the world is unknown. Extreme poverty and unemployment levels fuel these types of criminal activities. Human trafficker's direct victims for forced labour disregarding the health conditions or threats to life. Victims of human trafficking undergoes severe mental break downs which lead to deteriorating conditions in physical and mental health. Sexual exploitation uncovers darkest stages of human trafficking. Moreover, victims have to face hazardous and dangerous conditions. It is evident that children are also being trafficked and they are being exploited in various ways. Human traffickers also deal with violent groups. In some occasions it has found that the victims were sold to such

groups either for labour or sexual exploitation. The brutality of this can be visualized through the survivors of human trafficking. According to numerous medical reports of survivors all around the world it clearly displays the degraded conditions which they had faced. Recovery process for these survivors takes time due to the severity of the persecution that they had faced in those victimized days. As per the experiences of the survived victims most of the people who get trafficked suffers from inhumane conditions and some people die due to the degrading and ruthless treatments which they had to face. By viewing the above, it can be clearly mention that human trafficking violates basic human rights which has mentioned in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). Human trafficking poses direct threat to life, liberty and security. This provision is clearly mentioned by the article 03 of the UDHR. Further, in article 04 of the UDHR, it has clearly mentioned that ,

“no one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms”

Human trafficking is entitled as a form of slavery and slave trade. In this regard it can be clearly proven that this particular sector of black market economy poses direct threat to human security factor. Further, trafficking of humans violates article 04 of UDHR as well. In article 04 it states,

" No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment"

Most of the victimized people have been subjected to inhumane and degrading punishments by the traffickers and often has threatened to security and health of their lives. Most of the victims have undergone

torture and as a result they suffer from severe forms of health and mental conditions. As per the article 14 of the UDHR it has mentioned that all humans have freedom of movement within the State or outside the borders. But, victims of human trafficking are detained without their will. They have no freedom of movement. Traffickers restrict their freedom of movement by force or by threatening. In some cases, it has been viewed that traffickers collect the travelling passes of victims without returning those documents back to restrain the movement of victimized people. In addition, article 25 of the UDHR mentions that,

“Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, and housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control”.

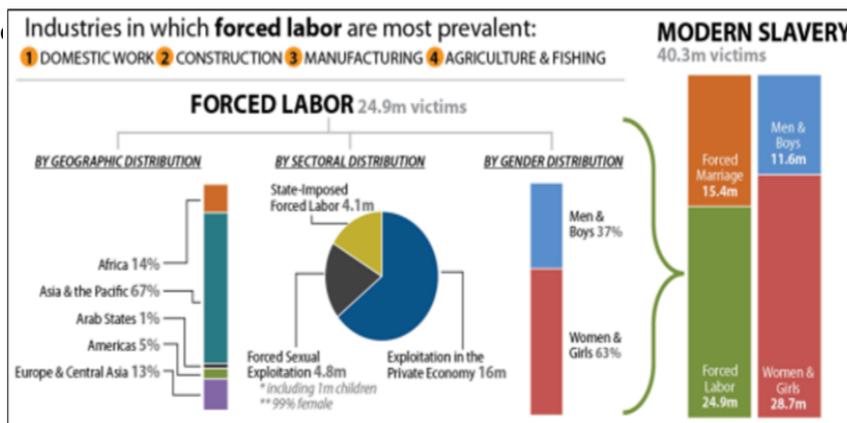
And in the same article sub section 2 mentions,

“Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection”.

However, inadequate health and physical treatment to victims and child pornography, child labour and child sexual exploitation is widely known factor in the human trafficking industry. By viewing that, it can be further proven the dark side of human trafficking and how it affects to human security as well. It's an urgent need of global community to stop this transnational organized crime called human trafficking by bringing out more and more advanced laws and policies along with practical missions

to arrest the dealers of human trafficking. Moreover, human trafficking is a crime against humanity.

According to estimations of 2016, by International Labour Organization (ILO) and International Organization for Migration (IOM) around 40.3 million people have been trafficked all around the world. It has estimated that, 24.9 million people have been deployed in forced labour and 15.4 million people have been forced in marriages. Between 2012-2016 it has estimated that about 89 million people have been trafficked. These figures doesn't include war zone areas of the world. Further, it is estimated that 71% of victims of human trafficking are females and 25% are accounted as



Source: CRS based on the ILO and Walk Free Foundation, *Global Estimates of Modern Slavery, 2017*.

From above diagram it can be clearly identified that 14% of global distribution-based geography of forced labour is gained from Africa while, 67% gained from Asia and the Pacific, 1% from the Arab States, 5% from

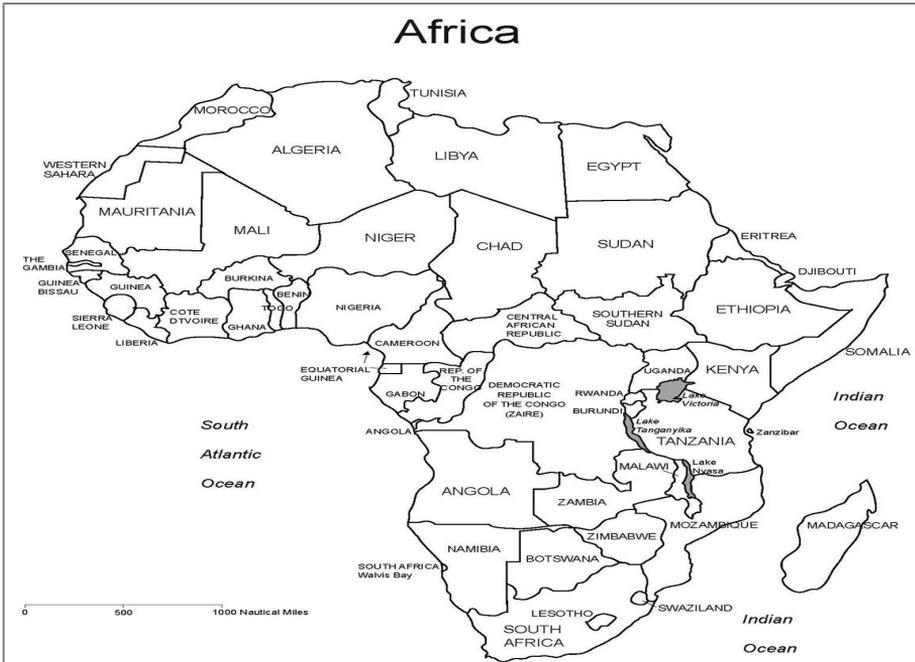
Americas and 13% from Europe and Central Asia. As accounted 4.1 million trafficked people are deployed in State imposed Forced Labor and 4.8 million people and it is accounted that 16 million are deployed in exploitation in the private economy.

The African Region

After Asia, African region is the second largest region of the world. Total land area of the region accounts as 30,365,000 Square km. African region includes several littoral States such as, Madagascar, Comoros, St. Helena. etc. The term Africa originated by the Greek term of 'Aphrike' which derives the meaning of 'without cold'. The region has narrow coastal lines with crystalline rocks. African region has enormous potential to natural resources with its vast area of land. Amongst these natural resources mineral resource takes the lead in Africa. The region holds, fossil fuels, metallic ores, gems and other valuable metals. However, for most of the countries of the region agriculture contributes in large proportions to GDP levels.

