Journal of International Studies

International Studies Students' Association

Department of International Studies

University of Kelaniya

Sri Lanka

Journal of International Studies

Editorial Board

Message from the Vice Chancellor of University of Kelaniya

Professor D.M. Semasinghe

It is with utmost pleasure that I send my felicitation for the fourth edition of the Journal of International Studies published by the International Studies Students' Association of the Department of International Studies of University of Kelaniya. It is delighting to perceive the endeavours taken in the past years have yet again become fruitful. The effort taken by the department to deliver its promising undergraduates an intellectual platform to showcase their skills is indeed praiseworthy. 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 measures to bestow and expose its undergraduates' to 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 endeavours. The degree reaching such greater heights as such gives me a great satisfaction as the Vice Chancellor of the University of Kelaniya. Thus, I congratulate the International Studies Students' Association upon this fourth successful attempt at publishing an academic journal and wish all students the best of luck in their academic undertakings.

Professor D.M. Semasinghe
Vice Chancellor
University of Kelaniya

Message from the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences

Prof. A. H. M. H. Abayarathna

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 fourth 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 endeavours.

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.

Prof. A.H.M.H.Abayrathna
Dean
Faculty of Social Sciences
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Message from the Head of the Department of International Studies

Senior Lecturer Ms. Thumira Gunasena

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 fourth 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 academic 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 Student 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 Fourth Volume of the Journal of International Studies.

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

Message from the President of the

International Studies Students' Association

Hasitha Karunarathne

As the President of the International Studies Students' Association it is with much pride and happiness that I partake to write this message.

I appreciate the dedication of my fellow undergraduates who contributed immensely to make this task a success. The International Studies Students' Association has always directed the way to elevate quality and relevant research skills of the International Studies undergraduates.

The 4th volume of the Journal of International Studies is the end product of hard work from the academic staff and undergraduates. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the head of the department Mrs. Thumira Gunasena for her guidance, and other academic, non-academic staff members and my fellow colleagues for their immense support that made this launch a success.

Hasitha Karunarathne
President
International Studies Students' Association
University of Kelaniya

Message from the Editor of the Journal

Hasarel Gallage

I'm privileged and greatly honored to pen these words as the fourth volume of the Journal of International Studies is launched. A look through the pages of the journal manifests the rich knowledge of undergraduates specializing international studies and their keen and genuine interest in the world affairs. For that matter I am humbly proud to be a part of this initiative. The journal as it is launched today is not the work of a couple of persons, nor a work of a few days' time. It is the final product of the long labour of many people involved who committed meticulously to see it as it is today. I'm grateful 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 guidance and support extended throughout by encouraging us to walk that extra mile to write to the Journal of International Studies and the ISSA family who were behind this endeavour from the beginning up to the final launch of the journal. I would also seize this opportunity to express my best wishes for the launch of the fourth volume of the journal of which I am proud to be a part.

Hasarel Gallage
Journal Editor
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Contents

Terrorism and Islamic State of Iraq and Syria: A Threat to Global Peace and Security

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Abstract

With the emergence and the growing clout of Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (ISIS), the terrorist threat confronting the international community has undergone a profound and dangerous transformation. This group has been given the title of "terrorist organization" by the United Nations, European Union, the United States, Saudi Arabia, and many others. ISIS now controls or can operate with impunity in a great stretch of territory in western Iraq and eastern Syria, making it militarily the most successful jihadi movement ever. Since ISIS has controlled more territory both in Syria and in Iraq, it has increasingly been able to fund itself from the proceeds of organized crime, including protection rackets and bank robberies, and by selling natural resources. The ISIS tactic is to make a surprise attack, inflict maximum casualties and spread fear before withdrawing without suffering heavy losses. ISIS specializes in using militarily untrained foreign volunteers as suicide bombers either moving on foot wearing suicide vests, or driving vehicles packed with explosives. ISIS is already a threat to the United States. ISIS is not only dangerous in a regional context because it is overthrowing modern state boundaries in ways that incur massive ethno-sectarian killing and cleansing. ISIS is also a global jihadist organization that shares al-Qaeda's ideology, such that its progress drives towards a post-state and apocalyptic vision that involves the destruction of the modern state system. ISIS already threatens to escalate terrorism between states in the Middle East that have been fighting proxy wars in Syria for several years such that ISIS military operations may cascade into a broader regional conflict. ISIS is now a direct threat to neighbouring states in the Middle East, and ISIS is broadcasting the intent to attack Saudi Arabia, Israel, and the West. The threat of attacks against the U.S. is present.

Key words: Terrorism, ISIS, Iraq, Syria, Jihadist, Ethno-sectarian violence

Introduction

"If you remain steadfast, Allah will support you and grant you victory and plant your feet firmly. Know that paradise is under the shade of the swords."

- Abu Bakr al Baghdadi,caliph of the Islamic State-

The greatest and gravest dangers to international security and peace is no longer military threats from rival great powers but transnational threats emanating from the world's most poorly governed countries (Wilkinson, P.,2006)Poorly performing developing countries have become porous in the form of terrorism, weapons proliferation and other dangers, which threaten global peace and security. This new focus on weak and failing states represents a shift in how these states are perceived by the rest of the world as regards to peace and security.   This new threat perception has quickly become conventional wisdom globally, hence threat to international peace and security. Scholars, governments, and the media have associated poorly performing developing nations to a vast range of threats to global security and well-being, from international terrorism to international crime, regional instability, humanitarian catastrophes, global pandemics, mass migration and environmental degradation (Metcalfe, B. D., 2006)

Political wrangles in the region and internal wars as currently being experienced in these Islamic States have not only resulted to humanitarian crises but to also international concerns on security and peace. Islamists in these countries have become part of the largest terrorism networks in the world and have in the last decade continued to kill civilians in different countries, thus causing chaos, and reducing peace and security which have been enjoyed for the last recent years. Terrorism has been a menace to humankind for two millennia, but in recent decades, it has become a pressing domestic and international security problem (Varku, R. 2009). The Security Council for instance condemned explicitly in the strongest terms these perturbing terrorist attacks and regarded "such acts, like any act of international terrorism, as a threat to international peace and security. From a peace and security point of view, the current political situations in majority of the Islamic States have resulted to internal wrangles and developing of Islamists extremists which when combined make these states a threat to international peace and security (Ibid, 2014).

Islamic state is a type of government, in which the primary basis for government is the enforcement of shari'a, dispensation of justice, maintenance of law and order (Wiktorowicz, Q.2001). According to Zamani-Farahani, and Henderson Islamic State is a radical Islamist group, which has seized territory across northern and western Iraq and eastern Syria. From the early years of Islam, numerous governments have been founded as "Islamic." However, the term "Islamic state" has taken on a more specific modern connotation since the 20th century. Today, one of the most serious threats to peace and security that have engulfed a large portion of the Middle East is the emergence of the Sunni Muslim extremist group, infamously known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), or Islamic State of Iraq and Levant (ISIL)(Ali, A. J. (2012). However, Wiktorowicz states that after capturing a sizeable territory in Iraq and Syria, the group changed its name to Islamic State (IS). The main objective behind the inception of this dreaded armed group was to establish a caliphate, or an Islamic state, based on Sharia law, across the world.

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the emergence of a terrorist threat with global reach in the form of Al Qaeda, the first decade of the new millennium marked a low in the number and severity of armed conflicts worldwide. This situation has blossomed and become more threatening in comparison to the last decade. In addition, the phenomenon has become more expressive of the trend that the increase in inter-state conflict, which was once the dominant pattern of war, has become more common in Islamic States. In the past three to five years, the events in Islamic States have given serious reason to reconsider the apparent gains in peace and security at the international level. The effects of the Arab Spring and its impact on regional peace have compelled scholars and security experts to reconsider their position on the issue of peace, security, and the threat these states have not only at the domestic, but at the international level. Brutal, intractable, high-casualty conflict has returned, most evidently in Syria, Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, and Palestine as well as Somalia and Sudan. Furthermore, it has done so in a way that often eludes the efforts of mediators and military and peace operations to end conflict, bypasses the mechanisms of the international community, and underwrites new forms of threat projection and displacement. Internal/home based terrorist groups like Hamas, Hezbollah in Lebanon, and Islamic State of Iraq and al Sham (ISIS) have resulted to

internal wars with governments which have resulted to humanitarian crises, in addition to threating peace, security and order in these regions.

Researchers internationally have found that globalized Islamist extremism has prompted the emergence or consolidation of new fronts for armed violence. More importantly, Islamic extremist groups and franchised jihadist activities has thus grown ever closer to zones of existing conflict and tension and particularly to populous lower to middle income countries. Therefore, political change coupled by extremism in Islamic states has contributed to increased concern on international peace and security hence the question how the terrorism and Islamic State has become a threat to global peace and security.In addition, the questions arise, what factors have led to the growth and expansion of ISIS terrorist activities? How does Islamic State impact global peace and security? What are the measures taken in global level to counter the ISIS threat? In addition to that this study is focused on assessing following objectives.

1. To investigate the strategies employed by ISIS for the expansion of its terrorist activities
2. To examine how Islamic State of Iraq and Syria impact on international peace and security
3. To identify the measures taken in global level to counter the ISIS threat.

Terrorism and ISIS

The rise of ISIS in 2014 and its claim of the establishment of the Islamic State have introduced a threat of unprecedented magnitude to the international community. Even as the Al Qaeda remains significant despite having diminished in size, strength and influence, the threat from the group and its affiliates and supporters has begun to eclipse due to ISIS. With territorial control, huge resources, savviness in exploiting modern communication technology, especially the social media and brutality and barbarism, ISIS has presented a new version of extremism and terrorism to the world. Despite counter-offensives like aerial bombings and ground combat on multiple fronts, ISIS continues to survive and has been able to demonstrate its robust and lethal capabilities with attacks in many countries and to spread its influence worldwide.

ISIS (originally Islamic State of Iraq - ISI) evolved out of Abu Musab al Zarqawi-led Al Qaeda in Iraq. Though the initial objective of ISI was to create a Sunny enclave in Iraq to counter the growing dominance of the Shias and the Kurds, instability in the country together with disbanding of the Iraqi military and intelligence apparatus and dismantling of Ba'ath party and its affiliated governmental apparatus let the group to grow and expand. The post Arab Spring chaos in many Middle Eastern countries specifically in Iraq's neighbourhood allowed to group to capture territory and establish its rule projecting it as the Islamic State – the Caliphate. As Al Qaeda's leadership of the jihadist movement began to wane especially after the killing of Osama bin Laden, many groups and individuals that Al Qaeda mentored with ideology, training and financing are now increasingly turning to ISIS and Abu Bakr al Baghdadi for strategic leadership and inspiration.

ISIS's Strategy

Today, ISIS has become a transnational phenomenon with an estimated 80,000 fighters including 30,000 Iraqis and Syrians and 20,000 foreigners combating in Iraq and Syria and hundreds of thousands of supporters worldwide. According to Western security and intelligence estimates ISIS fighters in Syria and Iraq grew from 30,000 in 2014 to 50,000 in 2015 and likely to increase further in coming months as the group grabs more territory. ISIS strategy is to govern the areas it controls in Iraq and Syria and expand to other Muslim territories by accepting pledges of allegiance from local jihadist groups. Specifically ISIS seeks to control territory and administer the caliphate; expand the caliphate into other permissive areas; and exploit and destabilize areas not under its control. By demonstrating the establishment of the Islamic State, propagating the idea of a global caliphate and at the same time undermining competing groups and co-opting likeminded groups, ISIS is garnering more support and resources including manpower thereby the potential for future expansion. ISIS has also inspired individuals to carry out attacks in their home countries as it become increasingly challenging foreign recruits to travel to Syria and Iraq. This nevertheless benefits the group in its quest for global expansion.

Dynamics of ISIS's Expansion

ISIS grew in territories where states failed to govern. This has been mostly the case in Iraq and Syria. As the rulers got entrapped in state-building initiatives (Iraq) or dealing with the chaos induced by Arab Spring (Syria),

ISIS was able to grab territory, amass wealth and armaments from all vulnerable sources including oil and natural gas production and distribution systems, financial institutions like banks and even the disbanding Iraqi army. The group also aims to establish more satellites of the Caliphate known as wilayats (governorates or provinces) in other permissive areas across the world. For example, in Afghanistan, poor governance, lax security and fractionalisation of the Taliban after Mullah Omar's death allowed ISIS to grow, where it refers to itself as Wilayat Khorasan. Though Taliban is still the key player in most of Afghanistan, ISIS has occupied the eastern Nangarhar province, adjacent to the tribal areas of Pakistan operating from more than eight districts in the province and expanding.

Wilayat Khorasan has conducted multiple attacks targeting Hazara Shi'ites and the security forces in Afghanistan and released an array of brutal beheading videos. This group comprises members largely of breakaway factions of the Pakistani Taliban who are based on Afghan soil. The group has expanded further into other parts of Nangarhar in the east, Farah in the north and Helmand in the south in Afghanistan. It also maintains influence in specific parts of Pakistan. ISIS has also been engaged in sporadic clashes with the Taliban, which refuses to acknowledge the former as a stakeholder in the Afghan state. With the drawdown of U.S. forces from Afghanistan ISIS is likely to emerge as a formidable force posing a challenge to the Taliban in the mid to long term

ISIS has also expanded in to Libya. Numerous terrorist groups took roots in the country after Muammar Gaddafi was killed in 2011. Majlis Shura Shabab Al Islam (Islamic Youth Consultative Council) and a faction of Ansar Al Sharia in Libya pledged allegiance to Abu Bakr al Baghdadi creating Wilayat Al Barqah, Wilayat Fizzan and Wilayat Al Tarabulus respectively. In addition to consolidating control in the declared provinces, ISIS is likely to expand further. Sirte, a backup capital for ISIS, has become a base for the group's operations, logistics and training.

Similarly, Boko Haram based mainly in northern Nigeria pledged allegiance to Al Baghdadi and subsequently renamed itself Islamic State's West Africa Province (ISWAP) also known as Wilayat Gharb Afriqiya. In Algeria, ISIS created Wilayat al-Jazair; in Yemen, Wilayat Sanaa; and in Saudi Arabia, Wilayat al-Haramayn. In addition to mounting attacks in Algeria, ISIS conducted and claimed attacks against the Houthis in the Yemeni provinces

of Lahij, Aden, Abyan, Shabwah, Sa'ada, Sana'a, Ibb, Taiz, al-Jawf, al-Bayda, and Hadramawt. On 20 March 2015, ISIS targeted two Zaydi mosques in Sana'a and a government facility in Sa'ada killing 137 and injuring 345.

ISIS also seeks to attack Saudi Arabia to take control of Islam's two holiest shrines in Mecca and Medina before attacking Israel to take control of Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem - the third holiest site in Islam. Calling for the overthrow of the House of Saud, ISIS has carried out attacks in Saudi Arabia's Najd and Hejaz provinces and likely to target the ruling family in Saudi Arabia.

Fourth, without unanimity and unity among the countries, offensives against ISIS will continue to be ad-hoc and ineffective. Until now cooperation at the strategic level and coordination of operations beyond exchange of information and intelligence has eluded the countries fighting ISIS or being affected by its atrocities

Last but not the least, refugees and asylum seekers from conflict zones to the West are susceptible to ISIS's message. ISIS is likely to exploit them to target its enemies in the countries that the refugees are flocking to in large numbers. Unfortunately, countries involved do not have effective policies and plans of action to mitigate the humanitarian crisis arising out of the outflow of refugees in such a large number.

Responding to the threats

Today, ISIS presents a four-dimensional threat to most governments - ISIS Core in Syria and Iraq, ISIS Branches, ISIS Global and ISIS online. Countering these threats requires both conventional combat strategies including boots on the ground and creation of new capabilities especially those involving communication management to produce and disseminate counter narratives against radical messages. It also involves community engagement. More specifically, these capabilities include expanding elite counter terrorism tactical units; increasing the numerical strengths of national security services; developing a robust legal framework on preventive detention; raising dedicated units to police the cyber domain; and an integration of capabilities by shifting from counter- terrorism cooperation to collaboration

Arguably, the key to dismantling the ISIS core in Iraq, Syria and Libya is increased intelligence-led military operations to kill or capture its leaders, dismantle its support and operational structures, training camps and financial infrastructures. Both special and general purpose forces on the ground, in addition to air campaign, is essential to degrade and destroy ISIS

Governments must take steps to deny ISIS the opportunity to expand its territorial control. This involves identifying and securing vulnerable areas as a physical deterrent. Building trust among the inhabitants of these areas for their respective governments is equally important. Moreover, tempo of ISIS attacks in Iraq and Syria created the momentum for the spawning of associated groups outside the primary theatre. In order to break this momentum, it is paramount to focus on both the core area and the satellite provinces and break their nexus.

New executive and legislative tools are necessary to proscribe entities and personalities that advocate, support and participate in ISIS activities. They should be investigated, charged, and prosecuted.

Given ISIS's growing presence in the virtual domain, governments should step up their efforts to prevent extremist and terrorist exploitation of the internet through a robust legal and governance framework. This also requires partnerships with business firms, civil society and community groups. The key to building enduring and effective partnerships lies in complementing the whole-of-government approach with a whole-of-society approach. The strategy is to build and sustain a community of experts including religious scholars to develop and disseminate counter- narratives to the extremist propaganda through the internet, more specifically through the social media to prevent radicalization. It also involves measures to implement de-radicalization programmes to rehabilitate those that have already fallen victims to extremist propaganda.

Most importantly, governments, irrespective of whether they are directly affected by the threat and despite political and ideological differences, must put their acts together and present a common front to degrade and destroy ISIS, Al Qaeda and other similar groups. However as mentioned earlier the responses have so far been ad hoc, piecemeal and lacking in cooperation and coordination which have largely been ineffective and often counterproductive.

Methodology

This is a qualitative desktop-based study which relies on the method of documentary analysis of documentary sources and they are based on both primary and secondary sources. In terms of primary documents, I used video recordings and speeches of the presidents regarding ISIS. I also draw upon select newspaper articles about the terrorism and ISIS. In terms of secondary sources, I examine journal articles, published papers, books and book chapters. I employ the tool of content analysis (Mayring 2004) to examine these relevant primary and secondary, scholarly and non-scholarly documents. By analysing this available data, I prescribe some solutions to the terrorism and ISIS in accordance with the changing contextual conditions on the ground. I also use the above data to recommend ways how to overcome the problem of terrorism and ISIS.

Literature Review

In the present international system, democracy, globalization, ideologies, economic disparities, and Diasporas' discrimination as some of the main causes of terrorism. She states that the present international system, where United States and its allies are hegemonic, evokes the feelings of contempt and hatred across the world. She states that democracy and globalization provide conditions in which terrorist campaigns may operate and sustain. Globalization is a new form of Imperialism in which developed countries are increasing their influence over poor and less developed ones. It creates an environment that can facilitate violent behavior and acts of terrorism (Richardson, 2006).

Islamic revivalism is traced back to 1258 with the establishment of radical Islamic ideology by the Muslim cleric Ibn Taymiyya. He suggested that Muslims need to return to their roots, to the time when Islamic society was pure. He termed jihad as the most important duty for Muslims. He also links the Taymiyya ideology to the mid-1700 Wahhabi movement. It was Muhammad ibn Abd Wahhab, a Muslim cleric and Tahmiyya's follower who proposed the idea of rebellion against the Ottoman rulers because of their failure to implement Sharia. He wanted to establish strict laws based upon Sharia and execute anyone who does not subscribe to his views of Islam. The next phase began with the Ayatollah Khomeini seizing power in Iran in 1979. He called for jihad against America and wrote that all secular

power is the work of Satan and Muslims must stop it. (Roshandel & Chandha, 2006)

Islamic State attempts to draw its legitimacy from religion. Even a self-declared Caliphate must project a strong ideological-religious appeal, and The Islamic State taps into the widespread belief of Salafists that the Muslim world can and should return to the simplicity and unity that they imagine existed in the earliest days of Islam. While the ideological appeal of The Islamic State, both inside and outside Iraq, draws on a narrative common to global terrorism that the governments in the Muslim countries of the Middle East are corrupt, irreligious, and heavily influenced by the United States and other Western powers - unlike al Qaeda, it is more immediately focused on violent revolution in Muslim majority countries than on attacking their Western sponsors.20 In order to achieve both the revolution within the Islamic world and the purist government that The Islamic State advocates, it exacerbates the political fault line within Islam between Shia and Sunni traditions of belief.

Its most active supporters are generally insufficiently knowledgeable about their religion to challenge the distortions of Islam preached by the ideologues of The Islamic State. They accept at face value the justifications provided for the widespread murder and absolutist style of government that are its hallmarks. Their individual motivation for joining has more to do with the dynamics of a social network that provides direction, identity, purpose, belonging, empowerment and excitement, than it does with religious understanding. The Islamic State also offers an opportunity for potential recruits all over the world to join something new, and to leave behind unwelcome baggage from the past .(Hassan, A,2009).

Security and peace are indispensable for economic and social development. And for this reason, maintaining security, peace and stability in the 21st century has continued to remain a crucial challenge for the international community Nojumi, N. 2012).

The United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU), the European Union (EU) are some of the bodies which are affected by increased insecurity. The terrorists and criminals targeting Syria, Iraq, and other countries today are extreme reflections of a global threat. For example, groups such as the Mujahehedin/Taliban in Afghanistan, the Boko Haram in Nigeria, Laskar

etTayyiba in Pakistan, those in the name of Al-Qaeda throughout the globe pose a security threat to the world (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute., 2005)

The mushrooming of Islamist-extremist movements predates the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq, emerging from the late 1970s through the early 1990s. Before the 9/11 attacks, certain academic and security experts from within the region predicted continuing Islamist threats and further development of the broad-based Islamic resurgence in the Middle East, and beyond, in Europe, Asia, Africa, and North America.35 However, resistance by Islam States in regard to the policies by the U.S could have attributed to the insurgencies and increased Islamist radicals which have become a threat to international peace and security. The U.S had developed policies against terrorist groups, including Islamist extremist organizations earlier, but 9/11 created an impetus and urgency for a more successful strategy of opposition to these groups (Ayoob, M. ,2005).

Threat from terrorism undermines the security and stability of a peace loving nation and the threats which affect peace, security and democracy chaotic situations brought about politically displaced people from their home towns and robbing the people of their economy and social life as should be in a civil society (Solana, J, 2003).

Lack of education brings a human capital to zero level of intelligence application, thus open the possibility on the preoccupation towards criminal elements. The vicious cycle if unchecked will push the world into two divides namely that of people supporting terrorism as a result of failures by the government to take care of its own people and the other of course the people or group maintaining the issue that terrorism as a threat to their well-being (Waltz, K. N., 2000)

There are limited literary sources, which directly address the issue of Islamic States being a new threat to peace and security at the international level. For this reason, such limitation has compelled this particular study with the aim of reducing that particular gap. Moreover, given that international peace and security are of global importance, the study was deemed appropriate. Notably, the idea international security, as distinct from national/state security, emerged with the development of a collective security system, and therefore, security and peace at international level have not been highly studied. Such an investigation will provide the study with an overview and a

collection of ways that can be employed as deterrence to the threat posed by Islamic States.

Data Presentation and Analysis

ISIS has been considered as the current organization-creating disharmony among people, it is also considered a very fatuous terrorist creating much threat to the world security and peace, and it is happening due to the capability in creating movements. As people from different countries become radicalized by ISIS, they join them in their fight. Their number of their fighters will increase and they will spread their activities targeting other countries Cross section of the world has been made in order to overcome terrorists' activities and to defeat ISIS (Payne, 2014). Some of these countries include USA, Russia, UK, Turkey, Syria, Iraq and most countries in Europe.

The Islamic State has been capable to organize, direct or inspire its supporters to attack its targets in around seventeen countries outside its stronghold in Iraq and Syria. The countries which have

 been attacked include: Afghanistan, Australia, Algeria, Bangladesh, Canada, Denmark, Egypt, France, Indonesia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia,, United States, Tunisia, Yemen, Turkey [21]. In addition, ISIS has established or claimed territories or Wilayats in around seventeen countries as part of its —five year plan‖ for world conquest. Among these countries are Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Somalia, Tunisia, and Yemen.

Terrorists are not invisible spirits. They reside among men in various countries that exist on this planet earth. Islamic state of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) being a new form of terrorism in the terrorists world order perpetrate its evil acts from those countries it has the interest in attacking because it is somewhat being allowed some free hands to operate from there. This makes it possible for these groups to take off, hit their targets, return and feel accommodated. Many countries' governmental regimes had in the past been indicted for abetting terrorists to operate such act, tagged as state-sponsored terrorism has never been received with ease by the United nations because it could cause out-break of crises and endanger the co-existence and mutual inter-relationships among the member states or nations. The fall-out of responsible government in some nations like Iraq, and Syria prompted the

alliance of this social migrant that formed the deadly group called the -ISIS. Their sole aim is to work together to weaken the effort of the United Nations in achieving global peace and security. If all member states of the UN truly gear up in oneness to this measure, a permanent solution to the menace is very likely to be demystified. Thus, tackling any terrorist group like the ISISis as workable as getting every nation to root out terrorist groups operating in or from its enclave, even at the express requirement of the already and standby assistance of the international community. Well, this text is designed to address the issue of Islamic state of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) and how such group constitute a very big terrorist threat to peace and security of the world, but certain mention would be made on other types of terrorists groups, how they are formed and funded coupled with how they stand a big threat to global peace and security. They can easily invade into other European territories and any other countries including the United States in order to make their bloody movements a global threat to challenge peace and security in the entire world.

Conclusion

Terrorism is not new to the world. Throughout the ages, it has manifested in many forms most notably from ethno-political and left and right wing terrorism as the predominant source of political violence of the 20th century to its current politico-religious variety spearheaded by groups like Al Qaeda and ISIS. Since the establishment and expansion of of ISIS, the world has witnessed a threat of unprecedented magnitude. With territorial control, huge resources, savviness in exploiting modern communication technology, especially the social media and brutality and barbarism, ISIS has presented a new version of extremism and terrorism to the world. Despite counter-offensives like aerial bombings and ground combat on multiple fronts, ISIS continues to survive and has been able to demonstrate its robust and lethal capabilities with attacks in many countries and to spread its influence worldwide. The post Arab Spring chaos and political warangles in many Middle Eastern Countries led the group to grab the territories more and more in the regional level and its extraordinary capabilities pave the way for its global expansion.

The Islamic State has been capable to organize, direct or inspire its supporters to attack its targets in around seventeen countries outside its stronghold in Iraq and Syria. The countries which have been attacked include

Afghanistan, Australia, Algeria, Bangladesh, Canada, Denmark, Egypt, France, Indonesia, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, United States, Tunisia, Yemen,Turkey. In addition, ISIS has established or claimed territories or Wilayats in around seventeen countries as part of its ―five year plan‖ for world conquest. Among these countries are Algeria, Egypt, Nigeria, Somalia, Tunisia, and Yemen. It is therefore necessary in regional and global level to consider ways to defeat ISIS, not only to preserve the integrity of the Iraqi state, but to preserve our own security. Defeating the Islamic State will, in fact, be very difficult. Developing a strategy to do so will be very hard. But hard is not the same as impossible. Policymakers must move beyond the assessment phase and begin building a comprehensive strategy. This effort must begin with a close examination of the sources of strength, intentions, and vulnerabilities of the Islamic Caliphate created by ISIS. Only then can a coherent counter-strategy emerge.

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The "Doklam" Border Standoff between Two Asian Giants

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Abstract

Sino-Indian border disputes have a long history which marked the deterioration of their relations. This particular study is mainly focused on 'Doklam' face-off, the most recent confrontation of borderland between China and India. The tension between India and China were again intensified with the 'Doklam' faceoff and this situation taught unforgettable lessons for both sides. The study will discuss historical background of their border disputes. The main objective is to examine the present situation of the border disputes regarding the 'Doklam' face-off and also discusses what types of changes will happen in their future bilateral relations regarding the 'Doklam' incident. Furthermore the study will examine the Bhutan factor which is the third party of the 'Doklam' faceoff. To achieve aforesaid objectives qualitative approach has been adopted and secondary data is the main type of data obtained from various sources such as books, journal articles, newspapers, government records and other relevant documents available in both printed and electronic versions. Document analysis and theoretical analysis are used to analyze data. In document analysis documents are interpreted to give meaning and it collects available data related to the study and interprets them to find out specific issues. Concepts derive from literature review and theoretical analysis helps to develop broader understanding on those issues and collect new knowledge. The research findings conclude Chinese influence over the other entities seems inevitable with its rise as a global economic and military power which is perceived as a threat by India. India is also trying to match Chinese rise resulting suspicion and fear psychosis among one another's achievements. Border disputes consider as one of the main factor which is shaping their bilateral relations. Time to time these disputes have turned their relation into tensions. When consider about the Border States and areas, such as Bhutan and 'Doklam' has become convergence points for both India and China due to its strategic importance in the border areas. Furthermore, this particular study emphasized the importance of resolute solution for the standoff between India and China.

Introduction

China and India which are the world`s two most populous countries, play vital roles in Asian continent as the most powerful emerging world powers. Yet the relations between these two Asian giants are in a state of turmoil since decades. The main reason attributed to this is serious border standoffs between these two countries. Time to time Indo-China border disputes freshen up due to various violent incidents that come up regarding it. Whatever the incident is, it can create a huge negative impact on both sides and also on the world peace. Because India and China are the two most powerful states in the Asian Continent and they play significant roles in world politics. At the beginning both countries had well-disposed relations and solid diplomatic relations between each other. Thus at the beginning two countries had developed their ties in a peaceful manner. But within a very short period of time as a result of the border disputes, Indo-China ties were deteriorated. But several times both countries took efforts to create conflict resolutions between them and every time those efforts ended in failure as in every time they failed to have firm resolutions regarding this conflict. Therefore, Indo-China border standoffs are still ongoing as both parties are not willing to come for favorable agreements.

The background of theses border disputes has a long history which marked the deterioration of Indo-China relations. The origin of this dispute runs back to the British colonial period in India. It is the border demarcation of British Indian rulers led the two countries in to a controversial situation. Because before their demarcation there were no any accepted boundaries between China and India. And also there was no any commonly accepted boundaries between two states. As a result of that both nations broke in to a brief war in 1962. Therefore the war tensions and disputes always emerged time to time regarding their relations due to this situation. Many serious incidents have occurred in the history of this border dispute. Recently both nations had a face-off in 'Doklam' area and the reason was China trying to construct a road in this disputed region. This tension was turned in to a critical stage and many experts believe that there will be another war between these two states. Anyhow, the tension was decreased after having a discussion between their government officials. Since last 50 years India and China are maintaining their relations in this manner.

Today the power and capabilities of both nations are not same as in their early days. This has become more highlighted in regional and global level. If a war emerges between these nations it will be more destructive than before and mainly because both are nuclear power states. Thus unresolved territorial disputes has become a major threat to Indo-China bilateral relations. In effect this complicated issue between these two giant states will be well discussed in this article.

The main objectives of the study are; first, examining the historical background of Indo-China border standoff, secondly examining the 'Doklam' face-off which is the most recent border dispute between the two countries and next identifying the Bhutan factor which is the third party of the 'Doklam' faceoff and finally identifying the changes that will occur in future India-China relations with the 'Doklam' face-off.

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 conceptual 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. It helps to develop deep understanding about the study and to collect new knowledge.

The Conceptual analyses are often developed around a review of the study literature related to the concept under consideration. We can identify this part as a thinking part of the study. Concept analysis further can be illustrated as a process of inquiry that explores concepts for their level of development as revealed by their internal structure, use, representativeness and relations to other concepts. Concept analysis provided for open and axial coding to enhance the development of categories that led to the identification and development of defining attributes, distinguishing characteristics and conditions under which critical thinking occurs.

Concept maps can provide one strategy to deal with the methodological challenges of qualitative research. A concept map (Novak, 1998) can be used

to frame a research project, reduce qualitative data, analyze themes and interconnections in a study, and present findings. As (McGaghie et al 2001) stated "The conceptual framework sets the stage for the presentation of the particular research question that derives the investigation being reported based on the problem of the study"

And also to interpret some factors researcher has used descriptive analysis. Descriptive statistics have used to describe the basic features of the data in a study. They provide simple summaries about the sample and the measures together with simple graphics analysis.

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

Literature Review

The aim of this conceptual analysis is to illustrate the meaning of the concepts which are going to discuss in this article and no theories will be constructed regarding those concepts. India and China are two Asian giants and also major players in international politics. In another way India is a regional hegemon in South Asia and China is the Asian hegemon[1] and Great power of the world. And also both are emerging Super powers of the world. Therefore, the disputes between these two giants have made South Asian, Asian and also the world politics more controversial. When achieving the national interests and security concerns, both states works with a Mutual distrust and lack of cooperation. Therefore both are locked in a traditional IR concept security dilemma. In effect territorial and border standoffs are one of the main factor which shape their relations. This particular study is mainly based on 'Doklam' face-off, the most recent border dispute between China and India and also it examines how the historical disputes made their relations more rivalry. Furthermore in contrast to this background, through this study one can understand post changes that will occur regarding the future relations of two countries after the 'Doklam' issue. Thus, to examine these factors the researcher has made following conceptual framework including the main variables.

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[1]Leadership or dominance, especially by one state or social group over others (Oxford dictionary).

Figure 1. Conceptual framework
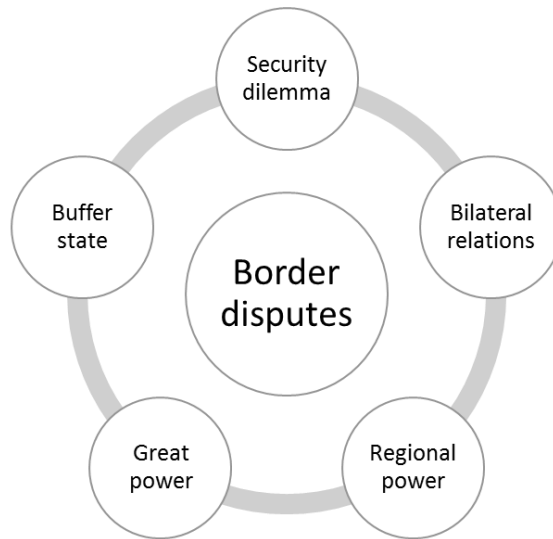
Source: Created by the author (2017)

In order to understand the issue it is very important to identify the concepts related to this study. Those each and every concept analyzes entire incident of 'Doklam' border standoff. Thus it will be more helpful to have a profound understanding about the situation and interrelationship between concepts and each and every incident. Accordingly the conceptual background and literature survey provide sufficient directions for the study and for the development of the study along with the concepts.

Regional Power

Region is a particular geographical entity which consist two or more states. If a state possess economic, military, and political capabilities to influence a states in the region than any other state in the region, it could be considered as a regional power. Thus, through these power implications such regional powers always try to achieve their interests in regional level and also in the global level. Regional power always endeavor to become a world power. Since the end of the Second World War several states emerged as regional powers.

When we come to regional leadership, it focuses mainly on comparatively high military and economic capabilities. Regional powers can be distinguished by four pivotal criteria as claim to leadership, power,

resources, employment of foreign policy instruments, and acceptance of leadership (Flemes 2007).

According to Osterud (1992), regional power is defined as a state which is geographically part of the respective region that has the ability to stand up against any coalition of other states in the region and a considerably powerful country which can highly influence regional affair. Contrary to a middle power, a regional power can also be a great power on the global level in addition to its regional standing.

The global power changes time to time. No one can dominate the power in this world continuously. So when there is any transition of power between two major powers in global level it is a very critical turning point and their regional status and interest are also very important in this situation. (Danilovic 2007).

Great Power

Great power is a state who can employ its power directly on world to achieve its targets and influence the behavior of other nations. In order to consider a state as a Great power, a state must need great economic and military capabilities including high profile of diplomatic and soft power[2] implication abilities. Firstly this term has been used in post napoleon war period with the involvement of great powers in the 'concert of Europe'[3]. In today world, United States, United Kingdom, France, Russia and China have gained their status as Great powers.

Flemes (2007) has stated, Great powers or major powers are those states that have great economic, military, political profile and through this great economic, political and military strength they are able to maintain power over world diplomacy. Under this situation other nations must be careful in taking actions against their opinions. Before taking any diplomatic or military action other states should greatly consider the responses of great

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[2] "soft power" - the ability of a country to persuade others to do what it wants without force or coercion (www.foreignaffairs.com)

[3] The Concert of Europe or congress of Vienna was formed to maintain a balance of power and preserve the political and territorial integrity of European nations after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. It was established in 1815. Founding members included the United Kingdom, Russia, Austria and Prussia (www.reference.com).

powers. Basically, they have the ability to intervene militarily, almost in anywhere.

There is no universally accepted characteristics for a great power. But according to Hurrell (2006) there are four criteria characterizing a great power: First one is the capacity to contribute to the international order; secondly the internal cohesion to allow effective state action; Third one is the economic power, such as high levels of economic growth or a large market; and finally the military power, which is the ability to compete with other dominant powers in a conven- tional war.

As per (Mearsheimer: 2001), we are in a world in which there is little chance that the major powers will engage co-operatively in security competition. Great powers fear each other and they always compete with each other for power. Every great power wants to increase their share in the world power. There are no status quo powers in the international system that are saved for the occasional hegemon that wants to maintain its dominating position over potential rivals.

Territorial disputes

Concerning the territorial disputes, first we need to identify the importance of a territory. A recognized state consist four main factors as territory, government, sovereignty, population. In effect territorial factor is one of the main concern of a state. Therefore states always try to protect their territories from internal and external threats. That can be identified as the 'Territorial integrity'. Territorial dispute means a disagreement over the land or border between two or more states.

When consider about the territory, its location is very important. If a territory is strategically located, it is a source of power (Fazal 2004). And also if there is any dispute over a territory, it is one main factor which lead the states in to a war (Holsti 1991). According to the researches of Hensel (2000), over 50% of wars are based on territorial disputes. Therefore if a state is located in a strategical location with border disputes, particular state may happen to face complicated situations and different challenges.

Thus, there is no any doubt about importance of the territorial factor. As mentioned above if there is any dispute taking place between two countries based on a territory or its boundary, without any resolute solution, that may

lead the both countries in to a war. Territories have particular meaning and value for particular state in particular historical and international settings.

Territorial disputes are extremely difficult to resolve peacefully and enduringly. The outcome of solutions taking over a border dispute are unpredictable, and political leaders are often unwilling to accept the risks of losing a territory (The Carter Center: 2010).

Then territory is one of a main part of the country. Therefore, a state has a responsibility to protect its territory from internal and external threats. If there are any clashes between states based on any territorial factor they are really difficult to get solved through resolute solutions as it's a sensitive issue which is based on their sovereignty.

Bilateral Diplomacy (Relations)

Diplomacy is the art of managing international relations. There are various methods of handling diplomacy, such as negotiations, alliances, treaties, discussions etc. Hence, through the diplomacy nations conduct their relations in a peaceful manner without any violence in order to achieve their national interests[4]. Therefore 'Bilateral diplomacy' can be defined as the way of conducting relations between two sovereign states to achieve their national interests in a peaceful manner.

Diplomatic services are there to safeguard the interests of their respective countries when going to international. This is like promotion of political, economic, cultural or scientific relations, as it does international commitment to defend human rights or the peaceful settlement of disputes.

When things go wrong in international affairs, as an example when something difficult is needed to be accomplished, we frequently find people talking about a failure of diplomacy because the diplomacy guides to gain own national interest in peaceful ways. Especially it covers national security concerns and it covers safety and survival of a state including political and economic benefits. Furthermore the nature of relation can change according to the situation (Rana 2001).

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[4] "The meaning of national interest is survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states"—Morgenthau.

Thus, under the context of Indo-China border disputes there were many diplomatic attempts to reduce the tension and solve the problems.

Buffer State

Buffer state can be defined as a state which is locate between two countries and which remain to be neutral in situations like rivalries or conflicts between the two states. Sometimes buffer states have the ability to prevent conflicts between states. But sometimes it is the buffer states which become the main reason for erupting a conflict. Because if any other powerful state becomes a threat to such type of buffer state, that situation can increase the dilemma about security concerns of other surrounding state of buffer state. Therefore, security concerns of a buffer state are equally important to particular buffer state and also for the other states who use it as a buffer state.

According to Tanisha (2004), because of the strategically importance of the buffer states, they always face exigencies from other powers as buffer states are always very important for other states in order to challenge and pursue their interests by defeating their enemies. So when maintaining policies towards rivalries by buffer states, it creates more challenges. Furthermore Tanisha stated that when rivalry occurred between two big powers surrounded by a buffer state, it will definitely threat to the existence of such buffer state. Therefore, because of the enormous influences of states around a buffer state, it always maintain neutral policy toward other states.

Security dilemma

The concept of Security dilemma was introduced by John Herz in 1951. According to Herz (1951), security dilemma is "a structural notion in which the self-help attempts of states to look after their security needs tend, regardless of intention, to lead to rising insecurity for others as each interprets its own measures as defensive and measures of others as potentially threatening."

If a certain state consider the strategies which are implemented by another state for the sake of their security as a threat and if that particular state also work out their security capabilities similarly as a response to the other, it creates a security dilemma between two states. In this manner, between two or more states, a circumstance like this can be taken place. The cold war between USA and Russia, the tension between North Korea and South Korea, First and second world wars are some much quoted examples for this.

Therefore if there is a security dilemma between two or more states, such types of states implement various measures to maintain their security. As an example those states are intended to heighten their security like by increasing its military strength, committing to use weapons or making alliances. This can lead other states to respond with similar measures, producing increased tensions that create conflict, even when no party really desires it.

Also Security dilemma is one of the main assumption of defensive realism. The theory of Defensive realism is a part of neorealism or structural realism which was presented by Kenneth waltz. As waltz stated the world has no common government and anarchic. This circumstance makes states to pay more attention towards the security of their states. So they always try to maximize their security by improving their capabilities. As a result of that states become distrustful about each other. This mutual distrust can lead to a war. Under this conceptual background, researcher will discuss about the Sino-Indian border disputes relating it to 'Doklam' issue and how it will effect on their future bilateral relations. Furthermore there are many literature works done under the topic area of Sino-Indian border disputes and their emergence as global powers.

Indo-China relations

When taking into consideration the context of Indo-China relations there are many literature done by different scholars in different areas. Under this literature review we could get some ideas about overall range of the study area. Following literature as determined by the researcher is based on the overall research question and developing construct.

According to Jain (2004) 'Flowering relations' between India and China in the early 1950s were based on peaceful co-existence. But these withered and faded in an atmosphere of mutual hostility following the 1962 war between the two countries. As a result of the failure of accurate diplomatic relations, both nations engaged in a short war to conquer their border lines.

According to Ganguly (2009), as a result of that, the war led to a fundamental transformation of India's defense policies, contributed to a major program of military modernization, and shattered long-held Indian hopes of amity with its behemoth northern neighbor. This controversial situation between two states highly occurred until 1990s'.

As per Hsu (2008), since the 1990s, there has been some progress in the development of China-India relationship. But the progress has been slow due to disagreements in the past and always having suspicious eye on each other. Several times two countries also had visits to rebuild up their relations.

But with the nuclear test of India in 1998 the tension were gradually increased. In the year 1998 India mentioned china as its main strategic enemy in a move to justify its nuclear test and this marked the deterioration of two country's bilateral relationship. Despite this situation however, bilateral discussions on border issues were continued (Zhang and Li 2013)

Border issue has become an obstacle in the development of a friendly relationship between India and China. According to Goswami (2011) recent Chinese aggressiveness is a response to India's rising power status in the Asian regional order; a space that China covets as its own sphere of influence. Hence, China is engaging in balancing against India through territorial aggression and military prowess that privileges power projection against peer competitors.

But when consider about the last decade Indo-China relations have turned into a significant level. China and India agreed to put aside border disputes to facilitate development in other fields, by enhancing cooperation in economy and trade (Hsu 2008). Therefore, this economical factor is very important to establish firm relations among these Asian giants.

As emerging global powers, Power struggle is another major factor which exist between their relations. So with the above mentioned border disputes, it became a significant issue which shape their competition over global power. When comparing the capabilities and high profile advantages receiving by china, it makes them more potential to become a super power. However India also has an opportunity of achieving it. But china shows signs of gaining this position first. In order to develop its society and economy, there is a strong sense of directions coming from the Chinese leadership and this can be considered as an asset for a growing superpower (Dellios 2005).

As per Pardesi (2015), India has emerged as a great power because of the criteria followed by them in Southeast Asia. India's transformation from a South Asian power into one capable state can change the regional order in Asia. And also Pardesi emphasized the demand for the great power status and it is need the acceptance of other great powers and the regional states.

Hall (2010) stated India`s 'emergence is very slow compared to the china in early days. But later India presented significant development economically and also gradually emerged as a powerful nation. Therefore, in near future it is possible that India becoming a powerful global power. But India needs more potentials and capabilities to achieve its status as a Great power.

As per Ingersoll & Frazier (2010) presented, India's impact is limited because of its failure to play leadership and custodianship roles. It does serve as a protector of the region from external threats, doing so through a unilateral, status quo, and reactive orientation. For India to be hegemonic, it would have to play these roles in a comprehensive manner.

According to Tarapore (2017) India has a slow emergence as a regional security actor. Hence, before becoming as a global power, India has to establish their position more stably in regional level. As one could identify India involve with disputes and rivalries among its neighbors like Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Nepal. This led to mistrust about Indian leadership in the South Asian region. Therefore to become a hegemonic power in the world India has to maintain its relations and also capabilities in a comprehensive manner.

In effect border standoffs around India with its territory has reached in to a more comprehensive level and one of the major challenge for its emergence. So India must need to find Absolute solution for those issues which prevail between its neighbors. India's global aspirations are fully contrasted by the enormous difficulties it faces both at home and outside of its borders. (Stunkrl: 2005).

Dar (2014) emphasized that there are factors within and outside between China and India which still impacts their relations. For instance, border and Tibet issues are more prominent and recently, the water issue has also surfaced in the bilateral relations between China and India. These bilateral issues will not only effect on their present relations but have a negative impact on their future relations as well; it will also affect the process of their rise and the peace and stability in and outside of the region. Therefore, the better and absolute resolution for the border issues between India and China will lead to strong emergence as world powers and also will lead to the sustainable peace between two states.

Egreteau (2012) concludes on the importance to settle the territorial dispute, bridge the psychological gaps between the two societies, and he emphasized the importance of increase democratization trends in China, if a rivalry termination between the two rising powers is to be envisioned.

According to Gratius (2008) this century will belong to Asia, under the shared or contested leadership of China and India and, China is an emerging global power and probably a superpower of the future. As stated by Gratius both China and India are emerging as global powers. Therefore their present context has reached to a very crucial point in world politics. Because of their interests and competition.

Thus, those literature have touched the areas which consist various perspectives, ideologies, conceptual and theoretical backgrounds. Accordingly, here we could identify vast range of literature studies about indo-China border disputes and also the nature of their relations. But through this study researcher will mainly try to identify and explain the most recent border clash between India and China which was erupted in 'Doklam' area. On the basis of present context this particular article reevaluate the nature of Indo-China relations and their future aspects.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Historical background of Indo-China border disputes

Both India and China possess a historical significance in Asian continent and as well as in whole world. It is not only from social and cultural sectors, but also from economic and trade relations among these two nations. Especially India and China are two states which gifted the world with two great civilizations. In Indian subcontinent Indus valley civilization developed along the Indus river valley and in China Hwan-huou civilization or Yellow river civilization prospered along the Yellow river. These facts well illustrate the historical background of the two states. Beside the historical importance, these two leading states in Asia own unique cultural values which cannot be compared with any other culture in the world or they are well refined in a way that no other culture could challenge it.

Under above mentioned social background, the transition of two Asian giants took place in the time period between 1940 and 1950. Explaining further, in 1947 the Dominion of India became independent from the British crown and

at the same time in China, Mao Zedong led the China civil war at which the Communist party of China declared the victory and as a result Peoples Republic of China was established in 1949. With these historical events, India and China entered in to a crucial time period in the decade of 1950.

But India begins its journey as an independent country with many grievances. Because consequently ethnic conflicts were created by harming the unity of the state and some countries which were their supporters left their side. The most highlighted problem was Pakistan crisis. At first Pakistan was created as East and West Pakistan by splitting from Indian Territory and later East Pakistan separated as the Bangladesh.

With these circumstances, Indo-China border standoffs further brought threats to India. When going down in the history of Indo-China border standoffs it runs back to the period of British colonies. Regions in-between India and Tibet which are now governed by China are seem to be administrated by both parties time to time before British Colonial period of time. But no party have decided legal frontiers during their times of administration.

After British conquering India, their administration extended up to the northern part of India and at that time British ruler had invited China to decide borders between their countries. Although they were able to decide borders of some regions, other areas remained same without legally marking borders. Those areas which were remained without borders are Aksai Chin region located between Xinjiang province of China and Kashmir and Jammu of India, Sikkim region of present India (In year 2003, during a visit to China by Indian prime minister Vajpayee in, China accepted the fact that Sikkim area is a part of India) and Arunachal Pradesh of North-eastern India.

In 1865, by W.H. Johnson who was a British civil servant, marked frontiers according to borders existed during that time. In the meantime Xingjian region was not controlled by China and as a result Aksai Chin region which is a part of Xinjian province as China believes was marked as an area which belong to Jammu and Kashmir of India. But within a very short period of time, in 1878, China got the control of Xinjian region in to their hands (Mohan 2003). Borders decided by W.H. Johnson were extended up to Kun Lun Mountains. But later his decisions were heavily criticized. As a result of this border issue, India began to claim their control for these regions.

Most significant formulation of Indo-China boundary was Macartney-Macdonald line. This boundary proposal was made by china and handed to George Macartney who was the British Consul-general at Kashgar by Hung Ta-Chen, a senior Chinese official at Kashgar in 1893. According to that boundary proposal China marked Aksai Chin and some other regions near it as areas belonging to the Chinese territory (Dorothy 1969). British Indian Government fully accepted this proposal as boundary was laying along the Karakoram Mountains which provides a natural protection to India and it also provided the protection from Russia who was spreading their territory towards Central Asia during that time. Thus according to this, China accepted this line as their border (Sahai 2013).

The next demarcation step taken was McMahon line which applied under the accord of 'Simla' in 1914. The McMahon line marked a very crucial point in this boundary struggle which is still creating the shape of bilateral relations between two states. Especially, India believes this was the real demarcation line which they were agreed. But China totally ignored this demarcation. However this unclear situation over the borders remained until their independence. When talking about India and China the time period after 1950s is really important. At the beginning of the decade 1950 two countries laid the foundation for cooperation between them and China appreciated and accepted the concept "Asian solidarity" presented by Jawaharlal Nehru and the five principles of peaceful co-existence "panchsheel" proposed by him. Moreover in order to enhance the cooperation between two nations they established "Indo-China friendship association" in 1952 and signed the treaty popularly known as "Panchsheel" that outlined five principles of peaceful co-existence in 1954.