African region is basically divided as, Western Africa, Southern Africa, Northern Africa, Middle Africa, Eastern Africa. All together, African region include Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mayotte, Mozambique, Reunion, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Angola, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Sao Tome, and Principe, Algeria, Egypt, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Morocco, South Sudan, Sudan, Tunisia, Western Sahara, Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, South Africa,

Swaziland, Benin , Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Saint Helena, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo.



Source: www.mapsfordesign.com

In terms of economy, South Africa considered as the second largest economy of the region. According to 2017 estimates, South Africa owns a GDP rate of \$350 billion. As of 2017 International Monetary Fund (IMF) estimates Nigeria stands at the first place of GDP levels. Oil is another significant industry that contributes to GDP levels of the region. But, GDP levels undergo changes constantly in the region. There's a competition between the States in the region for economic growth. However, there are some regions of Africa where the population suffers from intensive

poverty and hunger. Unemployment is a burning issue in the African region. That has led to many problematic domestic issues of States in Africa. Public debt levels are rising in the region by striking severely to the political stability and sustainable economy of African States. It is estimated by the World Bank group that the economic levels of Africa will rise by 2018, but it would not suffice to tackle up with the severe poverty. Total poverty headcount at the international poverty line (\$1.90/day in 2011 PPP) is projected to decline only marginally. Environmental conditions of the region make the situation much worse.

Human Trafficking in African Region

Human trafficking has become one of the most popular industries in the black market because of the profit and the easiness of the industry. Human trafficking is also a major problem in the African region as well. However, scholars in Africa has less consideration on the fact of human trafficking. This phenomenon of human trafficking has blown a huge strike against individual security of people in Africa. Poverty, weak governance, lack of parental care, cultural practices, devaluing female, conflicts of the region have made people vulnerable in African region to these types of threats. African region has a long and complex history about slave trade. Many Africans were exported abroad as slaves mainly to America in 16th century and in 17th century. However, many enslaved Africans died during the journey and many were killed when capturing. African region has a dark history in the colonial period as most of the countries of the region ruthlessly ruled by colonial powers at the time. Slave trade was a main factor in these colonial days in Africa. Further, colonial powers sucked the wealth and resources out of African region which later became a one of the

main reasons for severe poverty levels in Africa. According to some experts it can be hypothesized that the historical influence of slave trade motivated modern-day slavery in African region.

Trafficking of women and children is mostly viewed in African continent. Deep rooted gender discrimination patterns and cultural trends have acted as push factors to human trafficking apart from poverty in the region. As per a study conducted based on the region in year 2000, has revealed that in all of Africa 32%- 42% of women are abused in regular basis. Poor families often sell women and children out for these purposes because of their inability for survival. In Northern Ghana and some parts of Togo this can be seen. In those countries women are donated to priests and forced to live as their wives in order to protect their families. Further, early marriages and conflicts of the region pave the way for traffickers to find victims. In African countries such as, Niger, Mali, Chad, Eretria, Mozambique and Central African Republic, people suffer from acute poverty levels and this pave the way for early marriages as in such instances girls are considered as a burden to family. In countries like Ethiopia and Kenya most of the girls run away from home to get rid from unwanted marriages. These girls are often get in to the hands of traffickers. It is accounted that due to unsafe sex practices in the industry have caused HIV/AIDS to most of the victims as well.

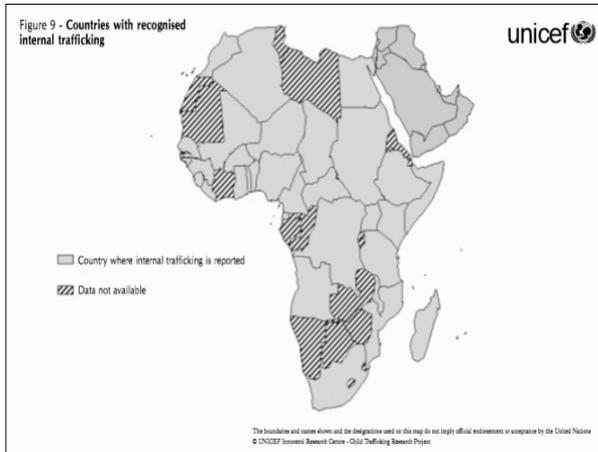
Most of the female community of Africa are unskilled and uneducated. These women who are young tend to migrate to other countries in order to find better jobs. But, these uneducated women are often trafficked by traffickers by leading them with fraud. In addition, lack of birth registration

also inspires human trafficking. Children who are not registered are often targeted by the traffickers. In the areas of conflict, the level of human trafficking is high and the environment is much prone to human trafficking. People tend to flee from war erupted zones. These people are targets of human trafficking in African region. Uganda is the best example in this. Fall of birth registration heightened the child human trafficking.

In Northern Uganda, The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) kidnap kids and sold in to sexual slavery or as soldiers in the Army. The LRA, is a terrorist group which active in Northern Uganda To add more, Guinea Bissau, Sudan can be given as examples where children are trafficked and employed as child soldiers in war torn areas. Human traffickers also extract organs from these trafficked people by endangering the lives of innocent people.

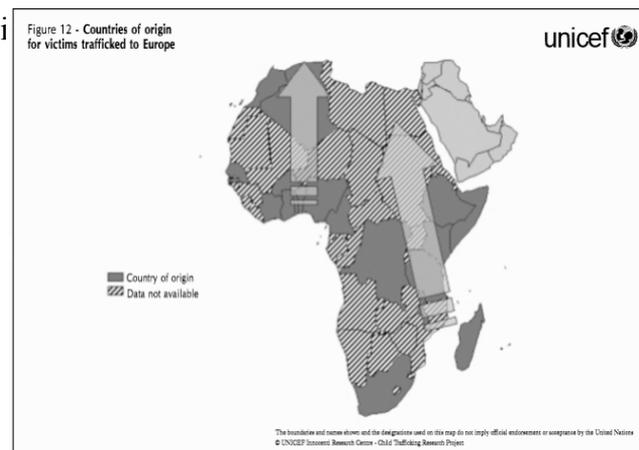
Women and children are largely being trafficked in African region. Domestic demand for such practices are high in African region. As per reports in Malawi child sexual exploitation is high. Children are often used to sexual exploitation or sent to Europe for commercial exploitation. In Togo there are records of trafficked girls who are deployed in forced labour. Further, children in West African region are trafficked for domestic servitude and for plantation work. Apart from forced labour and sexual exploitation, the victims of human trafficking is used for organ extraction. It has been viewed that murders of children and women has happened in South Africa and Western Africa for organ extraction. According to reports of UNICEF , for 49% of African countries human trafficking is detected as an issue. Less than 10% of African countries have informed that human trafficking is not an issue in those countries. According to

estimations it has viewed that child trafficking is accounted more than the number of trafficking of women. In Southern Africa trafficking is detected as a severe problem. Following map of Africa will display the internal trafficking data.



Source: UNICEF IRC Database, February 2003

The following map will display the victims who are trafficked to Europe



Source: UNICEF IRC Database, February 2003

In war erupted areas of Africa, women and children are trafficked for the purpose of sexual exploitation and forced labour in terrorist groups. Taliban, Boko Haram like terror groups are widely known to kidnapping of people and forcibly deploying them either as sex slaves or as soldiers in their armies. Boko Haram, violent extremist group in African region is widely accused of kidnapping of school girls. These kidnapped school girls mostly get executed or transported abroad as sex slaves. Human trafficking is not only bound to sex slavery. It is related also to forced labor, organs trafficking etc. Trafficked victims are also used to as shields and on the other hand it poses a security threats with the growing trauma of religious extremism. This apply mainly to Islamist terrorist groups such as ISIS, Al Qaida, Al Shabab⁸ which bases in African region

Conclusion

Human trafficking is a huge concern as a crisis to whole world. Organs trafficking, forced labour, sex trade are some aspects related to human trafficking. Human trafficking has a deep-rooted nexus with the black market from the past. The nexus goes even back to times of great wars.

⁸It emerged as the radical youth wing of Somalia's now-defunct Union of Islamic Courts, which controlled Mogadishu in 2006, before being forced out by Ethiopian forces. There are numerous reports of foreign jihadists going to Somalia to help al-Shabab, from neighboring countries, as well as the US and Europe. It is banned as a terrorist group by both the US and the UK and is believed to have between 7,000 and 9,000 fighters. Al-Shabab advocates the Saudi-inspired Wahhabi version of Islam, while most Somalis are Sufis.

This study about the nexus between human trafficking and black market discovered followings,

- The Sex trade and organs trafficking is huge opportunity for black market dealers to generate money.
- Many of the trafficked people are women, children and small proportion is accounted as men. It has a trend of trafficking in men lately.
- Human trafficking is very hard to track and most of the deals with regard to human trafficking happens online.
- Many of the victimized people are often afraid to reveal themselves as victims because of the laws and punishments.
- Although, there're so many instruments which specialized to combat trafficking the weak points of law and society gives a reason for criminals to escape.
- The poor conditions of the societies make a perfect environment for criminals to hunt innocent people.

Particularly with regard to African region it has revealed followings in the study,

- Poor economy, conflicts, gender-based violence, lack of governance, corruption and absence of birth registration and early marriages has led to an environment which is prone to human trafficking in the region.
- Majority of the trafficked victims of the region are girls and women.

- Amongst the victims of human trafficking number of children who are being trafficked is larger than the number of women who are being trafficked.
- Child forced labor, child pornography, child sexual exploitation is clearly evident in the African region.
- Sale of children to terrorist groups of the region is a fact which is clearly evident in the region (Ex: Boko Haram).
- Human trafficking has also caused a negative impact on individual security and freedom. Physical and mental health has been largely.
- deteriorated due to inhumane and degrading treatment towards the victims.

Human trafficking is accounted as the fastest growing transnational organized crime today. It is one of the criminal activities which have been listed under 'Crimes Against Humanity'. However, it is a main way of income for black market economy. Victims of human trafficking are often deployed in hazardous labour, sex trade, for organ extraction and domestic servitude. Because of these reasons human trafficking is ironically known as 'Modern day slavery'. Trafficking of human beings directly threatens security of individuals by committing serious violations of human rights. Victims of human trafficking often suffers from brutal, inhumane and degrading treatment. World community has set forth policies and laws regarding human trafficking. But, regardless of those rules and regulations human trafficking continues to grow.

Economic hardships, cultural practices, gender-based violence, poor governance, extreme poverty, absence of birth registrations etc paves the way for people to be a victim of this modern-day slavery in Africa. Most of the children, women and men are victimized by the traffickers for commercial purposes. Human trafficking is the easiest way for black market dealers to earn money as this industry is hard to track and also humans can be sold over and over again without and can gain cheap labour. The victims are often supplied with false information given by traffickers and victims are often forced for things that they are not willing to do.

Particularly in African context acute poverty, conflict situations have encouraged early marriages. It has paved the way for forced marriages. This has created a ground for young girls to flee from their homes. These children are vulnerable to human trafficking. Moreover, due to poor economic standards people tend to migrate to other countries seeking for good jobs. These people are also targets of human traffickers. Apart from that gender-based violence, cultural practices, conflicts and poor governance has paved the way to flourish human trafficking as an industry in Africa.

Black Market and Human Trafficking has a deep rooted nexus from past. But, the influence of human trafficking to black market has increased dramatically in today's world. This has become a huge crisis for the whole world. Furthermore, these activities related to human trafficking also poses security threats for countries also. Some of the trafficked people are sold as soldiers to terrorist groups, which they have to undergo various hardship and painful situations. Some of the trafficked women are forced to serve as sex slaves for those terrorist armies.

Human Trafficking is a modern-day crisis which is needed to address urgently as possible. Although, there're numerous laws and regulations and institutions established to combat this phenomenon of ' Human Trafficking ' . But the laws and regulations prevailing has not provided a better framework to control this rising issue. In African region for many countries human trafficking is a huge burden. African Union (AU) has acted upon this subject in number of occasions but the efforts seem ineffective and insufficient. To combat human trafficking, it's needed to established proper screening systems and laws which captures the real culprits not to cause more suffocate for the victims of human trafficking. Furthermore, it has become a duty of international actors to stop this modern day of slavery system which functions under the limelight.

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Geo politics of China – Sri Lanka – India relations Sri Lanka's perspective

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Abstract

From the ancient times Indian Ocean Region has attracted the great powers attention due to the economic value rest on the Indian Ocean in context of East and West maritime trade. And in the 21st century India & China have risen from the Asia as a regional power of the world. And there's a situation right now that who controls the Indian Ocean will control the Asia in the future. The main objective of the study is to theoretically analyze the Indo – China interest and impact on Sri Lanka after 2015. To achieve aforesaid objective, qualitative approach has been adopted and secondary data is the main type of data obtained from various such as books, journal articles, newspapers, government records and other relevant documents available in both printed and electronic versions. The research findings include Chinese influence over the South Asian region specially and India's trying to match China in the region with achievements and economic and military power. But In recent times, both the Chinese and Indian leaders have made explicit overtures to each other with repeated references to historical religious, cultural and trading links, both recognizing the opportunities presented by cooperation than by confrontation. The ground-breaking visit of Prime Minister Modhi to meet president Xi Jinping in Wuhan is likely to have major implications and help restore the confidence levels of both countries in each other. Prime Minister Modhi's "Look East. Act east" approach contains a distinct Buddhist echo of bygone connections. China's Buddhist links with India go back a long time. Recent efforts to recalibrate the bilateral relationship between India and China will be welcomed by all. But Sri Lanka has become convergence point for both India and China due to its strategic importance in the Indian Ocean. Both attempted to attract Sri Lanka with reconstruction projects but with the change of internal politics in 2015 influence and impact for the country have been changed.