But changing this atmosphere, two parties got in to a controversial state due to presenting a new map by India marking new Indo-China borders in 1956. This map was created according to the "Simla Accord" (1914). (Tibet justice center 2009) The accord was between Great Britain, China and Tibet which determined the border settlements between Tibet, China and India. But China rejected the accord because of their dissatisfaction regarding the Conditions presented in deciding boundaries and how the decisions had been taken and as a result before the end of the conference they withdrew. Thus China continuously demanded their part from the Tibet territory and rejected the Independency of Tibet, Simla Accord (1914) and McMahon line. But, in the

same day the Accord became a bilateral agreement where only participants were Great Britain (British India) and Tibet.

In this way when formulating borders for Aksai Chin region, with the participation of the representatives from Great Britain, China and Tibet at the Simla conference, the borders between India and Tibet were formulated. Here formulation was done according to Mc Mahon line and China was not ready to accept it. Consequently, China rejected the new map presented to them by India. However India illustrated their new map during the period when China built a strategic highway across Aksai Chin plateau covering west of Tibet. This time period which marked the deterioration of relations between two countries is still a growing crisis.

Figure 2. Disputed borders of Aksai Chin area

Source: Graphic News 2013

The areas where these disputes were taken place were earlier possessed by the kingdoms of North Indian princes and Chinese kingdoms. But either China or India is not able to legally prove or provide evidences to claim that particular regions were earlier owned by them. This makes the Indo-China border crisis more complex.

In this way at the initial phase both countries entered in to a brief war in 1962 to claim the power on Aksai Chin region and Tibet and China declared the victory in this war. This war prevailed only a very short duration of time. Accordingly Aksai Chin area of Xinjiang region, Tibet and Arunachal Pradesh (now owns by India) were overrun by China. But later on China

handed over the power of Arunachal Pradesh again to India because of the enormous pressure placed on them by international powers and of the desire of the natives of this region to get back again with India. In the same manner, the Conflict which was erupted over Sikkim area between two parties was ended by receiving the claim on Sikkim area for India with a referendum held in Sikkim in 1975. But before this, as mentioned before, a minor conflict was created between two states and it was over the border areas, 'Nathu La' and 'Cho La' of Chumbi valley. However in 1975 Sikkim became a part of India and during a visit to china by Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee in 2003 china accepted the India`s claim on Sikkim area.

Likewise growing tensions between two parties was accelerated with the competition for acquiring the power status. Both parties use these incidents to reflect their power. Therefore they think that they could provide with additional powers by vanquishing other`s interests. As a result of that the

Rivalries and conflicts between the two nations were gradually increased. Furthermore both parties contested to prove their status by getting them involved in issues of other countries in the region. Chinese involvement in Pakistan is good example for this situation.

Another issue in early days was India believed Tibet as a sovereign country. At the beginning India did not like the expansion of the China. Because they clearly knew China will be a threat to the security of India. Regardless Chinese government was not satisfied about the Indian recognition over the Tibet. However Dalai Lama requested assistance from India during the time Chinese troops invading the Tibet territory. Meanwhile, As a result of Chinese invasions many Tibetan people came to India as refugees. This situation made serious tension between two states. However after realizing historical link between china and Tibet, India accepted the claim of Tibet by China and afterwards Tibet became an autonomous region within People`s Republic of China. (Permanent mission of the People`s Republic Of China to the U.N. 2007)

Also in 1987 a minor conflict aroused between two parties over 'Sumdorong Chu valley' of Arunachal Pradesh. With this situation Indira Gandhi who was the Prime minister of India during that time agreed to increase the number of Indian army troops near Indo-China border and situation got more aggravated with the announcement made by Indian Government, in 1987,

stating that Arunachal Pradesh is a part of India. However both parties realized that war is not the solution for this issue. Consequently a new era of bilateral relations began with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China in December 1988 and as a result of the visit, two countries agreed to set up a Joint Working Group to reduce tension and ensure peace and tranquility on the borders. Furthermore both parties signed an agreement to protect and to maintain peace along the `Line of actual control[5]` in 1993. Considering this, a war which was going to break out between two parties was averted peacefully and in areas like Bhutan-India-China tri junction, they campaigned accepting the Line of actual control. Following the border agreements in 1993 and 1996, the two states ease on border and overall border relations started to improve. Since then, both sides have agreed to keep working on the border issue. Furthermore came in to a decision that any disagreement on border issue should not be allowed to affect the wellbeing of their bilateral relations in 2003, when both the parties appointed Special Representatives to address the border issue.

But still the Indo-china border disputes are growing more complexly in some areas of Arunachal Pradesh and Aksai chin area in Xinjiang region. As we discussed before, conflicts which are based on border issues or disputes can lead to a controversial rivalry between states. Because those issues directly associate with traditional and historical links and also they relate with the interests of states. As explained before every state tries to protect their territory from its enemies. Therefore it is very difficult to find absolute solution for the border issues which has a long history. Especially border issues which occur among Great powers or Regional powers are very difficult to solve, because of their status. As an example; Indo-Pakistan border issue is also another major territorial dispute in South Asian region.

The most recent border dispute between India and China

This context critically examines the 'Doklam' issue, under the above mentioned conceptual framework. The tension between India and China were again intensified with the 'Doklam' face-off and this situation taught unforgettable lessons for both sides. Therefore the most recent border clash will be the key consideration of formulating policies by both nation.

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5 Line of Actual Control (LAC), a 4,057-km porous border running through glaciers, snow deserts, mountains and rivers separate India and China (The times of India)

With above mentioned background, again on July 2017 border conflicts were created between two sides. The clash created a great tension which was similar to the incident in 1962. Closest incident is reported in Doklam Plateau which is a tri-junction region of Bhutan, China and India, where China tried to construct a new road. This area which is located near Sikkim and closed to boundaries of Bhutan, has a big strategically importance for India. China also aware about this importance and they take whatever the measure they can to reach this area. But it is clear that these attempts of China have become a threat to the national security of India.

Figure 3. Doklam Plateau

Source: The Logical Indian 2013

But 'Doklam' region has not directly affected the Indo-China border standoffs and the situation which was creating over China-Bhutan border which truly is a part of this region has drawn it towards the India. The reason for this is, as mentioned above it is a tri junction where borders of three states China, Bhutan and India meet. Although China and Bhutan claim on 'Doklam' region, as it is an area where Indo border bounds and as before this region was in a controversial state during war erupted over Sikkim region, whatever takes place in 'Doklam', good or bad, directly affects India. Therefore India is suspicious about Chinese activities near the border. Because their historical background has created this 'security dilemma'. Therefore, as considered before tensions over the borders always led to conflicts between India and China. Thus, this time also the same situation disturbed their bilateral relations.

This situation became more violent due to a conflict created between Chinese and Indian troops, when china tried to construct a new road adjacent to Indo-Bhutan border. Main reason for the conflict was violation of China borders by Indian troops in order to stop those constructions. However India interfered this issue only after when Bhutan had explained the situation and requested India to interfere in this situation. But we can assume this as a tactful call by both sides. Because India clearly need an involvement on the issue when concerning about their security. In other hand Bhutan also need to control interference of China into their area that owns by them. But Bhutan do not possess a considerable amount of power to challenge China. Bhutan is a state which has border disputes with china and contrastively a state which maintain close and friendly relations with India. As a regional hegemony involvement of India with the request of the Bhutan is inevitable. Because, India is the regional power of South Asia and also the director of the foreign policy of Bhutan. Thus, it is clear that India use countries like Bhutan and Nepal as buffer states to prevent threats which are coming from China. Therefore, the Indian involvement on the issue is not a something to be surprised and it can be considered as the nature of power politics[6] among nations.

Especially, India considers threats which are coming from outside of its region as a threat to themselves. Furthermore, as stated by Indira Gandhi, countries in the South Asian region should solve their problems with the support of India and any involvement of an outside power consider as a threat to the security of India. So India believes any major power involvement into the region for any reason as a threat to their security. Therefore the recent incident also brings Sino-Indian dilemma in its higher level of tension. Because India generalized its attempt to prevent the involvements of Chinese troop near the border as it is not only a threat to Indian security but to the security of Bhutan. Therefore, as stated before that tactful call of Bhutan to India, paved the way for India to involve in this incident. Indian involvement to the incident is well clarified in the following statement made by Arun Jaitley (Union Defense Minister of India).

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[6]Political action by a person or group which makes use of or is intended to increase their power or influence.   (Oxford dictionary)

"Bhutan government had issued a statement yesterday in which it made it clear that the land in question belonged to Bhutan. It is located near India's land. There is an arrangement between India and Bhutan for giving security,"

-Indian Express (June 30, 2017)

Therefore, India justify their involvement is not only for their own security concerns, but also for the security of Bhutan. In effect India adapted this incident to upgrade its position and status in the South Asian region.

India suspect that China is trying to reach the Siliguri corridor or Chicken`s neck area which is a India`s strategically important geographical area. It is a narrow stretch of land which is located near Nepal, Bhutan and Bangladesh. Across this Silliguri corridor one can reach Maniput, Nagaland, Assam and specially Arunachal Pradesh. During June and July of 2017, in several occasions disputes were created between Indian and Chinese troops who were in duty at Indo-China borders and this directly has affected the existence of good diplomatic relations between two countries. It can be clearly distinguished that recently, the peaceful atmosphere and friendly diplomatic relations prevailed since past few years have been damaged and with this situation India and China are seem to be heading towards a 'cold war'[7]. Day by day the situation is heating up due to the military training given to both troops in order to ensure the defense of their boundaries and due to increasing the number of soldiers in their troops. What China manifested was that India has increased the number of soldiers in duty at borders and also that they have entered the Donglang area (known as Doklam by India) owned by China. What China unceasingly stressed was that Indian troops should be withdrawn from that area.

In the same way India manifested large Chinese troops are violating boundaries and the new road which is going to be constructed by China will be a threat for their country's security. In addition to that, they said that china has increased the number of soldiers in their troops guarding boundaries than them.

According to a Chinese official news report, China is conducting military practices near boundaries and they are committed safeguarding the land of their territory. Under this circumstance China has warned India and has

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[7]A state of political hostility between countries characterized by threats, propaganda, and other measures short of open warfare. (Oxford dictionary)

further stated that this time also India will learn an unforgettable lesson from them like in 1962. And also Construction of a road by India from Marsimik La to Hot Spring village of Ladakh has been objected to the criticisms of China.

Therefore, the security dilemma is not only affects India, also China is very keen on such situations which affect their country. However as a response to the above mentioned Chinese statement, Union Defence Minister of India, Arun Jaitley made a reply as below.

"Historical lessons" and asserted that the India of 2017 is different from what it used to be 55 years ago. "If they are trying to remind us, the situation in 1962 was different and India of 2017 is different,"

-Indian Express (June 30, 2017)

The statement highlights the postion of India on the issue. When examining the statement it is clear that India has reached to a critical stage within last five decades. Therefore, the sense of a strong position of India in global level definitely will challenge China in near future. However, this reply statement made by India is not a something expected. So if any conflict get erupted near the border, it will be different from the situation occurred in 1962. But India must understand China is also much different from the situation in 1962. Because as discussed before, today China exist in a very strong position than India believes. The game of regional powers or great powers is never ceasing and it continues by comparing their positions and status with others and by countering the opposition's ideology.

This can be distinguished as the nature of 'security dilemma'; When behavior of a state is suspicious to another state, particular state consider it as a threat to their security and state also improves their military implications to eradicate the threat and this lead to a security dilemma. Dilemmas which are based on territorial borders are more complicated from its nature.

Lately in a debate telecasted by CGTN television channel at which both parties were participated, various opinions were expressed. Representing India a former Major General of the Indian Army, Ashok k. Mehta participated and Senior Colonel Zhou Bo of Chinese Ministry of National Defense represented China.

In this debate Major general Ashok K. Mehta has criticized China and Chinese state media saying that they are provoking India to a war. According to Shanghaiist.com website Colonel Zhou Bo has answered Ashok K. Mehta as below.

"General you have been talking too much this is not the right way of having this conversation` Zhou says, "Let me just use few seconds to say, you are in Chinese territory, so if you do not want a war, that is fine, so you`ve got to go away from Chinese territory."

At the beginning of the issue, China asserted that India is violating international regulations and accepted laws by crossing the borders of their territory. Therefore China always emphasized they are not involved in a war with India. But responses and behaviors of India changed this situation in to a war.

Sushma Swaraj who was a foreign minister of India also stated that both troops should retreat back in to their own border limits and should give a chance to discuss conflict resolutions. Meanwhile, Chinese foreign minister, Wang Yi also said his opinion regarding this.

"The solution to this issue is simple, which is that the Indian troops back out honestly."

During this incident what Indian vice army Chief Sarath Chand said was as below.

"China is standing its influence across the Himalayas in to our neighborhood despite being an economy five times the size of India, with such a large standing army it is bound to be a threat for us in the years ahead."

-NDTV News-

According to the above statement by Indian vice Army Chief Sarath Chand, Opinion of India on the issue is clear. That is to say, in simply Indian dilemma on China factor is overwhelming with the 'Doklam' incident. Because India clearly identifies the factor that China is trying to achieve its status in regional level and also in global level. As Sarath Chand believes, the expansion of China towards the south Asian region has become a great challenge to India and its status in the region. He clearly states how military and economic capabilities of China will challenge the India. Chinese activities near the Indian border directly effect on Indian security and also on

their economy. Because china tries to expand towards South Asian region by challenging the emergence of India. Thus, if they have any possible way of achieving its interests, they never hesitate to think twice. In a way, the construction of new road by China near Indian border benefits China for the development of their military and economic activities near the border. Generally countries construct their roads in order to carry out their economic or military activities in a better way. However involvement of China in border areas can impact Indian Himalayan buffer states like Nepal and Bhutan. Once if China could be able to win the goodwill of those buffer states, it can be really unfavorable for India. Therefore, undoubtedly Indian dilemma on China is inevitable.

However the conflict which was started on June of 2017, has grown gradually by reminding everyone the war erupted between two parties in 1962. Because in that time also two parties entered in to a war when china tried to construct a new road near Indo-China boundaries and India showed their reluctance about this construction by saying that particular region is a part of India and further they showed a map to prove this, which was drawn according to the Simla Accord (1914). Recent disputes also began and gradually developed in the same way. Thus with the engagements done by troops of both countries near the border, it is clear that they are ready for a war. Both parties have positioned their troops and armaments near the border and increased their military powers. All International media, other countries of the region and countries in the world have predicted that another Indo-China war is not that far. But no other leader in the world have thought to interfere with this situation as this is also between two other leaders in Asia. They might have understood that their interference will not lower the tension but increase. However those world powers and all other states stressed that it is more suitable if two parties achieve resolutions through discussions. USA and Russia had the same opinion mainly because both parties are their friends and also because of their reluctance of losing the support of two countries. Especially USA and India maintain more friendly relations and India plays the major role in balancing USA power in Asian region. On the other hand, USA and China have different opinions, China is really important for USA in world politics and especially in world economy. Because the growing economy of USA is lean on the emerging world`s largest economy possess by China.

Russia also has the same response like USA, as China is considered as their brother and India is their closest friend. Especially Russia did not wanted to interfere in this situation that took place between India which they have friendly terms and a strategically importance and China which is their neighbor.

However tension of the war gradually cooled down after having diplomatic discussions between two parties. On 28th august of 2017, both countries announced that they achieved resolutions regarding disputes aroused over Doklam area. Furthermore they have stated that Indian troops who violated border limits have left and therefore China is not going for a war with India. Moreover they have said that both countries do not think twice to get required measures in order to maintain own territorial integrity and national security. There were discussions in several occasions between two country`s security forces, diplomats and officials, but every discussion has been ended unsuccessfully. Main reason was violation of borders by both country`s troops and not willing to retreat. What is China mentioned was Indian troops that crossed their borders have to retreat and until that they are not coming in to peaceful agreements. Hence, India agreed to withdraw their troops if China is agreeing to maintain the status quo in the area and need to stop the new road constructions near the border. As a response to the conditions, China agreed to those conditions with respect. China stated that, first Indian troops must pull back to their borders and need to find a solution in a peaceful manner. Afterward both parties agreed upon each other`s conditions and entered in to diplomatic discussions to solve the issue. Thus; 'Doklam' incident add another chapter to diplomatic history of two countries and its proved peaceful dialog is the best way to solve the problems among states.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Singh Modi`s opinion was these disputes are possible to settle through discussions and it is a must. However China also had their trust on Narendra Modi and it can be clearly distinguished from their behavior of not attacking India and not extending this problem towards other Indo-China boundaries. This should be mainly because of the friendship which has been built between Prime Minister Modi and Xi Jinping, President of China. Here the facts, the dedication of Indian prime minister in safeguarding interests of India and going for a war against china in order to get it fulfilled are surely have no chance to be felt by Chinese president. It is basically because of policies of Narendra Singh Modi. Thus when examining this incident carefully one could distinguish that the reasons

for conflict settlement are vision and maturity decisions of Indo-China leaders. Nonetheless, the last diplomatic discussion held under so much pressure was ended successfully by defusing the tension in Doklam area and retreating Indian troops back to their border limits.

Therefore the bilateral relations are the most important part which is needed for the development of friendly relations among states. Because as discussed earlier friendly bilateral relations between India and China under the Modi and Xi have prevented their nations engaging into a war. So if bilateral relations are based on mutual trust, understanding and respecting each other, definitely there will be a solution for any conflict. Therefore, when conducting relations between two states, bilateral diplomacy is the method which could apply to achieve their interests in a peaceful manner. Then, if things go wrong when conducting the relations with another state that is a failure of diplomacy.

Thus, in this case diplomacy won over the battle between two countries. Therefore diplomatic relations and solutions on 'Doklam' issue marked its end successfully. So both states may have thought to rethink about each other`s interests and respect their agreements which were bound to border issues. Furthermore both states mentioned that they are willing to work co-operatively with each other to solve problems between two countries. Thus nearest border dispute between China and India was occurred in 'Doklam' area and before developing it in to a war two countries were able to come in to resolutions as a result of better diplomatic discussions.

Bhutan factor and 'Doklam' border standoff

Small states like Nepal and Bhutan are in-between the two giant states China and India which are time to time in conflicts. It is also noticeable that India is using these small states as a buffer against the threats from China. In other words those states are identified as "Buffer states". As the two Himalayan states, Nepal and Bhutan are located in-between two giant nations in the world, bounding the northern part of India and southern part of China they always depend on the responses which are coming from two behemoths. Both India and china tries to get the support of these states aiming that those states will be helpful during Conflicts between two parties. Thus, time to time these buffer states come across various challenges.

During the recent border standoff incident Nepal was neutral and their idea was that two parties should achieve resolutions through discussions.

But here importance should be given to Bhutan. Because this recent incident between Indian and Chinese troops were emerged in Doklam region where China-Bhutan border disputes are still ongoing. As a buffer state which is aligned to India, Bhutan had happened to face uncomfortable situation in the Doklam faceoff.

In this situation what is more highlighted was, Bhutan which is the third party of Doklam issue, remaining to be silent. Bhutan is a South Asian country bordered by Tibet from the North, India from the South, the Sikkim state of India and Chumbi valley of Tibet from the west and Arunachal Pradesh state of India from the East. Actually in Doklam issue, this particular area has created a controversial state between China and Bhutan, claiming authority of the area.

It is Bhutan who alarmed India, the expansion of Chinese territory and construction of the new road in this area by China. This new road is being constructed in Doklam region near Indo-China border. Although the disputes have been created due to construction of a road by China near the border with engagements of Chinese troops, Bhutan who is in a controversial state, remaining silent has drawn attention of everyone.

According to the 'article II' of India-Bhutan friendship treaty which was signed in 1949;

"The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its external relations." (www.refworld.org)

Under this article of respective agreement, it created a background for India to get involved in Bhutan's external affairs. As stated in the article India has a legal power to engage with its external affairs. Therefore, easily India can be able to handle Bhutan`s foreign relations under their direction. As a result of that Bhutan is not able to conduct independent foreign relations with other countries. It negatively impacts on Bhutan`s side. Because, in the case of China-Bhutan they have to listen Indian advices to find the solutions for the issue. But China clearly knows such solutions are not Bhutan's ideas and but the ideas of India. Therefore, China do not like to agree upon them.

Therefore, the Indian mediation in Bhutan foreign relations will not make a good sense to its future relation with other countries, especially regarding China.

However, disputes were created due to construction of a road by China near the border by engaging Chinese troops and at this time Bhutan which is in a controversial state, remaining to be silent has drawn attention of everyone. The reason for this was before taking any action Bhutan had happened to wait and watch how China and India is dealing with the issue. However, India came forward and represented Bhutan to protect its sovereignty.

As reported in `The New York Times`, a former army colonel and consulting editor for strategic affairs as business standard (a daily newspaper in India) has stated like below.

"Bhutan has felt uncomfortable from the start. It does not want to be caught in the middle when china and India are taking potshots at each other. Bhutan does not want to be a bone in a fight between two dogs."

Thus, the reason behind the behavior of Bhutan can be well clarified with above statement. The reality is, if Bhutan involve with the conflict they may happen to suffer more than any other. Because, China always seeks to take an opportunity to get the control of these states under their command to achieve its geostrategic interests and also to challenge Indian dominance over these states. Because China know India is the navigator of foreign policy direction of small states in the region, especially Bhutan. So the economy and military strength of Bhutan always depend on India. Therefore India got the control of Bhutan into their hands using various ways.

On 2nd of July 2017, Hindustan Times newspaper has reported that Bhutanese ambassador to India is requesting the Indian government to get stopped the Chinese constructions taking place in 'Doklam' region adjacent to Bhutan. The main reason for this is not having official diplomatic relations between China and Bhutan and also two state`s border conflicts has badly affected these relations. Besides several discussions that took place between governments of two parties aiming conflict resolutions no other diplomatic relations have been maintained between them (Wasbir 2007).

But between Bhutan and Tibet, there was a historical relationship and it got destroyed After Bhutan becoming a colony of British crown. Thus the

borders of Bhutan and Tibet were not clearly identified and marked. This led to a conflict between Bhutan and China after Bhutan becoming an independent country from Britain. Furthermore during a certain period of time china claimed some areas of Bhutan (Makles 1991). After Tibet government signing a treaty consisting 17 principles with China, the representatives of Bhutan in Tibet was recalled by Bhutan.

According to Indian media, at the beginning of disputes Bhutan requested India to interfere in this situation in order to protect interests of both states. Then with the involvement of India in this issue Bhutan began to follow a weak policy than before.

As reported in Hindustan Times newspaper Bhutanese media did not place a proper value for this incident and they have reported it as an ordinary news. It was as below the Hindustan Times newspaper reported this.

"For all the hue and cry in Indian and Chinese media on the border standoff along Nathu La pass, their fledgling counterpart in Bhutan the third party in the issue is relatively quiet."

"Bhutan`s media offering only matter of fact reportage on the issue if one goes by what is available in the online websites of its newspapers and on social media. There are not too many aggressive editorials or opinion pieces on the issue, in stark can last to Indian and Chinese media."

(Hindustan Times, 2nd of July 2017)

It is no wonder that Bhutan remained silent because it is impossible for a small country like Bhutan to go against China which is really powerful. Thus this is the reason why Bhutan seek the support from India which is its oldest and closest friend. But they never tried to do any aggressive reporting against China, as it could has affected negatively on them and especially when handling the situation which lately aroused between China and India.

Other important fact is India uses Bhutan, Nepal and Sikkim state as their Buffer states. As these regions are located near the Indo-China border, always India is alert on the decisions taken by other foreign countries on them as it can affect their country's security also. Thus, in this incident, though Bhutan acts neutral India's interference is not something to wonder and it is right to do. And it is mainly because of their country`s security. So although 'Doklam' is the region where disputes are going on between

Bhutan and China the accurate borders are not yet set. Also these borders connect with India.

Therefore India definitely might not have forgotten the fact that once China also tried to get the Sikkim state under their control. Thus, it is natural that India doubt about the engagement of Chinese troops in Doklam region. The new road that is going to be constructed by China is near the India border of this area and therefore whatever the Bhutan factor, creation of a controversial state between China and India is inevitable.

Examining how border standoffs will effect on future Indo-China relations with an especial reference to 'Doklam' faceoff

'Doklam, face-off is not just an incident which naturally occurred between two countries. It reflects the future of two emerging global powers. Therefore, the result of Doklam faceoff need to be examined relating to the present context and future bilateral relations of two parties. Accordingly this context mainly focus on nature of their developing competition to achieve their interests regarding power capabilities. And prominence is given to effects of border disputes on future Indo-China relations.

When examining two countries India and China it can be clearly distinguished that two countries are working towards becoming a super power or hegemonic power in the world. They already have become behemoths in Asia. But it is a well-known fact that China has surpassed India and enjoying much more benefits in world politics.

Thus China has already accomplished the goal of becoming a super power in Asia and also it has become a Great power. Moreover it is one of the permanent member of United Nation`s security council. Therefore, China enjoys a high profile status in world politics surpassing not only India also other Asian states.

But India has not achieved such a high profile in world politics neither in Asia. India is still an emerging great power in world politics. And it is universally known fact that India has established a considerable power on Asia and especially it is the most powerful state in South Asia. Concerning these facts we cannot underrate capabilities or power of India. It is clear that India is a major power state in the world. But when comparing its implication in the world politics with China it is not that powerful.

China is the most populous country in the world and it has been graded as the 4th largest country in the world from land area. Also it has the highest gross domestic production (According to IMF report 2017). This was also mentioned in World Bank report 2016. With the time now they have possessed the world`s largest economy. Furthermore China owns the third most powerful army in the world and so the largest military budget.

When comes to India, India is the second most populous country in the world and largest democratic state. Also it owns the 3rd highest gross domestic production and from land area it is the 7th largest country. From military power it has been graded as the 4th in the world.

According to the chart given below, China owns the second largest military budget in the world. India is positioned in the sixth place in the chart and military budget of China is three times larger than India's military budget. While China spending over $200 billion for its security India only can afford approximately $50 billion for their security. Therefore, clearly can get an idea about the gap between military capabilities, distribution and strength of military power between these two countries.

Figure 4. Top ten countries by military spending in 2015 ($ billion)
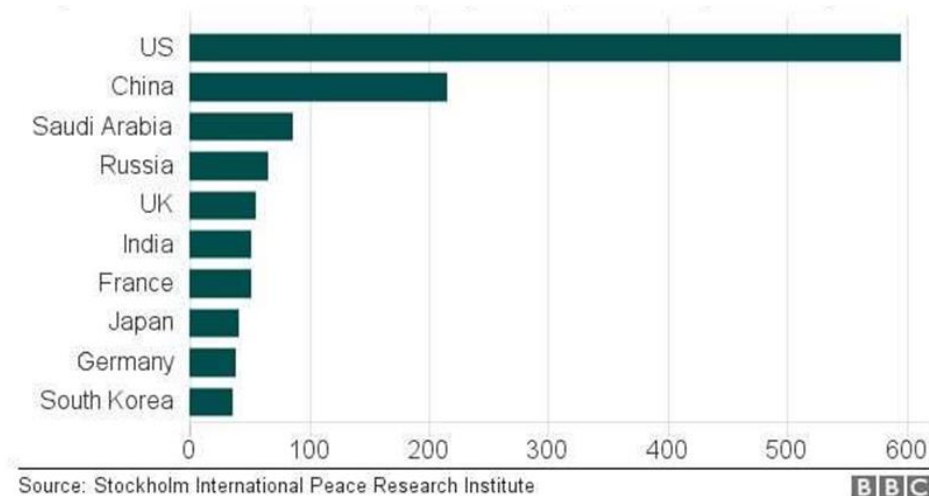
Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2015)

Therefore, it is not possible for India to neglect Chinese military involvement near their border areas. India knows well the capacity of China and it is essential for India to protect its status in the South Asian region.

According to these facts one can observe both countries are nearly in same position from their own capabilities and power projections. Another important fact that should be mentioned is both states are nuclear power states.

Thus, what one should understand is both India and China are in higher positions of world politics and China enjoys a high profile status by surpassing India from the aspects like way of using power, ability of other states to influence on their power and economic power.

When taking in to account the relations between two countries, it is noticeable that both parties are working on it with mutual distrust and rivalries. But this situation was different in history and there were good relations between two countries. What is affected for the present situation was boundary disputes between them. Due to this, every time both states look at each other`s engagement with a suspicious eye. In international relations it is identified as the security dilemma. Thus as both countries are every time in a security dilemma the possibility of deteriorating relations, erupting conflicts and confronting for a war is high. During past 60 years, many times such situations created between both parties and this further clarify us their relations are not stable.

India and China are in a competition of spreading their power and showing off it to the world and they seemed to be more competitive especially in South Asia and other areas of the Asia. India which is the hegemony of South Asia does not approve the involvement of china in the zone, but as the great power of Asia it is important for china to safeguard strategically importance of South Asia. Therefore China spreads their power into South Asian region. So China use these borders to connect with South Asian region as it is really easy when conducting their relations with those states. Especially it is one of the easiest way which they can threat to India. In this way if China occupies Indian borders it can be a threat to India which is the regional hegemon of South Asia and moreover it can be a one main reason for failure of the power of India. Therefore India always give their priority to protect their borders. However in Asian states, mostly in some South Asian states where China is the leading power, they invest their money on various projects in order to win the trust of those states. But India is not capable of investing money on other countries like China. This is a one factor which late the journey of India in Asia and in whole world as a great power.

But compared to past years now India has gained an increasing speed in every aspect. Today India has become more challenging than ever to China. With this China may has understood that India will be more challenging in future compared to present days. Thus China will do anything to weaken and late the journey of India. Because China do not want any other state in the world to enjoy a high profile status like them which is the nature of a great power. Great powers always try to prevent others by emerging them as powerful states like them. Because that emergence can be a threat for the sustenance of their Great powers status. In future, the situation will be more competitive between two parties as both are nearly at the same level of military power and economic power and also the day which India surpassing China seems to be not so far.

The 'Doklam' faceoff has added another additional issue into their history to rethink about their positions and relations. But India shows its position in the region to the world by asserting again and again that no one can challenge to their interests in the region and also has signaled to all its neighbors the fact that without their mediation no state can solve its issues which are coming from outside of the region. Like Bhutan, other neighbors also need to respect the interests of India and policies in the region. Under the Prime Minister Narendra Modi's government India's neighborhood policy became stronger than before and Modi criticized neighborhood policy of former Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. This issue reflects the position of its neighbors and India has a positive aspect towards its neighbors. Because if India need to become a great power or a super power in near future first India must protect its position within the region with the support of its neighbors and also must protect its region. Therefore, the Indian response was a good sign to the stability of the region. Furthermore it's a clear sign that India is not ready to accept expansion of China in South Asia. As discussed before China and India are engaged in a competition to gain its interest in regional level and also in global level. The strategic importance of 'Doklam' will never decrease when achieving their targets. But China identified that it will be not easy to handle India when formulating their policies towards South Asia. At the end of the disputes Indian troops agreed to pull back to their own border lines. But China also had happened to change its development to another direction which means China will not be able to change the status quo. And India protected the status quo of the region. But the goals to be achieved by China in South Asia will not change. China already maintains a strong

relationship with Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Maldives. So India need to do their best to surpass China and maintain their interests as per their wish. But the recent incident indicated a changing attitude of Indian foreign policy with India stating that they are not like in 1962. In other words India has been modernized and strengthened than before economically, militarily, technologically and etc. Therefore, Indian stance and response towards China will be cleverer and stronger more than during in their participation in 'Doklam' issue. But, China will adjust their policies in a better way to respond India. Thus, message of the India is not only for China but also for the whole world. As usual this time also they gave a warning to India. Therefore, India need to maintain their relations with a better understanding and strategically than before. Likewise the both parties did in the 'Doklam' issue, they need to maintain good diplomatic relations to solve their disputes. If both parties are not willing to do so that will be a real threat to sustainable peace of the world.

Future relations between India and China will heat up time to time as both are unable to take resolute and long-standing decisions about solving border disputes. If a war situation occurs over this matter it will be 100 times worse than Sino-Indian war in 1962. Because compared to 1962, now both countries possess more powerful military technologies and capabilities. Especially at present both are vigorous nuclear power states. So if somehow both parties confront in to a war it will be a really deadliest and destructive one. Also it will be a threat for whole Asia as well as for the whole world. Therefore both states need to conduct their relations with mutual understanding by applying better diplomatic relations.

However after the year 2000, improvements in economic relations between two countries could be identified and even trade has been expanded across boundaries. But there is a direct influence over it from political disputes and especially from Indo-China border disputes. As a result of their disputes, once China withdrew the application submitted by India to Asian Bank for taking a loan.

In this way all economic, political and diplomatic relations between these hegemons are time to time breaking down. One cannot expect this situation to be changed as both parties are unable to take resolute decisions regarding this matter. Therefore, their relations will exist in the middle of disputes and conflicts. But Decisions taken by Indian prime minister, Narendra Singh

Modi and the president of China Xi Jinping, who have comprehensive knowledge on politics also will make two country`s relations better. This can be clearly seen in recent 'Doklam' dispute. Therefore bilateral relations play a significant role relations between India and China.

So in the journey towards world power it is important for the both sates to work with peace and better understanding. Especially they should develop peaceful bilateral relations through resolute decisions and agreements. In addition, many experts believe economic factor will play a major role in developing peace, friendship and Co-operation between India and China.

However as emerging world powers, relations between two countries have been balanced intelligently and comprehensively. Because wellbeing of one state is directly affects other state`s wellbeing and also on world politics. Therefore, everyone hope, in future India-China relations will work on positive factors and will get more enhanced.

Conclusion

Conclusively, when examining Indo-China border standoff its emergence is not very recent but it has a history which is about 100 years old and much more complicated. It is mainly because of not having legal agreements between two parties about the administration of areas near Indo-China border, not having official boundary lines in those areas and having ruled those areas time to time by Himalayan princes and Chinese dynasties.

But situation has been changed when India became a British colony. At the same time North Indian kingdoms also came in to the hands of British. In the meantime British wanted to decide official Indo-China boundaries and in three instances they had formulated those boundaries. Accordingly they had proposed, Johnson line in 1865, the Macartney-MacDonald line in 1893 and McMahon line in 1914 as proposed at Simla accord. But china only agreed with the Macartney MacDonald line in 1893 which was presented by themselves and accepted by Macartney and MacDonald who were British officers during that time. But India trusted only McMahon line proposed at 'Simla accord' in 1914.

Like this, issue has been prevailed in the same way without any solution even during the British colonial period. But British rulers tried to formulate official boundary lines time to time based on their interests and as a result what happened was, situation got more complicated and solution moved far

from the reality. The reason was, they neglected the basic factors like historical, ethnical and religious significance in those areas and just focused on factors which were needed for the survival of their British colony such as Political and Strategically importance of those areas.

As a result of this after the emergence of new India-China states (1947-India, 1949-China), again border disputes aroused between two countries and it has created a long lasting enmity between them. Consequently a short-time war erupted between two parties in 1962. In the same way time to time there were conflicts because of British's negligence of marking official boundary lines between India and China.

However later on India and China acquired mutual understanding and tried developing good relations through bilateral agreements. But time to time those attempt failed due to poor decisions taken by both parties.

Thus border disputes between two countries have become a problem without a solution and it has developed up to present under the above discussed background.

Recently a conflict occurred between India and China over Doklam region which is directly a subjected area of China-Bhutan border disputes and at this, India declared war against China for the sake of Bhutan and to protect their strategically interests. India`s first move was, stopping the constructions of the new road by China in 'Doklam' area. Although there was a heat of a war during whole three months, thanks to well managed diplomatic relations, two country`s diplomats were able to settle the disputes. Doklam incident gave an important message to the whole world. That is India is not like before and it can directly challenge the expansion of China and their activities which can affect the South Asian region. So this time India was able to protect its status as a regional power in South Asia and also they won the goodwill of their neighborhood by reestablishing the status quo in the disputed 'Doklam' area. Furthermore India brought a new and matured way to solve problems with other states, especially with China. This incident mainly reflects how challenging India will be for the China as an emerging power in the world.

As mentioned above, then and now, India and China have settled their border disputes through temporary solutions but those were unable to keep a lasting peace between them. As long as they cannot achieve perfect conflict

resolutions, Indo-China border disputes will keep rising time to time. Even in the recent issue in 'Doklam', though they have settled it, but cannot assure that it will be a resolute decision regarding it. Without going in to temporary solutions like this it is better if two countries clearly identify their border limits under reconciliation between them. Also it is in vain to conflict over border limits that were marked hundred years ago by British and Chinese kingdoms. Because what is most important is solving the issue by building up mutual understanding and by having diplomatic discussions, keeping in mind that they are two behemoths in Asia, in whole region and that they are emerging world powers.

Especially it is possible for China and India to improve the development and enhance the security of the region by supporting other Asian states to overcome from problems like poverty, terrorism and ethnic conflicts instead of making them their victims, because more than any other Asian state these two countries enjoy high profile advantages. But it is clear that China does not want other Asian states to enjoy a high profile status like them. But as a leading Asian power, what china should accomplish is, developing their own capabilities accompanying other Asian states in their journey. It is also important to build up good relations with other leading countries of Asian region and in order to receive their trust and support, China must continue their journey towards becoming a world power without entangling in to disputes.

A better South Asia, Asia and a world can be built if China improves mutual trust and good interdependence with India, as the power of South Asia, instead of existing traditional security dilemma between them. In this way, dawn of the day of a better Asia and a better world through a friendly China and India as expected by Mahatma Gandhi will be not so far.

"I look forward to the day when a free India and a free China will cooperate together in friendship and brotherhood for their own good and for the good of Asia and the world."

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-Mahatma Gandhi-

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A Secured Sky: National Strategy towards Aviation Security with special reference to USA

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Abstract

 A safe and secure civil aviation system is of a critical importance to a nation's security, infrastructure, people and the economic development. Therefore, nations continue to invest billions of dollars and implement different strategies to secure the aviation system. However, among all these strategies implemented, threats towards aviation security continue to grow and adapt to the ongoing situations drastically. Especially the events of September 11, 2001 changed the way the USA and many other countries looked at aviation security and took measures towards a greater sense of security. Yet aviation security has become a national security issue and a shared responsibility since it continues to be an attractive target for all forms of threats and vulnerabilities present. Thus, securing general aviation operations continues to be a significant challenge because of the diversity of operations, aircraft, airports and the increasing rate of air travel.

Aviation security relies much on a multilayered strategy to protect high-risk components of the air transportation system. Even for a super power like the USA this has been a challenging task with the growing rate of threats. Although U.S. policies and strategies regarding aviation security continue to evolve, they have been predicated on a risk-based framework.

Introduction

Aviation security is the protection of civil aviation against acts of unlawful interference[1]. It is achieved through a combination of measures and resources both human and material, aimed for the safety of passengers, crew, ground personnel, and the general public. Over the years and even more with increasing globalization, the civil aviation industry became one of the central axis of the world trade, which also allowed the inter-connection of all countries, to the point that airports, especially international, have become the gateways or borders of a country.

Therefore, efforts to protect the aviation industry not been left behind and everyday controls are tightened, ensuring not only safety but also reliability in the industry as it is deeply interconnected.

Thus, nations take comprehensive approach to help safeguard aviation transport system from terrorism and acts of unlawful interference. This approach is based on the principle of 'security'[2] in depth, meaning the more layers of security, the less chance an attack will occur or be successful.

Considering that aviation security is one of the most important elements in all aviation-related activities in the world, strategies to strengthen such a phenomenon remains crucial. USA being considered as the super power in the current global context places a huge threat all upon the world if the aviation security of such a country is being challenged. Protecting such conditions carry higher level of vigilance because a single lapse in aviation security could lead to thousands of fatalities.

The USA has a vital national interest in protecting its people, infrastructure, and other interests from threats in the Air Domain[3]. Exploitation of the Air

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[1]Importance of Aviation security. Retrieved September 20, 2017, from https://www.tame.com.ec/index.php/en/aviation-security/83-importance-of-aviation-security

[2]"security is pursuit of freedom from threats" (Buzan, 1991: 18): V. S. (2010). Meaning of Security and the Theory of Securitization [Scholarly project]. Retrieved from https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/11872421.pdf

[3] Air Domain is defined as the global airspace, including domestic, international, and foreign airspace, as well as all manned and unmanned aircraft operating, and people and cargo present in that airspace, and all aviation-related infrastructures. Air Domain Surveillance and

Domain by terrorists and hostile nation-states using unconventional attack methods is not a recent phenomenon. The rise of Islamic religious extremism[4] and state-sponsored terrorism spawned further attacks against civil aviation.

Mostly the terrorist attacks of 11 September 2001[5] marked the start of a new era in modern history of air domain. This period is one characterized by instability, unpredictability, and the reshaping of complex systems, including both traditional and new types of challenges and threats of particular significance the emergence of terrorism as truly the most devastated tragedy in the American aviation history.

Thus, along with the prolonged threats towards the aviation security system, USA in the past years, have significantly strengthened the security through the efforts of the Federal government working with State, local, and tribal governments, the international community, and the private sector. Strategies at the national level were implemented to carry out a more secured aviation transportation system[6].

In today's global and interconnected economy, the safe movement of people and cargo across the open skies is a crucial factor in promoting free trade and advancing prosperity and freedom. Mitigating the array of threats to the Air Domain requires a common understanding of, and a coordinated effort for, action on a global scale. Nations have a common interest to protect global air travel. Since all nations benefit from this collective security, the United

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Intelligence Integration Plan (2007, March 26). Retrieved September 15, 2017, from https://fas.org/irp/offdocs/nspd/adsii.pdf

[4] Islamic extremism has been defined by the British government as any form of Islam that opposes "democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect and tolerance of different faiths and beliefs." - Casciani, Dominic (10 June 2014). "How do you define Islamist extremism?". BBC News. Retrieved September 21 2017.

[5] On September 11, 2001, 19 militants associated with the Islamic extremist group al-Qaeda hijacked four airliners and carried out suicide attacks against targets in the United States. Two of the planes were flown into the towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, a third plane hit the Pentagon just outside Washington, D.C., and the fourth plane crashed in a field in Pennsylvania History.com Staff. (2010). 9/11 Attacks. Retrieved September 21, 2017, from http://www.history.com/topics/9-11-attacks

[6] The Aviation Transportation System is defined as U.S. airspace, all manned and unmanned aircraft operating in that airspace, all U.S. aviation operators, airports, airfields, air navigation services, and related infrastructure, and all aviation-related industry.Alperen, M. J. (2017). Foundations of homeland security: law and policy (2nd ed.). Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell.

States must encourage all nations to share the responsibility for maintaining aviation security by countering the threats in this domain and implement national strategies to strengthen the aviation security.

Aviation is a vital part of America's critical infrastructure. A substantial disruption of the air transportation systems could have an enormous impact on the social and economic functions of the United States (9/11 Commission, 2004). As such, airports must have the design and security structure to mitigate possible criminal acts, like terrorism, that could cause such disruptions. However, historically, airport security has taken a backseat in an aviation system designed to expedite passenger movement and increase financial gains for the airline industry (Hoge and Rose, 2001). This notion has left U.S. airports vulnerable to numerous security threats questioning on **"How the validity of the existing national strategies influences the US Aviation Security?"**

Methodology

This study uses a methodology which is qualitative in nature. The main source of data used for this study is secondary data. The study was conducted using secondary data collected through different sources including books, journals, magazines, newspapers, annual reports, web sites and researches conducted by various international scholars and institutions

Literature Review

The security and economic prosperity of the United States depend significantly upon the secure operation of its aviation system and use of the world's airspace by the Nation, its international stakeholders. However, terrorists, criminals, and hostile nation-states have long viewed the aviation system of the USA as a target for attack and exploitation. This has been evident from the past noteworthy incidents that took place in the USA, since this was not a recent phenomenon the government agencies however have built up strategies that would align with the national strategy of the country in the view of ensuring the safety of the nation.

After the events of September 11, 2001, questions were raised regarding the reliability and security of American commercial air travel and the safety of U.S. airports from which commercial planes depart and land. More than any other component of the U.S. transportation system, air security has garnered

the most attention because historically, in large measure, the adoption of counterterrorism policies and programs are in direct response to specific events (Waugh, 2004).

Since 9/11 and the creation of the Department of Homeland Security and the Transportation Security Administration, several measures have been implemented to enhance aviation security. These include:

1. Deployment of federal passenger screeners at the nation's airports
2. Institution of 100% checked baggage screening; utilization of explosive detection systems or explosive trace detection equipment to screen checked baggage
3. Background checks on all airport personnel
4. Suspension of the Transit without Visa program (TWOV) and the International-to-International transit program (ITI), eliminating terrorists'

United States Government Accountability Office (2009), addressed the most critical security needs, and steps to reduce the risks posed towards the airports. The report is published on the focus of Transportation Security Administration (TSA) of the USA and elaborate on how it works within its parameters towards aviation security. The study emphasizes on the Risk Management Framework introduced by the Department of Homeland Security of the USA in order to recognize the vulnerabilities. However, it also brings out the loopholes in the strategies; it did not follow accepted practices in developing its Worker Screening Pilot Program; additionally, issues remain regarding worker security, technology, and other initiatives.

Data Presentation and Analysis

According to the Department of Homeland Security, the Aviation Transportation System comprises a broad spectrum of private and public sector elements, including: aircraft and airport operators; over 19,800 private and public use airports; the aviation sector; and a dynamic system of facilities, equipment, services, and airspace and it continues to grow rapidly as more and more passengers regularly choose to fly. Thus, the USA must be capable of putting an end to such threats that would unsettle the security conditions in the country. For that the country needs to have a strong updated strategy.

Aviation Industry

The modern age of powered flight began in 1903 when Orville Wright made the first sustained, powered flight on December 17 in a plane he and his brother Wilbur built. This twelve-second flight led to the development of the first practical airplane in 1905 and launched worldwide efforts to build better flying machines. As a result, the early 20th century witnessed myriad aviation developments as new planes and technologies entered service. During World War I, the airplane also proved its effectiveness as a military tool and, with the advent of early airmail service, showed great promise for commercial applications. (Steven, 1995)

Aviation Susceptibility

Aviation Industry has always been considered as an attractive target to all forms of threats. Therefore, attention should be drawn first on why Aviation Industry is so susceptible for threats and vulnerabilities. The Committee for Science and Technology for Countering Terrorism identifies five characteristics that make airports susceptible targets. These characteristics are:

1) Openness and accessibility: airports were designed well before security and threats were issues of concern in the United States. By design, airports allow a high degree of user access to accommodate a large volume of people.

2) Extent and ubiquity: there are over 500 commercial service airports and over 14,000 general aviation airports across the U.S. Many of the infrastructure facilities such as terminals, navigation aids, and operational control centers are extremely difficult to safeguard, monitor, and control.

3) Emphasis on efficiency and competitiveness. Because airports operate as for profit entities, security measures that are viewed as costly and/or that impede operations are usually rejected.

4) Diversity of owners, operators, and overseers: although the federal government establishes guidelines and regulations for airports, its ownership of commercial airports is minimal. Most airports are controlled by state and local governments, which makes standardization of security measures complex

5) Entwinement in society and the global economy. Airports and airlines are essential entities that connect areas around the country, and the world. Any disruption in the air transportation system would have far reaching consequences (Committee on Science and Technology for Counter Terrorism, 2002).

Weakness in Airport Access Controls

Controlling access to aircrafts, airport facilities and airfields is a critical component of aviation security. Mostly the weaknesses displayed through airport access control methods appear to be the greatest strength of threats. Airports, by their nature consist of hundreds of employs with varying jobs that need to have access privileges. Pilots, flight attendants, baggage handlers, mechanics, fuel truck drivers and ticket agents are some of them. Therefore, as accepted and in theory those personnel who are considered as the staff members are given the privilege of access to various mechanisms.

Even the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) mandated that airports must have an Airport Security Plan (ASP), which includes an outline of the procedures that airports would utilize to control access to secured airport areas and facilities. However, such airport access mechanisms as proven by literature have become an arduous task. For example, the undercover missions carried out by the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA), obtained access to the airports 117 times out of 173 with a 63% of success rate. (Mulligan, 2002)

Threats to the Aviation System

Threats to the aviation system appear to be complex and adaptive with the time. Whilst conventional threats such as terrorism exist, globalization, technological advances, weapons of mass destruction and international disputes have enabled threats to the Air Domain to extend in reach, accelerate in speed, and increase in potential impact.

Threats to the aviation system is originated under 3 ways

1) Terrorist Groups

The terrorist threat is changing in form and intensity as terrorists' intentions and capabilities change and countermeasures are instituted. Their techniques are adapting on multiple fronts, including modality of planning, complexity of attack, and style of execution. The type, location, and frequency of

terrorist attacks cannot be reliably extrapolated from historical patterns, and therefore current threats must be regularly reassessed.

2) Criminals

Criminals, including individuals and groups, use the Air Domain to pursue objectives that are illegal under U.S. law or international convention. Domestic extremists in the United States have not, to date, engaged in organized efforts to attack the Aviation Transportation System. However, there are potentially violent domestic groups and individuals who have extensive knowledge of the aviation sector coupled with a demonstrated expertise in manufacturing and employing targeted-attack techniques, including improvised or conventional explosive devices.

3) Hostile Nations

According to Terrorism and Civil Aviation Security: Problems and Trends by Jangir Arasly, threats to civil aviation includes

1. Aircraft hijacking for retention/exchange of hostages;
2. Aircraft hijacking for movement/transfer;
3. Aircraft hijacking for annihilation/destruction;
4. Direct action against aircraft from outside;
5. Direct action against civil aviation ground infrastructure;
6. Peripheral categories of actions.

However, all these types of threats mainly consider attacking the passenger air craft small or large, aviation transportation infrastructure such as the airports and through exploitation of cargo. However, it should also be noted that, while most of the threats are posed by terrorists, the threat posed by military aircraft of hostile nation-states, such as long range strategic aviation, air-to-air missiles, long-range air-to-surface missiles also must be considered.

Implementing a National Strategy

Combating terrorism requires USA to focus on a comprehensive national strategy. Generally, a national strategy is built upon a clear vision statement that defines what the nation seeks to achieve including the role of the state and local entities, a set of objective and priorities that are set to achieve the implemented goals and finally the national strategy that consists of a proper

mechanism ensuring all the elements of the national efforts are clearly achieved.

In forming a national strategy that would strengthen aviation security, the federal government moved quickly to develop a security framework that would protect USA from large-scale attacks directed from abroad, while enhancing federal, state and local capabilities to prepare for, respond to, and recover from threats and disasters at home.

One of the key features of this framework included the creation of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) in March, 2003, bringing together 22 separate agencies and offices into a single unit. The department was implemented with the vision of protecting the American people from dynamic threats.