Key Words: Strategic location, Silk Route, Rivalry of India and China, Balancing India and China

Introduction

From the ancient times countries that located in the silk route was much more important to the world's economic behavior. Indian Ocean Region has attracted the great powers attention due to the economic value rest on the Indian Ocean in context of East and West maritime trade. Sri Lanka is one of the main countries that located in this Silk route. And because of that from the early times Imperialist countries tried to colonize Sri Lanka and to get maximum use of this strategically located country. What they want was to use Sri Lanka as a platform to their economic and military activities. Sri Lanka was useful for them in many ways. Not only Sri Lanka was located in silk route but also Sri Lanka had number of natural harbors throughout the country. Trincomalee, Hambanthota and Colombo was specially used by British during the Second world war especially when they were on a war against Japan. Grand Admiral Raeder, the German C-in-C had amply highlighted the Ceylon in a report to Hitler on 13th February 1942 "Once the Japanese battleships, aircraft-carriers and submarines and the Japanese Air Force are based on Ceylon, Britain will be forced to resort to heavily escorted convoys if she desires to maintain communications with India and the Near East. Plans to strike westwards into Indian Ocean and seize Ceylon had been prepared by the staff of Japanese Combined Fleet". By this report it's clear that Axis wanted to capture Sri Lanka and used our ports and Airports to go against British. Robert D. Kaplan also identified Sri Lanka as one of the most useful country in Indian Ocean in his book "Monsoon". So, it's very much obvious that Sri Lanka have an economically and military worth location in the Indian Sea.

In the 21st century, the region had performed a tremendous role which has impacted on the international politics. The current importance of the IOR is subjected to prove the statement of Alfred Mahan which says that “Whoever controls the Indian Ocean dominates Asia. This ocean is the key to seven seas. In the twenty-first century, the destiny of the world will be decided on its waters” (Ali, 2013). This statement speaks the volume of the importance of Indian Ocean in the world. Both India and China on a power struggle in Asia to become the Next Super power in the world they have that utmost especial interest in Sri Lanka. So, with this strategical location of our country its clear our foreign policy mainly based with India & China.

A country like Sri Lanka after its military victory over the separatist Tamil Tigers campaign in 2009 looked forward for greater economic development and Sri Lankan government heavy borrowed from China for infrastructure development. The political survival of the then government depends upon its economic development progress as it promised to develop the country after 2009. In such case Chinese assistance which was extended without any political strings or agenda unlike U.S approach was very welcoming for the Sri Lankan government. China’s policy distracted Sri Lanka from western powers and it shifted the external policy more closely towards China which always extends a helping hand. In case of other countries such as Bangladesh, Nepal, and Maldives also China funded projects played a vital role in their economy whereas in Pakistan apart from economic aid China extends its assistance more on nuclear power enhancement projects. Chinese policy on the part of smaller states in South Asia and also from the Chinese perspective is totally a peaceful

approach which proves China as a giant development partner and also a friendly nation to build strong economic tie with. (Gunaseena, Thumira. (2015). Theoretical analysis on the implications of Chinese policy towards south Asia).

Furthermore, even after the war ended China has extended its relationship with Sri Lanka, helping to develop its infrastructure. The development projects embarked on by the Sri Lankan Government in the post-conflict era were initially handed to India under the impression that India would heavily meddle with the nation building process in the island, but China took the plunge when such requests were denied by the Indian Government, going on to develop its OBOR as well as the 'String of Pearls' strategy invested heavily in Sri Lanka.

Anyway, the Rajapaksa regime that took over in late 2005, despite its relative lack of experience, managed the relationship with India with impressive dexterity that contributed towards generating a sympathetic understanding which was a critical factor that enabled it to comprehensively defeat the terrorist LTTE. Unfortunately, after the conflict ended, the same intensity did not characterize our efforts to manage Indian perceptions of Sri Lanka and the consequences were a disaster. And In the mind of people in Sri Lanka, the image of India always has been hostile with its dominating involvement in Sri Lankan politics; many of Sri Lankans still despise New Delhi for its intervention over Sri Lankan ethnic conflict in 1987. However, China has been more astute and extended its clear support to Sri Lanka even during the hard times Sri

Lanka underwent, for an example the country's only international conference and international theatre were built under Chinese funds.

This rapidly increased during the last stages of the war where China unconditionally supported Sri Lankan financially, militarily, and in the International arena. Tamil Nadu's pressure upon the Indian Central Government prevented them from aligning with Sri Lanka which created a public opinion on the island that India frequently hinders Sri Lanka's stability.

Methodology

This study has used some principal methodologies to examine the above-mentioned objectives. When consider about the type of data that has used in the study, secondary data have been used as its sources. Mainly documentary analysis and theoretical analysis are the key analyzing methods 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.

Literature Review

The need for such research investigation on relevant study arise from the fact that the existing body of literature considerably lacks in such theoretical attempts that have been made on explaining the Indo-Lanka-

China triangular relations based on two theories; namely China threat theory and Small state theory.

Committee on Foreign Relations United States Senate published a report on “Chinese activities in Sri Lanka are largely economic, focusing billions of dollars on military loans, infrastructure loans, and port development. While these are loans that will need to be repaid and do not contribute much towards the local economy, they come without any political strings, a fact which makes them attractive to the Sri Lankan Government” (Sri Lanka: recharting U.S strategy after the war, 2009, p.13).

According to Young and Jong, China is using soft power as a strategy to achieve their national interests. As a result of that China improve their national power and trying to spread their interests around the world. Probably in Asian continent including the countries which are located in the silk route (2008, p 453-472)

The balance of the power throughout the ‘String of Pearls’ region has shifted and will continue to shift as China grows in strength and stature. However, changes to this balance are primarily economic, diplomatic and ‘soft power’ changes.’ (Pathak 2009, p. 84). With this strategy of China, it has challenged the Indian and the U.S dominancy in the Indian Ocean and “factors include evolving and overlapping spheres of influence between China and India, arguably competing for regional hegemonic prominence, with the United States as a relatively declining global power, presenting what has been described as an ‘emerging strategic triangle.’ (Coordner 2010, p. 16).

In order to study the small state, analytical clarity of what this analytical concept of the small state entails is needed. Despite the existence of a substantial specialized literature on small states and the existence of small states in large numbers, the phenomenon of the small state remains vaguely defined, by scholars as well as practitioners. ‘There is no internationally established or academically agreed upon definition of the ‘small state’’ (Henrikson, 2001, p. 56).

China threat theory also used to this study. China threat theory is the theory that the rise of China poses a threat to the stability, peace and security of the world. The word “rises” of China actually indicate that this move is against present existing global order. Therefore, the formulation of a country to “rise” is never peaceful. That is what the perspective of other power blocs about the emergence of China in their sense of peaceful manner. Thus, other counter parties of China around the world believe that the rise of China poses a threat to the global stability.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Rivalry between India and China in the Indian Ocean

China wants to be a ‘resident power’ in the Indian Ocean—just like the US, the UK and France. Chinese naval ships and submarines are now making frequent forays into India’s near seas. Many on India’s maritime periphery have embraced China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). In the face of growing Chinese heft in India’s ‘front yard’, there’s an intensifying Sino–Indian geopolitical rivalry in the Indian Ocean. Delhi’s traditional influence there is now under serious challenge.