The Department of Homeland Security in implementing the robust mechanism focused mainly on the recommendations of the 9/11 Commission report which highlighted

I.   Developing and Implementing Risk-based Transportation Security Strategies

This approach emphasizes pre-screening for passengers and cargo, while focusing resources on those who pose the greatest threat to the nation's transportation networks. Advances include:

1. Conducting baseline security assessments across aviation, maritime, surface transportation sectors;
2. Forging international consensus on historic new global aviation standards;
3. Strengthening the security of the global supply chain;
4. Collecting and analyzing advanced passenger and cargo information; and
5. Supporting risk-based state and local prevention efforts.

II.   Strengthening Airline Passenger Pre-screening and Targeting Terrorist Travel
III.   Expanding Information Sharing
IV.   Protecting Cyber Networks and Critical Physical Infrastructure
V.   Bolstering the Security of U.S. Borders and Identification Documents

VI.   Ensuring Robust Privacy and Civil Rights and Civil Liberties
        Safeguards

The National Strategy that was in the process also adopted a "Hub & Spoke"
system that was earlier used by the US airlines. With this structure,
passengers on airline flights from various remote airports (the nodes on the
spokes) converge on a single airport (the hub). After providing sufficient
time for passengers to make their connections by changing planes, they
depart for their final destinations. This interconnectedness is apparent as
shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1*:* **The Lambert St. Louis International Airport Hub and Spoke**

Source: US Department of Transportation, Bureau of Transportation Statistics
(2002)

Additionally, the Grand Strategy of George Bush administration introduced a
large scale national security strategy in 2002 and a de facto model in the year
of 2006 concerning War on Terror Campaign that aimed to topple down all
forms of threats towards US security. The strategies were formed on large
scale budgets that had aviation as one of the central priorities.

In opposition, the national strategy launched by Barack Obama focused on
the "change" with the want of been the "Game Changer" It is a rather
dramatic departure from the previous national security strategy," said about
the document Susan E. Rice, former US ambassador to the United Nations,
one of the key national security personalities of the Obama-team (The New
York Times 2010).

Thus, the doctrines of the former presidents have considered security as the central concern yet in different perspectives. By the time of president Obama, the government further expanded its focus on aviation security by expanding the scope of the Department of Homeland Security by Katko's measures which includes the Checkpoint Optimization and Efficiency Act, and the Pre-Check Expansion Act and Safe Gates bill.

The notion of strategic theory as a method of analysis has slowly, evolved over the course of 40 years, permitting the domain of international relations and political studies via the work of those like Thomas Schelling and Colin Gray classic strategic theorists and has been increasingly used and acknowledged as a tool to assist in the comprehension of decision making. The strategic theory constitutes of broader sense that it advances a set of propositions that if true can be held to explain certain facts or phenomena. In this regard, strategic theory reveals itself less as a set of hard and fast rules, but more as a series of purposive assumptions that guide analysis.

The assumptions are

1) The study of ends and means – Use of available resources to gain any objective
2) The study of the political actor as the central unit of analysis - strategic theory analysis is interested in describing the choices available to an actor and evaluating the quality of decision making.
3) Understanding the political actor's value system and preferences - How do actors construct their interests, which, thereby, inform the objectives they strive for and the manner in which they seek to attain them?
4) An actor's interest will be influenced by the wider strategic environment - The environment determines what the actors think they know for sure and what they have to infer, if possible, from the behaviour of others
5) The acceptance of clashing interests - Strategic theory thus accepts that clashes of interest are liable to occur among actors and that in some instances this will lead to the resort to war as a means of obtaining objectives.

The United States recognizes that, because of the extensive global connectivity among businesses, governments, and populations, its aviation security policies affect other nations, and that significant local and regional incidents may have global effects. Success in securing the Air Domain will

not come from the United States acting alone, but only through a coalition of departments acting towards strengthening the security of the country. Thus, in analyzing the assumptions of strategic theory in to the addressed issue, the US has continuously been well aware of it ends and means of achieving them through expanding the departments. As the central actor in this case, the decisions taken by the US government directly influence the aviation security, and have well-constructed the interests by understanding the possible threats under continuous measurable mechanisms of threats. Further, the threats towards aviation security continues to grow since the diverse interests of the actors, in this case the USA and different types of threats posed towards them.

Conclusion

Whilst USA is in a path of getting stronger and more resilient as a result of these efforts to strengthen the homeland security enterprise, threats continue to evolve. What should be noted is that the attacks of 9/11 or an attack that occurred in another country may not come in the same way again. They may originate in distance lands or even in the next door. They may originate in distant lands or local neighborhoods. They may be as simple as a homemade bomb or as sophisticated as a biological threat or coordinated cyber-attack.

However, taking in to note the current actions taken by the US government, the framework created today appears to be much stronger that the old days. Security has gained major improvements through new mechanisms reducing the fatalities to a very low amount. The coordinated departments and other institutions makes it easier to maintain a smooth flow in the national strategy towards aviation security.

The Nation must take actions to mitigate damage and expedite recovery from an attack on the Air Domain. The fundamental key to effective recovery is pre-event planning and established coordination, in conjunction with exercising national mitigation and recovery options. The Strategy presents a vision for aviation security that seeks to secure the people and interests of the United States. The challenges that remain ahead for the Nation, the adversaries it confronts, and the environment in which it operates compel the United States to strengthen its ties with international partners and to seek

new relationships with others. Thus, effective implementation of the Strategy requires greater cooperation. It requires deeper trust and confidence not only domestically. As mentioned in the strategic theory, the strategic environment should be well focused which means all the national and international actors present. Since aviation depends much upon the interconnected networks and since the nature of threats continues to grow rapidly, the strategic environment with international cooperation is vital in implementing the national strategy. Thus, the validity of the existing strategies may stand strong domestically due to various department mechanisms yet for survival more international cooperation is needed.

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Theoretical Analysis of the U.S. Foreign Policy towards North Korea: from the End of the Cold War to the Beginning of Donald Trump's Presidency.

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Abstract

For more than two decades United States has sought to end North Korea's nuclear weapons programme and to preserve world peace and stability. US presidents have made many efforts between diplomatic engagement and coercive containment to provide North Korean leaders substantial incentives for nuclear disarmament. Nevertheless, none of these efforts have yielded the expected results and has worsened. This research paper deals with the nonproliferation strategies of the United States towards North Korea from the end of the Cold War to the beginning of Donald Trump's presidency in early 2017. It examines in detail the policies U.S. administrations have pursued along with various strategic concepts. Moreover, it is expected to examine the motives and conditions which compelled President William Clinton, President George W. Bush, Barack Obama and now, Donald Trump to engage with North Korean regime and its nuclear proliferation. By exploring U.S. North Korea policy in multiple contexts, this study is determined to evaluate the impact of three levels of decision making: individual, domestic and systemic levels in procedural changes in foreign policy decision-making. The data will be collected using secondary sources and will be analyzed using a few theoretical perspectives. It is determined to identify the reasons for the continuous failure in U.S. efforts in dealing with North Korea. Therefore, this study investigates into the U.S. foreign policy measures toward North Korea since the end of Cold War to the present along with an analysis of the theoretical perspectives.

Key Words: United States, North Korea, Nuclear weapons, Diplomacy,   Strategies

Introduction

North Korea's nuclear program can be identified as one of the priorities of foreign policy agenda items of the United States since decades. This topic is significant because the relationship between North Korea and U.S. has become highly tensed with the arrival of the president, Donald Trump. He has taken measures to stop the nuclear and ballistic missiles programmes of North Korea by gently persuading China to put pressure on North Korea.

Korean peninsula is situated in the geopolitical epicenter of Northeast Asia where some of the most powerful economies and the powerful armies in the world are within only a few miles apart from each other. Hence, North Korea makes a huge impact on both regional and global political stability. Korean peninsula has been officially divided into two nations in 1948. The South formed the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the Northern region became the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) separated by the 38th parallel. Since the division, the ROK has mainly focused on developing democracy and strengthening the economy of the country. According to Kim (2014, p.6), DPRK's, main target was to promote the communist doctrine and to advance its military power. Since the separation, it has isolated itself from the global community, violating international law on numerous occasions resulting a negative national image throughout the world. The incumbent Kim Jong Un has already proved that he is determined to continue his grandfather, Kim Il Sung's philosophy and ideology.

Klingner (2017) points out that there is an insatiable list of demands put forward by the North Korean regime. They are military, political, social and law enforcement demands. North Korea's military demands include the end of U.S.-South Korean military exercises, removal of U.S. troops from South Korea, and worldwide dismantlement of all U.S. nuclear weapons. Under the political demands, the regime expects that there would be no action on the UN Commission of Inquiry report on North Korean human rights abuses. When it comes to law enforcement demands: removal of all UN sanctions, U.S. sanctions, EU sanctions and targeted financial measures from the regime. Social demands against "insulting" articles by South Korean media, and anti–North Korean public demonstrations on the streets of Seoul. Their high price demands and the threats posed by nuclear proliferation is giving continuous warnings towards global peace and security.

Undoubtedly, the world power, United States of America has a huge responsibility in mitigating the threats posed to the international system. However, the relations in between USA and North Korea have become more tensed with the newly appointed U.S. president Donald Trump. Both leaders: Kim Jong UN and Donald Trump are ideal in exhibiting their policies towards each other which may have worsened the relations between the two countries. That is why three level analysis of decision making has been incorporated in the foreign policy analysis of USA towards North Korea.

Inability to tackle with North Korean crisis has resulted several negative consequences. Wit (2016) has provided a list of them. Mounting danger to the continental United States, growing threat to U.S. allies and forces in Northeast Asia, an escalating crisis in U.S. -Chinese relations, eroding stability on the Korean peninsula, spreading of nuclear weapons technology, weakening South Korean and Japanese commitment to the NPT, increasing dangers if North Korea becomes unstable and unabated human rights crisis are some of them which existed since the end of the Cold War.

Thus, three successive U.S. presidents - Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama's foreign policy measures and strategies can be identified and analyzed along with three levels of decision making. President Clinton's, Bush's and Obama's strategies can be simply demonstrated as Clinton's Carrots: The Agreed Framework, Bush's Sticks: The Axis of Evil and Obama's Strategic Patience: No Carrots, No Sticks which would be clarified in the data analysis. The unique characteristics of the presidents themselves and the domestic and systemic changes must have influenced immensely in the evolution of foreign policy approaches of U.S. presidents from 1993 to the present. Most importantly, it is determined to investigate the reasons that led to the continuous failure in succeeding U.S. foreign policy objectives with regard to North Korean crisis.

Methodology

This study, Theoretical Analysis of the U.S. Foreign Policy towards North Korea: from the end of the Cold War to the beginning of Donald Trump's presidency has been conducted by collecting data using the secondary data collection method. The key sources which have been used in the study are international institution reports, academic journals, books and newspaper

articles. Specifically, the previously completed researches and studies by scholars and their observations and different interpretations have been used throughout the analysis. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods have been employed in this article where the majority of the information and conclusions are presented in descriptive expressions.

In the study, without selecting any other country like China, South Korea, Japan or Russia in the theoretical analysis of foreign policy towards North Korea, U.S. particularly has been selected due to several reasons. For instance, if the same analysis was to be conducted based on foreign policy goals and tools of Russia it would be very difficult to evaluate as the foreign policy implications of it remains unclear and ambiguous. Conversely, a relatively extensive amount of documents have been issued by United States with regard to North Korean issue. Another useful source of information is the speeches given by US foreign policy representatives in various occasions. On the other hand, United States remains to be a key actor who has held a leading role in the engagement with North Korean regime. Most importantly, the present day tensed relations between United States and North Korea has challenged the world peace and order making this topic of the research a timely important one.

The analysis has been conducted by using a comparison of foreign policy strategies of the United States towards the North Korea from President Clinton to the President Obama. Their various foreign policy tools and objectives with regard to North Korea have been brought out while trying to incorporate them with the levels of decision making. Specially to identify to what extent individual, domestic and systemic factors have contributed to the development of relations between North Korea and United States. Therefore, the analysis has been divided according to particular U.S. president's office. That has allowed to organize the complex topic relatively clearly and has enabled to investigate the topic in a different manner than the other research.

Literature Review

Many scholars and authors have contributed to a range of topics dealing with North Korea. They have provided a platform to identify and analyze different aspects and dimensions of the North Korean crisis. Based on the researches that have already been conducted on the issue, theoretical analysis of the U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea: from the end of the Cold War to

the beginning of Donald Trump's presidency has been emphasized along with several novel implications into the matter of focused.

North Korea can be identified as a hermit nation which follows a policy of isolation filled with both mystery and unpredictability. Scholars and diplomats share different perspectives on the future of North Korea where some argue that the regime will collapse as other communist nations have [1]and the others admit that the status quo will prevail[2]. Meanwhile, another set of scholars argue that North Korea will follow China and gradually make changes[3]. At the same time, many also believe that it is too difficult to have predictions on North Korea[4] when its nuclear weapon development is taken into consideration. (Kim 2014, p. 11).

Within this context, developments of North Korea can be seen in different sectors. Leadership transition from Kim Jong-Il to the current leader Kim Jong UN itself makes an impact on the policy implementation of North Korea. Recent actions taken by North Korea can be traced to a shift in Pyongyang's security policy which continuously challenges world peace and stability by warning the West, particularly USA with its nuclear and ballistic missile experiments. Economic and social transformation also cannot be neglected when elaborating on the developments of North Korea. (Wit 2009, p. 23- 36). Meanwhile, Tesar (2015) has examined "the reasons and ways that have ensured the continuation of the DPRK despite its high chances of downfall amid the various threats to its economy, security, and domestic stability."

Being situated in the geographical epicenter of Northeast Asia DPRK has a strong influential capacity in the regional framework for stability. According to the Independent Task Force Report No. 64, U.S. Policy toward the Korean Peninsula, "China, Japan, Russia, and South Korea has its own set of interests, political priorities, and domestic constraints and pressures regarding North Korea". In other words, policy changes taking place in

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[1] Christopher D. Hale, "Real Reform in North Korea?"

[2] Yun Jo Cho, The Sources of Regime Stability in North Korea: Insights from Democratization Theory.

[3] Judith Thornton, "Benchmarking North Korea Economic Policies; The Lesson from Russia and China".

North Korea has a huge impact on the regional and global politics where interstate relations are determined according to their foreign policy formulation.

Orcutt (2004) and Derewiany (2011) have provided a clear interpretation of U.S. foreign policy measures and strategies since the end of the Cold War in order to highlight the immense efforts taken by USA to establish world peace and security. Orcutt in his research has given insight into the three U.S. policy options for the North Korean nuclear crisis: incentive-based diplomacy, coercive diplomacy and military force. Moreover, they have been analyzed according to four criteria: "the impact on North Korea's nuclear weapons, the impact on its neighbors (China, Japan, and South Korea), U.S. policy costs, and the precedent for future proliferation." Meanwhile, Derewiany has revealed the relations in between USA and North Korea since President Harry S. Truman to President Barack Obama.

Apart from the foreign policy measures and strategies, a new interpretation has been provided by Klingner (2017) while emphasizing that the "human rights must be a component of U.S. policy". In July 2016, the Obama administration imposed sanctions on North Korea "for their ties to North Korea's notorious abuses of human rights." Klinger states that it was the first time that the U.S. had designated North Korean entities for human rights abuses. Moreover, he denotes the necessity of including the advocacy for human rights with an expansion of information operation into North Korea in its overall North Korea policy by the Trump administration. In addition, Wit (2016) has provided a significant implication on the North Korea Policy Recommendations for the Trump Administration.

These research which have addressed different domains of North Korean crisis have supported immensely to analyze U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea in a theoretical perspective.

Individual, Domestic and Systemic Level of Decision Making

In the book "Man the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis", Waltz has tried to emphasize the causes of war through "three headings: within man, within the structure of separate states, within the state system referred to as images of international relations." Accordingly, different theories have to be associated with each level in order to make a clear picture of the scenario. In this particular study, U.S. foreign policy measures towards North Korea from

the end of the Cold War to the present have been scrutinized through the lens of theoretical perspective by using the three levels of decision making. It is expected to investigate to what extent these three levels have influenced the relations between United States and North Korea since the end of the Cold War.

Individual level, generally brings out the decisions made by individual leaders. Their leadership style, beliefs, goals, value system and personal relationships help to analyze the impact of individual level in the foreign policy decision making of a country. In other words, human nature can be identified as the main focus in evaluating the individual level. The personality of leaders and their assertive behaviour help to understand the role played by this level. In addition, cognitive theories like cognitive constructivism can be related in understanding the individual level. As the analysis has been divided according to the U.S. presidents: Clinton, Bush and Obama's regimes, the ideal characteristics of them will be discussed with the North Korean leadership.

To relate domestic level decision making effectively in the study realism and the rational actor model have been used. According to Tesar (2015), North Korea is fearful about its security which has led to reserve a large portion of the GDP to the military purposes. Tesar has also emphasized how North Korean perspective can be understood through realism. North Korea, itself has cornered and believes that the world is against it. Tesar states that "State policy has focused on defense and almost any effort to gain attention on the world's stage is by demonstrating their military force capabilities" which explains their continuous nuclear experiments and launching of Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles. On the other hand, United States possess their own goals and objectives to ensure their power and status in the world politics. Both countries suggest that the national interest, security has been prioritized which is greatly engrained into the decision-making process of all involved.

 At the same time, Tesar argues that "realism does address international order based around a common interest such as engagement, but fails to assume the predictive nature of international relations as Rational Choice Theory does." Therefore, rational actor level model can also be used to analyze the domestic level foreign policy decision making. Lee (2000) states that this model is the most appropriate theory to be applied in the North

Korean scenario. He admits rational actor model has the advantage of being applicable in situations of imperfect information and can be used to interpret the inner workings of North Korea where there is a lack of information. This model includes the national actor, the problem and the static selection. Within this context, rational actor model elaborates on the fact that "actions of all states can be justified given the particular situations, and assuming that all man are rational, any person in the same situation will repeat the course of action." (Lee 2000).

According to this interpretation North Korea which felt threatened by U.S. military strength tried to arm itself with nuclear weapons to obtain economic assistance from the West and also to prevent any U.S. nuclear attack against its country. Therefore, Lee emphasizes that North Korea's ambition was to "catch both rabbits", economic revitalization and military capabilities by implementing a nuclear program. Meanwhile, throughout the negotiation process, United States' ultimate goal was to protect the Non Proliferation Treaty regime.

The last level, systemic level can be related with the neorealist tradition. Neo realism elaborates on a power spectrum where the dominant economic and military powers influence the decision making of weak powers. According to neo realism, structure tries to maintain the balance of system where the decision making level of smaller powers are highly constrained by external powers. Therefore, systemic factors explain the foreign policy choices of a smaller state than its own domestic factors. Within this context, the changes took place in the international system since the end of the Cold War and the different foreign policies followed by both North Korea and United States have made a huge impact on the systemic level foreign policy decision making which has shaped the relations between the two countries.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The Clinton Administration

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s, North Korea desired to compensate for the loss of Soviet protection by strengthening military capabilities including a nuclear weapon highlighting the impact of systemic factors towards foreign policy decision making. As a result, the Clinton administration was faced with North Korea's first successful missile

test in May 1993 and also its threat to exit the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty converting North Korean issue, an upcoming challenge for the newly formed Clinton administration.

According to Derewiany (2011) the Clinton administration's foreign policy towards North Korea "centered on several main issues including the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT), the Agreed Framework, and the terrorism list". Clinton successfully negotiated the Agreed Framework of 1994 where North Korea agreed to freeze its nuclear weapons program in Yongbyon in exchange for oil deliveries, a phasing-out of economic sanctions, and help with the construction of a light water reactor for energy production. Derewiany states that it further contributed to reaffirm North Korea's commitment to the NPT and both parties acted according to the obligations of the treaty until 1996.

The newly elected Republican Congress delayed funds for the oil shipments and light water reactors and failed to reduce economic sanctions as promised in the Agreed Framework. Ultimately, North Korea reactivated the Yongbyon facility in 1998 and the Agreed Framework was officially broken down in 2003. (Derewiany 2011, p.35). The actions of the Congress denotes the extent of influence that can be caused by the domestic factors in the process of decision making.

Lohschelder (2016) implies that North Korea "benefited from the Agreed Framework as it received economic aids and pulled out of the agreement in time to maintain its nuclear program". On the other hand, United States failed to achieve any permanent concessions gained little from this episode: it looked divided and weak, having made a good faith effort to negotiate and failed to achieve any permanent concessions. Rather, at considerable expense, the United States had gained nothing but a four-year delay in North Korea's nuclear program. His efforts in negotiating were called "Clinton's carrots" which ultimately failed in fulfilling the desired objectives.

The Bush Administration

Like his predecessor President George W. Bush also had to address the growing questions regarding North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile programs. Lohschelder (2016) emphasizes that the Bush Administration pursued two contradictory policies regarding North Korea. Firstly, Bush exhibited a strong resistance for the engagement with North Korea which

was expressed in George W. Bush's inauguration speech as an 'axis of evil'. The President Bush's assertive behaviour elaborates on the impact caused by individual level decision making in foreign policy which ultimately determines the nature of interstate relationships.

Revere (2013) denotes in 2003, North Korea finally withdrew from the NPT and admitted for the first time its possession of nuclear weapons. As a result, the above mentioned second policy: Six Party Talks was prompted in 2003 which was a series of multilateral negotiations attended by China, Japan, South Korea, Russia, and the U.S to address North Korea's restarted nuclear weapons program. Along with North Korea's first nuclear test in 2006 led to new Six Party Talks negotiations until North Korea withdrew from the Six-Party Talks in 2009. Lohschelder (2016) clearly admits that "having learned the lesson of the Clinton era, the Bush administration adhered to its "dismantle first, talk later" policy." Bush's hawkish policies or "Bush's Sticks" was criticized as he failed in both regime change and denuclearization on North Korea. However, in military terms, Bush was constrained by two factors: the increasingly unpopular war in Iraq and the strained alliance with South Korea. (Lohschelder (2016). This is a clear implication how foreign policy decision making can be constrained or controlled by the domestic and systemic factors.

The Obama Administration

After reviewing the precedents of the Clinton and Bush policies, Barack Obama opted to follow the Clinton approach of engagement and diplomacy with North Korea. North Korea's response was missile and nuclear tests which prompted Obama administration to follow a policy of strategic patience. Derewiany (2011) declares that like his predecessors Obama had also chosen to make economic sanctions against North Korea while continuing to emphasize the need for the Six Party Talks and coming to an agreement about North Korea's nuclear and ballistic missile program. Derewiany shows how numerous acts of North Korean hostility committed during the Obama administration threaten to complicate the negotiations among the six parties.

The Leap Day Agreement between United States and North Korea also ended up as a failure because of a failed satellite launch by North Korea. On the other hand, North Korea's nuclear test and the satellite launch 2016 have

come to remind how unsuccessful was the diplomatic efforts carried out the United States. Within this context, Obama's strategic patience with neither "carrots" nor "sticks" can be said as "the least bad, least costly way for the United States to deal with North Korea." (Lohschelder (2016).North Korea has proceeded to violate its international obligations at an unprecedented rate particularly from 2016 and with the newly appointed president Donald Trump, the interstate relations have become really tensed. Klingner (2017) emphasizes that the "security situation on the Korean Peninsula is dire and worsening" and will soon be a "direct threat to the continental United States" and the whole world.

Figure 1: Ranges from the North Korean launch site to various locations around the world.
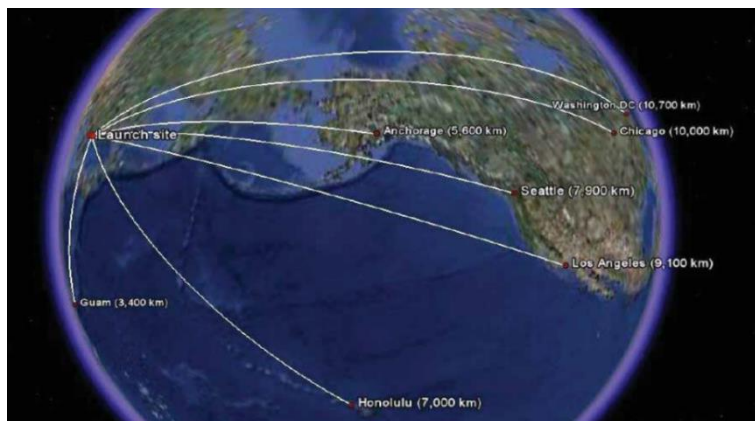
Source: Google Earth, 2009

Figure 2. The Nuclear Realities of North Korea.

81
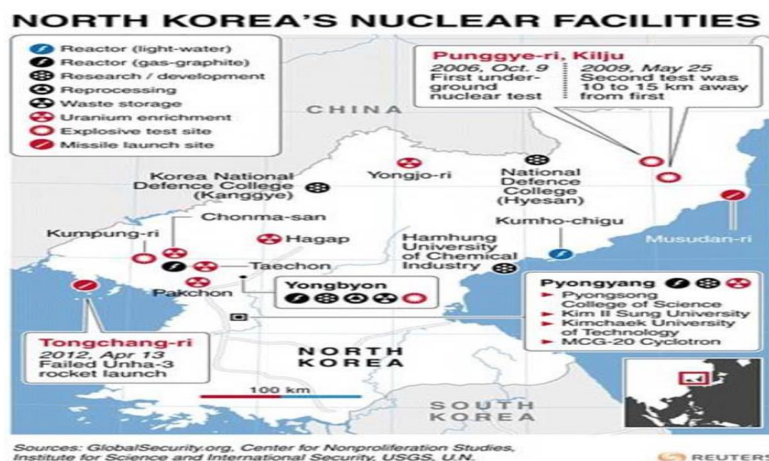
Source: Global Security.org. Center, 2012

These two figures further suggest that the North Korea's continuous nuclear experiments and the violent acts would be a huge threat for the global peace and security.

Conclusion

This study was conducted to understand the foreign policy measures implemented by the U.S. presidents: Bill Clinton, George W. bush and Barack Obama towards North Korea since the end of the Cold War up to the presidency of the newly appointed president, Donald Trump. Their foreign policy measures have been related with the three level analysis of decision making as an attempt to relate it with a theoretical perspective. Different approaches followed by these three presidents and the revolutionary behaviour of the newly elected president Trump emphasize the importance of evaluating U.S. foreign policy towards North Korea through the lens of the three level decision making.

The Korean Peninsula is the geopolitical epicenter of Asia where the most powerful economies and the military powers of the world are within 600 miles of each other. Therefore, the geostrategic location of North Korea acts as a major determinant of its foreign policy formulation as location and the physical terrain of a country are some of the most important influences on a state's foreign policy behaviour. At the same time, North Korea is a unique political system. It is a totalitarian regime which has been always ruled by an absolute dictator. Type of the government is another important attribute of domestic level foreign policy decision making. All North Korean powerful leaders and their rigid ruling add a great significance towards individual level decision making. Hence, North Korea's geopolitics and the leadership have been highly influential towards U.S policy towards North Korea.

Moreover, different strategies followed by Clinton, Bush and Obama together exhibit a policy filled with hostility, uncertainty and defiance towards North Korea. The continuous failure with regard to North Korea implies the inability of presidential administrations of United States since the end of Cold War to choose an appropriate method for responding to acts of hostility in North Korea. All these three presidents were not successful in

their attempts to maintain peace on the Korean peninsula. The U.S. administration under the above mentioned presidents and their foreign policy towards North Korea denote the impact of individual, domestic and systematic factors towards foreign policy formulation.

North Korea's first successful missile test in 1993 was happened during Clinton administration and President Clinton negotiated the Agreed Framework of 1994 successfully with North Korea. Nevertheless, the actions of the newly elected Republican Congress of U.S. made all the programme a failure. This emphasizes to what extent domestic level decision making can change the overall foreign policy decision making of a country. President Clinton's successor George W. Bush emphasized his distrust and his individual perspective with regard to North Korea as an 'axis of evil' in his inauguration speech. Even though, Six Party Talks were carried out that was also not successful in bringing the expected results. The impact of individual, domestic and also systemic level can be clearly identified during President Bush's administration. President Obama followed a policy of strategic patience and North Korea started to violate its international obligations over and over again. Obama's response towards North Korea denotes the impact of individual level decision making.

At present, North Korea' young and inexperienced Communist leader, Kim Jong Un remains in one side and the newly appointed revolutionary Capitalist leader of United States, Donald Trump remains at the other end. Both exhibit their own individual perspectives and the relations between the countries have become really tensed and worsened. Threats and challenges posed by the North Korean nuclear and missile programs must be in the center of U.S. national security decision making and should be dealt with the due weight and significance. The United States under Trump's administration should work in cooperation with U.S. allies and China to pressurize North Korea economically, diplomatically and in other forms. Most importantly North Korea's leadership should be persuaded to negotiate a near-term freeze of its nuclear and missile programs which would eventually lead towards denuclearization.

Within this context, Trump needs to entail carefully calibrated negotiations with North Korea, U.S. allies, and the rest of the world to settle this issue successfully. Even though it is too early to draw conclusions and to predict

about Trump's foreign policy, if this tensed situation with North Korea remains unaddressed it would ultimately lead to another world war.

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Perspectives on Ethnic Cleansing: with special reference to Yugoslavia

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Abstract

Ethnic cleansing is the attempt made to create ethnically homogenous groups by using various means to expel the target group. Ethnic cleansing for legal purposes has eluded attempts at concrete definition and is often found confused with the crime of 'Genocide'. It is argued in this article that genocide is only one such method. Ethnic cleansing is propagated through nationalism, its more extreme counterpart jingoism, leadership, and for reasons including new state creation, geo-economics and geopolitics. A summary of the history of ethnic cleansing throughout the ages were explored in brief with a discussion on how ethnic cleansing was propagated during the relevant periods. The Bosnian and Kosovo wars in Yugoslavia was significant in academic exploration of ethnic cleansing as it was then the term was widely propagated in describing the atrocities committed. This article analyses ethnic cleansing in the Yugoslav wars with a discussion on applicable International Law with reference to relevant cases.

Keywords: Ethnic Cleansing, Genocide, Human Rights, Crimes against humanity

Introduction

Ethnic cleansing is the term coined to describe the attempts of certain parties in a conflict to create an ethnically homogenous geographic area with utilization of methods including forcible deportation, intimidation, genocide, and mass displacement. (Rubenstein, 2008). The activities generally involved in ethnic cleansing are removal of all physical evidences of the existence of the targeted ethnic group; the destruction of their homes, places of worship, monuments, cemeteries and specific places of public gathering. This article explores into possible reasons for ethnic cleansing such as nationalism, new state creation, geo-political or geo-economic reasons. Ethnic cleansing as a term defies a concrete definition for legal purposes which is critically reviewed with reference to case law.

The Yugoslav wars presented an insightful case analysis since it was during these wars that 'ethnic cleansing' as a term was widely propagated. According to Kaufman the Kosovo crisis was an intractable conflict- "a conflict is so intractable and deep seated that the issue of the disputed territory cannot be resolved by mediation or negotiation" Kaufman opined such conflict are result of nations seeking[1] self-determination or statehood; since it threatens sovereignty of any existing state resolving such conflict is arduous and almost impossible.

At the beginning of 1990s the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was a non-aligned Federation composed of six republics: Bosnia and Herzgovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia with Kosovo and Vojvodin as autonomous provinces within Serbia. During the rule of Yugoslavia by Josip Broz Tito as Prime Minister (1944-1963) and president for life till his death in 1980 scholars designated himself the title of a benevolent dictator who united Yugoslavia suppressing nationalism. After his death the suppressed nationalism resurged into intractable conflict of the Yugoslav wars (1990-1999) calling for state recognition and self-determination resulting in the disintegration of the federation.

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[1]Self determination is a principle embedded in the UN charter and a jus cogens rule in international law.

Methodology

This article is a documentary analysis with utilization of journals, official websites of the ICTY, and other academic sources. A time series analysis was conducted to explain the Kosovo and Bosnia-Herzgovina crises. Case law on ethnic cleansing, genocide and notable cases of the ICTY were discussed where necessary. The main text of analysis at understanding the background and contexts was Ethnic Cleansing (1999) by Andrew Bell Fialkoff. Appended in the article is a literature review chronologically arranged.

Literature Review

Andrew Bell Fialkoff (1993) in his 'Brief history of ethnic cleansing' remarks the Serbian campaign although tragic and gruesome was historically speaking neither new nor remarkable when in comparison to the history of ethnic cleansing dating from antiquity, throughout the formation of modern Europe, world wars (during the Nazi holocaust) and the American discovery. While the term ethnic cleansing eludes a cohesive definition, and while the term was widely used to discuss the atrocities in the Balkan Peninsula during Yugoslav wars the concept has existed throughout history.

Jennifer Preece writing for Human Rights Quarterly in 1998 attempts to fill the research gap on the understanding of ethnic cleansing by posing the questions: what was meant by the term, how it was practiced in the 20th century Europe, normative status of practice at the time and the relationship between changing practices and evolving norms. Preece argues ethnic cleansing creates mass refugee flows within and across international frontiers which then form political sources of international instability, economic, social and humanitarian problems.

Anthony Oberschall (2001) in 'From ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia' observes there are four explanations for ethnic violence including primordial, instrumentalist, constructionist, and a fourth model centering around state breakdown, security dilemma and anarchy. The instrumentalist view of ethnic cleansing concern political leaders who manipulate ethnic sentiments for political ends such as state creation. Oberschall argues extreme nationalists prevailed over moderate nationalists through use of violence and mass media to drive propaganda. Among different ethnic groups there resulted a security dilemma when each viewed

the other with fear and insecurity. David (1997) and Ignetiff (1993) had commented on how the breakdown of central government led to security dilemma on defensive arming.

Oberschall's case study on Prijedor district in Northwest Bosnia 1990-1992 observes Muslims and Serbs lived in peace before the conflict. Serbs were neither threatened nor discriminated against; they held a significant presence in Bosnia that the coup d'état was similar in character to the Russian revolution of 1912. Extremist Serbs stripped off power of non-Serbs and even moderate Serbs. Oberschall quotes Banja Luka a lawyer reported '60% of Serbs agreed or were confused on ethnic cleansing' but went ahead with the 10% who were armed and has massive control of media.

Kledja Mulaj (2004) opined cause of ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia were multifarious: historical, ethnic nationalism, fear and security dilemma. Mulaj argues ethnic cleansing was a top down phenomenon which political leaders had promulgated for nation state building, delineation of borders, territorial and resource acquisition through coercion on the part of the state. Mulaj also iterates Huntington's arguments in clash of civilizations are 'simplistic, reductionist, and therefore misleading on cultural conflicts since Huntington overlook etiology in conflict analysis'.

Martin Steinfeld (2015) in "When ethnic cleansing is not genocide: a critical appraisal of the ICJ's ruling in Croatia v Serbia in relation to deportation and population transfer" critically examines the ICJ decision. Steinfeld reflects on the court's failure to provide a workable precedent to properly include ethnic cleansing within the legal meaning of genocide to recognize the crime as a punishable offence in future context reflecting on how ethnic cleansing as at present occupies a distinct void in international law.

Data Presentation and Analysis

A brief History of Ethnic Cleansing throughout the Ages

Ethnic cleansing as a practice could date back to antiquity to the time of Ancient Greece and Sparta. Sparta was a city state comprised of an unusual social stratification. The population was divided into Spartans, Perioki and Helots out of which the Spartan minority controlled the rest of the population as they were deemed superior. They claimed to be the descendants of Hercules. The Spartans were prohibited of inter-racial marriages except

among their own kind. To keep the rising Helot population in check, the Spartan oligarchy would pro-forma declare war on Helots where any Spartan could kill any number of Helots without fear of trial or punishment. These extrajudicial killings of Helots were also largely ignored by lawful authorities. This could be one of the earliest forms of genocide also reflecting the state of impunity within the city state of Sparta by not holding the ruling party accountable of genocide.

During the american discovery of America's indigenous population when the settlers conducted ethnic cleansing against the indigenous populations; it resulted in forcible displacement of those native Indians later sent to inhabit Western Europe and rest of the colonized world as a slave population. During the middle ages, the form of ethnic cleansing took a religious stance when the church aimed at decided catholic preponderance over a religiously homogenous group. This also took a political formation as religious control led to the establishment of papal order and governance till the separation of church and state during the aftermath of the Renaissance. (Fialkoff, 1993)

In the 1600s, during the period in which the Catholic Church lost its monopoly over people and the political make-up of European continent progressed towards the segregation of church and state; the first cleansings motivated by ethnic discriminations were initiated in England. The Irish Catholics of Ulster were expelled from England and the land was claimed by protestant English and Scottish groups. The intention therein could be asserted as religiously and politically motivated. The English did not want catholic France and Spain to instigate the catholic Irish to rebel against the viral spreading of the protestant faith. (Foreign Affairs, 2009)

In the nineteenth century, the rule of Turkish Sultan Abdul Hamid II was marked by genocide, intimidation and hostility to cleanse the sultanate of Armenians by a joint alliance between Turks and Kurds. During the 1915 holocaust, Armenians had lost half of its population. This continued till the middle of the First World War with the Turks attempting to destroy the entire Armenian population which is another example of ethnic cleansing in mass scale. (Fialkoff, 1993)

Reasons for ethnic cleansing

It is opined that nationalism was the reason behind the disintegration of Yugoslavia; whether the conflict was entirely caused due to 1nationalism only is debatable although it could be one dominant reason, while other reasons could be 2geopolitically and 3geoeconomically contingent issues.

Hans Kohn in *The idea of nationalism: A study in its origins and background* defined nationalism as the term historians used to characterize the modern sense of national political autonomy and self-determination from the late 18th century onwards. The concept also dates back to the French revolution but had its impact on the rest of Europe specially at a time when nationalism was used as a pretext to create ethnically homogenous regions (such as Nazi Germany), and for establishing autocratic rule (links with fascism under the rule of Mussolini and General Franco of Spain)

The blame game on nationalism as a cause for war in Yugoslavia had the tendency to be centered around Slobodan Milosevic, who throughout his career as politician (1989-2000) promulgated and embraced nationalism through manipulations of the grievances of Serbs and signed the Dayton Peace Treaty on behalf of Bosnian Serbs in 1995 during the height of civil war and ethnic tensions. Craig Calhoun in 'Nationalism and Ethnicity' states "Ethnic solidarities and identities are claimed most often where groups do not seek "national" autonomy but rather a recognition internal to or cross-cutting national or state boundaries"

Thus ethnicity is inter-linked with nationality in a sense these concepts are not entirely mutually exclusive of another. In Yugoslavia the ethnic composition was of complex character which led to conflicting claims on statehood and identity which could have been catalyst towards intractability of the conflict. McFarlane in 'Yugoslavia politics, economics and society' opined no single ethnic group has an absolute majority in Yugoslavia but rather the ethnic composition was heterogeneous with the two largest ethnic groups being Serbs (9.3 million) and Croats (4.6). Each constituent of the federation was neither ethnically homogenous nor multinational but a political union of several ethnic groups among which tensions has prevailed for long periods of time.

Nationalism is a strong motivator for ethnic cleansing which can be witnessed during the Serb-Croatian war of the Second World War period[2]. Croatian nationalists who called themselves the Ustashe regarded the Serbs as a threat to their national integrity. There was massive genocide involved with Serbs killed in their villages, Serbs burnt in their churches and women and children raped. This extermination of Serbs was a part of a larger plan hatched by the Germans and its allies as Crotian-Ustashe forces were funded by the Nazi. For example: Hungarians living in Yugoslavia massacred the Serbs and Jews with Bulgaria following similar policies.

Ethnic cleansing is also conducted for geo-economics purposes. For example: during the Yugoslav Wars, the split of Montenegro and Serbia resulted with Serbia losing its access to the Adriatic Sea. Croatia, Albania, Montenegro, and Bosnia Herzegovina had coasts of the Adriatic and these countries were deep in war. These countries were trapped in terms of acquiring resources in the Adriatic basins. In the Adriatic basins there were significant reserves of natural gas and oil that the countries were after. Transport of resources, trade, transport, and tourism were at economic losses. Peaceful economic interdependency among these countries are affected as chains in distribution, international trade is at risk.

The geopolitical concerns are also largely interconnected with the geo-economic concerns mentioned previously as the Adriatic Sea in the mentioned example is what separates Balkan Peninsula and Italian Peninsula. This sea is also of strategic importance to Italy, a country of the European Union. After the Yugoslav Wars, these countries are now in a race to gain acceptance from the international community and membership of the European Union.

Nationalism, geoeconomics and geopolitical reasons could have collectively influenced the motivations for ethnic cleansing for new state creation[3]. According to Rosens, ethnic sentiments and loyalties are manipulated by political leaders and intellectuals for political ends such as state creation. Milosevic inspired Serb nationalists to create a 'greater Serbia' (cigar, 1995)

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[2]As excerpted from Vesna Pesic in "Serbian Nationalism and the Origins of the Yugoslav Crisis" publication of the United States Institute of peace date 1996 accessible
https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/30963/1996_april_pwks8.pdf
[3]As excerpted by Anthony Oberschall (2001) "From ethnic cooperation to violence and war in Yugoslavia"

while Croatia had a similar goal of creating a 'greater Croatia' (Djilas, 1995)[4] Samuel Huntington had commented on the geostrategic position of the Balkans as proxy states for major powers in the international system. It could be argued NATO interventions in the area could have had the ulterior motive of preventing strategic states (Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia) from falling into the grip of Russia, For example: the geostrategic significance of the Balkans is even observed in the 21st century[5]: George Friedman writing to geopolitical futures (2017) envisages an 'Intermarium' when Russia re-emerges as a major regional power, it may be in the interests of USA to support the 'intermarium' to curb Russian power to the West.

Case Analysis: Yugoslavia

After the fall of the Austria-Hungary Empire at the end of the Second World War, the victors formed a new country which was composed of ethnic groups from Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro, Slovenia, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina. After the split of Montenegro and Serbia into two separate independent countries, Serbia lost its access to the Adriatic Sea. This is the sea that separates the Italian peninsula from the Balkan Peninsula. The countries with the coasts of the Adriatic are Italy, Croatia, Albania, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

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[4] "The Balkans, according to the late Samuel Huntington, have been a staging ground where the West, Russia and
the Islamic World have converged in a clas h for control of the region via proxy countries. Russia had traditionally
supported Orthodox Serbia, while Bosnia and Croatia had tended to receive support from Catholic Austria and the
Muslim Ottoman Empire, respectively (Huntington points to, in the more recent Balkan crisis in the 1990's, German
support for Croatia and Turkish support for Bosnia, while Orthodox Russian and Greek volunteers came to the aid of
the Serbs)" – direct excerpt from http://www.neweasterneurope.eu/articles-and-commentary/1089-russia-serbia-andthe-new-balkan-geopolitics
[5]"The Intermarium is a concept – really, an eventuality – that I have spoken about for nearly a decade. I predicted it
would rise after Russia inevitably re-emerged as a major regional power. Which makes sense, considering it would
comprise the former Soviet satellites of Eastern Europe: the Baltic states, Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and
possibly Bulgaria. Its purpose would be to contain any potential Russian move to the west. The United States would
support it. The rest of Europe would agonize over it. What was once inevitable may soon be here."
https://geopoliticalfutures.com/intermarium-three-seas/

The geoeconomic concern here is the hunt of these countries for natural resources in the Adriatic basins. There is natural oil in the northern Adriatic, natural gas and oil reserves in the middle and southern Adriatic basins. The economic importance of the Adriatic Sea is that it is utilized for transport, fishing, and tourism (Rosenberg, 2014).

Figure 1 : Map- former Yugoslavia

Source: Yale University 2009

Bosnia-Herzegovina was the region in which Yugoslavia's largest corporations of food and material were situated. Former Yugoslavia was a region in the world in which the countries will engage in geopolitical struggles in a race to gain recognition as independent countries from the international community and also membership of the European Union. Currently, Kosovo is still not accepted by Serbia and Russia as an independent country.

Kosovo crisis Timeline

In 1989, an ethnic Serbian Slobodan Milosevic established himself leader of Kosovo and by 1990 violence erupted between the police and ethnic Albanians. Yugoslavia sent troops, tanks warplanes, and police to stop

uprisings and a curfew was imposed. Ethnic Albanians declared independence and Serbia dissolved Kosovo assembly. 1991 was the year the Bosnian War commenced during which the Albanian parliament recognized Kosovo as an independent republic. In 1992, Winter Ibrahim Rugova was elected president of the self-proclaimed republic. Serb and Albanians held peace talks to politically solve conflicts.

In the year 1995, ethnic Albanians set-up a parallel police force and Serbian authorities were sentenced to prison. Serbian authorities settled several Croatian Serb refugees in Kosovo resulting in protests by Albanians. In 1996 Kosovo Liberation Army emerged after a series of bomb attacks. Violence, bomb explosions, shootings, raids and killings were continued till 1997 during which many Serbian police and Albanian separatists were killed in Drenica, Kosovo in 1988 where houses were burnt down and villages were evacuated[6]. In a 1998 referendum with a 73% voter turnout, 95% of Serbs voted against international intervention. Yugoslavia imposed sanctions against Kosovo. After village of Junik was captured by Serbs UN called for a ceasefire. NATO militarily intervened in Kosovo. (obtained from BBC sources)

The Human Rights Watch counted civilian deaths caused by NATO airstrikes around 490-530. Serbians, Albanians, and NATO were accused of war crimes. Amnesty International claimed that NATO had carried out war crimes during the conflict. However, the report of International Criminal Tribunal for former Yugoslavia had sided with NATO defending those charges. When considering the International responses to the intervention and bombings by the NATO the different countries had different perspectives. Former Libyan leader Gaddafi was against the campaign stating Yugoslavia had a legitimate right to defend its territorial integrity. China, Cambodia and India had condemned the bombings while Japan, Pakistan, UK and Albania had supported the bombings. Countries such as France, Italy and the United Nations had mixed views about the bombings.

These criticisms and justifications of the actions by the NATO is suggestive of the ambiguous nature of international law. On one hand there are those who are outspoken about sovereignty of Yugoslavia and respect to its

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[6]http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/special_report/1998/kosovo/82713.stm

territorial intergrity while NATO and its allies take a liberal interventionist stance. Ironically USA conducted air strikes on Milosevic controlled regions with the pretext of disposing his dictatorial rule and ended up committing human rights violations by bombing civilian areas. In such cases the civilian victims were not part of the war and their rights were violated by the State and also the extra-regional powers involved in the conflict. It could be observed that the Tribunal set up to try such crimes did not include the atrocities committed by NATO troops reflecting an asymmetry in the justice system of the ICTFY.

Bosnia-Herzegovina Timeline

1991 marked the collapse of communism and nationalist movements with conflicting goals: Muslim Nationalists were calling for an independent Bosnia, Serb nationalists were calling for Belgrade- dominated Yugoslavia, Croats were calling for an independent Croatian state. In 1992, Croat and Muslim nationalists formed a tactical alliance to outvote Serbs in referendum calling for independence. Ethnic cleansing movements in Muslim and Croatian controlled areas were going on. The most devastating campaign was the Radovan Karadzic led Bosnian Serbs who laid siege to Saragevo.

In 1993 Conflict turned into profound complexity: In Herzegovina- Muslims and Serbs formed an alliance against Croats while in North-West Bosnia rival Muslim forces fought each other and in Central Bosnia, Serbs fought against Muslims. By 1995 UN Safe Haven of Srebrenica was overrun by Bosnian-Serb forces. Many Muslims were massacred. NATO airstrikes against Serbs helped Muslims and Croats to expel Serb civilians amidst criticism on part of those opposed to foreign direct intervention into the conflict.

The Srebrenica massacre or Sebrenica Genocide was the highlight of this war. In the town of Sebrenica, thousands of Bosniaks mainly men and boys were killed. This was carried out by the Army of Republika Srpska and the command of General Ratko Mladic. The Secretary General of the UN at the time Kofi-Annan described this mass scale murder as the "worst crime committed on European soil after the genocide of holocaust during the Second World War". Although the UN made the Drine Valley a Safe Haven under its protection, the United Nations Protection Force consisting of Dutch peacekeepers could not prevent the massacre and atrocities. This was considered one of the biggest failure of UN peace-keeping forces up to date.

May 1992 to March 1993 was also marked by ethnic cleansing movements in the Lasva Valley. The targeted groups were Bosniak civilians. Bosnian Muslims were murdered, raped and imprisoned in camps. This conflict was between Croats and the Bosnian government. The Bosniaks were subjected to persecution on racial, political and religious grounds. The International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia has ruled these crimes as crimes against humanity.

Ethnic Cleansing vs. Genocide: confusion and elusive definition

Andrew Bell Fialkoff, author of 'ethnic cleansing' explains ethnic conflict being 'virtually indistinguishable from forced immigration and population exchange while at the other it merges with deportation and genocide. Ethnic cleansing can be understood as the expulsion of 'an undesirable population' from a given territory. The United Nation's definition on ethnic cleansing is 'rendering an area ethnically homogenous by using force or intimidation to remove from a given area persons of another ethnic or religious group' (Fialkoff,1993)

What is common to these definitions are the elements of 'forcible removal'. However, what is lacking in these definitions is that the forcible removal is motivated by political reasons which cannot be justified due to the loss of life incurred during ethnic cleansing practices.

What amounts to an 'undesirable population' is subjective to the perpetrators of such crimes. For example: In Ancient Greece in the city state of Sparta, all those who were not considered physically fit were killed by the State itself deeming them 'undesirable'. For Hitler, the 'undesirables' were Jews, homosexuals, and communists while to Slobodan Milosevic the undesirables could have been those who opposed his rule. However, there cannot be given a universal justification for any act of ethnic cleansing because it contravenes human rights. [If a human right is simply defined as a right that one has by virtue of being a human to live his life in dignity with basic human needs[7]]. There is also no universal justification for requiring ethnically homogenous regions in any part of the world since people are of mixed heritage with

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[7]This is the pluralist view of the state which Tito failed to provide Yugoslavia with being a dictator who centralized
power. NY times article accessible at :
http://www.nytimes.com/1986/04/13/magazine/yugoslavia-since-

different cultural roots, acquired cultures and different religions.When looking into the etymological derivation of the term ethnic cleansing, the Serbo-Croatian phrase 'etnicko ciscenje' was the term that was literally translated to English and was widely used during the 1900s (Britannica, 2013).

Ethnic cleansing and genocide are two different concepts although some critics argue otherwise devising a debate altogether controversial. The intention of ethnic cleansing is to remove the targeted ethnic group out of their territory whereas genocide is intended at partial or complete destruction of the target group. However, genocide is one out of the many methods used in mobilizing the target group out of the geographic area claimed by the perpetrator. Therefore, there is a difference in purpose with ethnic cleansing as establishment of ethnically homogenous lands through mass murder (genocide) and Genocide with sole purpose of destruction of the rivals charged 'unclean'.

Some examples of genocide (with ethnic cleansing intentions included) are: ottoman empire's destruction of Armenians (1915-1923) the holocaust, Khmer Rouge control of Cambodia in 1975, Serbo-croatian conflict (1991-1993), Tutsi-Hutu conflict in Rwanda (1990-1994), and Dafur war of Sudan (2003-present). During the Ottoman Empire, ethnic cleansing was administered through massacres, forced deportations, and people dying of disease in concentration camps. The vulnerable groups were ethnic Armenians, Assyrians, and Greeks. During the Holocaust the Nazi exterminated many Jews, Jehovah's witnesses, homosexuals and even the disabled. In Rwanda, there was a majority of Hutu and a minority of Tutsi. Hutu rebels killed over 800,000 Tutsi people (the vulnerable group) in just 100 days.

The difficulty in defining ethnic cleansing was discussed in the case of *Application of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Bosnia and Herzegovina v. Serbia and Montenegro)* where it was argued by Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that ethnic cleansing is not a crime of genocide and that there was no 'genocidal intent' and general references to ethnic cleansing excludes the obligation to prove 'genocidal intent'. However international law permits individuals to be prosecuted of crimes against humanity when the State has undertaken obligations to protect its constituents and the crimes were committed as an

act of a state. Unfortunately, in this case it was required to interpret whether under international law the conduct of any state organ is considered as an act of a state.

The Serbs' accusations of genocide in Sebrenica were not considered as state parties or under control of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and thus State responsibility did not occur. Controversially when deciding the case, the ICJ referred to a former judgment in *Nicaraguan v. United States* in inquiring whether the acts by Bosnian Serbs were acts of the state but in *Nicaragua* case US was not found guilty of assisting the contra rebels of Nicaragua and hence applying that standard to the genocide in Sebrenica did nothing of substantial merit to define 'ethnic cleansing' in a manner that gave sufficient clarity for even future prosecution of 'ethnic cleansing' as a crime.

Martin Steinfeld (2015) critically reviews how ethnic cleansing occupies a void in international law: in the[8] Genocide convention there is no explicit reference to ethnic cleansing but an elaboration on genocide where means /methods of ethnic cleansing are included. The ICJ was given an opportunity in *Croatia v Serbia* (on the application of the convention) in determining ethnic cleansing as a crime but failed to develop the legal doctrine to constitute a violation of international human rights law, as customary law or as an erga omnes obligation. The difficulty as previously mentioned being the difficulty to prove 'dolus specialis' or genocidal intent which is the vital element distinguishing the crime of genocide from war crimes or crimes against humanity.

International law on Ethnic Cleansing

Convention on the prevention and punishment of the crime of genocide was introduced by the General Assembly of UN in its resolution 96 (I) on 11 December 1946. Thus genocide became a crime under international law forming jus cogens. There is no formal legal definition of ethnic cleansing.

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[8]In Article II of the Genocide convention - genocide means any of the following acts committed
with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious
group, as such: (a) Killingmembers of the group;
(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about
its physical destruction in whole or in part;
(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

However, forced deportation, genocide and racial hatred were crimes against humanity under the statutes of both International Criminal Court (ICC) and the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

In 1993, as a response to the atrocities in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, the ICTY was created by the Security Council. The ICTY was the first war crime court created by the UN after Nuremburg and Tokyo Tribunals. The tribunal has indicted[9] 161 persons for serious violations of International Humanitarian Law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. After the Dayton Peace Accord in Paris[10], 66,000 strong NATO Peacekeeping Implementation Force permanently established itself in Bosnia. This was a measure to stop the genocide and violence which had displaced people, rendering entire populations destitute, schools and universities in strife, and to commence economic and production activities peacefully[11]. Former Yugoslav President Sloban Milosevic was charged with genocide and war crimes in Bosnia, Croatia and Kosovo by the international court in 2002.

In 2006, International court of justice in Hague began hearings in genocide cases brought by Bosnia-Herzegovina against Serbia and Montenegro. The Srebrenica trials on the 1995 Srebrenica massacre opened at UN tribunal in Hague. During this war rape and sexual assault were used as systematic instruments of war. Women and girls were kept in detention centers under unhygienic conditions and were raped repeatedly. These were also crimes against humanity of which the violence cannot be justified and were acts that were subjected to international criticism urging the responsible military and political leaders to be brought into justice. Most Serbs were convicted guilty of Genocide while crimes against humanity and ethnic cleansing were the charges of most Croats during the cause of war. Most Bosniaks were charged with breaches of the Geneva Conventions.

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[9] As obtained from https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/mar/24/radovan-karadzic-criminally-responsiblefor-genocide-at-srebenica

[10] Figure obtained from Washington Post article http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2005/11/16/AR2005111602138_pf.html

[11] According to international law Genocide, mass rape, mass murders are war crimes and on that basis in 2008 Rodovan Karzdzic was arrested. He was then Europe's most wanted man.

There were a number of notable cases that came before the[12]ICTY:

Dusko Tadic was sentenced for 20 years imprisonment for charges under violation of the 1949 Geneva Convention (inhumane treatment and willfully causing grievous bodily harm including sexual violence against men). This crime was committed in the district of Prijedor in camps where Muslims and Croats were detained by Serb forces with Tadic being involved in a particularly gruesome incident of forcing a detainee to bite the testicles off another.

Mucic et al was another notable case where rape was recognized as a form of torture, a violation of Geneva conventions, laws and customs of war. One of the four accused, Delic were charged with raping two women to obtain information where judges held the crime constituted discrimination by the fact they were women.

Furundzija was the first case at ICTY to focus entirely on sexual violence (on bodily integrity) for the repeated rape of a Muslim woman under his orders with him aiding and abetting the crime. The ICTR, a sister tribunal of ICTY set a [13]precedent of rape as genocide.

In *Kuarac et al*, three Bosnian army officers were prosecuted for operating rape camps where women were forced to work in a brothel-like climate to do chores and bidding of Serbian armed men. 'The judgement broadened the acts that constitute enslavement as a crime against humanity to include enslavement and determined the relationship of gender crimes to international law' (ICTY, n.d) This judgement also recognized rape as a tool of war and in *Krstik* established a close link between ethnic cleansing and genocide (which occurred in the Srebrenica massacre)

Conclusion

Ethnic cleansing and wars motivated by it has been happening since antiquity. The usual crimes committed include genocide, mass murder, rape, and forcible deportation, destruction of property and intimidation of people. As discussed through examples from the holocaust period and the Yugoslav wars, violence and bloodshed were the general characteristics of these wars. The reasons for ethnic cleansing vary from issues pertaining to nationalism,

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[12]As excerpted from www.ivty.org/en/in-focus/crimes-sexual-violence/landmark-cases
[13] Case Akayesu

geoeconomics and geopolitics. Wars where ethnic cleansing happens should be prevented as the intentions of creating ethnically homogenous groups are crimes against humanity as explained under International Law. Furthermore, International bodies such as the International Court for War Crimes should exist to punish those engaged in crimes against humanities as a decided watch over countries with poor human rights records and to encourage compliance with human rights obligations.

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Trends and patterns of relations between Russian Federation and the European Union with Special Reference to Ukraine Crisis

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Abstract

The 2014 Ukrainian crisis has laid bare the differences between the European Union and Russia, forcing these two actors to re-examine their relations with each other, as well as with those in the so-called shared neighborhood. Therefore the study focuses on finding out whether the two actors would keep stagnating in the traditional instability in relations or move beyond, in order to ameliorate the prevailing tensions in the aspects of economy, politics and security caused by the Ukraine crisis. A qualitative content analysis on journal articles, newspaper articles, books and online sources is carried out to analyze level of interaction between the two actors in terms of political, economic and security affairs. As per the findings in spite of the agreement on sanctions and common declarations condemning Russian aggression in Eastern Ukraine, the approach of individual member states towards Russia has not changed dramatically. There is still a preference for dealing on bilateral terms rather than through the common framework of the EU. For example, throughout the Ukraine crisis, Germany, France and UK preferred to have bilateral contacts with Russia. And the decreases in trade relations were not only due to the tensions of the current crisis. Yet the geopolitical tension has been heightened during the Ukraine crisis. Meanwhile neither Russia nor the EU (and the West) seem too willing to try to accommodate each other's worldviews and values. In conclusion, if the relations between the two are to be ameliorated, there should be an agreed political framework that advocates each side's respective interests in every aspect of their cooperation and a fundamental strategic rethink by all parties is required.

Key words: EU, Russia, Ukraine Crisis, EU-Russia Relations, Economic Relations, Political Relations, Security Relations

Introduction

"Things are different in the international relations between states. In this respect I am neither a friend, nor bride or groom [of the West]".

 -Vladimir Putin-

Over the course of its history, Russia has almost always been divergent from the concept of the 'West' including the Europe. Therefore, the relations between Russia and the European Union (EU) have never been easy. In terms of economy, politics and security, the EU-Russia relations during the post- Cold War period have often considered to be governed by the dichotomy between conflict and cooperation. Despite the fact that these two actors share deep economic and energy interdependence, the coexistence of cooperation and conflict as well as the competition on a number of issues and policy areas has made the relations between the two actors more complex.

The end of the Cold War or in other terms the inglorious collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991 led to the widespread positive attitude that a new age of international affairs would come into existence (Fukuyama 1989; Krauthammer 1990; Evera 1990). Hence the end of the Cold War was perceived as a positive landmark in EU (European Union) – Russia relations where a robust and pragmatic partnership would emerge replacing the previous relationship which was cold and informal to a considerable extent. Accordingly, on 10th July 1991, wounded Russia's first ever elected President Boris Yeltsin stated in his inauguration speech that his country would turn to the world community with pure intensions so as to win friends rather than enemies, and to establish honest and civilized relations with other states.

The early stages of this new relationship manifested that the EU and Russia could become reliable partners, particularly after the signing of the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) in 1994 which came into force in 1997, the original framework for their political, economic, and diplomatic relations. And this relationship was further fostered by Yeltsin's enthusiasm in gaining recognition as a fully European state and to join the EU. In May 2003 at the St. Petersburg summit, Russia and the EU adopted a

strategic framework for creation of common spaces in four policy areas such as the Common Economic Space, the Common Space of Freedom, Security and Justice, the Common Space of External Security, the Common Space of Research and Education, including cultural aspects. Yet these relations were based on mutual interests rather than on common values.

Meanwhile, preceded by former President Boris Yeltsin, President Vladimir Putin assumed his office in 2000. In less than a decade, Russia's strong economic recovery along with the sky rocketing prices of oil and the reinstatement of his nation's wounded pride, President Putin encouraged Russia to regain its Great Power role identity back again.

Driven by Yeltsin's enthusiasm in making Russia a fully European state, the EU assumed that Russia would become progressively more European, particularly, more like the EU member states. Accordingly the EU implemented its eastward enlargement in 2004 to be able to include the erstwhile communist countries of Central Eastern Europe into the European Union. But Russia grew impatient with this mission of the EU, as they viewed it as an eastward neo-imperial invasion by the West.

Therefore instead of being the EU's follower, Russia introduced itself not European but a coequal partner and a competitor of the EU. But the EU hesitated to make Russia an equal member of its community of democratic states. Therefore, by the end of the first decade of the 21st century, EU and Russia were neither friends nor enemies, but were rather mutually suspicious acquaintances (Mankoff, 2009).

In the meantime the Russia-led Eurasian integration process which led to the formation of the Eurasian Economic Union project (EAEU) in 2000 which was aimed at creating a political and economic system to bring various post-Soviet states together, was viewed as a new imperial project, inherently threatening to the Europe. Russia thoroughly wanted Ukraine, one of the Eastern European countries, to initiate negotiations with Eurasia instead of engaging in talks with the EU. In response, at the EU summit in Vilinus, the Ukrainian President Victor Ynukovych (2010-2014) announced his decision to postpone an Association Agreement (AA) with the EU. This influence of Russia led to widespread protests in Ukraine which finally resulted in military interventions in Ukraine by Russia in 2014, replacing the traditional dichotomy between conflict and cooperation entirely by conflict. Since early

2014, EU-Russia relations have largely been determined by the Ukraine crisis, with negative spillover in many areas of cooperation.

Therefore it is important to find out how to move forward with ameliorated relations between the two actors during the prevailing conflictive situation created by the Ukraine crisis, which if not handled carefully, would lay the foundation stone to a new Cold War era.

Methodology

The study is of qualitative manner which is conducted using secondary data sources such as journal articles, newspaper articles, books and online sources in the web. The analysis of the context of the study would base on content analysis as a tool to analyze the actual content and its features of texts or set of texts in order to present the content in a more comprehensive manner. These texts would include books, book chapters, essays, e- journals and scholarly articles, websites, etc.

Literature Review

Among the great number of existing literature on the patterns and trends of relations between Russia and the EU, few studies could be surveyed as follows.

EU–Russia relations have traditionally been characterized by the dichotomy between conflict and cooperation (Averre, 2009). The Ukraine crisis and Russia's contribution to it have raised numerous concerns regarding the possible emergence of a new 'Cold War' in Europe (Gromyko, Kroenig & Monaghan, 2015). Relations between Russia and the EU, since beginning of the post-Cold War period have been sluggish due to the contradictory interests and stagnant fundamental goals they possess. Twenty years ago, what both sides saw as an important and mutually beneficial project has been ruined by the military and diplomatic crisis concerning Ukraine and that crisis was, in turn, the result of a long period of stagnation and mutual misunderstanding (House of Lords, EU Committee 2015). The adoption of common EU sanctions and a tougher stance on Russia decreased the symbolic value of the strategic partnership in the eyes of the Kremlin (Vieira, 2016). Ramicone et al. (2014) contend that, although both sides bear

responsibility for the broader diplomatic problems that have come to characterize their relationship, the current crisis in Ukraine has occurred primarily due to Russian actions, not Western pressure. In trying to reclaim the level of influence it possessed during the Soviet period, Russia is directly undermining the Western goal of maintaining a strongly institutionalized world order.

A per Nitoiu (2016) the tensions have been developing in EU–Russia relations since the end of Cold War but have never been addressed in a coherent manner by neither side. Rather than mitigating these tensions the Ukraine crisis has (with some exceptions) deepened them further. Preserving and ignoring these tensions in the long term might lead to even more severe conflicts erupting between the EU and Russia in other geographical areas or in relation to more sensitive issues for continental and global security (Nitoiu ,2016). Meanwhile Factors such as UK's departure from the EU, the US presidential election of Donald Trump, and 2017 leadership elections around Europe, most notably in France and Germany, have introduced uncertainty over the future of the package of measures aimed at Russia. The future trajectory of cumulative international sanctions on Russia could have far-reaching implications for Russia-West relations, the EU's position in the world, and its ability to continue using such measures as a favored policy instrument in tackling a range of security and foreign policy challenges in the years to come (Kulesa, Timofeev & Dobbs, 2017).

 As Russell (2016) argues, the EU is unlikely to lift sanctions against Russia while implementation of the Minsk agreements remains stalled; the EU's Eastern Neighborhood remains a zone of confrontation; EU security is threatened by dependence on Russian energy imports and the destabilizing effects of aggressive propaganda; cooperation on international issues such as terrorism has become a victim of tensions between the two sides; repressive legislation obstructs EU support for Russian civil society, and EU-Russian people-to-people contacts are in decline.

The relations between the two particular entities are based on a number of aspects such as economic, political and security relations while the existing studies mostly address the context in a biased point of view either supporting the EU or Russia. Furthermore the existing studies mostly predict that the relations between the two actors will further aggravate during the current

crisis and they do not come up with suggestions as to how those aggravations could be brought to a halt. Therefore it is expected in this study to carry out an impartial analysis of the relations these two actors share in the international arena and explore suggestions on how to move forward in a constructive manner despite the prevailing crisis.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Economic Relations

Russia ranks as the EU's third trading partner (representing 8.4% of total trade) and the EU is Russia's biggest trading partner (with as much as 48% of total Russian foreign trade) and its most important foreign investor (up to 75% of foreign direct investment comes from the EU). The main EU exports to Russia are machinery, transport equipment (cars), chemicals, medicines, electrical and electronic goods and agricultural products (total value amounted to €103 billion in 2014). Russian exports to the EU are dominated by mineral fuels (74.9%), which contribute to a substantial Russian trade surplus (total value of exports to the EU amounted to €182 billion in 2014). Trade in services represents about 12% of total EU- Russia trade.

Figure 1: EU Exports to Russia
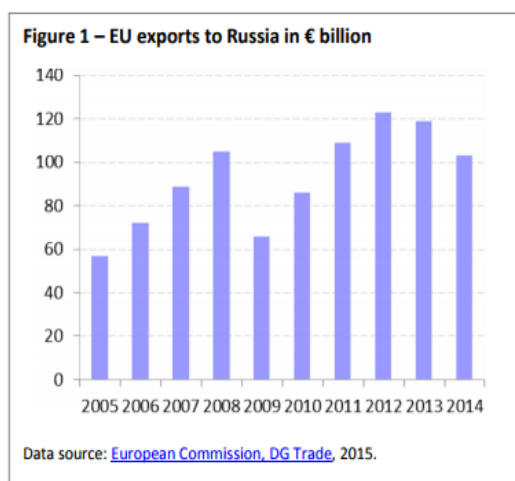
Source: Eurpoean Comission Trade 2015

Trade between the two economies grew steadily until mid-2008, when the trend was reversed, mainly due to the economic crisis, which had a negative impact on trade volumes. Growth returned in 2010, reaching record levels in

2012. In 2014, the EU's exports of goods to Russia fell by 12.1%, whereas imports from Russia fell by 13.5% as indicated in the figure 1. Factors behind the decline include conflict in Ukraine, long-standing trade barriers, EU sanctions and Russian counter-sanctions, and recession in Russia. Total trade value subsequently fell from €326 billion to €285 billion in 2014.

Since March 2014, the European Union has adopted and gradually extended sanctions against the Russian Federation, due to its role in the deliberate destabilization of Ukraine and escalation of the conflict. These involve diplomatic measures such as cancelling EU-Russia summits; asset freezes and visa bans applied to companies and individuals; banning investment in and prohibiting imports from and exports to Crimea and Sevastopol; and specific financial and economic sanctions targeting sectoral and economic cooperation with the Russian Federation. Most importantly gas was exempted from sanctions because numerous EU Member States depend heavily on Russian supplies.

Meanwhile Russia also took counter measures by signing an edict prohibiting on 6th August 2014, for a period of one year, on the import of agricultural products, raw materials and food originating in countries that have imposed sanctions against Russian entities or individuals. On 13 August 2015, the Russian government made a further statement announcing that the food embargo would be expanded to cover listed food products originating in Albania, Montenegro, Iceland, and Liechtenstein.

EU-Russia trade relations after sanctions were imposed

The European Commission estimated the cost of sanctions for the EU to be as high as EUR 40 million (0.3 per cent of the EU's GDP) in 2014 and EUR 50 million (0.4 per cent of the EU's GDP) in 2015. The overall trade volume has declined considerably compared to 2013, going down from EUR 326 billion to EUR 209 billioxn in 2015; meanwhile exports decreased by EUR 45 billion in 2015 compared to 2013. Sanctions alone, however, do not explain this drop (Gros & Mustilli, 2015). First, trade between Russia and the EU had begun to decline in 2012 with the drop picking up speed in October 2013 – eight months before the imposition of the sectorial sanctions in July 2014. Indeed, trade in 2014 had already declined by 6 per cent compared to 2013 – suggesting that the trend was already negative fuelled by the fall in the oil price, the depreciation of the ruble, the instabilities on the border with Ukraine and the lack of internal reform in Russia (Christie,

2016). Second, since trade in 2012 represented the highest point thereof after the 2009 level, the decline could also be the product of periodic market fluctuation. Indeed, the trade volume is still above the level it was prior to the 2008–09 financial crises. Third, trade may have been reduced by over compliance in implementing sanctions – which means that companies have refrained from trading with Russian counterparts in order to not run the risk of violating sanctions (Johnston, 2015). Finally, trade volume has not changed much when considering the quantity of goods exchanged. If one looks at the quantity in 100 tones for imports and exports, then the trade volume in 2015 decreased only 6 per cent compared to 2013 – most of it constituted by fewer exports to Russia. As shown by Figure 2, the 2015 level is still above the 2009 one and is comparable to other years which suggest that the drop in export value could also have been caused by the exchange rate.

Figure 2: Trade Volume
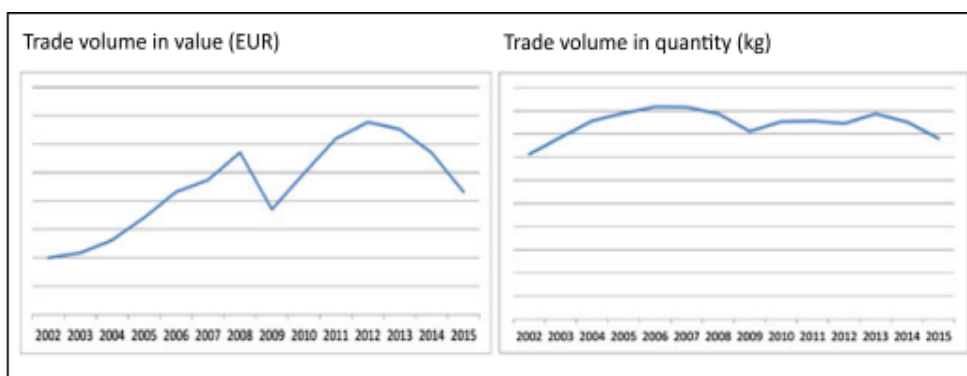
Source: Eurostat, 2015

Therefore it is obvious that the Ukraine crisis alone has not made a greater impact on the EU- Russia trade relations as there are evidences of other changes in the international trade environment that affected the fluctuation or the insignificant deterioration in the trade relations between the two parties.

Table1:Trend in extra-EU imports of petroleum oil

Partner	Value (Share %)	Net mass (Share %)
Russia	28.4	29.2
Norway	12.6	11.9
Nigeria	9.0	8.5
Kazakhstan	7.5	7.0
Saudi Arabia	7.0	7.0
Iraq	6.6	7.7
Azerbaijan	5.7	5.3
Algeria	5.5	4.9
Angola	3.6	3.6
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	2.7	2.6
Mexico	2.1	2.4
Egypt	1.6	1.5
Kuwait	1.2	1.3
Others	6.5	7.1

Table 3a: Extra-EU imports of petroleum oils, shares (%) of main trading partners, 2015

Partner	Value (Share %)	Net mass (Share %)
Russia	31.8	32.5
Norway	13.4	12.8
Kazakhstan	7.2	6.9
Iraq	7.1	7.7
Saudi Arabia	6.8	6.9
Nigeria	5.9	5.8
Azerbaijan	5.0	4.8
Algeria	3.8	3.4
Iran	2.9	2.9
Angola	2.5	2.5
Libyan Arab Jamahiriya	2.4	2.3
Mexico	2.1	2.3
Egypt	1.5	1.4
Others	7.6	7.8

Table 3b: Extra-EU imports of petroleum oils, shares (%) of main trading partners, 2016

Source: Eurostat, 2017

Table 2: Trend in extra-EU imports of natural gas

Partner	Value (Share %)	Net mass (Share %)
Russia	39.1	37.5
Norway	34.8	37.3
Algeria	11.6	10.6
Qatar	7.9	8.3
Libya	2.6	2.3
Nigeria	1.7	1.7
Others	2.3	2.3

Table 2a: Extra-EU imports of natural gas, shares (%) of main trading partners, 2015

Partner	Value (Share %)	Net mass (Share %)
Russia	39.7	38.2
Norway	34.1	35.8
Algeria	15.2	14.3
Qatar	5.1	5.8
Nigeria	2.1	2.1
Libya	1.4	1.5
Others	2.4	2.3

Table 2b: Extra-EU imports of natural gas, shares (%) of main trading partners, 2016

Source: Eurostat, 2017

Table 1 and 2 show that the market of supplies of petroleum oil to the EU is split among a larger number of competitors. Russia was then less dominant but still far ahead of the second largest supplier, Norway. In addition, its share rose by 3.4 points in 2016 compared with 2015, from 28.4 % to 31.8 %.

Table 3 and 4 show that Russia was the largest supplier of natural gas to the EU, both in 2015 and 2016, and that the only other partners with a significant share in total extra-EU imports were Norway and Algeria. The global share of all the other countries exporting natural gas to the EU was about 14 % in 2015 and 11 % in 2016 in terms of trade value. Therefore it is obvious that the current conflictual situation has not gravely interrupted the flow of the trade relations between the two actors as there is an evident slight increase in the numbers of imports between them.

EU sanctions towards Russia have not affected key areas of energy relations energy (e.g. transfer of technology or European investment in Russian energy infrastructure), and have not targeted key individuals around Putin (Gorodiloff, 2015). To a large extent, sanctions have reflected Germany's reluctant leadership during the Ukraine crisis. Berlin was constrained to take the lead in the EU as no other member states were willing to assume responsibility. The result has been an approach which is influenced by the tension caused by Germany's economic interests and the pressure to have a common EU approach. It has also been the lowest common denominator between the interests and the views of the member states: with some being more appeasing (such as Italy, Greece and Hungary), some rather disinterested (Spain and Portugal), others asking for an assertive stance and feeling threatened by Russia (the Central and Eastern Europe member states), and Germany or France balancing between their economic interests and the need to have a strong EU response. On its part, Russia was caught by surprise by the adoption of EU sanctions as it thought that divisions among its member states could not be overcome (Rankin 2014).

For the foreseeable future, the EU will still be dependent on Russian energy, as the steps taken since the advent of the crisis to reduce this dependency have been ineffective. The preferable solution is, of course, for Russia to withdraw its troops from Eastern Ukraine and end all support for the Russian separatists in the Donbas at a minimum; in an ideal world, the annexation of Crimea would also be reversed. Given that this is not likely to become reality soon, the EU thus faces a limited space for policy action. In the short term, the only way forward is:

1. The EU should decide the goal of its sanctions on Russia and re-structure them accordingly. Only in this manner can success be defined.

2. The EU should rethink its strategy connected with the EaP countries, with a focus on trade liberalization and economic reforms. In this manner, the EU could recapture the mantle of free trade that it has lost somewhat over the past two decades.

3. Continued energy diversification, including a move to shale gas exploration, could reduce the EU's energy dependence on Russia and make the trade relationship less one-sided. With a more equal partnership, it is likely that trade can proceed along comparative advantage rather than political lines, reaching a natural equilibrium.

Political relations

The relations between the EU and Russia are determined by the different approaches they follow in international politics, where the EU approaches international politics in a liberal path and Russia pursues a neorealist paradigm.

The EU as a liberal product based on cooperation that arose from the ashes of the dreadful World War II, pursues a liberal paradigm while rejecting power politics so as to reduce conflicts by encouraging a set of common values such as peace, freedom, democracy, supranational rule of law, and human rights which are at the basis of EU's relations with third parties. Meanwhile, due to its Great Power mentality, Russia has not stopped considering itself a Super Power even after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. Subsequently, due to its neo-realist perception, Russia considers states as the legitimate actor of the system with well- defined national interests and accordingly Russia believes that the sovereign states determine the future of Europe rather than the EU as a supranational actor. Therefore Russia prefers bilateral relations with EU member states to relations with the institutions of the EU.

As Delanty (1955) points out, due to its non-uniformity, escalating chaos and various claims to being exceptional, Russia has constantly been perceived non-European. Neumann (1999) introduces Russia as Europe's pangolin, a monster whose features are inapposite, which has threatened European principles and identity. Which encouraged west European integration in the 20th century was this fear psychosis created by Russia in its Soviet guise which is visible more or less even today. Subsequently the Cold War came to an end resulting in a "cold peace" with the fundamental problems being

unresolved. Therefore the corporation both the actors agreed upon during the post-Cold War period was not so enthusiastic to the desired extent since Russia has been unable or reluctant to engage with the thick form of European international society represented by the EU and as a result Russia's relations with the EU is rather lukewarm that at times become a chilly estrangement that was evident during the Crimean crisis since 2014.

The relationship between these two entities is made of neither common language nor common purpose. However Russia has in no way refused the normative agenda of European regional international society (ERIS) and is continuously working as a cooperative member of the Council of Europe (CoE) maintaining a liminal position as both an engaged outsider and a partial insider. Even though Russia was skeptical of the West, they recognized each other as key partners in the international arena and cooperated on a number of issues based on mutual interest long before the Ukraine crisis that sowed the seeds of irreparable distrust between the two actors. Russia is the largest neighbor of the EU and one of the key players in the EU neighborhood due to its history, geographic proximity and cultural links which was brought even closer by the EU's enlargements that took place in 2004, 2007 and 2013. The values that underpinned the relationship between the EU and Russia are the fundamental values and principles of democracy, human rights, the rule of law and the market economy to which both are committed with mutual interest as members of the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the Council of Europe. Currently the legal basis for EU-Russia relations is created by the PCA signed in 1997 for 10 years and it has been renewed annually since 2007. It established a political framework for regular consultation between the EU and Russia, based on the principles of respect for democracy and human rights, political and economic freedom, and commitment to international peace and security. Furthermore, the PCA is complemented by sectorial agreements covering a wide range of policy areas, including political dialogue, trade, science and technology, education, energy and environment, transport, and prevention of illegal activities.

The reasons for the failure of the efforts by Moscow and Brussels to ameliorate their relations.

In a nutshell, it is due to the change that both the Russian Federation and the EU underwent soon after they signed the Partnership Cooperation Agreement in 1997 (Meister, 2016).

On one hand the EU underwent a radical change in its political structure, in its attempt to transform from an economic union to a political union as a requirement to form a unified foreign policy based on the lowest common political denominators (James, 2010). It was obviously an attempt by the EU to become one of the world's political centers with a reduced ability to take into account the interests of neighbors including Russia.

On the other hand, Russia gradually recovered from its breakdown of the 1990s and formed a new political and economic state structure. For a brief period of time Russia sought of being ideologically oriented towards the West and those hopes were shattered afterward by Russia's inability to abide by the proper criteria and by those criteria themselves (Suslov, 2010). Being repeatedly failed to build an effective and sustainable socio-economic system, Moscow began focusing on pivot to the East in order to ameliorate foreign political and economic relations. The current crisis in Crimea is a result of a period of stagnation that began back when oil prices were still high (Wood, 2015).

Due to the contradiction of fundamental goals of these two actors, opportunities for cooperation decreased while tensions were escalating. Hence, Sir Andrew Wood, former British Ambassador to Russia and Associate Fellow of the Russia and Eurasia Programme,
Chatham House, has stated that, without shared values, the words strategic partnership were pretty words that lack concrete meaning. While making Russia desperate; the West as personified by the EU was entirely satisfied with the outcomes of the Cold War. However as Russia started to rebuild its military and political might Russia started to avenge the betrayal by the West that caused the end of the Cold War by letting Russia suffer the trauma that it lived through with the amputation of some of the former Soviet republics which recently resulted in the annexation of Crimea.

Moreover the proposition of separating the EU as a political and economic entity from NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) as a military and political entity aggravated the situation, as the assurance that Moscow

received that this particular expansion of the two structures would develop cooperation and would pacify the anti-Russian phobia of the new member states, didn't last long (Emerson, 2005). Instead of toning down the rhetoric of the new members, what really happened was the rest of the Europe camping against Russia. Subsequently Moscow was determined to detach the EU from the NATO-US conglomerate and to introduce the European project as an alternative to the expansion of the Western military and political bloc (DeBardeleben, 2009). Yet the events in Ukraine proved such attempts to be impracticable.

More importantly the relationship between the two actors has undergone political negligence or ignorance on both sides particularly in the last decade. On the EU side European policy makers were busy with other concerns rather than strengthening relations with Russia, since around 2010. As a former Great Power it is not the hostility that insult the Russian government but the ignorance. Yet in reality the offers of partnership from the EU were on the table and it was Russia's choice not to choose them. At the same time the extent to which Russia wants to cooperate with the EU is not clear as Russia is grappling with the prevailing crisis, seeing the empire falling apart. Moreover the division of EU Member States on Russia has weakened the EU's capacity to deliver a meaningful and strategic partnership. For example, Russia shares a deep companionship with Germany and Italy, in terms of economic stakes while Estonia and Poland are skeptical of a resurgent Russia.

As a matter of fact, for this relation to bear fruits, Russia and the EU need a radically revised institutional basis as the Partnership Cooperation Agreement is losing its potential even though it played a key role in the early stages. This is primarily true of the Permanent Partnership Council that eventually became a largely formal and unsubstantial body as the previous model for Russia–EU relations was dying. Furthermore all the interest parties such as Brussels, EU Member States and private partners should involve in a formal dialogue on each separate issue or sector of interaction. The EAEU also should develop relations with the EU through internal communication and coordination. There is also good reason to consider creating broader formats that would include the EAEU, EU states and the common neighborhood countries of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine.

Security relations

Since 2014, Russia-Europe Union relations have been consistently negative. There is no basis for this situation to change in the years ahead. When it comes to 2016, Russia-Europe Union relations hit another low. For example the EU extended all sanctions it had previously imposed on Russia related to Crimea and the Donbas.

However today, the EU has been weak particularly in countering Russian security challengers. It can be seen over the missile defense, over progress in establishing qualified independence for Kosovo and in resisting Russian attempts to shut out the EU from Central Asia, an area where Europe is trying to promote political and economic reforms and build new energy partnerships. These Russian pressures put serious limitations on the European neighborhood policy (ENP). The EU cannot accept Russian claims to determine the extent of Europe's engagement in Central Asia or anywhere else.

The European Security System has been severely tested by the events of the last two years. Some of its basic principles, including refraining from the threat or use of force, respect for the territorial integrity of state, inviolability of borders, human rights and fundamental freedom have been called into questions primary in the context of the Russian actions in the Ukraine.

Since the annexation of Crimea in 2014 the conflict has been created between Russia and

European Union. It was the latest step of Moscow's long process of rejection of the post-cold war Euro-Atlantic security order. Anyway, Europe is trying to adjust Russia's promotion of its interests around the Europe. This annexation of Crimea and destabilization of Eastern
Ukraine have created a strong security concern among Russia's neighbors, particularly in Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

Early 2000s, Russia tried to work with a cooperative Europe and with key European and trans-Atlantic institutions such as the European Union and NATO. There are some goals which Russia is pursuing in Europe.

First, the Kremlin seeks a Russian sphere of influence or a sphere of privileged interests, as then-President Dmitry Medvedev called it in 2008 in the post-Soviet space, with the possible exception of the Baltic States.

Second, Moscow seeks to weaken the European Union and NATO, which it believes act as checks on Russian power. The Kremlin also regards the European Union and its enlargement as a threat. Third, the Kremlin seeks a seat at the table when major questions regarding Europe are decided. This explains in part Russia's opposition to the European Union and NATO to which Russia does not belong.

However after the returning of Vladimir Putin, the number of border, airspace and territorial waters violations has been increased. Russia also has conducted military exercise in the West in 2015 with up to 38000 troops.

Over the past 5 years Russia's assertive stance in Europe has been increased due to the modernization of Russia's military forces in both nuclear and conventional. In some cases these modernization appears to be replacing old weapons system with the new versions. Russia is also modernizing its conventional military forces. Through replacing the old system with new, Russia is aiming to enhance its ability to conduct offensive operations outside the Russian territory. In this replacing Russia is trying to improve its activities on the mediocre performance of Russian forces in the 2008 Georgia-Russia conflict. And last three years, Russia has deployed and operated a number of its new conventional weapons systems in Ukraine.

By applying visa and financial sanctions the United States and European Union have responded to Crimea's illegal annexation. The United States and European Union has adopted substantial new sanctions against Russia. For the security, EU and United States have regularly renewed sanctions on Russia.

When considering peace, stability and security in the shared neighborhood, it has been a problem of pivotal importance to the EU's security. The EU has promoted a number of policies for relations with shared neighborhoods with Russia such as Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA). However both Russia and the EU try to create links with the countries within the area of their security concerns. Both of them want to extend their power over the region. Russia has been seeking to control the transportation of gas and oil from the Caspian region to the EU. Moscow has been trying to gain control in the energy business in its neighborhood. However this strategy led to several energy crises in region while threatening several sectors of the EU's

security agenda. Therefore the EU is trying to implement a deep relationship with countries in the shared neighborhood. For that EU has been implementing the Great Silk Road project and the European energy community. At the same time EU has signed several agreements with shared neighborhoods.

Russia has employed its military forces in Crimea over the past three years. And this encourages an armed conflict in the Donbas in pursuit of the Kremlin's goal. Cooperation between the EU and the Russian Federation in the field of justice, freedom and security is now a key component in the development of the strategic partnership. The EU is focused on making progress in the implementation of the roadmap for the EU-Russia Common Space of Freedom, Security and Justice, The Permanent Partnership Councils (PPCs) on Justice, Freedom and Security. The EU and Russia have some common interests and cooperation would be mutual beneficial. There are three most important areas of foreign and security policy where the EU should cooperate with Russia. Such as, the largest number of responses singled out the situation in the Middle East and North Africa (including the Syrian crisis and relations with Iran) as an area for cooperation ; taking into account the increased level of threat and the security of the recent attacks conducted in a number of countries in Europe is it unsurprising that countering terrorism was identifies as a subject for cooperation; nonproliferation of mass destruction nuclear and conventional disarmament and arms control.

Eventually it has been crystal clear that the recent period highlighted increasing problems in relations between the European Union and Russia. It is obvious that EU-Russia relations can no longer be reduced to bilateral technical negotiations over trade, visas, scientific cooperation and that over the last few years Europe had to adjust to new terms of reference in its relations with Moscow.

Conclusion

The core concern pertinent to the relations between Russia and the EU, as per the study, has been the lack of recognition by both parties for each other's interests. Therefore, there should be an agreed political framework that advocates each side's respective interests in every aspect of their

cooperation. For that reason, the best way out would be both sides returning to the idea that Russia proposed 10 years ago to prepare a short political framework document with the possibility of conducting further work on sectorial agreements.

Six principles that should guide Russia's interactions with the EU might be suggested and discussed as follows:

First principle would be the openness towards all the parties and willingness to maintain positive relations with any state or non-state actor in the EU at the national or European level as well as in the political and business sphere of the EU. Most importantly these relations should be transparent to the world. They can possibly promote this with the support of representatives from non-governmental organizations and interest groups in the dialogue without closed door negotiations and parliamentary control.

Secondly, Russia should not interrupt the initiatives for the expansion of ties with the EU, taken by the participants in the Eurasian integration project - unless, of course, those ties compromise their EAEU obligations. At the same time cooperation between Russia and the EU or with EU member states should benefit the Eurasian integration process.

Thirdly, Russia and the EU should resolve issues at the most appropriate level, either Russia working with the EU members or with the EU as a whole. The issues that can be negotiated at inter- country or inter- regional level should not be put on the agenda for higher-level relations between Moscow and Brussels.

Fourth is the proportionality of actions and levels of dialogue, which should correspond to the fragmented nature of practical cooperation. They should make proportional use of institutional mechanisms for cooperation, foremost meetings at the highest level. It is necessary to adapt institutions to the real needs of cooperation and eliminate superfluous formats of dialogue.

Fifth is the diversification of economic relations in both foreign and external level since it has been observed that over dependence causes a dangerous imbalance. While making the EU and individual EU member states involve in broader formats of cooperation (particularly those in Eurasia) Russia must gradually reduce the share of the EU in its foreign trade. These would

include involvement by Russia, EAEU member states, China, Iran, India, South Korea, Mongolia and other Eurasian states.

Lastly, it is the elimination of targeted punishments of Crimean residents which is an obvious violation of human rights. Those punishments include visa bans aimed at Crimean residents who hold Russian citizenship after March 2014 as well as special sanctions that are exclusively aimed at Crimeans.

If all expectations are met by mutually acceptable options, there would be no need to waste time fumbling around in an effort to ascertain each partner's real needs and thereby it would prevent them finding themselves locked in a zero –sum game.

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Dreams beyond the Map: between Lebensraum and the Heartland

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Abstract

Expansionist adventures are nothing new in international relations. As much as states not only try to survive in an anarchic and therefore vulnerable environ but also to gain supremacy on the other hand, expanding beyond its defined territory becomes a viable option. From very early times states have had desires to expand and this is much common for states those are either landlocked as in European states or continental like Russia and the USA. These states provide diverse justifications for territorial expansion which are usually backed by geopolitical theories conceptualized by geographers and historians from Mahan to Mackinder and Ratzel. Interestingly though underneath such geopolitical claims also lie curious desires of human mind. This article is meant to discuss, among many expansionist states from history and modern times, the expansionist agendas of Germany and Russia. Both being landlocked countries and land powers as geographers would call them they have had ambitious quests for territories that are not really theirs. The article investigates how their expansionist agendas differ at times and how they converge in some other attributes. The research has used secondary data which are qualitative and have been drawn from scholarly journals in order to ensure its reliability and for a balanced and profound analysis. Such examination of the expansionist motives of these two countries is vital in order to understand how the states, as rational actors, behave in response to a variety of domestic, systemic and individual factors. Comparing a past expansionist agenda shall also shed light to and perhaps predict to some extent where the contemporary expansionist agenda of Russia is headed to and if not at least to comprehend Russia's mind-set in its relations with both Central Europe and the West today. Since history is meant to repeat itself, such comparison should not dare be considered invalid.

Key words: Expansionism, Germany, Russia, Lebensraum, Heartland

Introduction

Space is key to statehood. As the Montevideo Convention [1] defines a properly defined territory is mandatory among other things if a mere geographic entity is to be called a state. But quite interestingly the Convention does not lay down a specific area or a defined numerical space when it mentions 'defined territory'. Yet, geographical size has never ceased to lose its charm as an important determinant of a state's power capabilities. Although some scholars like Organski have often noted that size alone doesn't make a country a Great Power it indeed plays a pivotal role by making a large country an intimidating target for enemies therefore projecting power as well as trove of natural resources. The large size of Russia giving it advantage over the Germans during the latter's invasion in1941 and the diversified natural resources that are found in the vast space of the USA are just a couple of examples that prove the thesis that the space does matter.

Because the space matters the history provides enough and more examples that states have never been satiated with the space they already own, that they have perpetually been peeping beyond their maps in search of more and better spaces to claim making expansionism a concept as old as the state itself. International history is heavy with examples where states have been dragged into war with one another or have led expeditions beyond oceans to colonize new lands merely to expand their area of control. Expansionism can be triggered due to several reasons. However as the general definition of expansionism would suggest it is all about states expanding its existing territory to include territories nearby as a mechanism to increase national power to become either a regional or global power. Expansionist policies are either justified on ethnic irredentist claims or on geopolitical claims. There are many examples of expansionist aspirations by states both in history and in the contemporary world. Of this many, this articles wishes to look into, in a comparative analysis, two notable examples, the German expansionism during the World War II and the contemporary Russian expansionism. Both

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[1] The Montevideo Convention of 1933 lays down four prerequisites for a territory to become a state as a defined territory, a permanent population, a government and the capability to enter into relations with other states. However the Convention avoids specifying the extent of territory and the population, but only mentions that both should be defined and permanent.

these states among many other expansionist states have had or still having expansionist agendas beyond their own territory. This article investigates the origins and the factors behind the expansionist movements of Germany and Russia in order to understand their similarities and divergence.

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 geopolitics in particular has added value to the study. The historical Nazi expansionist agenda and the contemporary expansionist attempts by Russia have been analyzed in the light of prominent geopolitical theories, notably the theories of Lebensraum and the Heartland.

Literature Review

Expansionism is not a new concept for both Germany and Russia. In fact they are two states that are very often referred to in the geopolitics debate. Therefore there is sufficient precedence to research on expansionism of Germany and Russia.

One such research conducted by A.B. Murphy and C.M. Johnson in 2004 reminds that the usage of the term geopolitics can be traced back to 19th century particularly in the works of the German geographer F. Ratzel and Swedish political scientist R. Kjellen who explained 'territorial dynamics of state-growth" (Murphy and Johnson 2004). But Nazis defined the term otherwise in the light of geopolitics advocated by another German geopolitician Haushofer[2] which had rather ethnic connotations and therefore gave it a 'checkered history' (Agnew 2003). The research notes that the term geopolitics was used by Germans in 1930s and 1940s in an expansionistic meaning that it almost became a taboo to use the word 'geopolitics'. It was only after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany

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[2]Karl Haushofer was a Munich based Professor of Geography and a prominent disciple of Ratzel. Haushofer is said to have influenced Hitler and provided him with an academic and geopolitical justification for German expansion while they were both in Landsberg Prison after the Beer Hall Coup in 1923.

that the Haushoferian definition of Geopolitics crumbled to acquire new and more accurate meanings. The research analyses how the face of German geopolitics has changed from an ethnicity or race related concept to what it is today.

In C.P. Kakel's review of Jens Uwe Guettel's book "German Expansionism, imperial liberalism and the US, 1776-1945" he compares German expansionism of the 20th century to the US imperialism. Although much of the research is dedicated to comparing the expansionist approaches of the two countries Kakel notices how Guettel has also dedicated his Chapter 4 to discuss the German concept of Lebensraum which showed a divergence from the earlier practised, US inspired liberal communism. Kakel concludes that Guettel's research is incomplete because he omits the racial elements in the geopolitics of Hitler-Ratzel-Haushofer triad (Kakel 2014). Much of Guettel's work is dedicated to show that US settler-colonial project acted as an inspiration, precedent, legitimation and a model for Nazi expansionism (Kakel 2012). This precedence might be true for the pre-war German expansionism perhaps but with the advent of the WW II German Expansionism seems to have taken a new direction.

As for Russia, the article titled Russian Geopolitics at the fin-de-siècle authored by V. Kolossov and R. Turovsky in 2001 provides some insight. The discussion of the research is focused on contemporary geopolitics discourse in Russia as influenced by 'speculation about history, national symbols as well as the status of Russian minorities in new independent countries' (Kolossov & Turovsky 2001). However the authors also acknowledge how foreign policy and geopolitics have become closely related in the post-Soviet setting of Russia. They note how Russian geopolitics is stimulated by aspirations to enlarge its territory in a sense of security that is to defend against expansion of the NATO to the east and the erection of a new iron curtain to isolate Russia and as a 'problem country' (Kolossov & Turovsky 2001).

In a similar Russia and geopolitics inspired study of 2009 N. Morozova attempts to link the three points of geopolitics, Eurasianism and Russian foreign policy under President Putin. This research is significant because the Russia's expansionism came under spotlight particularly with Presidency of Putin. However there is a general notion that the extensive goal of Eurasianism has now been shrinked into geopolitics only and the concept

often dismissed as unconvincing. Morozova's article is therefore expected to provide an alternative explanation and attempts within post-revolutionary and post-Soviet Eurasianism to theorize a unique identity and a credible ideology (Morozova 2009).

Data Presentation and Analysis

German Expansionism

The German desire to expand, to dream of seeping into territories of the East has not been new. Although it was during Hitler's Nazi Germany that this plan became solid, the desire has been in the agenda of German politics for quite some time. However it was the humiliation faced at the defeat of the World War I coupled with the rising need for German imperialism that served as a catalyst for this expansive ambition. Even before the WW II broke out, during mid-1920s, Hitler realized that in order to gain supremacy, German territories had to be expanded and the race of Germans occupying much of Europe. He was largely influenced by the concept of Lebensraum which can be translated as 'living space', a concept theorized by the German geographer and ethnographer Friedrich Ratzel in as early as 1897. The theory of Ratzel which is broadly called the Organic Theory of geopolitics asserted that political entities resemble living organisms and therefore in the same way that living organisms seek nourishment from food for survival, political entities should seek nourishment from physical territory or living space or Lebensraum if they are to survive and self-preserve in the international system. Not only Ratzel's theory became a justification for the innumerable quests of aggressive encroachments of his time but also sent a warning to states that if they fail to seek new territory and expand they are vulnerable to conquest by other political entities that also seek nourishment in terms of territory.

Although Ratzel died in 1904 his theory continued to survive and was often acknowledged and adopted by his successors, a notable one being the Swedish political scientist Rudolf Kjellen who strongly believed that natural geography strongly affected political entities and their geopolitics. The most profound impact of the organic theory was however on Germany itself. In the context of the WW I humiliation, especially with German territories being thoughtlessly pieced and ruled by the war victors as compensation, Ratzel's notion of seeking lebensraum fuelled German expansionist desires to conquer territories of the East and their Germanization by German

peasants. Many chauvinistic pressure groups advocated this idea, specially the Pan-German League and radical-conservationist Friedrich Bernhardi who authored the book 'Germany and the Next War', which made allusions to Ratzel's theories (Noakes 2011).

The ultimate practitioner of the concept Adolf Hitler however had no idea of it as early as 1919 but it only reached him at the time he wrote his infamous autobiographic guide to Nazism *Mein Kampf* when in prison[3]. At Landsberg Prison he was introduced to the curious subject of geopolitics by the Professor of Geography Karl Haushofer who was a fellow inmate and a disciple of Ratzel. In Haushofer's own words, he 'educated' Hitler with geopolitical literature, specially of Ratzel, emphasizing the extremely unfavourable situation of the Reich from the viewpoint of military geography and Germany's limited resources (Noakes 2011). Interestingly, during the Nazi era, even history and geography student textbooks and teacher handbooks stressed the importance of securing more German 'living space', with frequent references to Ratzel, Haushofer, and Hitler (Kakel 2014). Hitler's understanding of Germany's situation both political and economical and his new insights into Ratzel and Haushofer inspired geopolitics provided a credible and rational justification for his need to conquer lands beyond Germany both to assure that Germany is not susceptible to further encroachment and also to gain primacy in Europe and eventually in the world. Hitler himself says in Mein Kampf:

We cannot speak of a world power in connection with a formation whose political mother country is limited to the absurd area of five hundred thousand square kilometres…For it is not in colonial acquisitions that we must see the solution of this problem, but exclusively in the acquisition of a territory for settlement, which will enhance the area of the mother country.

- *(Hitler 1925)*

Grounded in the theory of racist Nazism, Hitler considered Germans to be a supreme Aryan race with highest virtues that formed the super human race of *Übermensch.* It was in support of this super race the expansionist mission

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[3] Hitler was arrested for what was known as Beer Hall Putsch or Munich Putsch which was a failed coup attempt to seize power in Munich and Bavaria in 1923. It took place in a beer hall named Bürgerbräukeller which was a famous venue for Germans to engage in social and political discussions.

was launched into Europe, especially Eastern Europe. The focus was only to occupy space or *raum* as Ratzel would call it, irrespective of the native ethnic groups already occupying the aspiring spaces. Therefore those other ethnicities notably Jews and those who had already inhibited these spaces like the Slavic were looked down to the status of subhuman or *Untermensch* (Gumkowkski & Leszczynski 1961).

Generalplan Ost (General Plan for the East)

Nazi Germany's expansionism was concentrated to the East of Europe in the master plan which was famously called the Generalplan Ost (GPO). It came under the direction of Reich Security Office or the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA)* which was also in charge of eliminating the opponents of Nazism.The Nazi leaders used the term Germanization of Eastern territories not in the sense of germanising native inhabitants but rather deporting them and settling Germans in their stead. The territorial claim of the GPO was vast and therefore it was expected to be exercised in several steps to be carried out in almost 30 years period in order to eventually achieve the great Thousand Year Reich. The alleged territory stretched from Eastern Germany up to Black Sea and Crimea to include Poland, Czechoslovakia, many of the Baltic countries of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, West Ukraine and a considerable portion of Russia. According to the memorandum of Dr.Erich Wetzel[4] in 1942 titled 'Opinions and Ideas regarding the General Plan for the East of the Reichsfuhrer SS' which provides first detailed explanation of the GPO, the plan expected to have 10 million people to colonize Eastern territories in place of 31 million natives including around 5 million Jews either deported to West Siberia or simply massacred (Madajczyk 1962).