New Delhi has long feared being encircled by China's 'string of pearls' network of installations in the Indian Ocean, and many of its fears may now be coming true. Last year, China opened its first overseas naval base in Djibouti. China may be planning to open a new naval base at Jiwani, next to Pakistan's China-controlled Gwadar port. In Pakistan, Sri Lanka and elsewhere, China is using the BRI to create client states. Beijing is using its infrastructure projects, while also creating debt dependency, with corrupt and weak regimes to increase China's political leverage.

To give a recent example, the pro-Chinese leader of the Maldives, President Abdulla Yameen, declared a state of emergency in February. The Maldives has long been a foundation of India's sphere of influence in South Asia. Nevertheless, China's warnings against Indian intervention probably emboldened the autocratic leader of the Maldives to extend the state of emergency despite India's strong opposition. It also seems to have cowed India, which sent aircraft and ships to its southern bases but didn't follow up with action to restore democracy in the Maldives.

In the meantime, China is rapidly moving to increase its investments in the Maldives, which include an US\$830 million upgrade of the airport, and a 1.3-mile bridge to link the airport island with the capital, which is a US\$400 million project. China has signed a free trade agreement with the Maldives and has leased the uninhabited island Feydhoo Finolhu for tourism use for 50 years. It has probably leased several other islands as well. Because of sea level rise, the Maldives also hopes to receive Chinese help in reclaiming land and creating artificial islands via dredging.

There are also reports of a Joint Ocean Observation Station that China is looking to establish in the Maldives' western-most atoll in the north, not

far from India. There are concerns that this would give the Chinese a vantage points to monitor an important Indian Ocean shipping route. Noted Indian strategic affairs analyst Brahma Chellaney argues that India should warn the Maldivian and Chinese governments that it won't accept an ocean observation center. It's too early to say whether any of these projects will end up like the Chinese-built international airport in Sri Lanka that's a rarely used white elephant. But all of this is a direct challenge to New Delhi in the Indian Ocean. And India is moving to shore up its position against a more assertive Chinese presence by developing its own 'string of pearls'. New Delhi recently signed a strategic pact with France, with each opening their naval bases to the other's warships across the Indian Ocean. That gives the Indian navy access to strategically important French ports—including one in Djibouti that offers easy access to key oil supply and trade routes. Apart from the French agreement, Prime Minister Narendra Modi this year finalized an agreement for a new base in the Seychelles and negotiated military access to facilities at Oman's port and airfields. Last year India signed an agreement with Singapore to allow deployments from each other's naval facilities. And India has expanded its bases on Andaman and Nicobar Islands at the end of the Malacca Strait.

Belatedly, India has realized that it needs to match China's assertiveness, and that includes expanding its reach into the Pacific. For Delhi, having a counter power-projection capability in the South China Sea is now seen as critical to its strategic deterrence against Beijing. Indeed, there has been a recent surge in India's eastern naval deployments. India has also stepped up aid to littorals through its Project SAGAR (Security and Growth for All in the Region), which is designed to revive India's ancient trade routes and

cultural linkages around the Indian Ocean a counter-move to China's maritime Silk Road.

With the aforementioned projects in process, China gets an opportunity to maintain its presence in South Asia. These investments give Beijing an opportunity to maintain its presence in the Indian Ocean intermittently. Through these investments, China gets strategic and commercial space in the region. Sri Lanka has consistently supported China's 'One China Policy' and has opposed any attempts in the past by Taiwan to seek membership in the United Nations. Over a period of time China-Sri Lanka relations have deepened, and with the growing economy, Sri Lanka is a readymade market for Chinese goods and services. The overall China-Sri Lanka bilateral is a win-win situation for both countries, militarily and economically.

China has made investments in many Indian Ocean littorals, and especially in Sri Lanka and Pakistan to ensure smooth transportation of its energy resources through the Ocean. To this end, Beijing needs a peaceful and stable neighborhood to achieve 'Comprehensive National Power' and for this a 'peaceful periphery' has become a pre-requisite to Chinese foreign policy. Meanwhile, domestic politics of the host countries are playing crucial roles in shaping the geopolitics of the region.

Geopolitics importance of Chinese Investments in Sri Lanka

Map 01



Source – Sri Lanka Ports authority

According to the Teshu Singh, Chinese investments in Sri Lanka are can be primarily found in three sectors: trade, infrastructure and defense. Infrastructural investments such as the Colombo-Katunayake Expressway, the National Theatre of Performing Arts, and the Bandaranaike Memorial International Conference Hall (BMICH) are symbolic of Chinese presence in Sri Lanka. Apart from these investments, two other projects – the Hambantota port and the Colombo Port City project – have drawn attention to the nature of the Chinese investments in Sri Lanka.

Port city Project

The Colombo Port City project was inaugurated by Chinese President Xi Jinping in September 2014, with a budget of \$1.4 billion; it is funded by China's state-controlled China Communication Construction Company (CCCC) Ltd., a subsidiary of the China Harbor Engineering Company. The Colombo port city project aims to play a major role in the Maritime Silk Road (MSR) project. With the change of government in Sri Lanka, the

project is under scrutiny for its high interest rates, corruption, environment issues and most recently on exclusive rights over the air space above the Colombo Port City land and has been withheld at the moment.

The project has opened up divisions within the new government, a fragile alliance between parts of the old opposition United National Party, defectors from former President Mahinda Rajapaksa's ranks (including President Sirisena himself), and smaller groups. Sirisena had promised that "equal relations will be established with India, China, Pakistan and Japan...the principal countries in Asia." This has heralded a new political process in Sri Lanka; the new government had come to power on the issue of curbing China's increasing role in Sri Lanka, but not much has been done; Sirisena has stated that "India is a good neighbor and China is a good ally."

Sri Lanka is balancing both countries in the unfolding geopolitics of the region. Sirisena visited India in his first international trip since assuming power and there have been four high-level bilateral visits between the two governments. Sirisena also visited Beijing in March 2015. Not much clarification was made regarding the port city project; in fact, Sirisena stated that Sri Lanka "welcomes more investment from China, promising a healthy investment climate." This is in sharp contrast to the Sri Lankan foreign minister's statement where he reiterated that Colombo will focus on "the 'back to the center' foreign policy" during his visit to Beijing.

Hambantota port project

The Chinese funded project of Hambantota port is located within 10 nautical miles of the world's busiest shipping lane, and it is ideally directed

at the inter section of major international sea trading routes. This port has been destined to become the prime port of Sri Lanka, surpassing the Colombo harbors. Apparently, it is the world's first in built harbor which was carved out of land. The most strategic features of the Hambantota port can be figured as follows:

- The natural depth along the coastline can be developed into a deep-water port.
- It is well positioned to act as a transshipment center rather than any Indian port due to the strategically situated maritime gateway to India (for transshipment container cargo).
- In view of the deeper berths and location, the port will be able to attract the most port relate industries as cement, fertilizes, automobile etc.
- The port basin could be used for the services of vessels of bunkering facility and for the lager fishing vessels.
- Due to the major shipping route is much closer by shore off, this port could undertake the services such as ship channeling, supply of water, fuel, crew changes etc. In addition, supplies of coal generation and transshipment of vehicles also can be undertaken by the port (Ali, 2013).

Such strategic value is worth enough to be a pearl in the maritime port chain of China in Indian Ocean. Mutual benefit of the commercial relations is relayed on the functioning of Hambantota port, it has tightened the Relations with China and weaken the relation with India. Due to the regime change of Sri Lanka, criticisms were raised claiming that the Hambantota port is a failure. Even though those criticisms are on political debates, the

actual value of the Hambantota port is already recognized by the both countries.

But Sri Lanka has formally handed over its southern port of Hambantota to China on a 99-year lease, which government critics have denounced as an erosion of the country's sovereignty. The \$1.3bn port was opened seven years ago using debt from Chinese state-controlled entities. But it has since struggled under heavy losses, making it impossible for Colombo to repay its debts. In 2016, Sri Lankan ministers struck a deal to sell an 80 per cent stake in the port to the state-controlled China Merchants Port Holdings. But that agreement sparked protests from unions and opposition groups, forcing the government to renegotiate it. Under the new plan, signed in July, the Chinese company will hold a 70 per cent stake in a joint venture with the state-run Sri Lanka Ports Authority. Ranil Wickremesinghe, Sri Lanka's prime minister, welcomed the deal during the official handing over ceremony at the weekend. He said: "With this agreement we have started to pay back the loans. Hambantota will be converted to a major port in the Indian Ocean.

Indo Sri Lankan relationship after the change of regime

Sri Lanka's foreign policy was much towards China for more than a decade. Even India recognize this as a threat they had no options to change the fact since China was much more powerful in the international scope. But with the unexpected defeat of former president Mahinda Rajapaksha in 2015 this was changed.

It is noteworthy that after 30 years an Indian Prime Minister made an official visit to Sri Lanka in March 2015 mainly due to the leadership of President Maithripala Sirisena. Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi is also expected (not definite) to visit the island this year (2017). During his previous visit he spoke about devolution of power and the need to go beyond the 13th Amendment to the Constitution.

The Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord, which was forcefully introduced according to the latest CIA declassified report, is a clear example of the limitation of a weak policy advocated due to the pressure of certain political groups in India and Sri Lanka. In this regard, the Sri Lankan government also failed to inquire and discuss with the public of the country prior to introducing this important political milestone. This ad hoc approach created further tensions between the two countries and within Sri Lanka's domestic political establishment.

According to Dr. Jehan Perera, a Sri Lankan scholar, "India would be more likely to pressurize Sri Lanka on issues that concern its own national security, such as the proposed economic agreement with China involving the Hambantota port and Sri Lanka's backtracking on the Indian economic presence in the Trincomalee port."

This pressure is created by two factors. First, India clearly not understanding the Sri Lankan view towards regional and extra regional powers who are already playing an active role in the island. Second, certain speculative media articles that create much hype in both India and Sri Lanka and deteriorate the relationship. With an equidistant foreign policy

followed by Colombo, India should not worry since Colombo will not pivot to one particular power.

Apart from India's worry of Colombo's preference to Beijing there are bilateral issues to be resolved between India and Sri Lanka such as the long-standing fisheries dispute, which is yet to be resolved with a common solution that could benefit both countries.

In the present day, Prime Minister Modi's 'Act East Policy' has been extended from the 'Look East Policy' to accommodate the regional cultural integration and 'neighborhood first' policy. This has to be appreciated because India should give first priority to its neighboring nations. I have clearly stated the importance of this in a recently published book 'Modi Doctrine'. From an economic perspective, South Asia has an economic value of around US \$ 2.5 trillion with untapped youth resource. There is much to be done to spur the growth of South Asia, however unfortunately political establishments have failed miserably since independence, which is a clear indicator of the high poverty levels in India, Sri Lanka and the region. However, Indo-Sri Lanka political anxieties persist due to the volatile geopolitics of the Indian Ocean and understanding this is the key to resolving many issues.

ETCA

Sri Lanka and India are negotiating a trade agreement which is causing a lot of controversy. Unlike other trade agreements which covers goods, this covers services - specifically IT and shipyards services. This means that people may move back and forth and - given Sri Lanka's long and sometimes contentious relationship with India - this is causing a lot of

controversy. ETCA is the Economic and Technology Co-operation Agreement is a proposed diplomatic arrangement that seeks to add to the existing free trade agreement between the Republic of India and the Republic of Sri Lanka.

So far, the sectors seem to be limited to IT-enabled services and Colombo dockyards. Within that it seems likely that the negotiations will limit those positions to highly skilled (not entry level programmers). The movement would go both ways. The annexure linked above actually mentions a range of services, but other statements have said that this first round would be limited to IT and shipyards. But Unlike goods, services mean that people could move across borders. India IT professionals could be working in Sri Lanka and Sri Lankan IT professionals could be working in India. This means they could be competing for jobs, which has many people worried. The secrecy and lack of transparency around the agreement doesn't help.

Conclusion

Sri Lankan politics will be affected from time to time by geopolitics of the Indian Ocean due to its location closer to India and the maritime route. Thus, balancing New Delhi, Washington and Beijing will be a priority for Sri Lankan foreign policy as President Sirisena has rightly spelled out as “balanced Asia centric”.

Clearly an equidistant foreign policy is what Sri Lanka should have with global powers. President Sirisena has balanced his government's foreign policy with the east and the west. The recent article that appeared in the

Forbes magazine (February 11, 2017) titled ‘China tells India to stay off its Indian Ocean ‘Colony’ Sri Lanka’ is a poor analysis speculating that China is encircling India. Such speculative news items should be countered. As Professor Indra de Soysa rightly points out “Sri Lanka could potentially take a lead role in establishing a movement that demilitarizes and de-securitizes the Indian Ocean by building a regime for peaceful cooperation” (INSSSL Defence Review 2017). In this manner, we could construct a peaceful region, which will benefit the Indo-Sri Lankan relationship as well.

The strategy of string of pearls of China and India’s Indian Ocean Strategy are competing together on the notion of balance of power in the South Asia, while the small countries like Sri Lanka are struggling to make successful to sustain the country. Being able to obtain ultimate advantage of its strategic priorities in the Indian Ocean, Sri Lanka has become the Diamond among the pearls of that string. The roles that Sri Lanka should play in ensuring the maritime security and overcoming the security challenges in Indian Ocean Region are vital in nature. All of these will be only possible to achieve for Sri Lanka, when Sri Lanka could maintain a neutral and balanced relations with India and China. The strategic importance of Sri Lanka in Indian Ocean is vastly admired and identified by the international actors. As a developing nation, Sri Lanka need to obtain the expected development goals by using its strategic values rather than losing them to accomplish short term necessities.