Geopolitics behind German Expansion

Expansionism beyond one's own territory often involves geopolitics because states would rather prefer to expand into territories of strategic importance. But racism or ethnicity is not a commonly used ground or a justification for territorial expansionism. German rationale for expanding to Eastern Europe was however triggered by ethnic reasons or the need to Germanize these territories in place of the native Slavic. This is noticeable in Germany's choice of these territories which were not necessarily geostrategic. German's

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[4] Dr. Erich Wetzel was the director of the Central Advisory Office on Questions of Racial Policy at the National Socialist Party

desire was only sufficient territorial space or perhaps presence of ethnic Germans as in the case of Sudetenland[5]. But the concept which was widely used in this regard, Lebensraum was not based on ethnicity. Ratzel himself based his theory on colonization by peasants but not on race based genocide (Noakes 2011). It is Karl Haushofer who bridged this rift by justifying Hitler's expansionist agenda as something of geopolitical reasoning. He rationalized in academic and scientific terms the use of Ratzel's Organic theory and Lebensraum in German expansion into the East which made an almost illegitimate and ruthless expansionism an immediate necessity and a right.

Russian Expansionism

Expansionism is nothing new to Russia. It has existed since before the October Revolution during tsarist rule and Russian policies had always included expansionist interests over the Balkans, Poland, Manchuria, and Outer Mongolia and to some parts of Asia. It has often been pointed out that the Soviet Union has expanded almost to the fullest extent of tsarist aspirations although the fact is often rejected by the communists. Nevertheless, with the glory of the Soviet Union collapsing with the Union itself, for some time Russia had remained detached from global politics. Its foreign policy turned lukewarm even with the closest Cold War allies like India. This quiet course of Russia was only to be changed with the advent of President Vladimir Putin who personally aspired to win back the lost prestige of Russia via his extensive agenda for Eurasia, which came to be dubbed as Putin's Eurasian Dream. There are several individual and systemic factors in addition to the geopolitical backing that have stimulated Russian expansion. Given these odds, the most viable option to Russia, the best way to rejuvenate its prowess is relied on expanding beyond its declared boundaries to recreate the former Soviet Union space or perhaps even beyond.

The origins of the Eurasian Dream

The disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 marked a turning point of not only of history in the geopolitical sense but also of Russia's own existence. Much of its territorial claim now lost and segregated into new independent states, Russia lost much of its hitherto owned power. It is with that sense of

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[5]The northern, southern, and western areas of former Czechoslovakia which were inhabited primarily by Sudeten Germans.

loss that geopolitics and expansionism came into the forefront as a means of compensation for what was lost. Geopolitical ideas were included early in the Russian Communist Party leader G. Zuganoz's books in the aftermath of the dissolution, who believed in the restoration of a 'common Eurasian state within the borders of the former Soviet Union for anti-American and anti-Western positions, as well as the need to maintain close relations with the Balkans and the Arab world' (Kolossov & Turovsky 2001). This Eurasian state was envisioned to be found in an area with common geopolitical, cultural and historic characteristics. Preceding the thoughts of Zuganov the neo-Eurasianists[6] took a different understanding of Eurasia, inspired by geopolitical thoughts of Mackinder and Haushofer on the conflict between the continental and maritime powers. Russia was identified as a continental power that was destined to counter and outrun the states of the West that are maritime powers, a conflict almost impossible to avoid.

Geopolitical expansion has also thus become a determinant of Russian foreign policy and its intercourse with the West as well as the fellow former Soviet states. The first official reference to this was made by Russia's first Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, a name unforgettable in the debate of Russian expansionism, who interpreted it as a means of achieving national interest and diverted the discourse of expansionism based on the quest of Russian identity into expansionism based on national interest. Among national interests it is the territorial integrity which was mostly highlighted in the sense that Russia should expand in order to prevent the West from extending its influence and interference on Eurasian region as well as to prevent the spillover effects of any instability or conflict that may arise in former Soviet states, particularly the Balkans.

Another breeding ground for the Eurasian reverie is the increasing influence of the West on the Eastern hemisphere, a region that Russia wants to keep under her orbit of scrutiny. As often in the case of Major Powers like Russia, especially when the region is a single landmass with shared borders, the small states are irrevocably subject to their unnecessary impact. The states of Central Europe thus find themselves bracketed between the influence of Russia in the East and the Western Europe and USA in the West. It is a decisive tug of war that both camps strive to win and reluctant to yield to the

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[6] Neo-Eurasianists find support in the traditional geopolitical dogmas of the 1920s-30s accentuating the role of physical space, natural resources, military power and direct control over territory (Kolossov & Turovsky 2001)

opponent because both try to zoom their sphere of influence. The tug is pivotal to Russia because it seems to be in favour of the West at the expense of Russian dream to rise, with many Central European states courting West due to wretched past experiences under the Soviet Union. It is perhaps also in support of the view that Russia's mission in Eurasia was based on the premise that peace and stability within Russian borders should also be supported 'on the outside' by a civilisational balance between East and West, which Russia alone can ensure (Morozova 2009). The expansion of the West particularly of the European Union (EU) and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) into East which Russians deemed unjustifiable and beyond Europe's legitimate territorial boundaries constitutes thus a realistic security threat to Russia. Unfortunately, as much as the Warsaw Pact failed, so have contemporary Russia's attempts with the Commonwealth of Independent States to counter NATO and EU enlargement policies. It has made the relations with the CIS countries like Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia complicated as they highlight their European identity over its Russian roots. The most intense conflict is between Russia and Ukraine with latter's desire to join both NATO and EU despite explicit opposition of neighbour Russia. Therefore the worst nightmare of Russia obscuring its Eurasian dream is the threat factor from the West and perhaps its possible new iron curtain.

The Heartland

In the early days of Soviet Union geopolitics was pseudo-science and associated with Nazism but the significance of space was always interpreted in Soviet military and diplomatic activities. The first geopolitics based policy of the Union was the *Brezhnev Doctrine* that stressed the need to prevent the creation of pro-Western regimes in the neighborhood which later resulted in Soviet interventions in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan (Kolossov & Turovsky 2001).

Today, Russian attempt to justify its desire for a greater Eurasia is also explained in the light of geopolitics. The most outstanding of them all is the Heartland theory of John Mackinder, the 20th century geographer who famously said "*Who rules East Europe commands the Heartland; who rules the Heartland commands the World-Island; who rules the World-Island commands the world.*" By Heartland he essentially referred to the center or the heart of the world constituting an area including the former Soviet Union.

Mackinder's thesis was that who had control over the Heartland had ultimate control over the entire world given its strategic center position and its vast resources. It is not a surprise that the Heartland theory has always been looked up to by Russia as a geopolitical justification of its expansive agenda and also as likelihood and a promise of its return to power.

Russia's distinctive location right in the heart of the world cradled between Europe and Asia permits it to have entitlement in the affairs of both regions as a multi-regional player and a crucial balancer of power. In addition, Russia's historic ties with Christian, Islamic and Asian worlds envision Russia as a mediator between Western institutions and Eastern diversity and that of a guarantor of Eurasian and, therefore, global stability (Morozova 2009). In fact, Russia's sheer geographical dimensions presuppose a global rather than regional perspective on international affairs allowing it to have multilateral ties with all the power centers of today's world and perform a global counterbalancing role in the post–Cold War environment (Morozova 2009). This compliments Mackinder's theory of Heartland a territory that Russia naturally occupies. Another related geopolitical theory is the Rimland theory. The theory of Rimland of John Spykman who stressed the importance of the coastal states or sea powers[7] as opposed to Mackinder's focus on landlocked or continental countries. By rimland he referred to the coastal frill of the Eurasian continent. Spykman also has his own version of Mackinder's words, "Who controls the Rimland rules Eurasia, who rules Eurasia controls the destinies of the world." According to Spykman by allying with the littoral states of Eurasia and fostering their independence and industrial development, the seapowers could deny this area to the heartland and, ideally, bottle it up in a landlocked fortress (Gerace 1991)

This speculation of Spykman sheds light to the understanding of the contemporary conflict between the West and Russia over Central European countries, notably with Ukraine with the rimaland West assuring economic development and greater security framework of Ukraine through the EU and NATO to heartland Russia's loathing. The loathing is also fuelled by the constraints this puts on Russia's own Eurasian customs union as a counter union to the EU and the precursor to plausible Eurasian Union. A comparison between the two shows the possible upper hand that Eurasian

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[7] Spykman's thesis concerning sea powers also compliments the 19th century Historian Alfred Thayer Mahan's theory stressing the role of sea powers during 17th and 18th centuries.

Union might have over the EU if successfully achieved with its extensive stock of natural resources, large population, combination of which can lead to increased GDP rate of 2.5 trillion USD (Taylor 2013)

Figure 1.European Union and the anticipated Eurasian Union.
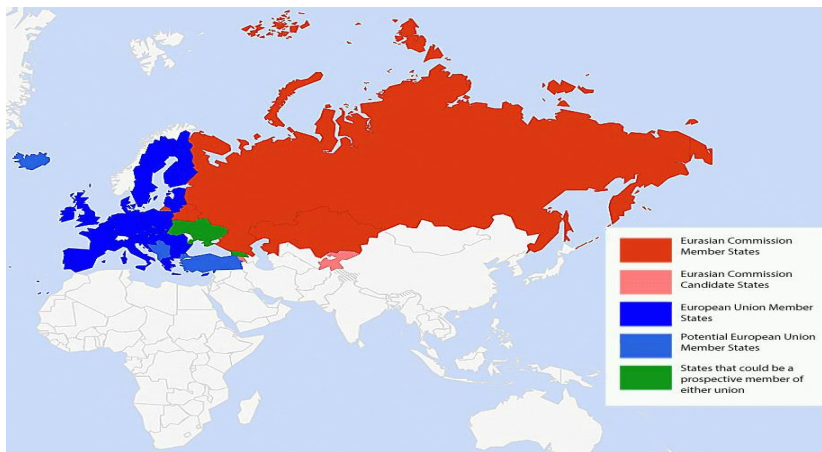
Source: Business Insider 2014

The Putin Factor

In foreign policy decisions as much as systemic factors matter, so do individual factors. In the debate of Russia's dream of expansion beyond its map the Putin factor or the emotional complex of President Putin is fundamental. Unlike all of his predecessors Putin holds the Eurasian dream close to his heart in an attempt to restore the lost glory of Russia. He is ambitious in his strategy and is not ready to cede into the West and let Russia's status as a Major Power shrink. It is no wonder that Putin has expressed this design as early as in 2000 when he signed a document titled 'The Concept of the Russian Federation's Foreign Policy' that states "a special feature of Russian foreign policy is its balanced character: it is determined by the geopolitical situation of Russia as the largest Eurasian country, requiring an optimal combination of efforts in all directions" (Kolossov 2001). Putin's resentment concerning the current state of Russia is intense, triggered by the growing negligence of Russian values and interests by the west. The Russian president has publicly said that the fall of the USSR was a "genuine tragedy" and the "the greatest geopolitical catastrophe of the 20th century." Putin wasn't talking about Communism

here; he was talking about Russia losing its grand geopolitical position as the center of an empire. The Eurasian Union is his plan to regain that position (Taylor 2013).

Ironically however the domestic response seems to be against the tide of Putin factor. Although Russians have generally supported Russian interventions like in Ukraine, they share a pessimistic belief about the short term future and the geopolitical situation of the country, and even if they fear real or imagined external military threats. They do not aspire to a restoration of the borders existing prior to 1991, are not aggressive and hostile to the independence of former Soviet republics and are not prepared to sacrifice their own well-being or their private interests in favour of international political adventures (Kolossov 2001).

Conclusion

Expansionism is inherently in the blood of land powers with their irresistible urge and hunger for more and more territory in order to expand their sphere of influence to project their power and to move up the power ladder. Both Germany and Russia are unavoidable countries in any debate on expansionism given their ambitious expansionist agendas during the 20th and 21st century respectively. Germany launched its expansionist agenda in late 1930s triggering a catastrophic, lethal and savage World War. A century later Russia is also aspiring a similar expansionist agenda. However a close study into the origins and patterns of their expansion highlight major diversions. Clearly their motives for expansion differ. German expansion originated in the ground of ethnicity, that is the conflict between the superhuman Germans and the subhuman Jews. The Aryan Germans were to eliminate the lowly Jews for living space. For Hitler what mattered were space and ethnicity more than systemic factors of politics or the possession of geostrategic locations. A classic example is Sudetenland which was annexed merely on the basis of people of German origin while the fact whether it is a strategic territory was almost meaningless. The ultimate goal of Germany was to *reunite the German race by acquiring living space*. On the contrary, Russian expansionism is more inclined towards geopolitics. Russian aim is to expand the territory to former Soviet Union frontiers and regain its Super Power position. In this expedition ethnicity matters rather less because the focus is on territory. Space matters to Russia not as living space for superior Russian race but as territory per se to create a greater Eurasia in rival to the EU and the USA. Ethnicity becomes however a

tool on that regard which Russia often invokes while supporting ethnic Russians in countries like Ukraine. But evidently for Russia, the ultimate goal is to *reunite the Soviet Union space.* Therefore the justifications for their expansion used by the two countries are divergent. At the individual level however the emotional complex of the leaders of both countries converges. German expansion was a personal reverie prompted by Hitler in the context of resentment caused by the Treaty of Versailles that he believed humiliated Germany in the face of Allies of the West. Russian Eurasian Dream also is attributed much to Putin factor or Putin's resentment regarding the West's negligence of Russian values and interests. There is no wonder in that light that these two highly ambitious landlocked space savvy states urged to expand partly as an emotional compensation to win back the lost pride and partly to satiate the nostalgia to rule the world once again like before.

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Impact of the Chinese Economy on the U.S. Economy

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Abstract

China is the world's largest population country. It has taken advantage of its bountiful labor force to fuel its export-oriented economy. In short, it became richer by transforming itself into the world's factory. The International Monetary Fund (IMF), the most prestigious international financial institution in the world, has rated China's ranking to number one economic superpower in the world — surpassing the United States based upon the purchasing power parity of GDP indicator (gross domestic product). China's economic growth affects on the US economy. China is the third largest export partner and world's third largest importer of the US. China's economic growth has biggest competition to the US economy. China's rises mostly affect the US and US try to balance of the power, because china's rises threat for continue to US hegemon in the world. This paper explains china's peaceful rise and impact of the china's economic growth on the US economy.

Key words: Economy, peaceful, Export, Import, Gross Domestic Product (GDP)

Introduction

China is a most powerful country in the world and it is a politically, economically stable country. China soon spread their power in the world especially in south Asia. Many scholars mentioned that china want be a hegemonic power in the region. Even now china couldn't be a hegemonic power. China explained that their power spread as peaceful way and peaceful rise. There are four reasons for that. First, China's development depends upon what and in return will contribute to the world peace; second, China will resort to peaceful means for development; third, China's development will rely more on its own resources and market; fourth, China is prepared for a long-term process of hard work, even several generations, for economic prosperity. Finally, even as China has achieved its economic development, it will not become hegemony in the world or come out as a threat to any country.

Under the guiding principle of "China's peaceful rise," the Chinese government has conducted active diplomacy at four different levels:

(1) Creating strategic partnerships with the second-tier powers. China has signed strategic partnership agreements with the EU, Russia and India to strengthen their relationships as well as to balance the American power.

(2) Promoting "good neighbor policy" in the Asia Pacific region. By increasing trade with the Asia-Pacific region and also let these countries enjoy trade surplus with China, China has positioned itself as an important trading partner with these countries. Besides, China has entered into various strategies of regional cooperation with these countries. During the 1997 Asian financial crises, China refrained from devaluing its currency and helped stabilize the regional economy by mobilizing its foreign currency reserve won positive reactions from this region and the U.S.

(3) Seeking cooperation and avoiding confrontation with the U.S. The Chinese side has sent a clear message to Washington that China is a conservative power and has no intention to upset the status quo—namely the U.S. as the sole superpower in the world.

(4) Neglecting Japan. As China has successfully managed relationships with the sole superpower, the second-tier strategic partners, and neighboring countries, China is able to afford to ignore Japan and occasionally show some toughness. Many scholars explained that china's rise not peaceful way and its rise threat for neighbor countries and USA. China's economy growth very fast and it is threat for the USA economy.

The United States and china have multi-dimensional relationship. They are economic, diplomatic, and security interests. The relationship is characterized by a mix of competition and cooperation. China want to be a hegemon in the region and USA is not willing for that and they thought it is threat for the USA. China and USA have many economic ties and china's economy is growing fast than USA. So that USA has a big economic threat from china.

Methodology

This article will be conducted through a qualitative method to explain the aim and objective. The method used in this study will be done with the support for secondary sources. Secondary sources are materials written by other authors. This article will help to understand china's economic growth and rise of china's economic growth and china's economy how affect the U.S. economy. Secondary sources support to find appropriate information about china and U.S. economy.

Literature Review

Elvin Mirzayev explained that China, the most populous country in the world, is the second largest economy ranked just below the US with a nominal GDP of $10.36 trillion as of 2014. However, this high GDP does not necessarily indicate the wealth of the country. The country ranked 80 for GDP per capita which was only $7,589 as of 2014. Many global manufacturing companies are attracted by low labor costs and cheap supply materials in China, locating their manufacturing units in this country. This allows companies to produce goods very cheaply; therefore it is not surprising that almost everything we use in our daily lives has the label "made in China."

China is the third largest export partner of the US, with export goods and services valued at $123.67 billion as of 2014. This makes up about 5.3% of the total exports of the U.S. China is also the U.S.'s largest import partner whose imports were valued at $466.75 billion as of 2014 or about 16.4% of the total import of the U.S.

Frank Lavin, states that if the Chinese economy continues to grow about 8 percent a year, both competition and opportunities will increase on a global scale Chinese companies will start more companies or joint ventures in the U.S., increasing the number of Americans working for Chinese firms. "China will become a supplier of capital. U.S. companies to export and invest in China. For example, corn is exported from the U.S. to China for a variety of uses ranging from cattle feed to corn syrup used in food products,

Barry Eichengreen indicated that economically, the U.S. and China are too closely interlinked through global supply chains to be able to cut ties. U.S. companies not only compete with Chinese imports; they also rely heavily on them. Retailers like Target and Walmart rely on Chinese imports to stock their shelves. China sells more to the U.S. than the U.S. sells to China, starting a trade war in an effort to correct this supposed imbalance would still cost American business very dearly.

Derek Scissors noted that Relationship between U.S. and China is beneficial for both countries. For China, their exports to the U.S. are vital for the rapid growth of their economy because the domestic demand would not have been enough to generate a rapid growth over the earlier years. For the U.S. hegemony, a China having a strong economic growth is probably more peaceful. The U.S. has a huge economic advantage that should last for several generations, at least. The best strategy to compete with the China thus begins with getting the American house in order and in doing so; the U.S. should absolutely not imitate the China.

Impacts of china threat for the USA

Ming xia stated that, American concern mainly arises from its hegemonic status in the world politics and the ideological incompatibility of China with the Western value system. China's stunning economic growth has convinced the West that it is just a matter of time until China becomes a world

superpower but its ideological orientation makes China a revolutionary power, threatening both to the United States' status and global structure. Three different logics have been constructed to substantiate the "China threat".

First, ideological and cultural factors make China a threat to the United States' status and global structure. In the clash of civilizations, the "unholy alliance between Islamic and Confucian civilizations" is the most fundamental threat to the West. For people using this logic, the sensible response from the U.S. is, in the short run, a containment policy, and confrontation is possible if needed; in the long run, the promotion of a peaceful transformation within China.

Second, geopolitical and geo-economics factors. For many realists, China has shed off its ideological straitjacket, as a great power in size (territory, population, and economy); China has to pursue its own interest and respect. Nationalism may still drive China into a clash with the United States, if the latter refuses to accommodate or share the leadership with China as a rising power. Some scholars fear that democracy can unleash strong nationalism and popular nationalism can make China even more aggressive toward the United States.

Third, the collapse of China. Opposed to the previous two perspectives, some people are concerned that if China suffers a Soviet-style sudden-death syndrome and spins out of control, it can create an even worse scenario. The sheer size of the population makes refugee problem, the failed state and the followed crises (warlordism, civil war, crime, proliferation of nuclear weapons, etc.) impossible for the world to deal with. Due to these three different considerations, the United States often oscillates from demonization to romaticization (Roman) of China, from containment to engagement. The U.S.-China relationship has shifted from conflict, to confrontation, to competition and back to conflict, but so rarely features with cooperation. One American China specialist characterizes the bilateral relationship as "the sweet-and-sour Sino-American relationship.

Components of China's Economy

Kimberly Amadeo stated that China built its economic growth on low-cost exports of machinery and equipment. Massive government spending went

into state-owned companies to fuel those exports. These companies dominate their industries. They include the big three energy companies: Petro China, Sinopec and China National Offshore Oil Corporation. These state-owned companies are less profitable than private firms. They return only 4.9 percent on assets compared to 13.2 percent for private companies.

China developed cities around these factories to attract workers. As a result, one-fourth of China's economy is in real estate. The government also funded construction of railways and other infrastructure to support growth. As a result, it imported massive amounts of commodities, like aluminum and copper. (Kimberly Amadeo 2017)

China was the world's largest exporter from 2013 to 2015. It exported $2 trillion of its production in 2016. China shipped 18 percent of its exports to the United States in 2015. That contributed to a $365 billion trade deficit. China's trade with Hong Kong was almost as much (14.6 percent). Its trade with Japan (6 percent) and South Korea (4.5 percent) was much less.

China encouraged trade with African nations, investing in their infrastructure in return for oil. It increased trade agreements with Southeast Asian nations and many Latin American countries. That's why President Obama launched the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade agreement. It doesn't include China. That's because one of its goals was to balance China's growing economic power in the region. That agreement was thrown into jeopardy once President Trump withdrew from it January 2017.

China is the world's third largest importer. In 2016, it imported $1.4 trillion. The United States imported $2.2 trillion. China imports raw commodities from Latin America and Africa, such as oil and other fuels, metal ores, plastics and organic chemicals. It's the world's largest importer of aluminum and copper. (Kimberly Amadeo 2017)

How China Affects the U.S. Economy

China is the largest foreign holder of U.S. Treasury bills, bonds, and notes. As of June 2017, China owned $1.14 trillion in treasury. That's 29 percent of the public debt owe by foreign countries. China buys U.S. debt to support the value of the dollar. This is because China pegs its currency (the yuan) to

the U.S. dollar. It devalues the currency when needed to keep its export prices competitive.

China's role as America's largest banker gives it leverage. For example, China threatens to sell part of its holdings whenever the United States pressures it to raise the yuan's value. Since 2005, China raised the yuan's value by 33 percent against the dollar. Between 2014 and 2015, the dollar's strength increased by 25 percent. China allowed the value of the yuan to decline. This was so its exports could remain competitive with Asian countries that hadn't tied their currency to the dollar. (Source: China's Economy Facts and Effect on the U.S. Economy, Kimberly Amadeo, 2017)

David Dollar stated that the United States had problems earlier with large trade surpluses in Asian partners such as Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan. China was different from these three economies in at least three ways. First, China's trade surpluses emerged at an earlier stage of development than in the other Asian economies. China was still a relatively poor, capital-scarce economy when it started running trade surpluses. Second, China has a much bigger population than its East Asian neighbors, making it a greater challenge for the world to absorb Chinese surpluses. Third, the Chinese economy is a complex hybrid of private entrepreneurship on the one hand and a large state enterprise and government sector on the other. A trade surplus reflects an excess of savings over investment. China has had a lot of economic distortions that have tended to keep both savings and investment high, but savings in particular has been especially high. In recent years, China is a complete outlier among major economies, with a national savings rate near 50 percent of GDP.

He further 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 for 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. China is partially open in manufacturing, though important sectors such as motor vehicles have to operate through awkward 50-50 joint ventures that force global auto companies to pair with local partners. (David Dollar 2016)

Most of the modern services sectors such as finance, telecommunications, media, and logistics are almost completely closed to foreign investment. Even in sectors that are ostensibly open, U.S. firms are often reluctant to invest in China because their intellectual property rights, as well as property rights more generally, are poorly protected. This creates an unlevel playing field in which Chinese firms can earn profits in a protected market at home and then buy their competitors in the United States and Europe. The inter agency Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States (CFIUS) can review mergers and acquisitions for their national security implications, but there are relatively few transactions that can be legitimately stopped on those grounds. In recent years, the review process has approved Chinese purchases of Smithfield Foods (a U.S. pork production enterprise) and Syngenta (a Swiss agricultural chemical company with large U.S. operations).

China's rapid economic growth and emergence as a major economic power have given China's leadership increased confidence in its economic model. The key challenges for the United States are to convince China that it has a stake in maintaining the international trading system, which is largely responsible for its economic rise, and to take a more active leadership role in maintaining that system; and that further economic and trade reforms are the surest way for China to grow and modernize its economy. Lowering trade and investment barriers would boost competition in China, lower costs for consumers, increase economic efficiency, and spur innovation. However, many U.S. stakeholders are concerned that China's efforts to boost the development of indigenous innovation and technology could result in greater intervention by the state (such as subsidies, trade and investment barriers, and discriminatory policies), which could negatively affect U.S.

Trade war with China

Donald Trump proposed a 45 percent tariff on imports from China. This idea is likely to backfire. Chinese leaders would definitely not tend under such pressure. For one, exports to the United States are not that important to the Chinese economy and China's leaders have many avenues to keep its economy growing. China's authoritarian leaders could not buckle to U.S. pressure without risking their hold on power. The population is nationalistic, and its attitude toward the United States is quite ambivalent. A direct trade attack on China would certainly whip up popular support for retaliation. The

retaliation would not have much direct effect on the U.S. economy, since the United States exports so little to China, but it would create an uncertain environment for trade and investment globally that would slow U.S. growth.

The outlook for 2017

The Chinese economy is undergoing unprecedented and profound changes. The "innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared" development concepts put forward by President Xi not only offer solutions for China's current outstanding economic problems, they also point out a clear direction for its long-term development.

The Chinese word for "economy" means "a society to prosper and benefit the people", an aim of governance advocated by Chinese in ancient times. In the first three quarters of 2016, China's economy grew by 6.7 percent year-on-year, and its per capita disposable income registered a growth of 6.3 percent. In the first 11 months of the year, China created 12.49 million new jobs in cities and townships and lifted more than 10 million people out of poverty, further raising Chinese people's sense of well-being and happiness.

In recent times, remarkable progress has also been made in China's infrastructure, such as the railway extension to the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, the building of a comprehensive highway network throughout the country, the construction of the Three Gorges Dam and multiple ports that better connect the country with the ocean. A set of complete industrial sectors have been established and China has realized a bumper agricultural harvest for many years in succession. At the same time, China has achieved new breakthroughs in its aerospace development and further built up its national defense capabilities.

Conclusion

China is the most populous country in the world, and its economy growing fast. China is expected to have good economic prospects in 2017. China formulates and implements some major policy measures, which will bring the market and society positive and stable expectations. Economic globalization and trade liberalization remain the general global economic trends. China deploys many programs for develop economy. China is the

third largest export partner (the first and the second being Canada and Mexico respectively) of the U.S. China's economy mostly affects the US economy and it is challenge and big competition for U.S. China wants to be a regional hegemon in South Asia. China deploys many economic programs for developing economy in the neighbor countries. China's growing economic power has made it a critical and influential player on the global stage on a number of issues important to U.S. interests, such as global economic cooperation, climate change, nuclear proliferation, and North Korean nuclear missile program. China is in a position to help advance U.S. interests or to frustrate them. Many problems can be solved by developing economic cooperation between the United States and China.

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Strategic Importance of Indian Ocean in International System

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Abstract

The Indian Ocean is the third largest body of water in the world which consists of land masses of Asia, Africa, Australia and Antarctic. The region contains 1/3 of the world's population,25% of its landmass,40% of the world's oil and gas reserves. It is strategically important in international sea lines of communication. It provides critical sea trade routes that connect the Middle East, Africa and South Asia with the broader Asian continent to the East and Europe to the West. A number of the world's most important strategic choke points, including the Strait of Hormuz and Malacca through which 32.2 millions of barrels of crude oil and petroleum are transported per day. The Indian Ocean is home to two newest nuclear weapons states, India and Pakistan, as well as Iran, which most observers believe has a robust programme to acquire nuclear weapons. When considering on the Indian Ocean region it is characterized by the growing strategic competition involving both external powers and the littoral states. Countries like China, United States of America and to a lesser extent Japan in the region has increased its involvement in the Indian Ocean. India, one of the important state in South Asia considers the involvement of internal and external powers in the region as a threat to it and world peace. India will be increasingly attentive to its interests in the years ahead and will try to exert a strong hand in this region for fundamental national security reasons.

Key words: Indian Ocean, Maritime Security, Major Power Rivalry, External powers, strategic choke points

Introduction

This paper attempts to focus on the rising strategic importance of the Indian Ocean. The objective of the paper is to investigate why the Indian Ocean is of more Strategic importance today. Increase in strategic importance will be measured by analyzing the special measures and actions taken up by competing states to dominate the Indian Ocean region. Further this will focus on how does this strategic importance of the Indian Ocean mean for change in the International System.

Methodology

This article is based on qualitative secondary data obtained from online scholarly articles and other sources such as articles in internet, e-books, some journals published by various institutions related to International Relations and other information relevant to the subject in internet. The author has conducted a content analysis based on the data and information available on the relevant topic. Some International Relations theories like Realism and Liberalism have been used in order to explain how states try to achieve their national interest in the International system using geo-strategic importance of Indian Ocean.

Literature Review

In the current international system, the Indian Ocean has been strategically very important for states in many aspects. As an emerging power, China has a strategy to achieve their national interests through various initiatives like "string of pearls". Being a regional super power India also try to dominate in the Indian Ocean. USA with great strategies also try to dominate Indian Ocean. There are plenty of discussions and debates over this geostrategic matter. Therefore, there is adequate data and information to research on strategic importance of Indian Ocean in the international system.

In a policy brief at a symposium at Clingendael Institute in 2014, it states that still, China has major interests in the region, in particular its access to raw materials in the Middle East and Africa, and to markets there and in Europe. Beijing may therefore be expected to continue its present policy of building up strong diplomatic and economic influence throughout the Indian Ocean's littoral states. It is also likely that the Chinese military will continue to develop its regional presence in the sphere of non-traditional security.

An article produce by Andreas Fabian on September 6,2015, explains that growing trend towards describing India and China as rivals, potential adversaries and dangerous maritime powers playing a strategic and often hazardous game in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR).Further he has consider about the topic by examining the China's 'String of Pearls' strategy and the India's ambitions and its 'Look East' policy the central argument of this essay has been developed – the Chinese and Indian maritime strategies and their aspirations have disposed two powers into a collision course in the IOR. First of all, the strategic significance of the IOR has been highlighted, with an emphasis put on the importance for both China and India. In the subsequent section, two already mentioned strategies and countries' ambitions were analyzed. The next part has deeply focused into the strategies and indicates a collision course.

Further, the Indian Ocean Maritime Security Symposium was an unofficial, by invitation only policy forum held at the Australian Defense College, Canberra, Australia in 2009. This report of proceedings provides a summary of presentations that were made and discussions that were held at the symposium. The report reflects the views of symposium participants' who were invited to explore a broad range of issues and to present personal ideas and opinions based upon their perspectives, research and experiences. The aim of the IOMSS, as a policy forum, was to improve understanding of the issues and challenges for maritime security in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) with a view to identifying options for enhancing cooperation. This report included Major recommendations on how the IOR community along with the extra regional states and entities that have maritime interests in the IO might move forward to improve maritime security cooperation in to the future.

Data presentation and analysis

A system is an assemblage of units, objects or parts united by some form of regular interaction. International system can be understood by the major theories of International Relations.

International System according to Realists and Liberals

All realists characterize the international system as anarchic. No authority exists above the state, which is sovereign. Each state must therefore look out

for its own interests above all. These own interests of states can be known as National Interests of states.

'National Interest' is a key concept in International Relations. All the nations are always engaged in the process of fulfilling or securing the goals of their national interests. The foreign policy of each nation is formulated on the basis of its national interest and it is always at work for securing its goals. It is a universally accepted right of each state to secure its national interests. A state always tries to justify its actions on the basis of its national interest. The behavior of a state is always conditioned and governed by its national interests.

"The meaning of national interest is survival—the protection of physical, political and cultural identity against encroachments by other nation-states". —Morgenthau

Changes in either the number of major actors or the relative power relationship among the actors may result in a change in the International System.

According to Liberals the actors include, not only states but also international governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations and sub state actors. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye describe the international system as interdependent.

In contemporary international system states tend to achieve their national interests in order to become prominent actors in the world. According to Realism, Realists claim that survival is the principle goal of every state. Therefore, states constantly try to ensure that they have sufficient power to defend themselves and advance their material interests for survival. Realists hold that states be rational actors. It means that states will act as best they can in order to maximize their likelihood of continuing to exist. Realists assume that all states possess some military capacity, and no state knows what its neighbors intend precisely. The world is dangerous and uncertain. In a such a world it is the great powers- the states with most economic clout and, especially military might that are decisive. State power is the key of Realism. Realism can understand power in a variety of ways such as militarily, economically, diplomatically.

Offensive realists maintain that, in order to ensure survival, states will seek to maximize their power relative to others. (Mearsheimer 2001)

According to the geopolitical analysts' views, they have viewed the configuration of earth based upon the arrangements of lands and waters and by interconnecting lines of these two phenomena. The division of earth has based upon two factors:

      1. The Land Continental hemisphere

      2. The water hemisphere or Ocean

Indian Ocean has become one of the most important oceans of the world based on the growing economic activities if the globalized world. It is considered as the third largest ocean of the world being neighboured to Asia in its North, Africa to its west, Indo-China to its East while Antarctica lies in its South. It extends from North to South from the Bay of Bengal to Antarctica with estimated area of 9600 kilo meters while it extends west to east from Southern Africa to Western Australia with the range of 7800 kilometers. Indian Ocean covers almost 20 per cent of the world's water. Its total area is about 68.556 million square kilo meter and it is almost 5.5 times larger than the United States. The ocean total area includes Andaman Sea, Arabian Sea, Bay of Bengal, Flores Sea, Great Australian Bight, Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Oman, Java Sea, Mozambique Channel, Persian Gulf, Red Sea, Savu Sea, Strait of Malacca, Timor Sea, and other tributary water bodies. It also has several small island nations such as the Madagascar, The Seychelles, Reunion Island, Maldives, Mauritius and Sri Lanka. While a cluster of islands forming Indonesia borders the ocean in east. Indian Ocean got its name after the huge Indian subcontinent in its north. It has remained an important area throughout the realms of history due to its unique strategic location and bulk of natural resources. However, in recent periods more with the spread of globalization the significance of Indian Ocean both politically as well as economically has been rapidly increased. Furthermore, ever since the attacks on World Trade Centre on 9/11, 2001, world's major powers including America due to her policy of counter terrorism and more specifically China in order to overcome her distant location vulnerabilities with the Ocean have shifted their focus towards it.

Emerging roles of USA, China and India

In 1963, Professor Saul Cohen laid out two most important geostrategic regions of the world as

1. The Trade dependent maritime world and

2. The Eurasian Continental world.

However now there is possibility of one more emerging geo-strategic region called the Indian Ocean realm could be added as the third most important geostrategic regions of the world. A geostrategic region consists of all those features that are globe influencing such as location, movement, trade orientation, and cultural or ideological bonds. Thus, the Indian Ocean Region tends to include all these characteristics that makes it globally influencing region of the world.

China is rigorously building up its naval presence in Indian Ocean and this process is viewed as an emerging threat for the interests of India and US as well. The strengthening of China's maritime power, name "Far Sea Defense" is oriented to achieve two main objectives. The first objective is to conserve China's maritime security and second is to enhance and secure its maritime economic interests, especially in the IOR and West Africa. The Rear Admiral Zhang Huachen, the deputy commander of the East Sea Fleet, reinterred that "with the expansion of the country's economic interests the navy wants to protect the country's transportation routes and the safety of our major sea lanes". In terms of the practical requirements for implementing FSDS, he added that, "in order to achieve this, the Chinese Navy needs to develop along the lines of bigger vessels and with more comprehensive capabilities."

As the second major player in the Indian Ocean, the strategic enhancement of Indian naval presence is intertwined with both security and economic interests. India fulfils 89% of their oil requirements by importing via sea. Being the major stake holder in Indian Ocean trade and commerce activities it has become essential for India to ensure the security of SLOCs from the Persian Gulf, Europe, and East Asia. The security of these vital shipping lanes is also linked with India's dependence on the security of Indian Ocean, combined with its need to monitor and, if necessary, check the naval activity of other regional powers.

The Indian Navy consists of 40 ships and submarines,2 nuclear submarines,2 aircraft carriers. It is estimated that by 2022 this would go up to have a 165 ship fleet ranging from surface combatants, submarines to 3 aircraft carrier groups with a total of 400MiG-29K aircraft and helicopters. Sanjaya Chaturvedi (1998) viewed it as "this would result in the change of balance of power in the Indian Ocean, with a tilt decisively in India's favour." Donald Berlin professor at the Asia Pacific Centre for Strategic Issues in Honolulu, and an expert in maritime strategic issues has observed this evolving role of India in the IOR.

New Delhi regards the Indian Ocean as its backyard and India seems to function as the predominant influence in this region. In the expansive view of many Indians, "India's security perimeter should extend from the Strait of Malacca to the Strait of Hormuz and from the coast of Africa to the Western shores of Australia." The growing competition by between China and India in the Indian Ocean and the response of US add a new dimension to its geopolitical significance. India observe the activities of China in strategic calculations although the flow of energy and trade is China's first concern. China is involved in enhancing its political and economic influence over Africa, by investing billions of dollars in industries such as oil, mining, transport, electricity generation, telecommunications and infrastructure. This ensures a successful access to energy resources and raw materials which are crucial to development and growth of China. This is simply a new geopolitical orientation of Chinese policy towards energy resources which would have far reaching impact on development, competition and conflict of interests between China, USA and India. Presumably this would become the characteristic feature of Indian Ocean's geo political significance in the 21st century. The US after abandoning its long cherished policy of Isolationism in the wake of Second World War initially had been in the view to only concentrate on Pacific and Atlantic Ocean due to its post second World War geopolitical orientations of containment of Communism. The geopolitical codes of Soviet Union also led it to focus on Pacific and Atlantic oceans. However, soon the changing trends of cold war's intricacies of international politics dwindled down this strategic neglect of Indian Ocean.

Two factors were of paramount importance in this respect, first was the British withdrawal from the Indian Ocean in 1970 which was presumed to be a serious potential threat to western interests in the Indian Ocean region. Second was the Arab Israel conflict in 1973 and consequent oil embargo.

The Indian Ocean embraces the oil and energy rich Muslim countries which were directly involved in the conflict with Israel. There had been a perception among the US strategists that was very far from reality that Soviet Union would essentially fulfil the power vacuum created in consequence of British Withdrawal. This potential threat necessitated for a credible US naval presence in the Indian Ocean. For this Diego Garcia was chosen as naval base to arrange military communication facility. The purpose was first to enhance the US navy communication in the central and north western region of the ocean, and second to tie this region with global US military capabilities from Ethiopia to the north Western Coasts of Australia. The US maintained through- out the Cold War period its deterrence in the Indian Ocean. The post-cold war and post 9/11 geopolitical orientation of the USA in Asia is marked by the majorly three factors, one is growing Islamic identity and integrity from the Middle East to Pacific, second the struggle for influence on Central Asia and changing patterns of this region and third the ever increasing presence of China and India on Indian Ocean. (Kaplan, Robert 2009). The Indian Ocean ranks as central point of gravity in all these influences. The growing threat of resurgence of Islamic identity as a common bond, though it is more visible in non-state actors can only be dealt with by enhancing presumably its presence and involvement in the IOR states. Whether then it happens by virtue of Afghanistan or Kazakhstan, or by viewing India as potential strategic partner for future needs. The bulging up of Indian Navy, in the words of Robert D. Kaplan "will function as an antidote to Chinese military expansion." Besides it the other concerns are International terrorism, religious extremism. Since 9/11 a fundamental change occurred in the patterns of relationships between both the countries, as now no cold war era's estrangement seems to take any place in their attitude towards each other. Since 2000, these two important players of regional and extra regional politics have been evolving a new kind of cooperation, especially focusing upon security. This cooperation included Indian naval protection of U.S. shipping in the Malacca Strait in 2002, a close partnership in responding to the 2004 tsunami, combined military exercises, U.S. warship visits to India, a dialogue on missile defence, Washington's "goal is to help India become a major world power in the 21st century. We understand fully the implications, including military implications, of that statement." This declaration was followed, in June 2005, by a bilateral accord, a ten-year "New Framework for the U.S.-India

Defence Relationship," that strongly implies increasing levels of cooperation in defence trade, including coproduction of military equipment, cooperation on missile defence, the lifting of U.S. export controls on many sensitive military technologies, and joint monitoring and protection of critical sea lanes. As a reflection of the reality of the situation the US now finds itself in regarding Indian Ocean, author Robert Kaplan describes the US position in the region as one "where the rivalry between the United States and China interlocks with the regional rivalry between China and India, and also with America's fight against Islamic terrorism in the Middle East, which includes America's attempt to contain Iran." (Robert Kaplan, 2010). Though, there seems situation to appear with minor changes owing to signing of Geneva pact between Iran, and six big powers on 24 Nov 2013. One of the most prominent vulnerability of India comes with the fact that currently it doesn't control any chokepoint on Sub continent coast through which international shipping must pass, therefore, Gwadar with or without intention has the capacity to create hurdles for India's strategic position. Conclusively it can be said that geo-political significance of IO would rise and strengthen because, its littoral states possess more than two thirds of the world's oil reserve, and roughly 35 per cent of the world's gas reserves, 60 per cent of uranium, 40 per cent of gold and 80 per cent of all diamond deposits. It has served as a catalyst for many nations. Japan imports almost 90 per cent of its oil from the IOR, Italy 85 per cent, Britain and Germany 60 per cent and France almost 50 per cent. Indian Ocean is also important because of the industrial raw materials it possesses. These include lithium, beryllium, zirconium, thorium, coal, iron, copper, manganese, tin, bauxite, chromite, nickel, cobalt, vanadium and phosphates. Although it serves an immensely significant strategic location, no nation in the world had ever tried to virtually dominate it until the United Kingdom's policy of controlling most of Ocean's surrounding parts in the 1880s.

Are India and China on a Collision Course of Maritime Strategies?

There was a growing trend in last two decades towards describing India and China as rivals, potential adversaries and dangerous maritime powers playing a strategic and often hazardous game in the Indian Ocean. The words of Alfred Thayer Mahan – "whoever controls the Indian Ocean dominates Asia" – and the words of another well-known strategist K.M. Panikkar who described the Indian Ocean (IO) as being "truly Indian" shows how important and strategic the waters surrounding India and the Littoral states of

Indian Ocean region. India has begun to feel threatened by the growing economic and political importance of China and its ever expanding sphere of influence. According to the Walgreen, the Indian Ocean "features a high level of strategic value in terms of location, resource potential, and political development," which could not have gone unnoticed by the Chinese, whose strategic involvement in the IOR has reached an unprecedented level. And it is not only China that is fast-growing and expanding its control and domination. India has also entered the stage of a competent great power which is predicted to affect the security apparatus of the international system. Since India, as Holmes and Yoshihara argue, is not willing to "allow any outside power to police the region," and since "the Chinese aspire to expand its influence and to ultimately dominate the strategic environment of the IOR," the region is appearing to be a dangerous place on earth where competition is expected to further escalate in the years to come.

The Strategic Importance of the Indian Ocean Region

Kaplan, once in his article noted that geography dictates and determines the "critical trends in world politics." When we consider about the map of the IO and if we keep today's trends of consumer societies in mind, one quickly realizes the reason why this region has become increasingly salient within the scholarly and policy debates in the recent decade. When talking about the IO, first and foremost, scholars and strategic analysts point out the fact that the world's most important water passages – Suez Canal, Strait of Hormuz, Bab-el Mandeb and Strait of Malacca – are all located within the IOR. Moreover, the IO's linkage with the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans through the maritime routes only adds to its geostrategic significance. With the total of "90% of global commerce and about 65% of all oil that travel by sea, the IO accounts for fully half the world's container traffic and 70% of the total traffic of petroleum products." As Cordner emphasizes, "more than half of world's oil production is transported through the IO and more than 80% of this oil passes through the three IO straits: Hormuz, Malacca and Bab-el Mandeb." In addition, the majority of the commerce passing through the IO does not terminate within the region, but goes further to reach non-IOR states. From the aforementioned statistics, it clearly appears that the IO bears not only economic but also political significance, and not only for the IOR littoral states, but also for outside powers. In order to ensure the smooth flow of goods necessary for world's economic prosperity and to secure states'

national sensitive interests in the IOR, it is of utmost importance to inject enough power to fully safeguard the sea lines of communications (SLOCs) to avoid any unexpected and unwanted disturbance. China and India have particularly been injecting the power into the IOR, which is for both countries essential for a number of reasons.

Political Background

In the post-colonial era the newly independent states of Asia and Africa were brought in to the tough competition between the Super Powers during the Cold War. As a result, the geo-politics of the era raised a new array of rivalries, suspicions, competition and confusion in the IOR. The presence of the Super Powers brought a sense of insecurity to the littoral states. Security concerns dominated development and economic interests. The Indian Ocean can be divided in to five sub-regions:

1. East African Coasts on IO
2. North Arabian Sea and the Gulf
3. South Asia
4. South East Asia
5. Australia

Some security issues are common to all these areas including securing sea lanes, energy security, piracy, maritime terrorism, illegal fishing, arms and drugs smuggling, and human trafficking. The Presence of Extra Regional Forces in the IO has been transformed into a playground for extra-regional players. Regional wars and crises particularly in the Gulf region have ushered in a new era of external interference. The safety and security of the Straits of Hormuz is of paramount importance as an energy corridor. The present state of flux in Afghanistan, Iraq and Iran has made the situation in the IO even more volatile.

The Importance of the IOR for China

Over the past several years, the IOR has attracted a great level of attention of many Chinese scholars, strategic thinkers, and decision and policy makers. Even though the region is not on the top of the Chinese national security list, it still preoccupies China to a great extent due to its mounting dependence on it. Scott in his article, shows that the Chinese motivation in the IOR is twofold: on the one hand, China has high economic stakes which are mostly related to its energy resources, and on the other hand, China aims to prevent

India from dominating the entire region. The past decade has seen the rapid development of China and the dramatic increase in country's quest for energy imports that are vital for its economic expansion. The United States Energy Information Administration (EIA) has ranked China on the first place in terms of consumption of energy, and on the second place in consumption and importation of oil. As Khurana indicated, almost 80% of oil that China imports is "sourced from West Asia and Africa and these are transported through the Indian Ocean." The most critical water passage China is mostly concerned about is the Malacca Strait, through which more than three quarters of all oil has to transit from the IO to reach the Chinese territory. The situation of such a huge amount of oil that needs to traverse the Malacca Strait has become to be known as 'Malacca Dilemma' and the term was coined when the Chinese President Hu Jintao expressed his concerns. Since then, it has been widely used not only by scholars within academia, but also by the Chinese strategists and policy makers. Apparently, China is greatly dependent on the IO and in order to secure its interests, China keeps, as Holmes and Yoshihara emphasize, "anxious eyes on the sea lines of communication and the security of the waterways stretching from China's coastlines to the IO has taken on special policy importance for Beijing." In addition, recent developments in India have even heightened the Chinese interests in the IOR. China is well aware of the fact that there is a high likelihood for India to become "the engine of economic integration in the IOR" which might create a potential threat to Chinese interests, therefore, China has expressed even more eagerness for its expanded presence in the region. One of the conclusions that can be drawn from this observation is that the more China imports, the more it is dependent on the IO, therefore, the more power it needs to inject to secure its interests.

Above all, the principle driving force behind China's gaze into the Indian Ocean can be understood in its aspiration for great power status fuelled by a booming economy which is primarily guided by the quest for economic and energy security. It is therefore, important to assess China's strategic interests and policies of being a potential maritime player in the Indian Ocean.

In the Realist assumption, China's pragmatic approach lies in increasing its own presence in the region as an imperative to preserve its national interests.

For India

India is one of the world's top five fastest-growing economies and with almost three quarters of oil coming from abroad, the strategic nature of the IOR has become vital for India. In terms of trade, India is almost fully dependent on sea transport and as indicated by Pant, "any disruption in the Indian Ocean can have a potentially catastrophic impact for Indian economy and societal stability." By saying disruption, the above mentioned water passages of the IOR are those that first come into the mind of Indian strategic thinkers. The one that is the most significant for India is the Strait of Hormuz, where approximately "US$200 billion worth of oil transits annually." Similarly, to China's 'Malacca Dilemma', a large and growing body of literature has begun to make references to 'Hormuz Dilemma' that India has to face as a result of its dependence on this critical waterway and other crucial reasons. Although it is true that India features with geographic advantage by enjoying a closer proximity to critical water passages compared to China, this does not necessarily ensure that its shipping routes will be fully secured. On what it mostly depends is the maritime strategy being deployed.

China towards the West, India towards the East: China's String of Pearls and India's Look East Policy

The primary goal of both India and China is to secure their national economic interests at sea. On behalf of that both countries have adopted provoking and often intrusive strategies that are unwelcome by each other. Recent evidence suggests that strategies China and India use go far beyond of having economic character only. Their strategies safeguard trade and communication routes and aggressively penetrate to each other's spheres of influence by two methods. They are

     1. Making close contacts with each other's adversaries.

     2. Making their presence in sensitive places, which is consequently undermining their already tense relationship.

As a result of their strategies there is a course of collision, unless properly managed might cause a serious threat not only to regional, but also to international security.

In regard to Chinese maritime strategy they have begun to use the new term "String of Pearls" over the past decade in order to describe its strategic posture towards the IOR.

China is well aware that India perceives its presence in the Indian Ocean undesirably, therefore, seeks to establish ties with surrounding countries whose relationships with India are not the best and which are likely to welcome Chinese presence in the region. China also provide countries with armament apart from building ports and infrastructure. According to Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), roughly 70% of arms are sold to three countries in the IOR – Myanmar, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Basically, China is 'buying' sympathy of several IOR littorals. To date, the real intentions behind the String of Pearls strategy have been widely speculated. Whether it is merely the protection of critical sea routes or it is also aimed at pushing back India's expansionist approach, the one outcome that has become clear is that this strategy is strengthening China's strategic position in the IOR which is not gladly received by India. Similarly, Khurana also emphasizes that it is still "unclear whether China's strengthening ties with regional littorals are merely politico-diplomatic and economic endeavours, or driven by military-strategic imperatives." However, only the mere presence of China, whether it is diplomatic of military, is met with resistance by India, which has openly expressed its fear of being "strategically encircled" by China. Therefore, the Chinese strategy is likely to get into collision with India.

At the beginning of the 1990s, India adopted the 'Look East' policy aimed at strengthening ties with Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries in order to sustain economic prosperity. Besides India's economic interest in Southeast Asia, the Chinese element also played a significant role while moving eastward, and with the continuing rise of China, the policy soon became "a demonstrable pillar of Indian foreign and defence policy." The strategy India pursues is somehow similar to that of China's – penetrating to the Chinese sphere of influence by "stepping up military ties with countries traditionally wary of China's power." The past couple of years have witnessed a growing interest of India in one of the most contested seas in Asia – the South China Sea (SCHS). The statistic Scott brings to his article indicates why. With more than half of its total commerce passing through the Strait of Malacca, and with the growing importance of China in

the SCHS, India is cautious and keeps its eyes wide open on this gateway to the IO.India is conscious of what consequences it would have if China would be one to rule the entire SCHS, therefore, seeks its enlarged presence in the region which is likely to encounter with opposition by China, which is very sensitive when it comes to issue of the SCHS.As part of its strategy, India has gone even further and reinforced strategic relationships with South Korea and Japan what the Chinese find rather provocative. Moreover, the Prime Minister Narendra Modi introduced at the ASEAN meeting a new name for the India's strategy – known as 'Act East' policy – demonstrating the growing interests India has in its eastern neighbourhood. The present strategy of India clearly indicates that the more India penetrates to the east, the more likely it is to meet with the Chinese opposition.

It is evident that strategies India and China use take the similar character. While China infiltrates to the IOR by sponsoring IOR littorals, India penetrates to the east by making strategic connections with Southeast and East Asian countries. Apparently, both strategies enter each other's spheres of influence, which both countries are likely to find intrusive. Hence, these strategies are set in a way that puts countries into a collision course.

Conclusion

The world or the international system is changing day by day. Many new powers are emerging, population is rising and demands are increasing. The national interests of states change with the changing nature of the international system. Most of the nations try to become major powers or super powers by acquiring power. Many states have already been exposed to competition for the same objective or for superiority in the same region or both. China and India represent the most profound example of such competition. Their growing dependence on the IOR and national interests have a direct relationship. However, we are uncertain about future of their tense relationship. We can clearly see that stakes both China and India have in the strategically significant IOR are high and that strategies they have deployed collide. Through the String of Pearls strategy, China has entered the Indian Ocean and has made strategic contacts with various IOR littorals, most importantly with Pakistan, Myanmar, Sri Lanka and Bangladesh, which collides with India's ambitions to achieve "pre-eminence in the region."

USA which is a super power in the international system is very keen on the situation in IOR as an external power.USA try to build up closer relations

with IO littorals in order to prevent the emergence of China as a super power in the international system. Apart from USA the countries like United Kingdom, Australia as well as Japan an internal power of the region are interested on the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean Region. Most of these countries try to become the most powerful country in the IOR in order to enhance and uplift its national interests. So finally by considering all these facts that we can conclude is that, most of the countries want to become dominant in the IOR because of their intension to fulfil their national interest and to become more powerful.

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The Impact of the Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism: A case study of the Syrian Crisis

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Abstract

In the recent decades a specific rise in the Islamic fundamentalist movement was seen across the Middle East region. Ever since the 9/11 attack scenario calamities connected with this radical Islam movement have spread rapidly around worldwide. In a nutshell Islamic fundamentalism can be interpreted as the religious and political movement that seeks the return to the era of Prophet Muhammad which is considered as the golden age of Islam and the basis of pure Islam. In the present situation negative implication of this movement is manifested in the infamous "Arab Spring" disrupting the stability of the Middle East nations. Syrian Crisis can also be identified as an extension of these conflicting events. This Crisis has caused lot of bloodshed and brutal atrocities, terrorist acts as well as most primitive and savage practices which has made half of the Syrian population to flee the country in terror. The emergence fundamentalist movements like Al-Qaeda affiliated Al – Nusra Front and ISIS have made the Syrian Crisis more complex together with thousand other jihadists and opportunists. Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS or ISIL) which has taken control over Syria starting April 2013 has become one of the strongest opposing groups in this uprising where it proclaimed the creation of the Islamic Caliphate. Therefore this paper prioritizes to find out how does the Islamic fundamentalism negatively impact on the continuation of the Syrian crisis.

Keywords: Islamic Fundamentalism, Syrian Crisis, ISIS, Arab Spring, Middle East

Introduction

In the recent decades a specific rise in the Islamic fundamentalist movement was seen across the Middle-East region. Immediately after the September 11th terrorist attacks on the United States, deemed by far, the most-devastating incident inflicted on the humankind, the communities nationwide became familiar with this radical Islam movement. Ever since this scenario calamities connected with this radical Islam movement have occurred around worldwide.However in the present situation negative implication of this movement manifested in the infamous "Arab Spring" which devastated most of the Arab Countries.This Arab uprisings began to spread all over the region within a very limited time period. Syrian Crisis can also be identified as an extension of these conflicting events. Therefore this article will focus to identify what are the root causes for the development of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East region as well as the how this fundamentalist movements operate within the Syrian crisis. This Crisis has caused lot of bloodshed and brutal atrocities, terrorist acts as well as most primitive and savage practices which has made half of the Syrian population to flee the country in terror. This article will provide information for those who are interested to understand factors to Syrian crisis and fundamentalism influence continued violence in Syria.

Islamic Fundamentalism

The term Islamic fundamentalism became familiar to the global community with the 9/11 attack to the United States. With the attack it was identified that this movement together with its radical followers poses a threat to the new world order and to the maintenance of the international peace and security. Even though the term "fundamentalism" is more commonly identifies with Islam the term originally belongs to the Christian World. In fact "fundamentalism is an Anglo-Saxon term. Christian Fundamentalism was a Protestant movement where Christian life on the fundamentals and teachings of the Bible were emphasized (Chang 2005).

As Taylor and Horgan (2001) identifies in Islamic fundamentalism the believer takes the religion seriously and their framework of social change lies primarily in the historical revealed world of God rather than present. As well as strict observation of the Islamic fundamentals and doctrines are followed. As Chang (2005) states Islamic fundamentalism means the

religious and political movement that seeks the return to the era of Prophet Muhammad which is considered as the golden age of Islam and the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs on the basis of pure Islam. Under fundamentalism prophet Muhammad is deemed as the exemplary perfect man for Muslims. Therefore in Islamic fundamentalism focus to return to the fundamentals of the religion and live a life similar to what Prophet Muhammad and his followers used to live. Moreover they refer to the original interpretations of the primary sources of Islam like Quran and Sunnah[1]. The ones who abide by Islamic fundamentals are called fundamentalists. In addition Islamic fundamentalists are against the celebration of saints, commemoration of the dead, and other popular religious practices. It aims to return to the most pure form of Islam. . The modern Islamic fundamentalist movements have their roots in the late period of 18th century with the establishments of the Wahhabi movement. Exemplary figures of Islamic fundamentalism are Sayyid Qutb, Abul Ala Mawdudi, and Israr Ahmed. The Wahhabi movement which sprung out of fundamentalism and its funding by Saudi Arabia is often described as being responsible for the popularity of contemporary Islamic fundamentalism. Saudi Arabia is considered as one of the main pioneers of this Islamic movement.

Islamic fundamentalism was also related to the imperial expansion and the colonization of the Arabic region. Therefore Islamic fundamentalist as political activist aims to reform the Arab region which is intoxicated by Western culture and neo-colonialism. Islamic fundamentalists oppose concept of the secular state system and Westernizing influences and seek to institute Islamic law, including strict codes of behavior. Khalil (2001) identifies that fundamentalist analyses the problems faced by Islam never questions the ideological bases of Islam. They goes beyond the adherence to the basic percepts and make no distinction between general principals upon which Islam might be founded. Additionally fundamentalist deduce that west is responsible for defecting or distorting the proper progress of Islam or Islamic leaders have failed either through being subverted or because they have failed to follow Islamic percepts. With the uprisings of the Arab Spring in 2011, fundamentalists points out that Western influences have intoxicated their Islamic systems. Therefore they claim that there is a dire need to purify

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[1]Sunnah is the verbally transmitted record of teachings, deeds, sayings, silent permissions (or disapprovals) of Prophet Muhammad. The Quran and Sunnah are the two primary sources of Islamic theology and law.

the religion of foreign issues and return to the original form of Islam (Megheirkouni 2017).

Islamic Fundamentalism and the Syrian Crisis

This multi-sided armed conflict in Syria is fought basically between the government of President Bashar al-Assad, along with its allies, and various forces opposing the government including thousands of jihadists, vengeful Arabs and opportunist. The Crisis has produced untold miseries to the Syrian, terrorist acts, oppression, torture, psychological and physical abuses and brutal atrocities. The Syrian Crisis which started as a series of anti-government protests supporting democracy later escalated into violent religious conflicts with jihadi fighters traveling from around the world to fight in Syria. More than 11 million others have been forced from their homes while President Bashar al-Assad's regime and those against his rule battle each other, as well as jihadist militants from so-called Islamic State (ISIL). The Crisis has acquired sectarian aspects pitching the country's Sunni majority against the president's Shia Alawite sect, and has also drawn in regional and world powers. Iran and Russia has backed the government of President Assad providing necessary military assistance, subsidized weapons while the Sunni dominated opposition has been propped by Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Jordan. With these development the crisis became a highly complex socio-political problem. There have been a series of events starting from armed insurgencies, revolutions, religious rebellions, terrorist attacks, and civil war. In addition Islamic State (ISIS or ISIL) has taken control over Syria starting April 2013. It has become one of the strongest opposing groups in this uprising where it proclaimed the creation of the Islamic Caliphate[2]. This fundamentalist group has also imposed strict sharia laws over the lands it controls promoting one of the basic concepts of the fundamentalist movement.

Furthermore the level of influence of the Islamic movement tends to be high in this crisis unlike in the cases of Tunisia and Egypt. Moreover foreign fighters arrive to Syria from across the Muslin world as they are motivated by the religious sentiments sparked by the Islamic movements which are striving to safeguard the cultural and religious values of the Muslim society.

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[2]Caliphate is a territory under the leadership of an Islamic steward known as a caliph, a person considered a religious successor to the Islamic prophet Muhammad

Since fundamentalism embodies radical ideologies and adopt violence as the central means to promote its goal and established the new order the future of Syria seems to be very bleak.

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. The secondary data is collected through books, websites, research articles, online magazines, journal articles, newspaper articles, and public speeches given by political leaders and intellectuals 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

Islamic fundamentalism is inherently militant in nature and poses a threat to the maintenance of International Peace and security. At the contemporary society Islamic fundamentalism was deemed as a more dangerous ideology and political movement than communism after the collapse of the Soviet Union. With the end of the Cold War in the 20th century Islamic fundamentalism gradually gained its momentum with radical groups like Al-Qaeda, ISIS. It has become one of the root causes for the series of uprisings in the Middle -East region including Syria. Therefore the manner in which Islamic fundamentalism currently possess existential threats to the Middle-East region has been an interesting research topic foe scholars around the world. Different scholarly studies have been conducted in the area of this Islamic movement and its impact on Syrian Crisis and other regions which were affected by this. Therefore academic writings are of great importance to analyze this issue of Islamic fundamentalism in relation with the Syrian Crisis.

As Mirev Mishali-Ram (2017) puts it long before the Syrian war started fundamentalist jihadi fighters were attracted to Afghan war during 1979 period. Various foreign fighters from Muslim states have joined the war in the name of Islam. In the same manner as few decades ago transnational Islamic fundamentalist movements have joined the uprising against President Assad's regime in Syrian civil war. According to U.S National Counterterrorism Center estimates foreign fighters of more than 90 countries

have joined the Syrian Civil war since its inception in 2011. Thousands of foreign fighters belonging to many fundamentalists' movements in their home region have joined the war in Syria from Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Tunisia, Jordanand Morocco. As the writer points out it is the fundamental Islamic movements which are responsible for the expansion of foreign jihadi recruitments for Syria. These radical movements are accused of rousing religious sentiments and hatred, and mobilizing followers to promote their radical Islam agendas. As Mishali-Ram argues these foreign fighters are embolden by religious sentiments sparked by Islamic movements which are attempting to defend the Islamic cultures and values. In addition to that the writer further notes that the unstable political settings in countries across the Arab and Muslim world has also motivated the jihadi fighters continues their rebellion. "Islamist movements are designed to fill political and ideological deficiencies and to ease Muslims grievances". Most of these fundamentalists groups share the notion that Muslim states should be reformed and come under Sharia law and to restore the "Islamic might" in the world. They adopt violence as the main means of promoting political and religious goals to establish the new social order. Therefore weak states like Syria create an environment of anarchy where these Islamic movements are able to gather and plot to spread.

Olabanji Akinola (2015) have identified that similar to ISIS which poses threats in the Syrian crisis Boko Haram is posing existential threats to Nigeria and defeating this group has proved to be a great challenge to the Nigerian government. The greatest security challenge faced by Nigeria at present is the insurgency activities carried out by the fundamentalists group which is popularly known as the Boko Haram. Attacks by Boko Haram complements with jihadists ambition to Islamize Nigeria by establishing a caliphate and implementing the infamous Sharia law. The writer notes that the existence of Boko Haram as salafi jihadists group reflects its interaction of politics, poverty, and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Similar to other fundamentalist groups like Al-Qaeda, ISIS which seeks to establish a caliphate Boko Haram's main objective is to create a caliphate system in Nigeria governed by the sharia law. Akinola further notes that there are and there were other Islamic fundamentalist groups apart from the Boko Haram, and all these groups share the idea of establishing a state system operated under the sharia law. Even if Nigeria consist of a minority population of

adherents to Islamic fundamentalism while the others are moderate Muslims who follow Sufis traditions these fundamentalist gropes haven risen to challenge the Sufism accusing that they practice corrupt Islam. The new caliphate system which was established by British and modern state system represent an Anglo-Christian system where full sharia law isnot implemented. Fundamentalist groups identifies this as a threat to the security of Muslims in Northern Nigeria and demand reinstatement of full sharia law by adopting violent methods. Akinola (2015) also concludes that poverty is also a reasons for these uprising since worst forms of collective violence by Boko Haram occurs in most socioeconomically deprived parts of the country.

Fereydoun Hoveyda (2003) states in his study that militant Islamic fundamentalists find western world especially America and Israel as their enemies. Even before the development of the present Islamic fundamentalism many Muslims attempted at transforming all the western countries into Muslim nations. Both in and outside Muslim world fundamentalist identify Europeans and Americans as enemies of Islam. Therefore they are considered as "legitimate targets" against whom ultimate global jihad should be waged. As Hoveyda points out the tactics of Islam fundamentalism are crystal clear. They intend to provoke as many instances of unrest as possible, conducted multiple terrorist attacks against civilians to cause terror, these fundamentalist groups infiltrate to Muslim communities in the west and intimidate moderate elements forcing them to support and protect terrorist agents. This is the same framework followed by Al-Qaeda in its war against the west. The war of Al-Qaeda is the directed against all infidels Americans as well as Canadians, Australians, and Europeans. The killing of western military and civilians, destruction of their economy are their goals. Therefore Hoveyda (2003) states that the fundamentalist background of "mainstream" Islam constitutes fertile ground for the spread of bin Ladenism and other fundamental movements.

Bader Al-Ibrahim (2015) in his study focuses on development of ISIS in Iraq and Syria regions and what factors lead to emergence, expansion and attract cadres and international attention beyond the Arab countries. The writer identifies that inability of Arab states to achieve social cohesion and the practice of tyranny and multiple forms of corruption has led to the formation of armed groups like ISIS. Their existence as identified is due to states inability to meet the interest of the citizens. Groups such as Al-Qaeda and

ISIS are a reaction to the unfair globalization that is taking place all around the world where western world has oppressed the rest of the world. As a reaction to that spiritual characters of Islam attempts to justify violence in the face of injustice and tyranny by non-state groups. The ISIS which is influence by Wahhabi Movement developed in Saudi Arabia share similar goals. Both Wahhabi and ISIS were focused on recruiting fighters from all over the world and spread their message globally. Even in the concept of the caliphate both movements believed in the expansion across unlimited geographical borders and rule all the Muslims. "Takfir" or the excommunication as Al-Ibrahim puts is used as a tool for mobilizing and rallying its members. ISIS extend their concepts of takfir to a point where great number of Muslims who come from Wahhabi background. Killing in original Wahhabi movement was not limited to the times of war, assassination of infidels was legitimized even in times of peace which makes killings carried out by ISIS in Syria completely legitimate under the Wahhabi perspective. ISIS considered many Muslims as infidels and believed that they were the reasons that Islam became corrupt. Therefore Al-Ibrahim (2015) identifies this concept as the reason behind these fighting and killings which is witnessed today against Muslims than any other group of people.

Byung-Ock Chang (2005) identifies that Islamic fundamentalism is militant in its nature and has become the newest threat to the new world order which is centered on democratic values. The study notes that Islamic fundamentalism consist of a political aspect which motivates to reconstruct the Muslim communities which are corrupted by the western influences and globalization. One of the first Islamic movements as recorded in the history is the Islamic

Brotherhood established in Egypt in 1928 pioneering in the creation of radical and militant Islam. During the period of the cold war Muslim leaders have become agents of the power blocs thus they were unable to safeguard the interest of the Muslim population of the pure Islam. Therefore Islamic fundamentalists were left with no choice but to overthrow the established system. Chang (2005) associates two issues which caused Islamic fundamentalism. The gap between the rich and the poor is one of the main economic cause for the Islamic fundamentalism especially in the Arabian region a wider gap between rich and poor has created discontent

masses who have stuck fast to their religion. As for the political cause with end of the Gulf war fundamentalist like Al-Qaeda was motivated to get rid of Western hegemony from the Arabian region. According to these facts Chang (2005) concludes fundamentalism sought more extremist measures rejecting the Muslim regimes and Western cultures.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism in the Middle East

The rise of globalization has made several changes in the international world. The elements of globalization are closely combined with political extremism, religious fundamentalism, religiously motivated political backlash at the present day which work against the forces of globalism. With the modern trends in globalization religion has become a new source of conflict. According to Dr. Keith Suter (2005) Religious fundamentalism defines the people by what defines them it focuses in the differences in the humankind rather than what unites them. It is often partly motivated by the form of xenophobia and loss of members to other causes. But it should be noted that there can be other motives involved which can make some people exploit the fear of globalization to their own advantage. Altemeyer and Hunsberger (1992) defines that Religious fundamentalism is the belief that there is one set of religious teachings that clearly contains the fundamental, basic, intrinsic essential truth about humanity and deity. "This essential truth is fundamentally opposed by the forces of evil which must be vigorously fought". As far as religious fundamentalism is concerned the extent of the religious fundamentalism followed by the Muslims is higher than any other religion. Islam is the second largest religious group after Christianity and of the world's fastest growing religions.

When paying attention to the root causes Islamic fundamentalism the concept of militant Islamic struggle was formed responding to dominating influence of the western powers that were colonizing Islamic religion. Therefore one of the main reason for the development of these radical elements is the deep seated resentment at the west violence to Islam over centauries especially due to colonization. With the ongoing atrocities around the world especially in the Middle East region this green menace has fuelled speculations that Islamic fundamentalism has become the newest threat to the world peace. With the end of the cold war there has been a resurgence in

radical Islamic elements. The first prominent group in the Islamic fundamentalist movement was formed in Egypt 1928 known as Muslim Brotherhood focused to re-islamize Egypt which was known to be "corrupted" by the Western rule. With this several Islamic extremist groups began to spread in dominating the Muslim countries in the following years. The creation of Israel in 1948 and its successive expansion in Gaza strip and West bank have become contributing factor to spur Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East region. During the 1973 oil crisis the spread of the conservative Islam began with economic development in countries like Saudi Arabia. This development contributed mostly for the financial support of the emerging extremists groups in the region. Hezbollah groups emerged in Lebanon in 1980 with the goal of destroying Israel and making Lebanon an Islamic state which strictly follows sharia law. Around 1990s extremist groups like Taliban began to emerge as a form of state sponsored terrorism from countries like Pakistan and Afghanistan.

This situation further improved with Al-Qaeda and its terrorist attacks of 9/11. Al-Qaeda was perceived as strong Islamic Fundamentalism movement which belong to the Sunni Muslim group originated in Saudi Arabia. This was initially designed with the aim of ejecting Soviet occupiers in Afghanistan based on U.S aid. However bin Laden redirected his energies when U.S deployed troops in Saudi Arabia. This further developed when U.S invaded Iraq. Nevertheless with the death of Osama bin Laden there were certain reformations in the organization. With these development of events Al-Qaeda began to loosen its grip in the Middle East region and this lead to the prominent rise of the infamous ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria) Islamic State originated as Jamaat al-Tawid in 1999 founded by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi focused on a regime change in Jordan. In 2004 this group formally became an affiliate of the Al-Qaeda more commonly known as Al - Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). In 2006 group changed its name to Islamic State in Iraq focused on conquering Iraq territory as a means of creating a sharia based state.

By 2010 ISI (Islamic State of Iraq) began to obtain popular support and become an increasingly prominent component in Syrian civil war. By then Al-Qaeda authority in the Middle East region began to diminish. By 2013 groups new leader Abu Bakar al-Baghdadi renamed the organization as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS). However ISIS shift towards the Syria

created a friction with Al-Qaeda group combined with the extreme mechanisms followed by the group which was condemned by Al-Qaeda leaders. With the development of these events the two groups spilt permanently in 2014. The Arab Spring which started in 2011 the Islamic fundamentalist movements around the Middle East region is one the rise and they have become very influential in the ongoing crisis areas including Syria. Therefore the Arab Spring which initially started as anti-government protests were altered to religious conflict and violence with the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the region.

Impact of Islamic fundamentalism in Syrian Crisis

Syria, like several other countries in the Middle East and North Africa region, has suffered from polarization between the Islamist and secular sectors of population, particularly after the uprisings of 2011. Religion, especially Islam for its decentralized mode of function, rises to play a distinctive prominence in cases of: (a) state ideology building (b) the case of power balance— the dominant politico-religious equilibrium (Platteau, 2008, 2010, 2011), and (c) and the case of state crisis (Platteau, 2011). It was the brutality of the regime that lead to the crisis. The frustration and the need for the change of current status among the people lead to the escalation of the conflict. The frustration among the locals played an important role in pushing individuals into radicalism and making them search for channels to change the existing reality. This gradual build up took the form of Islamic fundamentalist movements with further escalation of the crisis. The emergence of Al-Qaeda affiliated Al –Nusra Front and ISIS made the Syrian Crisis more complex together with thousand other jihadists and opportunities. All these parties basically agree on nothing be it ideological or political. The most basic elements which have spurred these fundamentalist group is poverty, illiteracy, injustice, corruption, and tyranny.

The core reasons for this fundamentalist revolutionary waves and the support for the jihad in Syria stems from the unstable political setting and problems within the very internal structure in countries across Arab and Muslim world including Syria. This has caused these groups to infiltrate and establish a strong presence in the Syrian localities. Further these radical Islamist movements have expanded the foreign jihadist recruitment in Syria in order to mobilize their followers to promote their radical Islam agendas. These movements can be explained combing both religious and political circumstances which has stimulated these extremist groups to join collective

violent action across Syria. Islamist movements are striving to defend their so called religious and cultural values sparked by the religious sentiments. Mishali-Ram (2017) states that Islamist movements are designed to fill political and ideological deficiencies, and to ease Muslim grievances. Most of these Arab states have had many short comings in the long run both at international and national level. They have been unable to build institutions that incorporate all the social sectors and they have been unsuccessful in achieving social cohesion. As Al-Ibrahim (2015) notes the ruling regimes practices tyranny and multiple forms of corruption and these were some of the reasons that lead to the development of non-state actors like fundamentalist groups which were striving to protect the interests of certain social groups and communities or to confront state violence

Islamism is also to be understood as the result of failed secular ideologies and governments, and this has vowed to bring Muslim unity, and to forge strong and just societies. Mishali-Ram (2017) further notes that most of these fundamental movements are based on unstable states, where there is high political unrest which challenges the authority, as well as the presence of the weak government which are inept in suppressing rebellious attitudes whether acuminated within or externally to the state. The presence of the above mentioned combination of factors in Syria has stimulated the rise Islamic fundamentalist movements. This has caused the escalation of the Syrian conflict into very complex level. It is identifies trough the case of Syria that more fragile the state system is more active is the Islamic movements in the country.

The civil war which broke out in March 2011 made Syria a fertile ground for the spread of the ISI. At first Al-Nusra front was declared as the Syrian branch of ISI, however with certain disagreements the two groups spilt off from ISI. Later on Al- Nusra was supported by Al-Qaeda. This created more tension in between the two groups resulting ISI to seek more extreme mechanism in order to consolidate theirpower in the regions of Syria. ISI sent Syrian and Iraqi jihadists skilled in guerilla warfare to Syria to participate in campaign against the Assad regime.

The trend of foreign fighters and transnational Islamist militancy have come to the fore, notably in the face of the rising tide of young volunteers joining jihadi movements in the Syrian civil war. Prominent among the various militant groups recruiting foreigners to that war are the Islamic State and

Jabhat Fath al-Sham (formerly known as Jabhat al-Nusra) organizations. ISI sent Syrian and Iraqi jihadists skilled in guerilla warfare to Syria to participate in campaign against the Assad regime. According to ISIS concept Islam's golden era will be established through Islamic caliphate ruled under Islamic religious law. This so called territory of the caliphate lies in the eastern Syrian and western Iraq. ISIS is making an effort to establish itself in the provinces of Syria at the expense of its many rivals including Syrian Army, rebel organizations, Al-Nusra and Kurdish militias.

Al-Raqqa has played the role capital city of ISIS in Syria after it was captured in 2014. Since the ISIS occupation of Al-Raqqa ten thousands of civilians have fled. During the process of taking over Raqqa ISIS had to fight with Al-Nusra and other rebel groups and began to impose rigid Islamic law on the local citizens. Further the group has instituted alternative administration in areas of control while enforcing its Salafist ideology on the local population. Apart from that ISIS has plundered arsenals of weapons from Syrian armies including light arms, various types of rockets and mortars. It was also alleged that ISIS used mustard gas in its attacks. In addition ISIS control over most of the oil field in eastern Syria which has become one of the main source of income while disrupting the very economy of the country. Despite the brutality and violence which is practiced by these Islamic fundamentalist one can find regular rallied for these movements including the Islamic State and the Caliphate. ISIS meetings have become familiar sight in Aleppo suburbs. The reason for these conversions as argued by the scholars hold one explanation. It is that due to the absence of a capable government to meet the grievances of the locals they seek the help of the fundamental groups for their salvation, defending their interests and the very survival. This connection and the false hope among the locals regarding these fundamental movements have made the Syrian crisis in many aspects becoming more complicated. Creating more negative implications and a further continuation of the violence have directed the warring parties to a very hostile situation where they are unable to come to an mutual agreement to solve the crisis.

Conclusion

Many of the World leaders and scholars considers Islamic fundamentalism as the newest global threat in the contemporary society. The war between communism and the West has been replaced by a new war between the West

and Islamic fundamentalists. In a series of uprisings in the Arabian region with the Arab Spring of 2011 the Syrian Crisis was able to attract a considerable amount of international attention relative to other uprisings in the region. One of the main reasons to become a focal point of attention in the international arena was mainly due to the occupation of its territory by the ISIS and the atrocities committed by them in the region.

The fundamental movements were able to expand into the provinces of Syria like Aleppo and Raqqa was mostly due to the ability to exploit the social fragmentation which was created during the past forty years of Assad regime. These radical Islamist have used a combination of force, manipulation of local rivalries in order to build up alliances over most parts of Syria. Especially ISIS according to Legrand (2014) have used Raqqa tribes' internal problems to their advantage in order to obtain their allegiance to ISIS over Bashar al-Assad. Out of all the Fundamentalist movements that are operating in Syria ISIS has become one of the most atrocious and controversial terrorist organization in the contemporary world. It has become one of the major actors in the ongoing Syrian conflict.

Through the facts presented above its clear that the clashes have escalated with the increased involvement of fundamentalist movements based on the issues of religion, culture and instable political conditions within the borders. It can also be deduced that rise of the fundamentalist movements in Middle East region and the unstable situation of Syria due to political, economic and sectarian issues has become influencing factors for the development of the conflict and involvement of these fundamentalist movements in Syrian Crisis. Thus there is a strong relationship among Islamic Fundamentalism and the Syrian Crisis has challenged the security situation of Syria negatively. Since fundamentalism embodies radical ideologies and adopt violence as the central means to promote its goal and establish a new order, the future of Syria seems to be bleak. Therefore in order to curb the very expansion and further escalation of the conflict both the internal and external forces need to understand the nature of these fundamental movements' integration into the Syrian political framework and social fabric. Through these attempts and efforts the consolidation of the jihadist's states currently in construction in Iraq and Syria and the expansion of these groups can be prevented.

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Escalating Conventional Weapon Threat in North Korea

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Abstract

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) made the international community to be troubled by its conventional weapon ambitions through its nuclear arsenal developments. In this paper it will give brief account about the evolution of conventional weapon capabilities of North Korea while expanding that description on to current capabilities and its nuclear relationships with other states and ultimately the impacts of these will be exemplified. Data will be analyzed based on the weapon capacities and the measures of the International community. Proportionately, the devastating conditions prevailed in North Korea that lead to further its proliferation and the lack of progress in the International concern and initiatives over the imminent crisis is addressed through proposition of recommendations stressing the realization of peace and stability by bridging the gap of understanding and mistrust through strong actions and Diplomatic measures.

Key words: Conventional weapons, nuclear, capabilities, International community, Diplomatic measures

Introduction

Background

By 1945, Korea was divided into two occupation zones, northern half was administered by the Soviet Union whereas the United States administered the area south of the 38th parallel and this division was meant to be temporary. However, by 1948 absolutely opposed economic, and social systems and along with the politics of the Cold War resulted in the establishment of two separate nations the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the South and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the North. On June 25, 1950 full-scale warfare erupted when North Korea invaded the South. Under Security Council resolution 82, the United Nations intervened to this on behalf of South Korea where the United States took the forefront and China strode on behalf of North Korea (Charnysh, 2009). Since 1953 the relations between the two Koreas have remained strained and hostilities among the two parties continued until an armistice agreement was signed on July 27, 1953.[1] Even today, United Nations command is still present on the Korean Peninsula even it has been almost 50 years after the Korean armistice. In 1999, both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea were simultaneously admitted to the United Nations only when the Cold War tensions diminished. Over the past four decades the attempts to reunify the Korean Peninsula were came to a halt because of the rising tensions over North Korea's nuclear program.

The two Koreas differ sharply in their political and military need for missiles and weapons of mass destruction. Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) nuclear research program originated in the 1950s, when it entered into nuclear cooperation agreements with the Soviet Union and China. In 1977, it concluded an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)[2], opening its first reactor to inspections (Charnysh, 2009). In the 1980s, North Korea began to operate facilities for uranium fabrication and conversion, built a nuclear reactor and nuclear reprocessing facilities and

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[1] Agreement between the commander in Chief, United Nations Command and the supreme commander of the Korean People's Army and the commander of the Chinese people's volunteers concerning a Military Armistice in Korea.

[2] 1977-99: Nuclear Programme, Safeguards. The DPRK signed its first safeguards agreement with the IAEA in 1977.

conducted high-explosive tests which urged the country to accede to the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) where finally it joined the treaty in 1985.[3] However, it failed to sign the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards agreement until 1992, which permits inspections of all plants using fissile materials, within the 18-month limit stipulated by the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). (Fischer, 1997)

In 1991 the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) joined the United Nations (UN) and entered into a denuclearization agreement[4] with South Korea where it prohibited testing, manufacturing, producing, receiving, possessing, storing, deploying, or using nuclear weapons, and operating uranium enrichment or plutonium reprocessing facilities on the Korean peninsula (Sproviero,2015). Under this agreement Inter-Korean inspection was to be organized and a North-South Joint Nuclear Control Commission (JNCC) was mandated, nevertheless the agreement is still not in effect as its negotiations on its implementation and verification was interrupted.

In July 1992, IAEA inspections uncovered through its analysis of the plutonium samples suggested that the North Korea must have reprocessed on at least three separate occasions in 1989, 1990 and 1991, according to the *International Atomic Energy Agency* (IAEA) whereas the allegations were denied by the DPRK which ignited the Korean escalations (Charnysh,2009).

Consequently, in January 1993, the DPRK refused the *International Atomic Energy Agency* (IAEA) access to its two suspected nuclear waste sites and it announced the intent to withdraw from the NPT. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed a resolution in May 1993 calling on North Korea to fully comply with its international nonproliferation obligations and asked all countries to facilitate this solution.[5] In June 1994 North Korea announced its withdrawal from the *International Atomic Energy Agency* (IAEA) and then refuse to comply with inspection requirements. North Korea was discovered to be pursuing a uranium enrichment program for

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[3] LEVENTHAL.P & DOLLEY.S, 1994, The North Korean Nuclear Crisis, Nuclear Control Institute.

[4] The ultimate goal of the Joint Declaration was to eliminate the danger of nuclear war and ultimately promote peaceful reunification.

[5] Leventhal.P & Dolley.S, 1994, The North Korean Nuclear Crisis, Nuclear Control Institute.

military purposes whereas in 2002, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) for the first time announced it had a nuclear weapons program. In October 2003, North Korea's officials denied intentions to transfer any elements of their nuclear weapons program to other countries.[6]

Provoking the international community, On October 9, 2006, North Korea conducted its first nuclear test with an estimated yield of about one kiloton while determined to become a nuclear weapons state. In response, the United Nations Security Council unanimously voted to increase sanctions on North Korea. Then it conducted its second nuclear test on June 25, 2009 with the underground detonation of a nuclear device estimated to have a yield of 2 to 6 kilotons. (Charnysh, 2009) United Nations called for strengthening the punitive measures under Resolution 1718 and Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) withdrew from the six-party talks with, South Korea, Japan, China, Russia, and the United States which began in 2003 with the goal of denuclearizing the Korean Peninsula and said it would no longer be bound by any of its agreements. However the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) was failed to sign the *International Atomic Energy Agency* (IAEA) safeguards agreement, which permits inspections of all plants using fissile materials. Furthermore, North Korea has tested nuclear explosive devices twice in 2016. Consequently, the United Nations Security Council has issued a series of sanctions including Resolution 1695, Resolution 1718, Resolution 1874, Resolution 2087, and Resolution 2270. (Wertz et al,2016)

North Korea's economy is close to that of a failed state, and it needs nuclear weapons and missiles for both political prestige and the evident declining effect of the international community led by the United States to contain North Korea's nuclear program for a decade and half. (Wertz et al., 2016) But it has still forced the regional powers to find a response in the form of sanctions and concerned about any potential opportunity to either diminish or at least for its further discontinuation. The consequence is that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) may progress toward the production of miniaturized nuclear weapons to be combined with its ongoing ballistic program, nevertheless the International community making their

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[6] Brooke.J, October 2, 2003, "North Korea Says It Is Using Plutonium to Make A-Bombs," *New York Times.*

efforts in providing North Korea with a complete nuclear deterrent. (Brooke, 2003)

Current capabilities

Accelerating the development of weapons of mass destruction and modernization of conventional forces, the North's leader, Kim Jong-Un, sees the nuclear program as the means to sustain his regime. According to a state media report on Kim's report on the Party's work and activity, once he insisted that, North Korea "will not use a nuclear weapon unless its sovereignty is encroached upon by any aggressive hostile forces with nukes, as it had already declared."[7] Moreover, According to the State Department's World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers 2016 report, the North's military expenditures averaged about US$3.5 billion a year. That accounts for 23.3 percent of the country's average GDP of $15 billion during the period.

Accordingly, a series of different missiles, including short, medium, intermediate, and intercontinental range, and submarine-launched ballistic missiles has been tested by North Korea consecutively during the contemporary years. On January 6, 2016, Pyongyang announced its fourth nuclear test, a test of the hydrogen bomb design which was estimated at 15-20 kilotons. (Wertz et al., 2016).North Korea launches a long-range ballistic missile confronting United Nations sanctions drawing strong international condemnation from other governments.

Despite the adaptation of United Nations Resolution 2270 condemning the nuclear test expands existing sanctions such as introducing new financial sanctions, and banning states from supplying aviation fuel and other specified minerals to North Korea and to inspect all cargos transit to or from North Korea for illicit goods and arms, it is still engage actively in expanding its ballistic missile arsenal and intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). According to a 2015 U.S. Department of Defense report and a 2016 South Korean Ministry of National Defense report, the North Korean military has more than 1,300 aircraft, nearly 300 helicopters, 430 combatant vessels, 250 amphibious vessels, 70 submarines, 4,300 tanks,

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[7] The Daily Star, 2016, "North Korean leader says will only use nuclear weapons if attacked"

2,500 armored vehicles, and 5,500 multiple-rocket launchers. (Arms control association, 2017)

Nuclear relationship with other countries

Although, Democratic People's Republic of Korea's (DPRK) nuclear program has been indigenous, it has received external assistance over the years. From the late 1950s to the 1980s Pyongyang received Moscow's help to build a nuclear research reactor, provided missile designs, light-water reactors, and some nuclear fuel (Albert, 2017). China and North Korea defense cooperation on the development and production of ballistic missiles. Along with that North Korean scientists also benefited from academic exchanges with Soviet and Chinese counterparts where the exchanges have not been explicitly tied to weapons development. Apart from these two, Pakistan emerged as an important military collaborator with North Korea in the 1970s. (Albert, 2017)

In 1990s, North Korea acquired access to Pakistani centrifuge technology and designs for a uranium warhead. The ground suspect of nuclear cooperation with Burma and Iran is the greatest concern because Iran is putting in place all of the pieces for a nuclear weapons option, and its nuclear capabilities complement those of North Korea.[8]

According to Joseph S. Bermudez Jr, an analyst of North Korean defense and intelligence affairs, Pyongyang's program have also facilitated through the illicit shipment of metal components needed for centrifuge construction and nuclear weaponization by the Third parties. In order to acquire the technology, materials, and designs to boost the conventional and nuclear weapons programs since the 1960s, North Korea has developed covert networks where they have shifted from being potent in Europe to Asia and Africa, and goods have often been traded multiple times before reaching North Korean hands.

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[8] The evidence for North Korean assistance to Syria is strong; see David Albright and Paul Brannan, "The Al Kibar Reactor: Extraordinary Camouflage, Troubling Implications," Institute for Science and International Security (ISIS) Report, http://isisonline.org/publications/syria/index.html.
Evidence of nuclear cooperation with Burma is weak, but possible; Julian Borger, "Burma suspected of forming nuclear link with North Korea," Guardian.co.uk, https://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/jul/21/burma-north-korea-nuclear-clinton/

Global Impact

North Korea's determination to join the "nuclear club," and its enhancement of conventional weapon capabilities frighten the international community, especially, with its relations with rogue nations and willingness to sell such destructive weapons to terrorist organizations. It has said it will continue to test its missiles, and has promised retaliate if sanctions are imposed where it reflected clearly through its current incessant developments and attacks claiming them as it has the right to a nuclear "self-defense". As a result of this belligerent approach its relationship with the United States, South Korea, Japan and even China has strained while perceiving it as the greatest threat to peace in the Far East (Albert, 2017).

North Korea, a communist country bordered by Russia, China and South Korea, is perhaps the most isolated, highly controlled in the world. Citizens are closely monitored and the government restricts travel into and out of the country. North Korea has one of the world's most centrally-planned and isolated economies. The communist-led government sets all prices, wages and production levels, and all products are manufactured by state-run enterprises. After years of underinvestment and mismanagement, the country's industrial infrastructure is believed to be beyond repair (Albert, 2017).In the economic decline in 1990s and the collapse of its main benefactor, the Soviet Union, the country has relied heavily on aid from China, South Korea, the U.S. and international agencies to feed its population. It has widely believed that a desperate North Korea is using its nuclear aggression as leverage to negotiate a non-aggression pact with America and an ongoing supply of food aid from the international community to feed its malnourished population. However, The international community is concerned about North Korea for a number of reasons: The erratic, unpredictable and aggressive nature of its government, Its lack of commitment to abide by internationally accepted codes of conduct, the threat of it attacking and occupying South Korea where the question lies on the effects of an aggressive nuclear North Korea shape the future balance of world power (Bennett, 2013).

Methodology

In order to understand the escalation of conventional weapon threat of North Korea, several qualitative studies relying on descriptive or case study information based on historical summaries.

Have been used to gather the necessary data. The historical and contemporary background of the North Korean Nuclear weapon crisis is discussed in an abstract manner through the use of these secondary resources. For that it uses the content analysis method and data which is basically gathered from Reports of United Nations Arms control and Non-Proliferation schemes and that of IAEA along with several scholar articles which analyses the initiatives of Korean Nuclear weapon programme. Apart from that the factors that affect for the threat escalation is viewed via a real world phenomena given by relevant literature and by providing a theoretical structure for the study.

Literature Review

The escalating conventional weapon threat of North Korea have been researched by many scholars in different angles. There are a few exceptional researches that have been done in this field that are worth mentioning.

The first is Jacques E. C. Hymans's "Assessing North Korean Nuclear Intentions and Capacities: A New Approach", published in Journal of East Asian Studies 8 (2008), develops a novel assessment of the nuclear program of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Author has used a theory-driven approach which is embedded with a comparative foreign policy analysis, the article erodes two common assumptions about the DPRK nuclear threat: first, that the North Korean leadership's nuclear intentions are a measured response to the external environment and, second, that the DPRK has developed enough technical capacity to go nuclear whenever it pleases. According to these assumptions, the article puts forth the general theoretical hypotheses that the decision to go nuclear is rarely based on typical cost-benefit analysis, and instead reflects deep-seated national identity conceptions, and then the capacity to go nuclear depends not only on raw levels of industrialization and nuclear technology, but also on the state's organizational insight. Applied to the case of the DPRK, these hypotheses suggest that it has long been strongly committed to the goal of acquiring an operational nuclear deterrent, although it has been finding it very difficult to successfully implement that wish. The article also demonstrates that these hypotheses are supported by the insufficient evidence available on this case.

Another is Peter D. Feaver and Emerson M. S. Niou's "Managing Nuclear Proliferation: Condemn, Strike, or Assist?" This article is a quantitative

version of the Rational Actor model applied to the proliferator and hegemon who is the anti-proliferator (Feaver and Niou 1996 p.209). Furthermore, they conclude that the appropriate proliferation management response is a function of the proliferator's type, which varies according to size, rapport, and risk tolerance.

The study, "North Korea's nuclear program and the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons: The controversy and its implications" by Assefa Le-ake Gebru Mekelle shows both theoretically and empirically the NPT (Non-proliferation Treaty) and North Korea nuclear issue neither the selfish pursuit of national interest nor the declaration for global peace and security. It critically examines the trend in non-compliance of the NPT, its lack of effectiveness in deterrence and consistent behavior both among compliance and noncompliance states. This is inquired to indicate what the decade's long diplomatic, military and media excursion develops in the reconstitution of global normative framework. Apart from that, this is based on by four major confounded propositions; these are the discarded nature of the NPT and IAEA, the irrationality of rational choice based behavior of actors, the growing capabilities of regional actors pragmatic strategies and North Korea's success to maneuver and as well as to outmaneuver the effort of the regime and powerful member states resorting to its diverse strategies.

Moreover, the rationale behind North Korea's negotiating behavior is analyzed by the Scott Snyder's "Negotiating on the Edge: North Korean Negotiating Behavior". Snyder refers to the cultural and historical aspect of North Korea's negotiating behavior, and ultimately finds the strengths of North Korean foreign policy to be in its capability of "converting weaknesses, through threatening behavior, into leverage so as to gain favorable outcomes to negotiations with outsiders" (Snyder 1999 p.vii).

Adding to that view point, Samsung Lee, argues that the entire nuclear negotiation that took place during the period was a product of the conflict between the hard-liners and the soft-liners within the United States. In his book, "The Nuclear Question and U.S. Policy on the Korean Peninsula: A Critical Understanding of U.S.-North Korean Nuclear Talks and South Korean Unification Policy", he claims that North Korea's nuclear capabilities made by various intelligence sources during the negotiations were political judgments, not based on objective data (Yi 1994 p.15-28).

The perception that North Korea's purpose in the nuclear negotiations only was to gain political recognition as a legitimate state from the United States is described by Song Du-Yol,'s Democracy and National Security in South Korea takes the stance that that the nuclear negotiation situation should not be viewed as zero-sum game, where the United States and DPRK simultaneously fulfill their obligations (Song 1994 p.106).

Added to that, Vladimir D. Andrianov and Evgeniy P. Bazhanov contribute "Economic Aspects of the North Korean Nuclear Program" and "Military-Strategic Aspects of the North Korean Nuclear Program", respectively, which are new perspectives into the inner workings of the nuclear armament decision of North Korea.

Therefore, through this article it will analyze and answer the existing condition and the how far the actions taken by the international community is effective and its impacts. Although there have been quite a few studies that attempted to analyze North Korea's behavior in proliferation and negotiation, there was less consideration about its improvements and impacts and methods of negotiation to address the root cause that lead to make such actions by the North Korean regime.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Over the years, North Korea was covertly continuing its weapons program and with disagreements over International community. The advancements in North Korea's missile program and documenting its improvements since 1984, will be routinely updated as the condition is escalating. North Korea spends nearly a quarter of its GDP on its military and the annual military budget is approximately US$6 billion according to U.S. State Department estimates. According to North Korea's state news agency, military expenditures for 2010 made up 15.8 percent of the state budget.[9] Therefore in order to assess Pyongyang's current and future capabilities it need to consider about the conventional weapon capabilities prevails in the country.

Overview of Nuclear Arsenals

North Korea has the fissile material for an estimated 10-16 nuclear weapons and may have as many as 20-100 warheads by 2020. It has an estimated 6-8

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[9] "Report on Implementation of 2009 Budget and 2010 Budget". Korean Central News Agency. 9 April 2010

plutonium-based warheads, based on its known plutonium production and it has a uranium-enrichment program that uses centrifuge technology, although its enrichment capacity is unknown. As of September 2016, North Korea has conducted five nuclear tests. North Korea is actively expanding its ballistic missile arsenal and allegedly working toward developing intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). As of May 2017, North Korea's operational and developing intercontinental and intermediate-range missiles include:

1. The Musudan BM-25- Intermediate-range ballistic missile with an expected range of 2500 4000km and has been tested six times.
2. The Hwasong-12, which appears to be an intermediate-range, single-stage missile with an estimated range of 4,500 kilometers.
3. The KN-08 - intercontinental ballistic missile under development with an estimated range of 5,500-11,500km and has not yet been tested.
4. The KN-14 is an ICBM- estimated range 8,000-10,000km and has not been tested,
5. The Hwasong-14 - ICBM, first tested July 4, 2017, the range of the missile estimated to be between 6,500-7,000 kilometers.
6. Taepodong-2- Longest-range missile ended in failure about 40 seconds after launch on July 5, 2006 and it is believed to be capable of reaching the United States if developed as an ICBM.

Short and Medium Range Missiles includes: The KN-02(range of 120-170km), The Hwasong-5 (range of 300km), The Hwasong-6 (range of 500km.), The Hwasong-7 (range of 800-1000km), The Pukguksong-2- a two-stage, solid-fueled system (range of 1200-2000km.),The No-Dong (range of 1200-1500km)

North Korea is developing a submarine-launched ballistic missile, the KN-11, also known as the Pukkuksong-1 or Polaris-1 that was first tested in December 2014, and images from the missile first emerged after a May 2015 test at the Sinpo site and it is estimated to become operational by 2020.

Experts assess that North Korea's 2006 and 2009 nuclear tests likely used plutonium, which North Korea was known to have produced at weapons-grade levels. its intention to restart its Yongbyon 5MWe Reactor for plutonium production in April 2013, after disabling it as a part of the six-party talks in 2007 where the reactor is capable of producing six kg of weapons-grade plutonium each year.

Biological and Chemical Weapons

The United States intelligence community continues to judge that North Korea has a biotechnology infrastructure and has a munitions production capacity that could be used to weaponize biological agents. North Korea maintains the modern Pyongyang Bio-technical Institute, purportedly a pesticide factory, equipped with dual-use equipment that can be used to maintain a biological weapons capable to produce "military-size" batches of anthrax. Also, North Korea is widely reported to possess a large arsenal of chemical weapons, including Mustard, Phosgene, and Sarin agents. According to U.S. military estimates, North Korea "can deploy missiles with chemical warheads." Also North Korea is believed to have 2,500 to 5,000 tons of chemical weapons according to the South Korean Ministry of National Defense.

Furthermore, the analysis on the actions of the International community regarding this escalating threat will be helpful to assess the impact of these actions for the prevailing condition.

North Korea was a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty which was ratified 1985 but it withdraw from treaty 20003, where its withdrawal is questionable. Also it signed to the Major Multilateral Arms Control Agreements and Treaties, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material (CPPNM), Chemical Weapons Convention, Biological Weapons Convention 1987, and International Convention for the Suppression of Acts of Nuclear Terrorism.

The United Nations Security Council has adopted five major resolutions since 2006 that impose and to strengthen sanctions on North Korea for continuing to develop its nuclear weapons program while closely monitoring these programs. The first two resolutions were passed shortly after North Korean nuclear tests in 2006 and 2009. The third came a month after North Korea successfully launched a satellite in December 2012. North Korea is prohibited from such launches under previous UN Security Council Resolutions .The fourth was passed after North Korea's nuclear test in February 2013. The most recent was adopted in March 2016 after a nuclear test and satellite launch. Accordingly:

Resolution 1718- prohibits conducting future nuclear tests or launching a ballistic missile. It calls to suspend its ballistic missile program and to abandon efforts to pursue a nuclear weapon completely. Included a range of sanctions (asset freeze and travel ban on persons involved) and urged immediate return to the negotiating table for multilateral talks.

Resolution 1874 was unanimously adopted and passed under Chapter VII, Article 41. Imposed further sanctions and was passed in response to underground nuclear test on May 25, 2009, which disregarded the previous Security Council Resolution from 2006.

Resolution 2087 – Adopted on Jan. 22, 2013 after a successful satellite launch which was a clear violation of previous resolutions 1718 (2006) and 1874 (2009).

Resolution 2094- on March 7, 2013 in response to North Korea's third nuclear test on February 12 and this tested was strongly condemned in the international arena and was a flagrant violation of previous Security Council resolutions and the international norm against nuclear testing.

Resolution 2270- on March 2, 2016 after North Korea conducted a fourth nuclear test and launched a satellite for the second time.