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The US involvement in the Afghan War

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Abstract

Afghanistan is a landlocked, violence-wracked country with an estimated population of thirty million people that are poor, illiterate and is wedged between two hostile neighbors such as Iran and Pakistan. From the early stage because of its strategic location Afghanistan is considered as a buffer state or artificially drafted state by superpower community. It sits upon the southern branch of the Silk Road, a long-used trading route between China and Europe. And also, there has undergone international state- building and counterterrorism efforts in Afghanistan for 17 years. Yet the war is continuing and expanding while growing insurgency. Therefore, the objective of this study is to identify why there is a civil war in Afghanistan for such a long time and to determine what is the importance of Afghanistan for the United States and others. The research takes up a qualitative approach to that end it gathers secondary data that assess conflict situation of Afghanistan. The research findings manifest that although how some actors can influence the development of the conflict making use of their status on the national and international stage and conflict from a different perspective disclosing additional reasons that contribute to the involvement of the US in Afghanistan.

Key words: strategical location, terrorism, insurgency, the US, war

Introduction

All most all the states in the international arena are much concern about the major changers and challengers of other countries because the national interest of a state is seeking to protect or achieve relations to other. When compare the changing capacity of national interests of states, major powers can be considered as counterparts of it. The United States of America is one of the states which involve into foreign policy changes of other states more than other super powers. In the recent decades the US has involved into a number of issues of other states as their one of the priorities which include Middle East and Asian continent. Among these involvements, the US involvement in Afghanistan war is more important because it is the war which continuing for more than 17 years of US war history.

The history of Afghan war goes back to 2001. Since 1996 a group called as the Taliban had controlled most of the country but they were overthrown in November 2001 by British and American armed forces as well as lots of Afghan fighters from a group called Northern Alliance. During the time that the Taliban controlled Afghanistan, they had allowed an organization which called as Al-Qaeda to have training camps here.

In September 2001, nearly 3,000 people were killed in the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The United States believed that Osama Bin Laden, who was the head of Al-Qaeda was the man behind these attacks. There was a lot of international pressure on the Afghan leaders to hand over Osama Bin Laden to them. But instead of that they kept Bin Laden with them. Therefore, the United States decided they would use their armed forces against Afghanistan. In October 2001, the USA began bombing

Afghanistan. They were mainly targeted Bin Laden's Al-Qaeda fighters and Taliban. The invasion of Afghanistan was the opening salvo in the United States "war on terrorism" and it was response to the September attack by Taliban.

Methodology

For this study qualitative data is used in order to gather in depth understanding regarding the issue that will be discussed. The data is collected through secondary sources such as books, websites, online magazines, journal articles, newspaper articles as well as scholarly writings. Descriptive analysis method is followed for this study. The data is analyzed using previous reports and documents which have been published regarding this topic.

Literature Review

Ameen Izzadeen (2018) puts the US is not naïve to withdraw from Afghanistan and thereby squander the strategic advantage it enjoys. Its presence in Afghanistan is legalized and legitimated through a controversial Strategic Partnership the two nations signed in 2012. The US invaded Afghanistan in October 2001, after the Taliban rulers refused to hand over Osama Bin Laden, leader of Al-Qaeda which carried out the 9/11 attacks, although some analysts believed the invasion had more to do with a pipeline project to enable US oil companies to exploit Central Asia's oil and gas.

Anon (2017) stated Due its geographical location. It's located somewhere in between major super powers like China, India and Russia. Afghanistan itself is not important as it doesn't have any major oil fields or gold reserves but the path which the country provide for super powers to control and politically put pressures on eastern giants is what makes the country important for major powerful empires.

Daniel L. Byman (2017) puts Fear of terrorism constitutes the primary reason to remain in Afghanistan. Because the Taliban hosted al-Qaida in the years before the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, many assume that the Taliban would host al-Qaida and other terrorist organizations again should it gain power in all or part the country. President Trump, in his Aug. 21 speech announcing the deployment of more troops, warned,

“A hasty withdrawal would create a vacuum for terrorists, including ISIS and Al Qaida, would instantly fill just as happened before September 11.” Although the Afghan government controls only part of the country, its presence impedes the Taliban’s ability to host the large-scale training apparatus that allowed al-Qaida and other groups to flourish before 9/11. Government forces can raid Taliban-controlled areas and disrupt camps, and the United States can fly drones or otherwise strike any facilities with relative ease.

Amanda Erickson (2018) stated It's not clear that there was ever much communication between the Islamic State in Afghanistan and key leaders in Syria and Iraq. The Afghanistan branch was more like a franchise, operating largely independently. “They embrace the label, and they swear

allegiance to Baghdadi, but it doesn't appear there is any direction, control or instructions coming from Syria, Iraq or Baghdadi" Vanda Felbab-Brown, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, told Frontline. She referred to Islamic State leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Importance of Afghanistan

Figure 1. Strategic Importance of Afghanistan



Source: Chabahar port vs Gwadar/Jiwani port (2018)

The United States still not have been able to defeat an enemy much weaker than them in terms of war that continuing about two decades. United States has armed with nuclear weapons, mother-of-all-bombs, precisions guided and the advanced satellite technology. With such an advanced military facility why still the US not able to defeat Taliban? It can surely eliminate the Taliban and ISIS within few days of weeks. So, beyond the stage there is an importance of involvement of the US in Afghanistan for United States

than Afghanistan. It is not that US has no will power to end the war. The answer is rather linked to their strategy on staying Afghanistan.

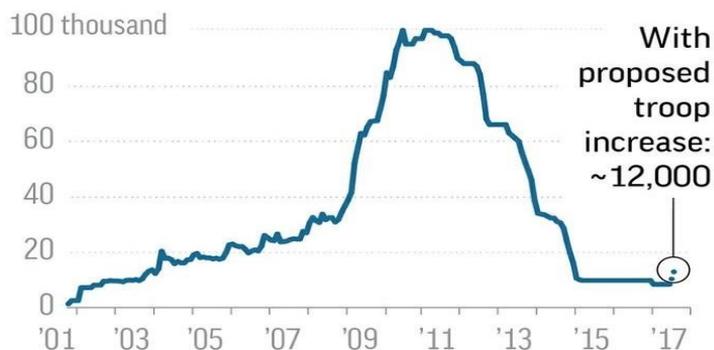
Afghanistan is a landlocked country. So, the geographical importance of Afghanistan is very important for the US for their strategical interests. Because landlocked Afghanistan provides the US a strategic base to keep watch on some of their hostile nations. In the west of Afghanistan is Iran, is a US enemy. Iran sharing a 2430 km- long border.

In the south and east of Afghanistan is Pakistan which now gives more importance to keep close defense ties with China than the US. Pakistan and US have unreliable and ungrateful history from the past. Unreliable means the history shows that the US uses Pakistan only to ditch it once to achieve their objectives. The ungrateful means the Pakistanis feel that the US has not appreciated the heavy price of them country which have been forced to pay by them for joining the “war on terror”. Setting aside the issue of Taliban or ISKP control, the United States also uses Afghanistan as a base for drone attacks in Pakistan. Drones are the tip of the U.S. spear against al-Qaida remnants remaining in the region. A number of U.S. enemies operate from tribal parts of Pakistan that are within drone and commando range from Afghanistan. Thus, a continued fight against al-Qaida remnants in Pakistan depends in part on access to Afghanistan. Thus, after the presidential election of Pakistan in 2018, former cricket hero- who has turned as a politician, Imran Khan had nominated as the new president and he has said that his foreign policy priority will be peace with Afghanistan and Iran. Therefore, after the drone attack the tension between Pakistan and the US has increased than before.

In the north, Afghanistan shares a 76km border with China, which has a trade war and military competition with the US. Not only that Afghanistan also shares a 2300km- long border with Central Asia, where the US has no military presence now after Kyrgyzstan closed down the US airbase in 2014 following pressure from Russia. Therefore, the US do not need to move away from Afghanistan due to their own interests.

A stable Afghanistan is important for regional security in South Asia including India. For India, a Taliban dominated Afghanistan is safe haven for separatists and terrorists. Afghanistan is also important for India's energy security, looking at prospects of a TAPI or similar pipeline. Further, India has big economic stakes in the country. India has committed huge economic assistance for developmental purposes in Afghanistan. India has also signed a Strategic Partnership Agreement, in which India agreed to assist in the training and equipping of Afghan security.

Figure 2: United States troops in Afghanistan 2001-2017



Source: Afghanistan troops (2017)

As a presidential candidate, Donald J. Trump questioned the continued U.S. involvement in Afghanistan, tweeting “Let’s get out!” because of the “waste of blood and treasure.” As president, however, Trump is following the path of Presidents George W. Bush and Barack Obama: In August, he approved the deployment of several thousand more troops into Afghanistan, where 8,500 are already stationed. The United States is likely to stay involved in Afghanistan for the remainder of the Trump presidency and perhaps far longer.⁹

Beyond counterterrorism interests, there is a humanitarian case for remaining in Afghanistan. The Taliban oppose women’s rights, religious tolerance, education for girls and general liberal democratic values. Preventing such a group from gaining power helps Afghans. Although the United States cannot and should not intervene everywhere to promote human rights, Afghanistan represents a possible exception given the long-standing U.S. involvement coupled with the security reasons and serious humanitarian concerns.¹⁰

War or Peace talks

Involvement of super powers into Afghan issues has created big demand for them more than ever. Because for all these super powers, Afghanistan is a strategically important which has created a door towards Asian

⁹ <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/09/05/the-case-for-continued-u-s-involvement-in-afghanistan/>

¹⁰ <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/order-from-chaos/2017/09/05/the-case-for-continued-u-s-involvement-in-afghanistan/> ³ <http://www.Dailymirror.lk>

continent. In the context of this large picture, Afghanistan finds it difficult to extricate itself from the superpower power games.

Afghanistan is being bled to a slow death, with none of the peace efforts undertaken by various interested parties moving beyond the preliminary stages.

In 2013, Qatar facilitated a Pakistan brokered peace initiatives among the government of Afghanistan and Taliban. The peace talk was only organized for the purpose of see its early collapse after Taliban leader Mullah Omar was killed in US operations. Not only that, recently Qatar had launched fresh attempts by facilitating secret contacts between the warring parties, including the United States. However, it clearly shows that when taking single step towards direction of peace, there comes a blow pushing the process two steps backwards.

Not only Qatar but also Russia had tried to bring peace initiatives for Afghanistan. Because Russia is the one country which has badly affected by the narcotic drugs which have produced in the Afghanistan. But this is also likely to end as a non- event.

Thus, there were China also brokered peace initiatives. China sees Afghan peace as a crucial factor for the success of its One Belt One Road (OBOR) project.

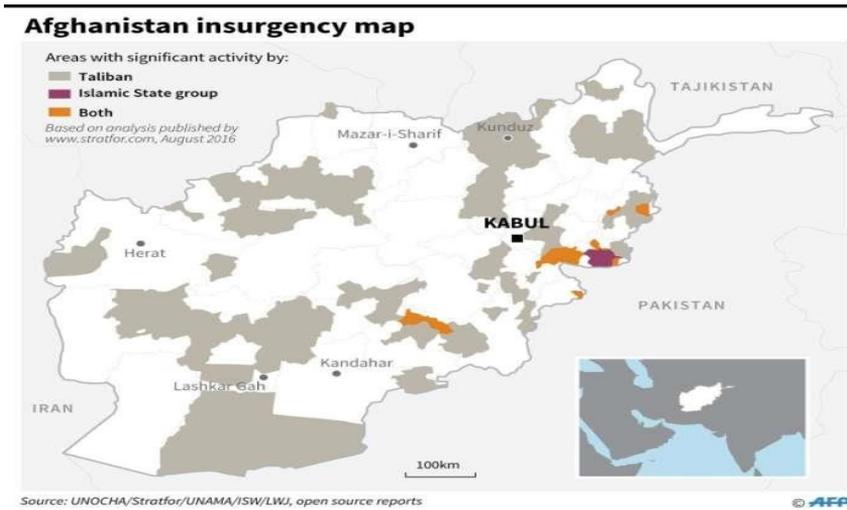
Recently, Afghanistan president Ashraf Ghani made a ceasefire offer for the Taliban. Unfortunately, it was met with Taliban rocket attacks on Kabul's high security zone housing the presidential palace and the embassy

of United States. Therefore, not only peace talks even war appears to be going nowhere.

The Taliban control large chunks of the country's territory.

ISIS and Afghanistan

Figure 3: Taliban and ISIS presence in Afghanistan



Source: UNOCHA/Stratfor/UNAMA/ISW/LWJ, open source reports

Since last year, following the crushing defeats in the Iraq and Syria, The ISIS¹¹ has also been making its presence felt in Afghanistan. Probably carrying out a foreign power's agenda, the ISIS largely targets the Shiite population. Two weeks ago, the ISIS carried out a massacre at an Afghan school, killing some 34 Shiite students.¹² It's hard to say when was first day ISIS had started their activities in the Afghanistan but U.S. officials started to hear rumors about the group operating in Afghanistan around

¹¹ Islamic State for Iraq and Syria

¹² <http://www.Dailymirror.lk>

2014. Recently, ISIS playing a crucial role in Afghan war and the United States need to get rid of them.

Therefore, The United States targeted the fighters of Taliban as well as ISIS with the “mother of all bombs,” which was dropped on caves in Afghanistan last spring. By June, the U.S. military said it had killed Abu Sayed, the head of Afghanistan’s Islamic State affiliate, in an airstrike. A Pentagon spokeswoman predicted that the strike would “significantly disrupt the terror group’s plans to expand its presence in Afghanistan.” But even such things were not able to defeat the ISIS presence in Afghanistan.

Conclusion

Afghanistan is very important for many countries due its geographical location. It's located somewhere in between major super powers like China, India and Russia. Afghanistan itself is not important as it doesn't have any major oil fields or gold reserves but the path which the country provide for super powers to control and politically put pressures on eastern giants is what makes the country important for major powerful empires. Therefore, they have enough attraction of hegemonic competitors including the United States of America due to its position of buffer state. President Donald Trump, surrounded by hardline advisors, is for an indefinite prolonged war in Afghanistan. Trump has said that he has become convinced the only thing worse than staying in Afghanistan is pulling out. The U.S. war in Afghanistan, which enters its 17th year as the longest war in American history, has no end in sight, and Americans increasingly question its value.

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