However, UN Security Council resolutions have been largely unsuccessful in preventing North Korea from advancing its nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs, although the sanctions have slowed development in these areas. The Security Council has called for North Korea to return to negotiations in the Six-Party Talks, which include South Korea, North Korea, China, Japan, Russia and the United States which began in 2003, aim to peacefully dismantle the nuclear weapons program. Little progress was made until September 2005, when the six parties achieved a breakthrough and issued a joint statement on agreed steps for the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula. Pursuing it, in February 2007 negotiators reached an agreement with North Korea to shut down its nuclear program in exchange for humanitarian aid. Progress on this front was broke down and, in 2009 North Korea completely withdrew from the talks in response to international condemnation of its attempt to launch a satellite in April 2009.

First Round of talks-called for a normalization of relations and a non-aggression pact with the United States, whereas dismantling of its nuclear program would be out of the question. China outlined six points of consensus committed to resolve the nuclear issue through peaceful means and dialogue, pursuing a nuclear-free Korean peninsula while avoiding acts that would aggravate the situation further.

The Second Round - the China and Russia reported that North Korea had offered to destroy its nuclear weapons program, but would not discontinue its peaceful nuclear activities. This represented a partial reversal from its January offer and the United States, Japan, and South Korea insisted that the North eliminate all of its nuclear facilities and programs. United States believed that the North Korean civil nuclear program was impractical for economic use and reaffirmed all parties' commitment to a nuclear-weapons-free Korean peninsula.

Third Round- North Korea reiterated that it was willing to accept a "freeze for compensation" program that would lead to renunciation of its nuclear weapons program. But there was a lack of consensus necessary for a joint statement and the parties stressed the need for a "words for words" and "action for action" process towards resolution of the crisis.

-Fourth Round- Parties achieved the first breakthrough in resolving the nuclear crisis, issuing a joint statement on agreed steps toward the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula "in a phased manner in line with the principle of commitment for commitment, action for action." North Korea committed itself to abandoning all nuclear weapons and existing programs, returning to the NPT and accepting IAEA inspections. In return, the other parties expressed their respect for North Korea's assertion of a right to peaceful uses of nuclear energy and agreed to discuss the provision of a light water nuclear reactor. The United States and Japan, further, committed themselves to working to normalizing relations with North Korea.

Fifth Round- The Six Parties expressed their views on how the Joint Statement should be implemented, but no new achievements and substantial negotiations were neither attempted nor envisioned and agreement called for steps to be taken over shutting down and sealing the Yongbyon nuclear facilities and to discussing a list of its nuclear-related activities with the other

parties. The United States also agreed to begin the process of removing North Korea from its list of state sponsors of terrorism.

Sixth Round-Agreed upon the disablement of three key nuclear facilities at the Yongbyon complex and the provision of a list of North Korean nuclear activities and further committed to not transferring nuclear materials and technology to other parties. The other parties agreed to increase aid to North Korea to a total of 1 million tons of heavy fuel oil or fuel oil equivalents and to a continuation of the diplomatic normalization processes. But even with the repeated warnings from the United States, Japan and South Korea, Pyongyang tested a three-stage rocket as a part of its civilian space program. Along with the United Nations' sanctions North Korea declared that it would no longer participate in the six-party talks and that it would no longer be bound by any of the previous agreements reached in the discussions. China has continued to call from their resumption, as recently as February 2017. However, there has been little progress towards continuing the six-party talks recently.

Other Arms Control and Nonproliferation Activities and Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula includes: Joint Declaration on the Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.-In December 1991 by the two where both countries agreed not to "test, manufacture, produce, receive, possess, store, deploy or use nuclear weapons" or to "possess nuclear reprocessing and uranium enrichment facilities."[10] The parties also agreed to mutual inspections for verification.

According to the Neo realist concepts which considered that the military power as a critical element in world politics and the assumption that the Power is based on the material capabilities can be used. Moreover, to counterbalance the analysis of the hypothesis of the nuclear strategy the game-theory can be used.

Accordingly, realists believe that power is the currency of international politics. Great powers, the main actors in the realists' account, pay careful attention to how much economic and military power they have relative to each other (Mearsheimer 2006). In that sense, structural realism concept is

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[10] Moltz J.C & Mansourov, *The North Korean Nuclear Program Security, Strategy, and New Perspectives from Russia*, Routledge, New York and London

based on the balance of power and competition among themselves either to gain power at the expense of others or at least to make sure they do not lose power. The material capabilities that a state controls made the base for power. The balance of power is mainly a function of the tangible military assets that states possess, such as armoured divisions and nuclear weapons. They do so because the structure of the international system leaves them little choice if they want to survive. This competition for power makes for a dangerous world where states sometimes fight each other. (Mearsheimer 2006)

Therefore, military power is still a critical element in world politics. Being the world's two great liberal democracies, USA and the UK have fought five wars together since the Cold War ended in 1989 and with the escalation of nuclear weapon threat from North Korea remind us that nuclear proliferation remains a major problem, and it is not difficult to posit plausible scenarios (Mearsheimer 2006)

Kenneth Waltz (1979) maintain that it is unwise for states to try to maximize their share of world power, because the system will punish them if they attempt to gain too much power. North Korea is currently estimated to possess about 50 kilograms of separated plutonium, enough material for more than 10 warheads, and activities suggest that its stockpile will continue to expand. North Korea is also known to possess centrifuges, and may enrich uranium for weapons purposes. Based on estimates from North Korea's known centrifuge facility, Pyongyang could have produced enough highly-enriched uranium for an estimated 6-8 warheads, bringing the total count to 16-18 as of late 2016. Independent experts assess that North Korea could have as many as 20-100 warheads by 2020. (Arms control Association). So, some combination of options has always been in play: negotiations, sanctions, and the threat of force, and pressure on China to use its influence with the North. Beijing wants to avoid a collapse of its impoverished neighbor. The dissolution of North Korea could mean a flood of economic refugees into China and the creation of a capitalist Korea controlled by Seoul and friendly with the United States. (Charbonneau 2013)

North Korea's strategic weapons program is a complex and difficult issue with no simple solution as none of these tactics have worked. Paranoid and

isolated regimes in the North have considered deliverable nuclear weapons as their principal deterrent against the actions of United States and that of global plyers. They have decided that bearing the costs of possessing such weapons is well worth for their efficacy in ensuring regime survival signifying the structural realism concept the structure or architecture of the international system forces states to pursue power. In a system where there is no higher authority that sits above the great powers, and where there is no guarantee that one will not attack another, it makes eminently good sense for each state to be powerful enough to protect itself in the event it is attacked (Mearsheimer 2006).

 Given North Korea's leadership is rational, it stands to reason that the only thing that would cause them to actually use nuclear weapons would be a direct and imminent threat to their survival. In this zero-sum world, it is difficult for a state to improve its prospects for survival without threatening the survival of other states. Of course, the threatened states then do whatever is necessary to ensure their survival, which, in turn, threatens other states, all of which leads to perpetual security competition. (Mearsheimer 2006).Hence, North Korean regime needs to continue to pay the price for its nuclear weapons program, if only to deter other nuclear aspirants such as Iran. This implies continued sanctions with the potential for escalating them. (Winnefeld et al. 2017).

The structural imperatives described above are reflected in the famous concept of the security dilemma.[11]The essence of that dilemma is that most steps a great power takes to enhance its own security decrease the security of other states. For example, any country that improves its position in the global balance of power does so at the expense of other states, which lose relative power.

It is also possible, if that China and the USA could get dragged into a war over North Korea. (Mearsheimer 2006). It reflects through the roe of United States actions in related to maintaining pressure on China as a rising global power and as a major counterpart of North Korea. But on the other hand, only thing China dislikes indeed, were fears more than a nuclear armed

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[11] A situation in which actions taken by a state to increase its own security cause reactions from other states, which in turn lead to a decrease rather than an increase in the original state's security.

North Korea is a *destabilized* nuclear-armed North Korea (Winnefeld et al. 2017). Game theory uses mathematical models to study conflict and cooperation between rational decision-makers.[12]

Apart from that, prisoner's dilemma which accompanies with the Game theory can be used to analyze further the Korean Nuclear crisis where it assumes to attack or not to attack and there the each player has the opportunity to screw over the other. Nevertheless, the prisoner's dilemma do not assume predictions. Because in the presence of a credible threat of retaliation the country that has an incentive to cooperate and not to attack will act against their own interest in the short-term because it assures them no retaliation. So, dominant strategy would be to deceive or to attack. And this thinking was used as a way to reason about the stockpiling of nuclear weapons. Game theory can be used to provide one mathematical justification for the argument that nuclear buildup makes the world a more peaceful place.

Game theory has numerous applications, ranging from solving problems involving offense and defense[13] to the design of optimal penalties to deter crime, which can be viewed as a rational choice decision[14]. It is a field that involves reasoning mathematically about what happens when you have different actors who are strategic, who have different objectives, and what might happen when you have those actors in the same environment.

In most applications of game theory, all players are assumed to be rational and desiring to maximize their rewards. Each player also assumes that the other players will act rationally. This assumption guarantees that each player makes a correct prediction on the choices of the other players, and hence, is able to make the best choice for himself/herself. In the scenario of North

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[12] Cavusoglu, H. & Raghunathan, S., Yue, W.T., 2008. Decision-theoretic and game-theoretic approaches to IT security investment. *Journal of Management Information Systems* 25 (2), pp 281–304.

[13] Ibid

[14] Lee.S, 1994, The Nuclear Question and U.S. Policy on the Korean Peninsula: A Critical Understanding of U.S.-North Korean Nuclear Talks and South Korean Unification Policy, pp.15-28

Korean nuclear escalation, the side that makes an uncompromising commitment to aggression will win. According to Tim Roughgarden, professor of computer science at Stanford University, the author of "Twenty Lectures on Algorithmic Game Theory", Game theory has been used to think about military issues since the beginning of the field in the 1940s. The players in the North Korean nuclear game must pursue gradual de-escalation, characterized by mutual concessions. However it should not forget that there is no victor in a nuclear war.

Conclusion

North Korea's impact on the world scene outweighs its size. The effects of the North Korean situation on their trade, currencies and share dealing have an impact all over the world. Intelligence analysts, military specialists and government leaders continually monitor and analyze these and other geopolitical situations and potential scenarios. The international community is concerned about North Korea for a number of reasons: The erratic, unpredictable and aggressive nature of its government, Its lack of commitment to abide by internationally accepted codes of conduct, the threat of it attacking and occupying South Korea where the question lies on the effects of an aggressive nuclear North Korea shape the future balance of world power. However, no human being can precisely predict the decisions a rogue nation will make, or how the outcome of such decisions will affect mankind's future.

In order to address the escalating nuclear threat of North Korea it need to understand the importance of choosing the right course of action. The country may be building the dangerous weapons to gain attention, or to establish an independent deterrent and be recognized as a nuclear weapons state. Hence security guarantees or crippling economic sanctions and military threats might convince the DPRK to roll back the program. The situation is further complicated by the country's internal vulnerability. Thus, the main task before the international community is to ensure that North Korea is punished for defying the international regime without sabotaging the success of a potential diplomatic effort and to break the pattern of defiance, in which negotiations had only given the regime more time to enhance its nuclear capabilities.

General measures to strengthen the global nonproliferation regime, entry into force of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and negotiation of a

global fissile material production cutoff. The performance of the CTBT's International Monitoring System (IMS) and increased publicity for the organization may help create positive political momentum for the CTBT ratification.[15]

It would be more effective if the parties try to adhere into diplomatic Solutions outside the Six-Party talks. Although North Korea has yet again agreed to talk, it insists on communicating with the United States directly and renounces the Six-Party Talks. It is time to look for diplomatic solutions outside of the Six-Party framework, conceding to both official and non-official direct talks, if necessary. As Paul B. Stares, director of the Center for Preventive Action at CFR, recommends considering the current vulnerability of North Korea, it is important to assure the DPRK that as long as no new violations of the nonproliferation regime occur, the transition of power from Kim Jong-il will suffer no interferences.

However, diplomatic efforts must be combined with other measures. To punish the DPRK for its defiance, a new Security Council resolution with relatively strict measures is necessary. Because North Korea's nuclear abilities remain not fully reliable, they can still be successfully contained by means of financial restrictions and tightened arms embargoes on critical items and technologies. China is especially capable of exerting political and economic pressure on the DPRK as trade with Beijing accounts for 73 percent of North Korea's international trade. An important consideration in here is expanding the scope of sanctions without aggravating the suffering of the North Korean population.

It need to give priority to prevent North Korea from transferring critical materials and technologies to others. The latest mandates contained in Resolution 1874 and the declared mission of the Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI) can serve to this end only if China and many others can be persuaded to join the PSI. Better international cooperation within various frameworks provides for better and timely intelligence sharing and allows

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[15] After North Korea threatened to test again in April 2009, the CTBTO's International Data Center (IDC) prepared for the possibility of test, detected the explosion when it came and alerted the international community. The CTBTO's contributions to strengthening international nuclear nonproliferation and security are now more widely appreciated. The extent to which the IMS was able to detect this test appears to have increased its credibility and exemplified the difficulty conducting nuclear test without being detected. http://www.nti.org/e_research/e3_north_korea_nuclear_test.html

efficient policy coordination, which could reduce the nuclear technologies spreading from North Korea to other nuclear aspirants. The Security Council must provide the UN member states with the means of enforcing the new restrictions.

Most important thing is to normalize DPRK's relations with the outside world. It would be effective if community provide its assistance with developing non-nuclear energy sources and modernizing agriculture with Western technologies and equipment. If the gap between the isolated and technologically inferior North Korea and its better faring neighbors is bridged, a permanent peace regime on the peninsula will be easier to achieve.

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Analysis of economic consequences of Brexit for the United Kingdom

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Abstract

United Kingdom (UK) has been one of the prominent members of the European Union (EU). However the UK has not actually left the EU yet Britain's decision to exit from the EU (Brexit) will produce the long-run effects for UK. This study has been conducted in order to "identify the economic consequences of Brexit for the UK. It is important that businesses and individuals should have an informed view on the potential economic impacts according to their vote thus they can plan that the UK should remain in or leave the EU. The methodology that has followed for the study is qualitative in nature while only based on secondary data and applied descriptive analysis. The study has been produced analyses of the economic changes to UK trade, with a focus on the costs of leaving the Single Market, Consequences of Brexit for the City of London as a global financial centre and Consequences of Brexit on the labour market in response to changes in immigration. Finally, the study discuss the future relationship between the UK and the EU based on their preferences. The findings of the study suggest that the UK will negotiate a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) with the EU, however will suffer substantial economic repercussions from exiting the Union. Hence the UK will have to give up sovereignty in trade for market access but the problem is that the UK is reluctant to do so.

Key words: UK, European Union, Brexit, Labour market, FTA

Introduction

In January 2013, David Cameron, the British Prime Minister, held a speech there he pledged to hold an in-out referendum on the UK's membership of the EU before the end of 2017 (CEP[1] 2014). UK citizens are rather displeasure towards the EU's agenda of increasing integration and the large inflow of EU migrants to the UK labour market (Glencross 2015). Further, the Conservative party is fall out in two on whether to remain or leave the EU (Whyte 2015). The referendum commitment is a political resolution by the Conservative government to confirm its basis and the constituency. Hence, Cameron has consented to renegotiate the terms of UK membership in the EU with the hope that UK citizens will choose to stay in the Union on the back of more favourable membership terms. The EU has recently fought to keep Greece in the euro zone and it would make sense that it would go even further to keep the third largest economy in the EU. Finally in November 2015, Cameron announced UK's demands for reform to be:

1. To protect Single Market[2] rights for the UK and other members outside the euro zone, guaranteeing non-discrimination of non-euro countries.
2. To put competitiveness in the forefront and reduce regulation and bureaucracy that burdens business.
3. To exempt the UK from commitment to pursue an "ever closer union" in the form of greater integration among EU countries, and instead strengthen the role of national parliaments in the EU's decision-making.

An agreement to let the UK limit welfare benefits for European migrants for four years after they arrive in the country (Altinget 2015).

Altogether it is questionable whether the EU will agree to these demands, just as it is uncertain that UK voters will choose to maintain EU membership. In the referendum held on June 23, 2016, the United Kingdom voted to leave the European Union by a margin of 51.9 percent to 48.1

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[1] CEP - The Centre for Economic Performance (CEP) is an interdisciplinary research centre at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

[2] Single Market – The European Single Market is a single market that seeks to guarantee the free movement of goods, capital, services and labour within the European Union.

percent. Pound Sterling collapsed, from $1.50 to $1.33, within hours after the early results were announced. It concentrates the question how the UK economy will fare outside the EU, and whether it stands to gain or lose from Brexit. Hence it is highly applicable to analyze a situation where in the UK is no longer a member of the EU.

The primary purpose for joining the EU was to promote trade though integration of the member countries who has so far exceeded that and the UK economy is interconnected to the other members on many different levels. Therefore the United Kingdom will have higher trade costs with its closest neighbours in Europe (which account for about half of all U.K.Trade) and this will reduce its trade and then welfare. Thus Brexit's overall net cost will depend crucially on Britain's final trading arrangement with Europe. The Brexit decision is likely to harm economic growth in the UK in the short term. However the UK has not actually left the EU yet the real change may only happen once it does. Thus it is important to analyse the potential nature of this relationship based on the two year period following the UK formally beginning the Brexit process. Furthermore UK has been a very open country to the other countries across the globe. So the decision of leaving the EU surprised many countries of the world. Therefore this study is contributed to keep a perception of economic impacts of Brexit for the UK and prepare for the future economic crisis and also the findings of this research are expected to facilitate businesses and individuals of the UK in taking decisions regarding Brexit.

The main purpose of this study is to identify the economic consequences of Brexit for the UK. More specifically, this research has two objectives:
To identify the economic consequences of Brexit for the UK.
To discuss the future relationship between the UK and the EU based on their Preferences.

Furthermore, it cannot cover all areas of the economy that will be affected by Brexit and it have instead focussed on three main issues. Hence, the study focuses on areas that arguably will have large economic impacts on the UK and for where there are developed theories to predict the outcomes. Accordingly this study focuses on Brexit's impact via the likely changes in trade with a focus on the costs of leaving the Single Market, which is the most bvious aspect that will change. It also looks at Consequences of Brexit for the City of London as a global financial centre and Consequences of Brexit on the labour market in response to changes in immigration. Further, the

study will look into the future relationship between the UK and the EU in order to determine the EU and UK preferences for a future relationship.

The remainder of the article is structured as follows: First, The research methodology is presented and data analysis techniques are discussed. Next, it reviews the existent literature relevant to the economic consequences of Brexit for the UK. The findings of the study are then presented. The article concludes with a summary of the study's research contributions and directions for future research.

Methodology

The methodology that has followed for the study is qualitative in nature while only based on secondary data. This is essentially because of the nature of this study and on the other hand the types of data required to test and validate the objectives. Hence this study begins with an examination of secondary sources such as books, journal articles, reports, institutional and official document in addition to government publications. It is applied the qualitative descriptive method of data analysis in order to justify the analysis of the study.

Literature Review

Forecasts from academic publications have indicated that "the economic fall-out from the Brexit vote will result in UK's economic growth over the next two years falling by one per cent from an estimated 2.3% to just 1.3% per annum" (Economic Outlook 2016b, p. 1). Other analysis indicates that "the pound sterling may fall by 15 percent from its Pre-Brexit peak by the end of 2016" (Economic Outlook 2016a, p. 5). Los et al. (2017, p. 790) argues that "It is not surprising that EU markets are more important to UK regions than London markets, given that the EU markets are some 33 times larger than the London markets". Matti and Zhou (2017, p. 1131) states that "'remain' voters emphasized the economic risks of leaving and dangers of isolation, while national sovereignty and immigration control were highlighted by 'leavers'". Furthermore Ramiah et al. (2017, p. 2508) contests that "It is too early to get a feel of the economic and financial effects of Brexit on the British economy, particularly because the country is still part of the European Union".

Yet Meager et al. (2016, p.8) states that "In particular Brexit may hinder the ability of the London financial markets to continue to act as a financial and clearing centre for the EU as a whole". It has been argued that "The EU

influences almost 60 per cent of the UK's laws, which are determined by what is best for the EU as a whole, not what is best for the UK" (Grayling 2016). Further, the EU insists that "third countries have regulation and supervision of their financial sectors equivalent to that of the EU, meaning that the UK would have to continue to carry out and implement new EU legislation to ensure market access" (Whyte 2015,p,9). In scenarios with different UK-EU trade agreements, they estimated that "the economic consequences to be between 0.8% and 0.6% of permanent loss to GDP by 2030" (Booth et al.2015, p, 4). Ramiah et al. (2017,p. 2510) suggests that "after all, Brexit will change the landscape as Britain will no longer be part of the single market, with free movement of goods, services, people and capital within the EU's border".

Although some researchers have paid attention to economic impacts of Brexit for the UK (Baker et al., 2015; Armstrong, A & Portes, J, 2016; Fischer, 2016; Springford, J, 2016; Stiftung, B, 2015; Collinson, P, 2016.), little is known about both negative and positive economic impacts of Brexit for the UK (Sophie, NV, 2015; John, V R, 2016; Capital Economics for Woodford investment Management, 2016; Armstrong, A and Portes, J, 2016; Economists for Brexit, 2016). Past researchers on Brexit has concentrated only one broad issue. That is, this research seeks to fill the gap by providing both key negative and positive economic impacts of Brexit for the UK.

The theories of Intergovernmentalism and Neoliberalism was adopted as the framework for analysing the economic consequences of Brexit for the United Kingdom. Intergovernmentalism is a theory seeking to explain the process of European integration rather than the nature of the EU. The theory is based on realist assumptions about the role of state and thus states that national governments are uniquely powerful entities in the global arena. Therefore it have treated the UK as a single actor driven by the government, who seeks to promote national interests first and foremost. Economic Neoliberalism allows to analyse the effects of barriers to trade and restrictions on labour and financial markets.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The UK would be the first member state to exit the EU and accordingly there is no precedence for establishing relationships with former member states. At current, the UK government is pushing for a reform in the EU, hence the UK may face improved conditions in their EU membership before the referendum. The study will focus on comparing the current conditions to the ones the UK may face as a non-EU member. By being a member state of the

EU, the UK is part of the world largest internal market consisting of 508 million people and with a total GDP of $18.46 trillion (World Bank 2015). This economic zone gives UK businesses extensive opportunity to export their goods and services, unrestricted as they are by customs duties[3] or tariffs[4] or different sets of regulations. However compared with remaining in the European Union, there will certainly be higher trade costs with the rest of Europe, which concerns for about half of all UK trade. This will mean lower trade and foreign investment, and thus lower average UK incomes. On the other hand Brexit's supposed benefits such as lower immigration, better regulations, and more trade deals with non-EU countries would do little or nothing to compensate these losses. It seems unlikely that voters were fully aware of the dimension of these costs at the time of the vote.

The Consequences of Brexit for UK Trade

The European Union membership raised U.K. GDP per capita by between 8.6 and 10.6 (percent Nicholas Crafts 2016) .Membership in the European Union has reduced trade costs between the United Kingdom and the rest of Europe. Most admittedly, there is a customs union between EU members, which means that all tariff barriers have been removed within the EU, allowing for free trade in goods and services. But similarly important in reducing trade costs has been the reduction of nontariff barriers[5] resulting from the European Union's continuing efforts to create a Single Market within Europe.

These reductions in trade barriers have escalated trade between the United Kingdom and the other members of the European Union In 2014, the 27 other EU members accounted for 45 percent of U.K. exports, and 53 percent of imports (Office for National Statistics 2015). This higher trade provides benefits for U.K. consumers through lower prices and access to better goods and services. At the same Time, workers and businesses benefit from new export opportunities that lead to higher sales and profits, and allow the United Kingdom to specialize in those industries where it has a comparative advantage. Through these processes, increased trade raises output, incomes, and living standards in the United Kingdom.

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[3] Customs duties – The duties levied by a government on imported goods.

[4] Tariffs – a tax or duty to be paid on a particular class of imports or exports.

[5] nontariff barriers – It is a form of restrictive trade where barriers to trade are set up and take a form other than a tariff. Ex: Quotas, embargoes, sanctions, levies and other restrictions.

Considering the amount of the trade volume between the UK and the EU, the main potential cost of Brexit will come in the form of lower trade (CEP 2014). Dhingra et al. (2016a) (Lecturers and individual researchers in Centre for Economic Performance London School of Economics and Political Science), utilize a modern quantitative trade model to estimate Brexit's effects on trade and living standards which provides points for how much real incomes change under different trade policies, using readily available data on trade volumes and potential trade barriers of the global economy. It is not known exactly how the United Kingdom's relations with the European Union will change following Brexit. To tackle this, it is need to identify both key negative and positive economic impacts of Brexit for the trade of UK. Therefore it must make assumptions about how trade costs will change following Brexit.

The United Kingdom's trade relations with the European Union will become similar to those currently enjoyed by Norway. As a member of the European Economic Area (EEA)[6], Norway has a free trade agreement with the European Union, which means that there are no tariffs on trade between the two and Norway is also a member of the European Single Market, and thus it has adopted policies and regulations designed to reduce nontariff barriers within the Single Market. However, Norway is not a member of the European Union's Customs Union, so it faces some nontariff barriers that do not apply to EU members, such as rules of origin requirements and antidumping duties. Hence Norway's productivity growth has been harmed by not fully participating in the European Union's market integration programs (Campos et al. 2015). It assume that the United Kingdom and the European Union will continue to enjoy deep access to the Single Market like Norway and that Brexit will not lead to any change in tariff barriers. And on the other hand it assume that trade between the United Kingdom and the European Union will be governed by World Trade Organization (WTO) rules.

This indicates larger increases in trade costs, because most-favoured-nation tariffs[7] will be imposed on trade between the UK and the EU because the WTO will make less progress on reducing nontariff barriers than the

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[6] European Economic Area – it is an area of free trade and free movement of peoples comprising the member States of the EU, in addition to Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein.

[7] most-favoured-nation tariffs- In current usage, MFN tariffs are what countries promise to impose on imports from other members of the WTO, unless the country is part of a preferential trade agreement.

European Union. The increases in trade costs between the United Kingdom and the European Union following Brexit can be divided into three categories: I. higher tariffs on imports; II. Higher nontariff barriers to trade, arising from different regulations, border controls, and the like; and III. the lower likelihood of the United Kingdom participating in future EU integration efforts, such as the continued reduction of nontariff barriers.

Like all EU members, the United Kingdom makes a contribution to the EU budget; this net fiscal contribution has been estimated at about 0.53 percent of national income (HM Treasury 2013). One benefit of Brexit for the United Kingdom would be a reduced contribution to the EU budget. But Brexit would not necessarily mean that the United Kingdom would eliminate all contributions to the EU budget.

Table 1. The static effects of Brexit on UK living standards

	Soft Brexit [a]	Hard Brexit [b]
Trade effects	-1.37	-2.92
Fiscal benefits	0.09	0.31
Total welfare change	-1.28	-2.61
Unilateral Liberalization [c]	0.30	0.32
Total welfare change	-0.98	-2.29

Source: Dhingra et al. 2016

a. Soft Brexit [8]assumes that the United Kingdom could negotiate a deal like Norway's, so tariffs would remain zero.
b. Hard Brexit [9]assumes that the United Kingdom and the EU impose most-favoured-nation tariffs on each other.
c. Unilateral liberalization [10]further assumes that the United Kingdom would impose zero tariffs on all imported goods.

Table 1 summarizes the results of the analysis. For each case, it has calculate the percentage change in the level of income per capita that has the same effect on living standards in the United Kingdom as Brexit. The results here report should be interpreted as permanent changes in average income per

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[8] Soft Brexit – it essentially means the UK maintaining a membership of the EU Single market, with access to free movement and consequently the trading of goods and services with EU members.

[9] Hard Brexit – it is favoured by leave voters.

[10] Unilateral liberalization – The country applying it will abolish protectionist tariffs on imports.

capita in the United Kingdom that occur immediately following Brexit (relative to the status quo of remaining a full member of the European Union).

In the soft Brexit scenario, there is an overall fall in income of 1.28 per cent (a loss of 1.37 percent from trade, plus a lower net fiscal transfer of 0.09 percent) that is driven by current and future changes in nontariff barriers. Nontariff barriers play a particularly important role in restricting trade in services, an area where the United Kingdom is a major exporter. In the hard Brexit scenario, the overall loss increases to 2.61 percent.

It calculate that this would reduce the costs of Brexit by about 0.3 percentage point in both scenarios. But the overall net effect of Brexit remains negative. Part of the reason for this is that WTO tariffs are already quite low, so further reductions do not make a substantial difference. Integration is not simply a matter of lowering tariff rates, but also requires policies such as hammering out regulatory differences in services that rely on international agreements and cannot be achieved unilaterally.

The costs of leaving the Single Market

The Single Market is much more than an area cleared of national tariffs and customs. It is a grand project built over many years, involving, deregulation, re-regulation, standardization and spillovers into social- and labour policies. The United Kingdom is a very open economy and UK companies will be highly exposed to international competition after Brexit, hence, they will be forced to remain competitive. However, the UK companies will feel the absence of the efforts of Directorate General for Competition (DG COMP)[11], especially in the area of monopoly behaviour (Bache George 2006). Hence, the Single Market has not aggravated monopoly behaviour as predicted by theory, on the contrary UK companies may suffer for leaving the EU, as the UK will not have the same power to enforce monopoly rules for big players such as e.g. Google or Facebook. Assuming Britain does not remain in the single market, then even if the UK managed to negotiate a free trade agreement, exporters would face additional costs in selling into the EU.

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[11] Directorate General for Competition – it is a Director General of the European Commission it is responsible for establishing and implementing a coherent competition policy for the EU.

Moreover, EU investments are intended to benefit the EU as a whole, hence EU funding to one country should benefit other members. That is, the UK is indirectly affected by the investments in other EU countries.

The potential benefits of Brexit to trade of UK

In recent years, export growth for the UK has, in the main, come from outside the EU. Over the coming years, economic growth is likely to be much stronger in the rest of the world than in the EU. Brexit would therefore give Britain a crucial opportunity by allowing it to broker its own trade deals with non – European Union countries. The UK would be able to reduce the tariffs on imported goods from those countries to below European Union levels; indeed Britain could even have a unilateral free trade policy. Britain would, in exchange for lowering its import tariffs, be able to negotiate easier access to overseas markets.

Britain could negotiate its own deals with these countries; it could even join other free trade agreements such as the North American free Trade Association. It would still have scope to strike new deals with countries with which the EU does not have immediate plans to open up trade. This may be of particular benefit to Britain and its manufacturing industry, as its external sector is more dependent on markets outside the EU than other members. The possibility of tariffs on goods exports to the EU gives greater downside potential, while the opportunity to open up trade with other countries or to increase the sector's competition or cheaper inputs gives it more upside potential.

The Consequences of Brexit for the City of London

The City of London is the largest financial centre in Europe, accounting for 28% of total UK services exports and 27% of the export of business services (Office for National Statistics in UK 2015).The EU has facilitated the liberalisation of financial markets, and EU membership is thus perceived as an advantage to the UK's financial services industry (Stichele 2008).Summing up, the UK has an incredibly strong advantage in the financial services sector making it a prime location for financial activity and the City of London is therefore expected to maintain its large market share even after Brexit.

Nevertheless, some changes will impact the City. First, businesses may suffer from reduced access, as well as tariff and non-tariff barriers, especially

due to the fact that for third countries because financial services are subject to the national regulation of the member states. Consequently, the main cost of exiting the union will be the loss of control. Arguably the UK has already suffered some due to Eurozone caucusing and loss of access to decisions made regarding the Eurozone. Nevertheless, the UK stands to lose all influence if it leaves the EU. Even if the UK can avoid implementing EU regulations by having its regulatory framework recognised, the UK will be highly affected by EU decisions.

As a non-EU member, the UK would have to rely on EU members outside of the Eurozone to press charges and protect the Single Market, but no other member state outside the Eurozone have as strong a motive to protect their financial sectors, as none are as important to the national economy as London is to the UK. Comparatively, as an EU member, the UK can still shape the financial legislation and for instance seek to weaken Eurozone influence. In addition, the UK has the responsibility of challenging initiatives in the European Court of Justice, if Single Market rights are being violated.

The actual economic consequences are more difficult to determine. Even though the Single Market is central to much of the City's business, it is evident that as long as UK regulation and supervision are counted as equal to that of the EU. So London business should not carry major losses. Hence, the future for the City of London is much more uncertain outside EU membership, than inside.

The Consequences of Brexit for the Labour market in response to changes in immigration

A major factor in the Brexit referendum was the desire to reduce immigration. Freedom of movement is a central principle of the European Union and instead of that provide the full access to the Single Market. EU migrants are on average better educated, more likely to work, and less likely to claim welfare benefits than the British-born workers (Wadsworth et al. 2016). Hence, they have effectively accommodated the public services of U.K. nationals. Further, a detailed analysis of the local labour market impact of these large immigrant flows since 2004 shows no significant fall in jobs or wages for British-born workers, for either the Average or less-skilled components of the distribution. The rising levels of immigration over the years 2000 -2005 lowered the wage level, lowered inflation and kept interest rates low, thus immigration has been a net benefit for the U.K economy (Ruhs 2006). Hence, reducing immigration after Brexit will do nothing to compensate the negative trade and FDI effects of Brexit.

It could be assumed that net immigration results in increased demand for labour along with a higher supply, thus higher unemployment is rarely the case. In the 1990s, the net inflow of migrants was consistent with falling unemployment in the UK (Pettinger 2015). The first consequence then would be a smaller labour force, in turn decreasing national output, and eventually, the demand for labour will decrease as well. The UK labour market will be less flexible, and unemployment may rise in some sectors, while underemployment rises in others. For instance employees taking caretaker jobs will be underrepresented, as UK citizens either do not possess the relevant skills or do not wish to work in the sector (Ruhs 2006). Migrants help counter the United Kingdom's rising demographic problem by supplying people of the working age that in turn rarely stays in the UK long enough to become part of the elder burden.

However there is no 100% accurate evidence that immigrants increase unemployment in the UK, to the contrary, they create more jobs, which so far has also benefited the UK labour force. Whether the United Kingdom gains any powers to restrict immigration from Europe will depend on its future relationship with the EU. It is likely that after Brexit UK would not agree to the free movement of labour with the EU. Policy would change to restrict the number of low skilled workers entering the country and shift towards attracting more highly skilled workers. This would be a potential headache for low-wage sectors heavily dependent on migrant labour such as agriculture but could benefit other sectors with a lack of highly skilled labours. Overall policy would shift to be more specifically designed for Britain's migration requirements.

The Future Relationship between the UK and the EU

"Those in favour of leaving the EU say we could still be part of the Single Market. They may be right. But who would set the rules? Not us. It would be those within the European Union. We would live by rules that we have no say in making ourselves (...). Unable to change the terms of trade." Ed Miliband, speaking for the Confederation of British Industry in 2012 (Burrage 2014)

Members of the European Union have a common trade policy and are represented by the EU in all international trade negotiations. After Brexit, the United Kingdom will become an independent player, free to seek its own trade deals with the rest of the world. The United Kingdom could regulate this freedom to look for new trade deals with countries such as China, India,

and the United States. Trade with such non-EU countries does indeed rise after Brexit, as trade diversion falls (Dhingra et al. 2016a). But the dimension of these increases is not nearly enough to compensate the decline in trade with the EU. The European Union is the United Kingdom's closest neighbour, and the world's largest market in terms of GDP, so it is difficult to compensate the damage from increasing its trade costs vis-a-vis the EU.

When negotiating post-Brexit trade deals, the United Kingdom would not need to compromise with other EU countries as it does now. Conversely, the United Kingdom would need to take on the cost of hiring civil servants to rebuild its capacity to engage in trade negotiations. More important, because Britain's GDP is less than one-fifth of the EU Single Market's GDP, it would have less bargaining power in trade negotiations than the EU does.

The question is whether future trade deals applied by the United Kingdom for access to non-EU markets are going to be much better than the current and future deals the EU. But it seems doubtful because the negotiating power of UK is less than EU.

Conclusion

It appears that the United Kingdom is moving toward the most economically damaging form of a hard Brexit. In the study of the trade relationship between the UK and the EU, It could be found that the trade with the EU is vital to the UK economy. If the UK leaves without a trade agreement, the total trade volume will fall drastically as an effect of not only tariff barriers, but also significant non-tariff barriers to trade. The UK financial sector has strong comparative advantages and is not likely to be affected to the same extent, though the UK will carry a major loss of sovereignty, regardless of the future arrangement between the two parties. This in turn has unknown consequences, as future EU decisions will affect UK financial markets. Lastly, the UK can, as a non-EU member, continue to allow the free inflow of EU migrants, thus maintaining the status quo. However, this would not be in line with the current political agenda, and it is expected that the UK will seek to restrict either access or benefits for migrants. Altogether, findings of the study suggest that Brexit cannot be justified from an economic perspective.

The UK would have the freedom to pursue its own external trade agenda, while enjoying tariff free trade in the Single Market. However, the UK would not be a full participant in the Single Market, thus being cut off from certain sectors is a risk. The findings of the study suggest that the UK will

negotiate a Free Trade Agreement[12] (FTA) with the EU, however will suffer substantial economic repercussions from exiting the Union. It is the most probable arrangement both the EU and the UK could agree. There is little doubt that the UK will be better off than if WTO obligations set out the framework. With an FTA the UK will gain further access and lower barriers to trade. Additionally, it will be more beneficial than a customs union, as the UK will have an opportunity to independently pursue FTAs. However, it is uncertain to what extend trade in services will be covered by an FTA, whether the City of London maintains access to the Single Market, and whether the UK will have to allow an unlimited inflow of EU migrants. Hence the UK will have to give up sovereignty in trade for market access but the problem is that the UK is reluctant to do so.

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[12] Free Trade Agreement – It involve cooperation between at least two countries to reduce trade barriers- import quotas and tariff and to increase trade of goods and services.

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Sri Lanka–China Trade Relations

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Abstract

Sri Lanka and China relations date backs over 20 centuries based on shared religious and cultural values, economic links and formal diplomatic relations. In that manner, Sri Lanka has built an enduring, multi-dimensional and deep-rooted relationship with China. The longstanding ties of closeness between the two countries are underpinned by mutual trust and confidence. The 1952 Sino-Lanka Rubber-Rice Pact and the First Agreement on Economic and Technological Cooperation in 1962 are very important formal relations between these two nations. More recently, economic and political ties have been strengthened between the two counties culminating in the establishment of formal diplomatic relations. The economic agreements signed in 1982, Sino-Lanka Joint Trade Committee and Sino-Lanka Economic and Trade Cooperation Committee, were amalgamated in 1991 as the Sino-Lanka Joint Commission for Economic and Trade Cooperation. Further, the Sri Lanka-China Business Cooperation Council was formed in 1994 and eight bilateral agreements and Memorandum of Understanding were signed in 2007 on golden jubilee celebrations of diplomatic relations between the two countries. It is impressive to see that throughout the 50 years since the establishment of formal diplomatic relations, China has provided assistance for Sri Lanka's economic development in many ways. China-Sri Lanka relationship is an excellent instance of 'big nation-small nation relations' with mutual benefits experienced by both nations. This research is largely descriptive and author used qualitative data for the subsequent analysis. Different resources such as news articles, research papers, working papers, conference reports etc collected data. Therefore, this article is mainly written in order to, critically analyze the growing economic links between the two countries and the co objectives are to understand the mutual benefits and Challenges.

Key Words: Sino-Sri Lanka Trade Agreement, economy, power, Chinese investments

Introduction

Sri Lanka's economic relations with China date back centuries when the island's harbors were central in east-west sea trade. Both Sri Lanka and China have many factors in common, including the principle of friendship towards all, enmity towards none in its diplomacy. In addition, both the countries have a recorded and proven history of adhering to the principles of peaceful co-existence, non-aggression, maintaining world peace and believing in a harmonious world by being included into the non-aligned movement.

In the twenty-first century, both countries are growing closer economically through trade and investment projects. China is a fastest growing economy and it is the second largest economy in the world. Sri Lanka, with approximately 22 million people 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.

The economic relations between these two countries can be traced back to the 1952 Rubber-Rice Pact. Recently, the economic ties have been strengthened through the 1982 Sino-Lanka Joint Trade Committee and through the Sino-Lanka Economic and Trade Cooperation Committee. Moreover, the Sri Lanka-China Business Cooperation Council was formed in 1994 and in 2009 the Central Bank of Sri Lanka and the China Development Bank signed an Investment Facilitation Agreement in order to develop the economic bonds between the two countries. Likewise, China has been a close ally of Sri Lanka approximately through the history of 60 years.

Sri Lanka's economy is yet in a developing background as it is the 81st trading country and 115th world most complicated economical country. However, Sri Lanka is developed in educational, health and agricultural sectors and it is the highest literate country in south Asia and one of the highest among the developing countries. Even though Sri Lanka is a less powerful nation, Sri Lanka's proximity to the busiest international maritime

trade route, key choke points [1]in the Indian Ocean, the natural harbors, the discovery of natural gases and oil resources and Sri Lanka being a part of the String of Pearls and Maritime Silk Route (MSR) has influenced China's pro-Sri Lankan foreign policy. Therefore, through the usage of the bilateral economic relationship between the two countries, Sri Lanka should be able to get the advantages from emerging economic giant –China, in order to develop Sri Lanka.

Methodology

This research is based on qualitative data and it is largely descriptive, and it aimed at gathering in depth understanding towards the discussed phenomenon. Mainly secondary data have been used in discussing the research area. Secondary data has been gathered through news articles, published articles, e-journals statistical reports, economist speeches and working and published papers.

Sri Lanka - China relations date backs over twenty centuries and the mutual relationship has been able to continue up to date. Therefore, identification of the importance of Sri Lanka as a trading partner to China and identification of the importance of China as a trading partner to Sri Lanka will be given the due focus. Additionally, the big nation – small nation relations and the mutual bilateral benefits will be highlighted.

Literature Review

Free trade theory

According to the theory of free trade, the international market in some countries does not restrict imports from and exports to other countries. As a result, most of the nations are today members of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and of multilateral trade agreements. Anyhow, most of the governments still impose protectionist policies in order to support local employment by applying tariffs on imports, subsidies on exports, import

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[1]A choke point is a geographical feature on land such as a valley, defile or a bridge or at sea such as a strait, which an armed force is forced to pass, sometimes on a substantially narrower front and therefore greatly decreasing its combat power, to reach its objective. A choke point can allow a numerically inferior defending force to thwart a larger opponent if the attacker cannot bring superior numbers to bear.

quotas, non-tariff barriers and limits on exporting natural resources. Nevertheless, contrastingly it is said that trade protectionism has a negative impact on the economic growth and economic welfare of a state and the free trade and the reduction of trade barriers may have a positive impact on economic growth. Anyhow, there several features of the free trade theory: trading of goods and services without taxes and other trade barriers, the absence of trade distorting policies which gives some firms, households or factors of production and advantage over others, unregulated access to markets and market information, inability of firms to distort markets through government imposed monopoly or oligopoly power and trade agreements which encourage free trade.

Neoclassical Economics

Neoclassical economics is an approach, which focuses on goods, outputs and income distributions in markets through supply and demand. Main assumptions of this theory are: people have rational preferences between outcomes that can be identified and associated with values, individuals maximize utility and firms maximize profits, people act independently on the basis of full and relevant information. Market supply and demand are aggregated across the firms and individuals. The market supply and demand for each factor of production is derived analogously to those for market final output to determine equilibrium income and the income distribution. Factor demand incorporates the marginal-productivity relationship of that factor in the output market.

Moreover, this economic theory states that competition leads to an efficient allocation of resources within an economy. This resource allocation establishes market equilibrium between supply and demand. Further, neoclassical economics stipulates that a good or service often has value that goes above and beyond its input costs. While classical economics believes that a product's value is derived as the cost of materials plus the cost of labor, neoclassical practitioners say that consumers have a perceived value of a product that affects its price and demand. Finally, this economic theory states that competition leads to an efficient allocation of resources within an economy. This resource allocation establishes market equilibrium between supply and demand. However, neoclassical economics is characterized by several assumptions common to many schools of economic thought. There is not a complete agreement on what is meant by neoclassical economics, and

the result is a wide range of neoclassical approaches to various problem areas and domains, which focuses from neoclassical theories of labor to neoclassical theories of demographic changes.

When observing the existing literature on Sri Lanka – China bilateral relations, it is evident that the relations between the two countries has been existed since five decades. (Jayarathne, 2017, p.1) Moreover, the Chinese activities in Sri Lanka are interpreted as economical and it is said that China focuses on providing loans on military activities as well as infrastructure development and the hidden ideology is getting much more closer towards the Sri Lankan government (Sri Lanka: recharting U.S strategy after the war, 2009, p.13).

However, China is a fast growing economy and a leading exporter in Asia and though China is a leading power in the international system China remains as a friend with Sri Lanka, irrespective of the power disparities. (Jayarathne, 2017, p.1) The establishment of naval ports provides access to the Indian Ocean and this strategy is commonly known as "String of Pearls". According to scholars, there are many hidden factors for the Chinese interest in the Indian Ocean as well as regarding the strategically important countries like Sri Lanka. Moreover, the main concern is the energy that has immense importance for Chinese security and economic needs.

'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).

Moreover, according to literature, it is said that the most influential factor of economic growth and trade relationship between countries are the geography, climate and economic policies. Additionally, as in the studies of Greenaway et al (1998), Yue, (1999), Pomfret, and Anderson (1997) provides information about Foreign Direct Investments (FDIS) and international trade. Furthermore, it says that Foreign Direct Investments and international trade contribute towards a positive economic growth. According to Barro and Martin (1991), they mention that low-level income, basic human capital, institutions and governance related issues are the main four vital factors in explaining the variation of economic growth among countries.

At present China is highly influential to Sri Lankan economy. Sri Lanka has being influential in an indirect way to China. Therefore, it is essential to understand the economic trend that is being shared between the two countries with a mutual understanding.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Figure 1: Historical Background of the Economic Relationship
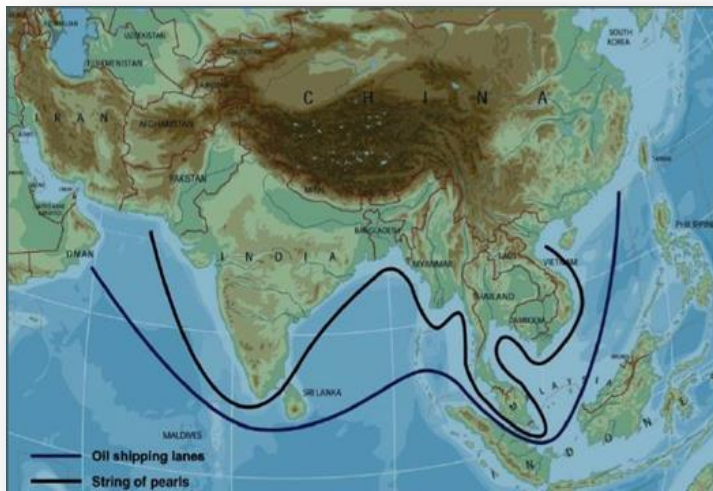
Source: Google Maps

Sri Lanka is located in a very strategic place in the Indian Ocean and it is known as the pearl of Indian Ocean. The location of the country caused to the trade relationship of many countries and became a prominent in the Chinese marine Silk Road[2]. This linked the regions of ancient commerce. Exchange of culture, art, religion, philosophy, technology, language, science, architecture, and every other element of civilization took place due to the establishment of the Silk Road. They were exchanged along with the commercial goods by the merchants.

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[2] The Silk Road or Silk Route was an ancient network of trade routes that for centuries were central to cultural interaction through regions of the Asian continent connecting the East and West from China to the Mediterranean Sea.

Sri Lanka - China historical relations date back for more than twenty centuries. Ancient relations were mainly based on religious and cultural links, rather than on commerce or trade.Fa-Hein, the great traveler monk from China visited Sri Lanka in 411 during the reign of King Mahanama. He was greatly moved to find silks here from native China and to witness a Chinese merchant offer a silk fan to a Buddha Image in Anuradhapura. On the other hand, Chinese records maintain that Persia bound vessels from China traded gems, spices and ivory at the flourishing port of Mantota, the present Hambanthota harbor.

During the time of King Mahanama (406-428) it was said that, King sent an emissary with an image of the Buddha to Chinese Emperor Hiao-ou-ti of the Tsin Dynasty. Another ambassador carried a letter and gifts to Chinese courts. The ambassadors reached China in 430 and 435 respectively (Bastiampillai, 1990). According to Kirinde (2002), the Sri Lankan political situation had been dramatically affected by the Ming Dynasty in China during the 15th century. A Chinese general, Cheng Ho, who first visited Sri Lanka in 1405, had been instructed by the Chinese emperor to bring the sacred relics of the Tooth and Bowl of the Buddha to China. The Sri Lankan King, Veera Alakeswara, insulted Cheng Ho, and consequently Cheng Ho seized the Sri Lankan King and his family and brought them to China in 1411 as prisoners. However, the Chinese emperor had benevolently released the King and his family.

During the Ming dynasty in the Yongle Emperor's reign, Admiral Zheng He's Treasure voyages visited Sri Lanka and fought in the Ming–Kotte War. The Galle Trilingual Inscription was erected in Galle, Sri Lanka in 1409 to commemorate Zheng He's second visit to the country. Beneath the Ming dynasty Sri Lanka became a tributary state for many years and it was during this period that Chinese influence most impacted Sri Lankan politics and commerce.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, Chinese immigrants migrated to Sri Lanka like many other parts of East, South and Southeast Asia. There were a great relationship with Chinese and Sri Lankans from the very early ages and Chinese tradesmen of varying skills who settled in the island set up business in several coastal towns in Galle where place names such as Chinese section (Cheena Koratuwa) are reminiscent of the early presence of their progenitors.

Much more records in Historical relations between China and Sri Lanka and it run for decades.

Post-Independence Relations

After Sri Lanka got independence, the development of relations between the two countries became crucial and important. Specifically, the signing of the Rubber - Rice Pact and the establishment of diplomatic relations with China occurred during this period. As the first agreement, this was a very impactful agreement to Sri Lanka. It was undoubtedly most useful trade agreement negotiated by Sri Lanka and one most successful and durable trade agreement in the world.

Mr. R.G. Senanayake, the then Minister of Commerce in Sri Lanka, and his Chinese counterpart, signed the agreement in the presence of China's Prime Minister on the 18th of December 1952. The agreement was renewed every five years until 1982 (Kelegama, 2014). According to this trade agreement, Sri Lanka committed to import 270,000 metric tons of rice from China annually and in return, China agreed to import 50,000 tons of rubber from Sri Lanka each year for five years.

The Rubber-Rice Pact was a timely and critical trade agreement for both countries. Sri Lanka was struggling to deal with increased international price of rice and sharply declined rubber prices due to a world-wide rice shortage and the introduction of synthetic rubber. During that period, China had a surplus of rice, and China found it difficult to purchase natural rubber due to the economic sanctions placed upon it by the United Nations. Hence, both countries mutually benefited from the pact and Sri Lanka was offered a 40% higher-than-market price for rubber, while importing rice at one third of the market price.

In 1957, Sri Lanka established formal diplomatic relations with China.The diplomatic relations between the two countries laid a solid foundation for both economic and political ties. The first agreement on Economic and Technical Cooperation was signed in 1962, following the historic visit of then Sri Lankan Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike, to China. The Sri Lankan Prime Minister's visit was very successful in securing and expanding Chinese assistance, especially for the construction of the Bandaranaike Memorial Conference Hall (BMICH).

Soon after her visit, in 1963, the two nations signed an agreement on their maritime relations. This agreement allowed commercial vessels to engage in operations between Sri Lanka and China or other third countries, and to be treated by Sri Lanka and China as bearing each other's Most Favored Nation (MFN) status (Kelegama, 2014). A Sri Lankan - Chinese Society, which closely works with China's Embassy in Sri Lanka, was created on the 5th of October 1981. The main objective of this society was to strengthen the relationship between the two countries. The society has forged a close relationship with the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC), which has a very strong reputation in China.

Both countries realized the need for a 'general trade pact' to expand their trade relations. Therefore, they formed the Sino-Sri Lanka Joint Trade Committee in 1982, to review the implementation of the agreement and marched one step ahead to sign an Agreement on Economic & Trade Cooperation in 1984. However, the Sino-Sri Lanka Joint Trade Committee (1982) and the Agreement on Economic & Trade Cooperation (1984) were merged in 1991, to form the Sri Lankan – Chinese Joint Commission. The initial meeting of the Sri Lankan - Chinese Joint Commission was held in 1992, followed by the second and third sessions in 1996 and 2000 respectively. The Joint Commission had broader objectives than trade relations, including exchanging information, organizing trade missions and delegations on conciliatory negotiations and releasing loan facilities for various development projects. In addition, the commission laid a foundation for tourism relations though cultural and religious engagements.

In 1994, Sri Lankan - Chinese Business Council was established, by integrating the leading private sector business partners in both countries, and was sponsored by the Ceylon Chamber of Commerce. The main objective of the Business Council is to expand and improve trade and investment relations between the two countries.

Bilateral Relations in the 21st Century

In the 21st century, the economic relationship between China and Sri Lanka has been consisted with high profile meetings, which has been able to strengthen the relationship between the two countries.

During the time of the golden jubilee celebration of the Sri Lanka – China relationship, the former President of Sri Lanka Mahinda Rajapaksha signed

two bilateral agreements, namely, the Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement and the Friendship City Relationship Agreement. Moreover, the Development Bank of China and the Central Bank of Sri Lanka signed an agreement in order to enhance the investment facilitation and to strengthen the long-term economic linkages between the two banks. Additionally, the 21st century's infrastructure development of Sri Lanka is fully supported by China. After the end of the civil war in Sri Lanka China became a major sponsor in the infrastructure development projects. For instance, the Norochcholai Power Station, Mattala Airport, Hambantota Sea Port, Southern and Katunayake Expressways, Lotus pond, lotus tower, Colombo Port City and the Northern Road Rehabilitation Projects were sponsored and developed through the assistance of China. Sri Lanka joined the Asian Infrastructure Development Bank (AIIB), which is described as the Chinese "World Bank" on 29th of June 2015, and Sri Lanka is known as a founding member of the AIIB. Furthermore, China has been the largest foreign direct investor accounting four one fourth of the inflows in 2013. The direct investment of China in Sri Lanka has made tremendous contributions to the foreign exchange reserve and job creation in the country and China has been able to generate 2500 local jobs.

The most important initiative that has been taken is the 21st Century is the Maritime Silk Road initiative. It is expected to attract more foreign investments and especially Chinese investments into Sri Lanka. Moreover, the Sri-Lanka-China Free Trade Agreement (FTA) will be establishing easy access to the Chinese market and it is found that this Free Trade Agreement will be providing benefits to the both of the countries and will be providing favorable opportunities to enhance ties between the two countries.

However, China has become Sri Lanka's second largest trade partner as well as the second largest sources of imports to Sri Lanka. In 2013, bilateral trade reached $3.62 billion, and China became Sri Lanka's largest investor, statistics from Sri Lanka showed.

Therefore, irrespective of the criticisms regarding the rules, regulations and conditions that have been emerged based on the aid, loans, interests of loans etc. it is evident that China – Sri Lanka economic bilateral relationship has grown substantially, by providing mutual benefits for both the countries.

Trade Pattern – Exports and Imports

According to MacDonald et al (2004), China's "String of Pearls" is a set of strategic relationships along the sea-line in the Indian Ocean region, from the Middle East to East Asia, and its main objective is to establish more secure and stable oil transportation to China through the Malacca Strait. China's concerns about the shipping lane at Malacca Strait becoming blocked led to President Hu Jintao highlighting the notion in 2003 (Lam, 2004).

"Chinese policy planners have long feared a retaliatory US naval blockade of the Strait of Malacca to cut off vital oil supplies. President Hu Jintao even acknowledged China's vulnerability in the Strait". (Samaranayake, 2011)

In fact, Sri Lanka is fortunately located in between both the shipping lane and the String of Pearls, a strategic position that has attracted China's attention and in turn has spurred the expansion of trade relations in the recent past.

Imports from China

China has continuously been the second best importing partner of Sri Lanka since 2011 and its share of imports has increased steadily over this period. By 2015, China's imports to Sri Lanka were valued at US$ 3727 million. Despite India's position as the top import partner of Sri Lanka, total trade (both imports and exports) between Sri Lanka and China has doubled; from US$ 125.6 million to UD$ 256.2 million in the 10 years from 1990 to 2000.

Sri Lanka's primary imports from China includes semi-finished iron, light rubberised knitted fabrics, and nitrogenous fertiliser. By contrast, major exports from Sri Lanka to China, include (as the top five):special purpose ships; tea; precious stones; footwear components; and coconut and other vegetable fibres.

Figure 2: Recent Trends of Sri Lanka's Imports from Top Five Importing Partners

Source: Created by author, based on the data from Export Development Board, Sri Lanka (2015)
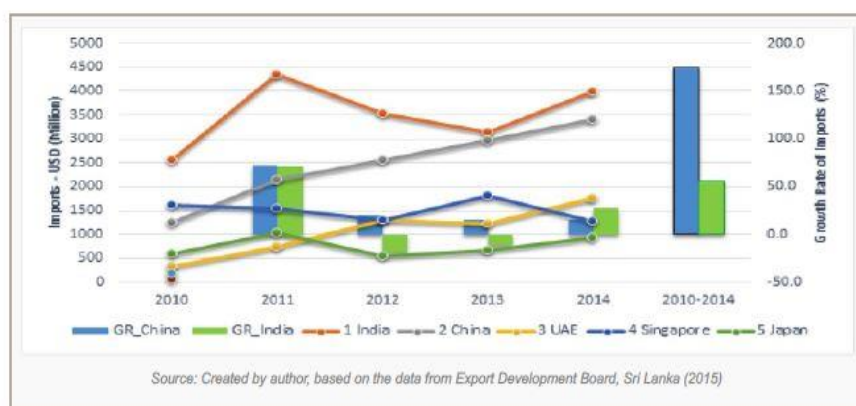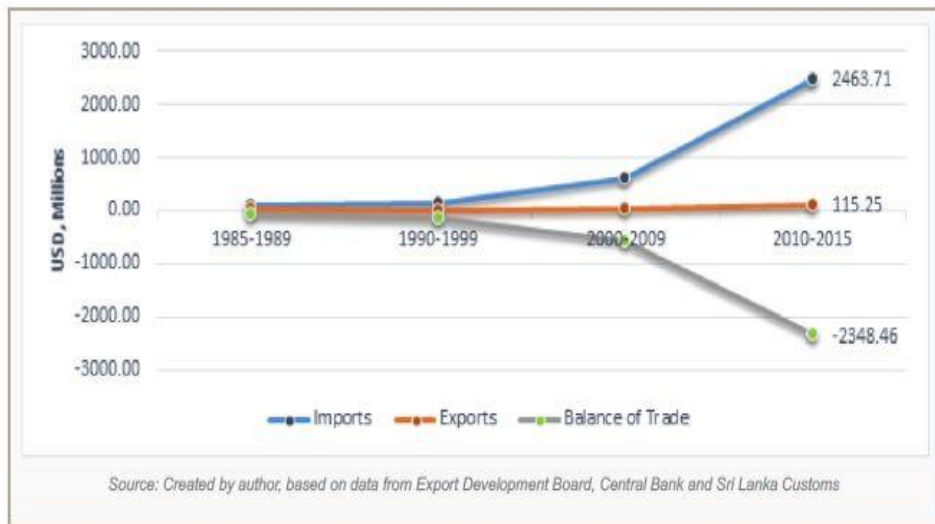
Source: Export Development Board, Sri Lanka

Figure 02 indicates the annual growth rate of imports from the leading importing partners of Sri Lanka (India and China), along with their growth rates for the period 2010-2014. It shows that, despite the fact that India remains the top source of imports, the growth rate of imports from China is greater than that of India, except in 2014, and furthermore, India had a negative growth rate in both 2011 and 2012. Moreover, the overall growth rate of China's imports during 2010-2014 was 175.3%, while imports from India grew at just 56.2%.

Exports to China

China's importance as an export destination for Sri Lanka is remarkably low. China has not featured among the top 10 export destinations of Sri Lanka and is currently ranked 14th, as of 2014. In 2014 Sri Lanka's exports to China valued only US$ 173.5 million, accounting for just 1.5 per cent of Sri Lanka's total exports that year. As shown in figure 2, this has led to a starkly negative balance of trade with China, causing a deepening trade deficit during the period of 2000-2009 onwards. The trade deficit has accounted for 26.4 per cent of Sri Lanka's total trade deficit in 2014.

Figure 3: Trade Flows and Balance of Trade between Sri Lanka and China 1985 – 2015

Source: Created by author, based on data from Export Development Board, Central Bank and Sri Lanka Customs

Source: Export Development Board, Sri Lanka

Chinese Investments and Aids in Sri Lanka

China has emerged as the largest development aid giver to Sri Lanka with $1.05 billion while India providing only $700 million. Therefore, it is important to identify on what basis that China has provided economic assistance in a major scale to Sri Lanka.

The main factor of Sri Lanka's importance to China is the geo-strategic importance of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's location is important as a naval base in order to observe the Indian Ocean and the increasingly growing busy shipping lanes. No other state can be described equally important as the geographical importance of Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka's importance is much more highlighted in the terms of naval strategical points where it brings more advantages in terms of distance and strategic points. Therefore, Sri Lanka's consent of supporting a Major Power is important in the spheres of economy, geo-strategy, politically and in achieving the military interests in both regional and global power levels.

In the recent years, China has involved in Sri Lanka's infrastructure development in order to develop its policy of string of pearls. This trade route will help China to link itself with the west very easily. Therefore,

China establishes ports and other facilities in its allied countries – including Sri Lanka.

During the period of Mahinda Rajapaksha Sri Lanka looked for Chinese assistance because of the threats that Sri Lanka had from the west. Additionally, the domestic political pressure that India had led India to act against the Government of Sri Lanka and India's support to the terrorist group in Sri Lanka increased Sri Lanka's suspicion about India's agenda in Sri Lanka. Moreover, India's vote for the U.S. sponsored resolution seeking Sri Lanka's accountability for its human rights violations, the failure of the implementation of the 13th amendment: neglected the relationship between Sri Lanka and India. Therefore, China has used these disputes in order to undermine India's influence towards Sri Lanka.

In addition, the projects that are led in Sri Lanka provide opportunities in order to engage in large-scale investments as well as earning revenues. Job opportunities for Chinese labors export of Chinese machinery, as well as a market for Chinese goods are some of the other advantages. Moreover, by supporting Sri Lanka China is gathering allies in support of them.

By the establishment of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) China has been able to legitimize its involvement in the process of development beyond its periphery as well as China has been able to move away from the authority of the banks of the western powers.

Therefore, the ambition of becoming a regional hegemony, out beating the interests of India, the strategic importance of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) competition with the Western powers, the economic advantages and very specially the strategic importance of Sri Lanka as an island nation are the basis of providing loans and aids to Sri Lanka.

Conclusion

Initiating from 1978, China and Sri Lanka continues extensive economic reforms. Sri Lanka's strategic location, between major shipping lanes and on the 'String of Pearls' has attracted renewed attention from China. However, the time-based analysis of this article shows that trade relations have expanded significantly in the recent past. China is a key source of Sri Lanka's imports, accounting for 19.65% of Sri Lanka's total imports. On the

other hand, this import-centric trade relation has led to a severe trade deficit for Sri Lanka.

Through the benefits granted with the use of China-Sri Lanka trade relations Sri Lanka can expand their major exports to many countries in other continents as well. Moreover, Sri Lanka can make a huge market for the Sri Lankan tea, spices, gems and herbals in the world including in China. As Sri Lanka is one of world famous tourists' countries, the bilateral trade relations between the two countries will be a great chance to develop and promote Sri Lankan tourism and if Sri Lanka can develop the tourist market will be a huge impact to the economic growth. In order to develop tourism, the government can introduce new promotion plans, holiday packages to attract more foreigners from China and foreigners from other continents to Sri Lanka.

The long-term relationship of two countries had mutual benefits of being together, even though China and Sri Lanka is not sharing the same boarders, they have a good neighboring relationship. Even though China gets some benefits, Sri Lanka can step to a great development with the investment of China.

According to the past records and details Sri Lanka has owe to China which have to pay for many more years. This is a serious situation, which Sri Lanka faces. However, As Sri Lanka is still developing country in south Asia; the country can use this relationship for the betterment. Chinese have started lots of development projects in Sri Lanka; even though the projects are doing fully commercial prospect, Sri Lanka still can use the benefit of being with China for a long time.

So finally, China and Sri Lanka maintains a very strong and trustworthy relationship. During many serious situations, China supported Sri Lanka and currently China has become the Sri Lanka's biggest investor. Even though China has become a threat for many more countries, Sri Lanka should use this as the opportunity to expand their exports and develop the economy. Therefore, this relationship will be more grown in future decades and Sri Lanka should use this to make an impact to country economy development.

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A Study of illegal Migration from Sri Lanka to Australia

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Abstract

Illegal Migration is one of the most pressing issue of our time as millions of people flee their home countries in search of security, better jobs and an improved quality of life. A lack of economic opportunities, war and insecurity has been identified as major drivers of migration. Other issue of that asylum seekers, refugees and Economic migrants have forced into host country while most popular destination is Australia for Sri Lankan nationals, especially Tamil peoples. In this article will be focused on to analyze the effects of illegal emigration of Sri Lanka to Australia and its impact of that country. Illegal migration causes negative results such as insecurity of borders of the country, economic issue, social issue and impact on government political situation. Therefore, an Australian and Sri Lankan government has done and doing more with establishment of policies and regulations to be solved this issue. This article therefore aims to discuss about that illegal migration and relevant factors.

Key words: Illegal Migration, Illegal Migrants, Civil War, Effects of migration

Introduction

The international migration has been a major topic since the beginning of the modern world. Migration in legally is not a problem, but the subject of illegal migration has brought and created much issues and tensions to sending and receiving countries of its immediate and long-term impacts.

This illegal immigration has two sources. First, it has been exposure that large numbers of visitors arrive at Australian airports that either have false identities or who receive temporary visas which they over-stay .Other one is boat migration without any documents. As the dangers of these journeys are becoming increasingly known, it is that both source countries and destination countries engage in cooperative measures to help discourage these high-risk and potentially life-threatening activities.

The some issues have received recent attention mostly because of the growing outflow of Sri Lankans to different countries in Australia, Middle East, Europe and North America. In the issue of that some poor people are join to the illegal migrate journey to those developed countries. Therefore, Australia is the most common and related developed destination to migrate. And not only have that one theory impacted on this type of migration in the country.

The new economics of migration argues that economic development in a new area and democratic political stability like that Australia may increase pressure on people to migrate. Within this exercise that push and pull factors are considered to shape to illegal migration to a particular destination country and also different factors or sets of factors may play different roles in each of these processes. For instance, factors explaining migration often originate in the household/community/country of origin (e.g. unemployment, gender discrimination, conflict) while factors influencing migration are more likely asylum regime in Sri Lanka attracting to the move to host country. However that irregular maritime migration is major issue on affection to the Australia internal and external factors. Australia, the land of immigrants is now facing the brunt of illegal immigration and Sri Lankans and among others. Therefore this will be focused on how to manage this illegal migration.

Methodology

This study is conducted for the effects of illegal migration with case of Australia and Sri Lanka. In the qualitative research it is common that data are based on secondary data. All relevant secondary data will be collected from various sources like internet, books, magazines, reports, libraries, journals and newspapers. By collecting, analyzing and interpreting quantitative and qualitative information from origin, transit and destination countries, the study seeks to understand the nature and drivers of the process of irregular movement from Sri Lanka to Australia. The findings are related to understanding its impact on both countries and both countries policies are discussed.

Literature Review

This literature review seeks to develop to understanding of illegal migration and its effects to participating countries. It also identifies migration patterns, causes, effects as well as migration related threats and measures to overcome them. Illegal immigration has many forms. The most illegal immigrants enter the receiving country in one of four ways. He described the first form as those who enter the country legally but then become "illegal" when they overstay visas. The second form involves using invalid documents to get entry and employment into receiving country. The third form consists of human smuggling, immigration with no documentation and sometime these go between through travel agents. (Bade, 2004)

A great deal of academic and policy literature has addressed the factors that shape human mobility decisions and subsequent migration trajectories. (Ravenstein's seven 'laws' of migration, 1885 -1889) It provided the basis for the push-pull migration framework that would gain traction in later decades. The theory of migration identified four levels of factors that influence population movement cemented the push-pull framework as one of the most lasting conceptual tools used in migration. (Lee ,1966). Moreover that reasons also impact to create the illegal migration from developing nations to developed nations.

Migration has continued under the form of both voluntary migrations within one's region, country or beyond and involuntary migration (Castle, 2002) 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 & Poprawe 2015). They also said that illegal migration can also involve legal migrants illegally outstaying the duration of their visa. The author concluded that corruption can both drive legal and illegal migration, as well as facilitating illegal migration.

The issue of refugees are little influenced to choose a location for immigration (Zavodny, 1999). Moreover most immigrants migrate from their countries that they are poorer, less educated and refugees.

Typically the literature concerns economic and social causes of migration. The literature on the economic effects of illegal immigration by study in 2015 showed that increasing deportation rates and tightening border control weakens low skilled labor markets, increasing unemployment of native low skilled workers. Instead the legislation decreases the unemployment rate of low skilled natives and increases income per native. With the undocumented immigrants may have caused the decline of real wages of workers without high school degree due to increased competition (George.B , 2001)

When seek about the literature of particular area under this article, Migration is one of the most pressing phenomenon and it occurs for various reasons. Such as education, business, seeking refugees training an employment. But the truth behind the migration of Sri Lankan peoples is mostly poverty, low economics of status of salary in Sri Lanka. The most significant situation was the civil war of Sri Lanka played a major role of peoples to motivate the migration. As an example asylum seekers and refugee migration (especially Tamil majority) was the highlighted factors. (Perera.S , 2013)

As a current situation of the particular subject, Australia today has two programs of immigration one the migration policy which is seen as 'economically" motivated which has two main components family and skill. The second is the humanitarian program which has three parts refugees, special humanitarian and special assistance. (Holmes et al 2007) As part of the humanitarian program refugees constitute a specific component of Australia's humanitarian program.

Data Presentation and Analysis

### The Root Causes for migrate by Sri Lanka

This illegal immigration has two sources. First, it has been revealed that large numbers of visitors arrive at Australian airports who either have false identities or who receive temporary visas which they over-stay. Secondly, the problem of "boatpeople" has become increasingly obvious. Due to a perception that Australian immigration laws were weak, large numbers of would be immigrants have paid and are now paying, substantial sums to intermediaries who organize illegal entry into Australia.

Figure 1: The illegal migrants from Sri Lanka to Australia
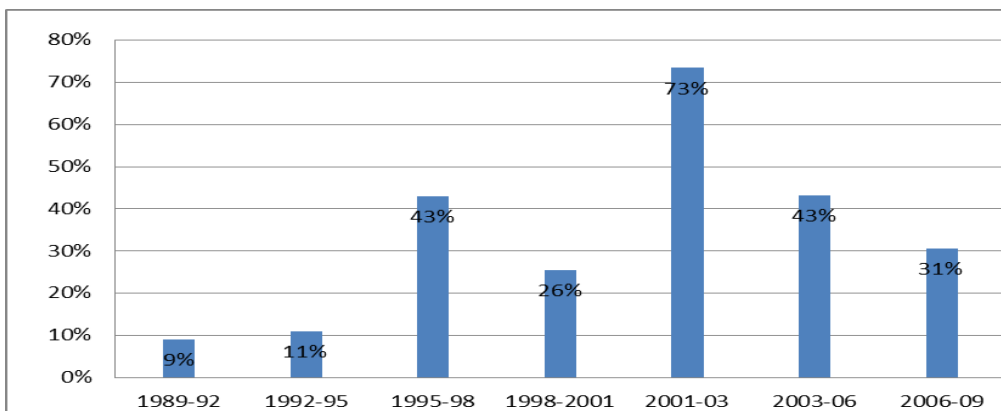
Source: Australia's Department of immigration, 2009

Figure 2: The Censuses of illegal migrants from Sri Lanka to Australia
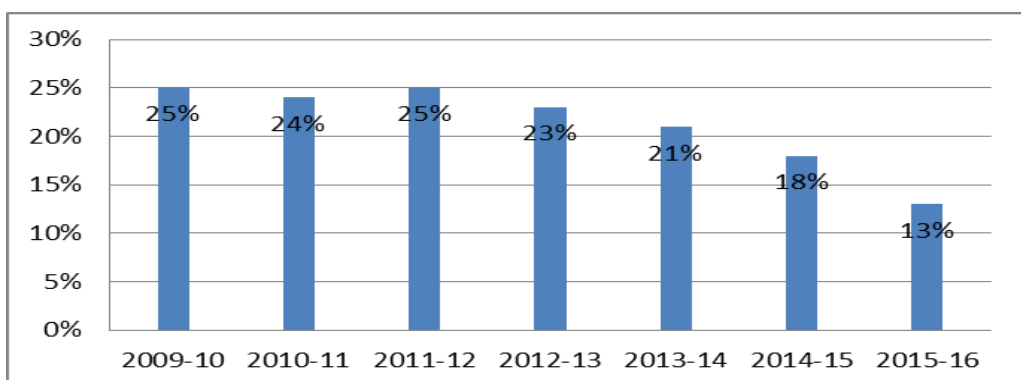
Source: Australia's Department of immigration, 2016

These two graphs show the movement of illegal migration as a percentage of whole undocumented migrants from Sri Lanka. According to the above

details the illegal migrants has increased in war periods than after post war. After the civil war, this illegal migration can be identified as a normally economic migration, not to a refugee migration or that is called a returned migration since the 2014.

When discuss about the causes to migrate from Sri Lanka to Australia, first can be focused on historical background of migration between two countries. In the late nineteenth century, the first Sri Lankan immigrants to Australia were recruited to work on the Cane plantation of Northern Queensland. There are also reports of Sri Lankans working in goldfields in New South Wales and Victoria and Broome, North-Western Australia.

There were 609 Sri Lankans born people recorded in Australia by 1901. Following Sri Lanka's independence in 1948 and the introduction of the Sinhala Only Act (Officially Language Act No.33 of 1956) which was mandated Sinhalese as the only official language replacing English, many Tamils and Burghers (mixed European people) felt disenfranchised. This situation was resulted in significant numbers of peoples migrate to other countries including Australia. That was the first incident to push largest Sri Lankan migrants (Burgers) to Australia in 1960. In the late 1960s to 1970 the Australian migration policies were easing for Asian migrants, including Sri Lankan who was admitted to Australia. At that time Tamils, Sinhalese and Burgers were identified as Sri Lankan migrants.

The Illegal migration has increased gradually especially in a developing country like Sri Lanka. There are reports that Tamil nationals have migrated to countries such as Italy, Canada, Australia and India as refugees during the war time. The Indonesia is the common transit destination which intending irregular maritime arrivals from Sri Lanka to Australia. But during the post conflict era these illegal people migrations have not minimized. In relation to this part of article, was conducted why the people in Sri Lanka are attempting to migrate to Australia illegally in the last decades. Regional disparities in development in Sri Lanka have led people to migrate locally or internationally looking for better income opportunities. Irregular migration has been and continues to be an important element of Sri Lankan emigration. Furthermore, political and economic motivations are encouraged for their journeys.

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. (Sri Lanka has been a significant source of both asylum seekers and refugees since the mid1980s). India has been the main destination, but as Jayasuriya and McAuliffe (2013, 15) point out, asylum seekers have also travelled from Sri Lanka to Australia, UK, France, Switzerland, Canada, Germany, Japan and a number of other European, North American and Asian countries.

(Asylum seeker is an individual who is seeking international protection and awaiting determination on his/her status as a refugee. Refugee is a person who is outside his/her country of nationality residence and who is unable to return due to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, member of a social group or political opinion. (UN Refugee Agency)

There is another important factor for the choice of Australia by would be migrants (especially Tamils). Australia was one of the few Western countries which have not legally banned the LTTE or its humanitarian arm Tamils' Rehabilitation Organization (TRO) in the war time. Besides that the TRO was openly operating in Melbourne and other cities of Australia with bank accounts, fund raising, and other activities even nearly five years after the end of the civil war. Therefore, former members of the LTTE and its supporters believe that they have relatively better chance of being accepted as refugees in Australia than in most other countries if they claim to be associated with the LTTE one way or the other migrants have decreased than 2008-09(ending period of war)

One of the major reasons for illegal immigrants to make their move over to a new territory is as a result of both poverty rates, as well as a lack of opportunity in their homeland. The important factors driving migration abroad are poor living conditions and lack of opportunities in Sri Lanka. Thus, economic desolation is the fundamental cause for migration abroad even among ex-combatants. Insecurity is a minor factor driving migration. Further, the principals of factors that motive behind illegal migration is poverty , lack of (livelihood) opportunities or lower income among the people who are most susceptible to migration abroad. Even the former combatants and sympathizers or supporters of the LTTE did not adduce insecurity as the reason for their intention to migrate abroad. Hence, it is

evident that bulk of the refugees fleeing Sri Lanka is economic migrants act as asylum seekers.

Impacts of Illegal Migration

The issue of illegal migration can place the significant stress impact on the political, economic, maritime security, social issues between two countries. When the discuss about that illegal migration impact on Sri Lankans, In recent years, Sri Lankan Lankan Irregular Maritime Arrivals (IMAs) compositions have included both Tamils and Sinhalese suggesting that the reasons to travel irregularly by boat may not be purely related to protection.

In many cases, migrants who make the payment prior to being smuggled by sea have done so by selling property and other assets or borrowing extensively from family members and friends. These lenders may have given up a substantial portion of their savings to finance the migrant's journey. That migrant's journey is fraught with danger and a high degree of risk. They undertake a long and dangerous journey across countries that are as insecure as the ones they leave, at the mercy of ruthless smugglers.

Some of those who do survive the sea voyage have reported a severe lack of hygiene and the presence of faeces, urine, and vomit during the journey, potentially leading to the spread of disease. And also Life vests may not be provided and in many cases are additional costs for poorer migrants these may be a luxury item they cannot find. Overcrowded and rough sea conditions can lead to migrants falling overboard and without any safety equipment often death at sea.

The cause of death of migrants en route to their final destination is often unknown as bodies may be lost at sea. In another case, approximately 350 individuals died not only Sri Lankan, when an unseaworthy vessel sank off the coast of Indonesia on its way to Australia in 2001 (Department of Immigration of Border Protection Statistics) A further 50 lives were lost when a ship crashed into rocks off Christmas Island in Australia in 2010. In fact, between October 2009 and June 2012, 605 irregular migrants died at sea while attempting the risks of journey to Australia. The Australian Crime Commission and published in 2013 states that Sri Lanka is among the top four source countries of asylum seekers arriving by boat. As border

protection measures are strengthened, as is the case in Australia and Canada, smugglers are undertaking increasingly risky methods of transporting migrants, thereby endangering their lives.

Even if the migrant is successful in reaching his destination, he still faces the difficult task of finding work and a sufficient source of income. Given the fact that the fee that many migrants have to pay to be smuggled is several times their annual income in Sri Lanka, it is clear that there is an enormous amount of pressure on the migrant to find work and earnings that are sufficient enough to cover any debt they may have incurred. However, a lack of employment opportunities in the host country and desperation to pay back these debts may force migrants to undertake illegal activities, further implicating them in a life of crime and risking serious consequences if caught by law enforcement authorities.

Increasing concern is being caused by illegal immigration into Australia.

Illegal immigration in Australia is at a very high level, the department of immigration in Australia said in 2009 that some 48 700 people were unlawfully in Australia. Around 80 per cent of these people are of working age. In addition, some people who are working illegally. The top three industries in which illegal workers were located included: agriculture, forestry, and fishing (largely farming) accommodation, cafes and restaurants and construction. (Australian Bureau of Statistics). Irregular maritime migration is not a new phenomenon or an issue only affecting Australia. Although Australia became the preferred destination of smuggled migrants in 2012-13, Italy was one of the major destinations in the past.

Furthermore, illegal immigration has various effects on economy of Australia because illegal immigrants pay less than average its citizen. For that reason, illegal immigrants are favored by business owners instead of hiring its citizen to do the same work. And the reason is that, illegal immigrants don't have to pay tax and their employers also do not pay their taxes, so the minimum wages law does not apply to them. Also illegal immigrants will do any job that they can find because they do not have the education to do any high paying jobs. They have caused large effects on the host country both economically and socially. The state's internal and external security is other impact; however that is challenging its border maritime security.

In reality, the number of asylum seekers or refugees is dwarfed by the number of skilled migration and family visas granted every year, on a temporary and permanent basis. The asylum seekers have very little impact on Australia's population or migration intake relative to other types of migration. However, asylum seekers and resettled refugees do come from a range of countries and have done a lot to enhance its vibrant multicultural population over the last years. An asylum seeker is a person who has left their country of origin due to oppression or fear of oppression, and applied for recognition as a refugee in Australia. The person is known as an asylum seeker while awaiting a decision on their application and becomes a refugee after that.

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) the majority of people in Australia illegally are visa over stayers, who enter the country legally but remain there after the expiry of their visa. Some of Sri Lankans are tempory entered to Australia (the majority as either temporary skilled workers or overseas students) this growth in temporary migration has led to what is perhaps the most significant shift in immigration to Australia in the last years. Under this process, migrants come to Australia initially on a temporary visa and then later (potentially after many years) transition to permanent residency.

The Regulations and Policies

Australia operated a number of detention policies of illegal migrants and asylum seekers. Anyone entering or found to be in Australia without valid visa is locked up into the islands of Nauru and Manus. The detention of undocumented migrants is allowed under the international refugee regime of UNHCR. Australia's use of mandatory detention has received subnational criticism from refugees as well as some NGOs. In 2001, Australian government established the "Pacific Solution" which is saw all asylum seekers who arrived by boat. The policy was dismantled in 2008 by new government in Australia.

In 2014, the new ban was applied including to all adults who have chosen to return home and children were exempt. This sent the strongest signal to the people of smugglers. In August 2012, the Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP) established an Irregular Migration Research Programme (Research Programme) to identify and

address the knowledge gaps in irregular migration research, with a particular focus on placing Australia's experience in a broader global and migration context.

On other hand, the intending Irregular Maritime Arrivals (IMA) that was intercepted by the Anti-Human Smuggling Unit of Sri Lanka's Criminal Investigation Department was overwhelmingly young and the majority came from the Northern and Eastern regions so they are Tamils. They have a strong network in Australia because of the relatives and friends who live there and receive encouragement to travel to Australia by illegal means to avoid the immigration screening.

Table 1: Settlement and Detention Trend of Sri Lankan migrants in Australia

Period	Description	Ethnicity of Settlers	Location of Settlement
Up to 1870s	Small scale individual movement Between British colonies	Sinhalese	NSW, Victoria
1870s-1900	Flows of contract workers for sugar, plantations, permanent settlers	Sinhalese	North Queensland, NT
1870s-1800s	Small scale individual movement to goldfields	Sinhalese	Victoria, NSW
1900-1950s	Limited family migration	Sinhalese	Northern Australia
1950-1980s	Colombo plan students with temporary visa	Burgers	Victoria, Capital Cities
1980-2009	Families and refugees	Tamils	Victoria
2009-Up	Asylum seekers and other illegal migrants	Tamils and others	Detention Centres or sent back

Source: Australian Government Censuses, 2010

Following table shows the numbers of refugees from Sri Lanka settled in Australia over the last decade or so, the dominance of onshore settlers who arrived initially as asylum seekers.

Table 2: Australia: Humanitarian Settlers from Sri Lanka

Year	Onshore	Offshore
2000–01	170	100
2001–02	115	55
2002–03	60	35
2003–04	25	5
2004–05	34	
2005–06	215	
2006–07	275	50
2007–08	370	210
2008–09	400	230
2009–10	505	200
2010–11	355	285
2011–12	410	90
2012–13	320	41

Source: Australian Government Censuses, 2013

In present, Asylum seekers who arrive without a prior valid visa (by sea or air) continue to be subject to indefinite mandatory detention As at 30 April 2017, 1,392 people were held in closed immigration detention facilities in Australia, 377 of whom were asylum seekers who had arrived by boat. As of 30 April 2017, there were under 5 children held in closed detention facilities in Australia (Australian government Censuses, 2017). The Australian government has announced that will leave the Sri Lankan from Nauru or Manus islands without any financial support or housing.

Recent years have seen numerous changes to Australia's refugee and asylum seeker policies, largely as a political response to an increase in the number of asylum seekers arriving in Australia by boat and a consequent increase in deaths at sea between Indonesia and Australia. Both of Australia's major political parties have attempted to address this issue through deterrence-based policies which block access to protection in Australia and impose penalties on people who arrive by boat.

The Australian Customs and Border Protection Service has begun issuing Sinhalese and Tamil notices in the form of radio and TV advertisements and flyers in Sri Lanka that discourage the dangerous maritime journey, featuring case studies and information on the consequences of attempting the voyage.

This following graphical presentation shows as the percentage of whole illegal migrants who sent back home after post war in Sri Lanka by Australian government.

Figure 3: Sri Lankan irregular migrants returned from Australia
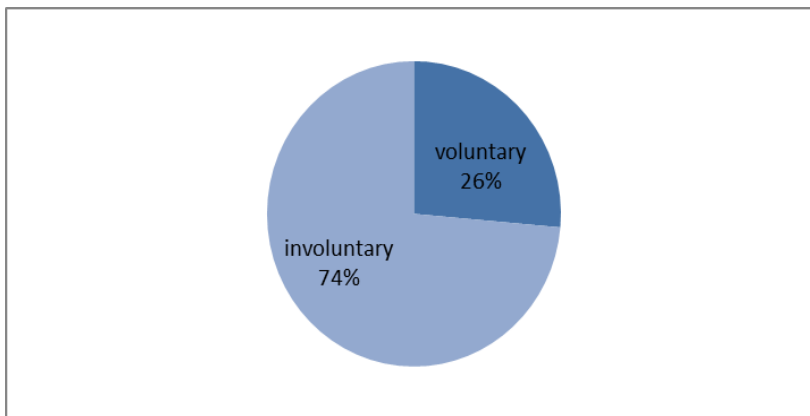
Source: Australian Department of Immigration, 2016

The Irregular Migration and Border Research Programme strengthen the evidence base on complex issues associated with irregular migration and border management. It seeks to understand the drivers, determinants, dynamics and decision-making of irregular migrants. It also seeks to understand the current and future challenges of border management, including exploring the strategic concept of the border and the border continuum. The Australian Government with the collaboration of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) and involves a six-month reintegration program that aims to provide returned irregular migrants with the means to develop their skill sets and obtain employment locally.

As of now, there are very few mechanisms the government of Sri Lanka has put in place that aim to deter its country's nationals from attempting these life-threatening voyages. Potential migrants may be ill-informed about the dangers of people smugglers and the risks associated with traveling in their company.

Awareness campaigns about these potential dangers with case studies placed in newspapers, local television channels and radio stations could benefit potential migrants in allowing them to make more informed decisions prior to attempting these journeys. The Sri Lankan government could also enlist the cooperation of local community leaders to inform their followers about the dangers involved with particularly leaders of religious and ethnic communities in areas that have high rates of irregular migrant departures, thereby tapping into key information channels through which potential migrants may be influence

Conclusion

According to this article have discussed about illegal migration from Sri Lanka to Australia. The issue of illegal migration that cause to stress on the political, economic, social and border and maritime security into host country and it is also impact on illegal migrants through various issues. Such as human trafficking, smuggling, abuse and insecurity of journey. Especially illegal migrant journey is increased high degree of risks. The post-independence era has been significantly marked by the conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils and these tensions still have an enormous impact on political and economic development as well as migration patterns in Sri Lanka.

Other one is Australia has increased non-Citizens from migrations with temporary visa and after trying to get permanent resident visa. Those migration patterns are affected to Australian internal and external factors and also discouraging the policies and rules of government. Australia, the land of immigrants is now facing the brunt of illegal immigration and Sri Lankans, among others, landing on their soil is a major headache to them. On other hand, Sri Lankan illegal migrants have to face difficulties and risks when their join to illegal migration.

Clearly, it is no doubt on Sri Lanka when its people want to go with "Australian Dream" and sometime, the post-war economic development has not matched youth unemployment. Even now, the search for a job abroad is a top priority for the younger generation. In these days it has moved as the economic migration. While Australian government considered that illegal migrants as the asylum seekers and refugees, then they have implemented the strict detention policies to them. In today, Australian government encourages

to mandate the new migration policies and laws with Sri Lankan government to prevent the illegal migration. And also introduce the new migration laws to entering noncitizens in legally.

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Impact of Cyber-Attacks on US National Security (2000-2016)

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Abstract

An Economist article describes "After land, sea, air and space, warfare has entered the fifth domain: cyberspace"[1] The world is being diversifying with the concepts of globalization, industrialization and the technology. The rapid developments of the information technology and globalization have transformed the world into complex place to live in. Thereby, people around the world are being sharing their ideas, goods and services easily. Further, the techniques of the war fare have been enhanced by the technology. Hence, this modern war fare is being wearing a fake dress. Instead of firearms, criminals are using their mini computers, tabs and mobile phones to threats other groups in the world, to destruct businesses, to steal money and for other criminal activities. Individuals as well as some powerful nations are in a huge risk in such situations. This paper discusses a brief history of cyber-attacks, the national security policies of USA during the last 20 years, how cyber-attacks impacted on US national security from 2000-2016?, what the actions and policies made by G.W. Bush and Obama administrations in order to avoid cyber-attacks?, how did two administrations plan to mitigate the cyber-attacks? And what are the challenges faced by these two administrations in averting the cyber-attacks? According to the findings the paper realized the cyber-attacks on US national security since 1988 which was the first cyber-attack on USA. Further, the organizations in USA that keen on cyber security are described in this article. Ultimately, some proposals have been presented by this paper to mitigate the cyber-attacks on US in the future.

Key Words: Cyber Attacks, Security, Globalization

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[1] The economist.(2010). *War in fifth domain*. Retrieved from
http://www.economist.com/node/16478792

Introduction

During the course of world history, there were many trials and hazards that threatened national security of countries. The United States national security also was suffered from the threats that caused through the cyber space. The article attempts to find out the outcome of the cyber-attacks which launched on USA during the last two decades. The globalization, industrialization and the development of the technology have designed heavy economic losses, crimes, destruction of property in all around the world. Amid these diversifications the development of these three concepts is being comforting the activities of the people in around the world. Because, modern technical inventions, transport facilities and free trade access have given the ability to share ideas, goods and services among countries. Now days, information technology is playing more precious role in the world.

Political turmoil in international and modern technological developments escalated the significance of threats against national security. The study aims to recognize the national security policies of the United States under the governments of the President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama. Modern technological, industrial and global diversity has spread everywhere of the world. All most industries use technology, machines. On the other hand modern technology raises the competition among the groups, individuals in order to earn a lot of money. Now days, money has become as the life of the people. Hence modern technology is comfortable as well as it has changed the mind of people. Thereby, information Technology, Internet or the cyber space has become as the central stage of the actors in the world in behaving at the international arena.

Today mobile phones, laptops, tabs are the main technological instruments which are being controlling the world in every field. Such as socio, economic, political, cultural etc. Sharing attitudes, ideas and knowledge among individuals, states are easy tasks by utilizing this information technology. Therefore, some powerful countries, groups use their technical knowledge to seek secret information of other countries, businesses etc. Hence, some actors, groups misuse the cyber space. Thereby, the national securities of some countries are in a risk.

A threat is something which endangers others. Further cyberspace is a worldwide network of computers and the equipment that connects them. The internet is free and open to the public. Additionally cyberspace can be defined as the imaginary place. The possibility that somebody will try to damage or destroy a computer network, computer system or website by secretly changing information on it without permission is called a cyber threat. Cyber threats have in diverse forms such as cyber-attacks, cyber bullying, cyber terrorism, cyber-crimes, cyber disasters, cyber espionage, cracking, hacktivism etc. In order to avert these cyber threats some institutions, governments and some organizations in the world have gathered together for cyber security. President George W. Bush as well as the President Barack Obama has taken steps in averting these cyber-attacks throughout their administrations. The paper focuses on the actions taken by both presidents in order to overcome the cyber threats which endangered the national security of the United States of America and to recognize the challenges faced by these two presidents.

The first cyber-attack was launched in 1988 on United States. But the very big consideration on this topic was emerged in 1999. The United States has been faced by these cyber threats during President George W. Bush and President Barack Obama period hugely. This research focuses to identify whether USA faced challengeable, dangerous incidents due to cyber-attacks during last two decades.

Methodology

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

Literature Review

Diverse scholarly studies, report's information, newspaper articles, websites are availed in searching the area of impact of cyber-attacks on US National

Security. Therefore, those literature foundations are vast prominent to analyze the scope. "

"With increased dependency on the Internet, cyber-attacks are fast becoming an attractive option for state adversaries, in part because of the ease of hiding a perpetrator's identity. Governments around the world are taking measures to improve their national cyber defenses" (Tiong Pern Wong, 2011: V) explores the possibility of employing active cyber defenses active cyber defenses to improve cyber defenses at the national level. Further, Tiong explores the typologies of active cyber defense and examines how this approach can enhance a state's cyber defense posture. "Cyber security proponents often rely on cyber doom scenarios as a key tactic for calling attention to prospective cyber threats." (Sean Lawson, 2012:86) He critically examines cyber doom scenarios by placing them in a larger historical context, assessing how realistic they are, and drawing as the policy implication of relying on such tales. In addition to that, he concludes the alternative principles for the formulation of the cyber security policy.

"In the year 2013, Threats originating in the cyber space for the first time in history topped the Global Threat Assessment of the United Nations Director of National Intelligence, (DNI) a list naming the most pressing national Security challenges to the United States." (Stefen Wester Burger, 2014:3).He emphasizes that the influence of developments in the cyber domain is not to be under estimated. And also Stefen has mentioned the difficulty of assessing the future war and security threats.

"From the rise of extensive cybercrime, fears of terrorists exploiting digital infrastructure, state and corporate cyber espionage, crippling disruption by cyber activists and even suggestions of cyberspace becoming the fifth element of warfare)along with land, sea, air and space (the issue of cyber security has become extraordinarily important global issue.") Zanders 2009 : 2.(/ (Saulius Pakalniškis, 2012:3).   "The issue of cyber security has as an issue for international security has captured the attention of the policy makers around the world." (James A. Lewis,2014).

"In June 2012 by New York Times Chief Washington correspondent David Sanger that the Stuxnet cyber warm was only part of a broader operation, Olympic Games, launched against Iran by the United States and Israel affirmed with many suspected: cyber-attack is not a distant theoretical

probability." (James P. Farwell and Rafal Rohosinzki, 2012). Rafal has introduced reality of the cyber threats." Terrorists may engage in cyber terrorism, the use of cyber space to launch attacks." (Abdhulrahman Alquathani, 2016). From his study he outlines the potential threat of cyber terrorism on National Security. "Cyber warfare has become a hot topic in recent years" (Karin Kosina,2012:1). Karin contributes from study to the debate on warfare.

"The risks associated with any attack depend on three factors: threats (who is attacking), vulnerabilities (the weaknesses they are attacking), and impacts (what the attack does)." (Eric A. Fischer, 2016). "Throughout history, there have been many events and dangers that threaten state security, causing heavy loss of life, disease, injuries, destruction of property, displacement of large numbers of people and heavy economic losses." (Abdhulrahman Alquathani, 2016). He presents the history of cyber-attacks and its impact on country's National Security with special reference to Saudi Arabian National Security.

"To support its deterrence policy, the United States needs a clear declaratory policy that lays out its plans for responding to various types of attacks. If the United States plans to rely partly on kinetic attacks and conventional operations to deter certain categories of cyber-attacks, this should be spelled out to increase the probability that adversaries appreciate the breadth of the United States' cyber deterrence strategy."(Charles L.Glaser,2011:6). Charles draws on deterrence theory to analyze the challenges that the United States faces in deterring cyber-attacks.

"The first significant cyber-attack was launched in 1988 and spread across many computers within the United States. The attack, labeled the "Morris Worm," exploited vulnerabilities in the UNIX system Noun 1 and had the ability to self-replicate and subsequently slow down computers, rendering them useless." (Lino, C. 2014) page number According to the view point of Lino Christine, it is easy to understand the history of cyber threats on USA. Additionally he describes: "When analyzing the list of agencies, it is clear that the risk is not only to the nation's infrastructure, but also to the nation's citizens whose concern of the cyber threats on the national security of a nation. "President Bush has approved the White House's long-awaited national cybersecurity strategy; a landmark document intended to guide government and industry efforts to protect the nation's most critical

information systems from cyberattack." (Brian Krebs, 2003) Brian takes the view that President Bush's approach on the scope of national security of the USA.

"Because, despite the technical nomenclature, the issue of cybersecurity is as vital to our way of life as technology itself. In fact, they can't be separated: our economic health, our national security, and indeed the fabric of our society are now defined by the technology we depend on every day."(Anthony Wong[2]: 2016) In the forward of the ACS security guide, Mr. Wong has mentioned the need of the technology, cyber space and also the cyber security. Further it is easy to understand the significance of defending national security of a country from cyber threats.

"Cyber-attacks pose a serious threat to all states. Therefore, states constantly seek for various methods to encounter those threats."(Serkan Yağlı, Selçuk Dal , 2014) page number It can be seen from the opinion of Serkan that cyber threats are challenging all the countries in around the world. For him state must take actions in order to avert cyber-attacks. In this context Serkan view is that: "Internet has been an indispensable part of our lives recently. Because of the fact that internet is in every sphere of daily life, critical infrastructures such as energy, transportation, information and communication technologies have become vulnerable to sophisticated cyber-attacks such as Ddos and Botnet methods. The increase in advanced cyber-attacks makes it impossible to solve the problem at individual and institutional levels, and requires agencies to deal with it at national and international level in a comprehensive manner." In Serkan's view, he emphasizes the vulnerable points of a country which can be attacked by cyber threats.

"For all countries examined where information was available, cyber-security threat had been prioritized highly in the top tier of security issues in national risk assessments in the last five years. However, higher prioritization of threat has not consistently translated into greater resource allocated to the area: France, Germany, the UK and the USA have emphasized" the importance of cyber-security and allocated significant cyber-specific funding streams."(Neil Robinson et al. February 5, 2013).page number In his study Robinson argues what levels are cyber-security threats placed in relation to

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[2]The President of the ACS cyber security guide

other national security threats, how are cyber threats characterized and defined and who and what sort of national-level response mechanisms exist, and what role does law enforcement play in this.[3] "According to the US Department of Justice, cyber-crime is one of the top threats facing the USA, and it has excessive implications for their national security." (Damla Kuru, Sema Bayraktar, (2017). The opinion of these scholars is that there are cyber-attacks on USA heavily. Further, Damala and Sema analyze the relationship between cyber insurance and social welfare and compare it among three countries, namely, USA, UK and Turkey and discusses the main obstacles that the cyber insurer has to deal with and its effect on social welfare.[4]

"Critcal Natonal Infrastructure in the UK and US faces a series of cyber-threats and vulnerabilites." (Noel K Hannan :2015).page number He examines the US resources available to combat the problem, in partcular the concept of cyber-reserves, and looks at the detail of the Cyberguard series of exercises. He then assesses UK doctrine, methodology and involvement in these exercises as well as the problems facing the use of cyber-reserves under the current operating model. The conclusion provides some thoughts on future deployment scenarios.[5]

"In moving into a new era where the cyber domain offers state and non-state actors the ability to wield low-cost capabilities for high-effect actions, understanding the implications of these threats to national security is paramount." (Alex Leon: 2015) page number In Alex view, the effects of cyber-attacks on countries national security are higher than previous days.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The USA places cyber-security as one of four national security priorities. The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) recently noted that cyber threats have the potential to equal or surpass the threat from terrorism in the near future. Four types of actors are characterized: criminal hackers organized criminal groups, terrorist networks and advanced Information and

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[3]Neil Robinson et al. February 5, 2013).
[4]Damla Kuru, Sema Bayraktar, (2017).
[5]Noel K Hannan (2015)

Communications Infrastructure Interagency Policy Committee that takes a coordinating role.[6]

Following the development of network (specially the internet), this crime has become a mass phenomenon. Famous targets of hacking attacks include: The US National Aeronautics and space Administration. For instance, NASA, The US Air Force, The Pentagon, Yahoo, Google, eBay. In the 1980s, a number of German hackers succeeded in entering US government and military computer systems, obtaining secret information and selling this information to agents from a different country. In 2000, within a short time, several Dos attack was launched against well- known companies such as CNN, eBay and Amazon. Similar attacks were reported in 2009 on government and commercial websites in the US.

The first significant cyber-attack was launched in 1988 and spread across many computers within the United States. The attack, labeled the "Morris Worm," exploited vulnerabilities in the UNIX system Noun 1 and had the ability to self-replicate and subsequently slow down computers, rendering them useless.[7] A decade later, in May of 2000, the "ILOVEYOU" virus spread like wildfire via an email transmission that prompted users to open an attachment. [8]The hacker group "Iranian Cyber Army" hijacked the Voice of America (VOA) website in February 2011, posting a statement demanding that the U.S. Secretary of State, Hillary Clinton, listen to "the voice of oppressed nations" and "stop interfering in Islamic countries." This group was also responsible hijacking Twitter in December 2009.[9]

Cyber-attacks have become more pervasive and more serious. This may be due to several factors, including an increase in the use of computers across many sectors such as government, military, industry, and finance; an increase in actors wishing to exploit and attack these computers for

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[6]Neil Robinson et al. (February 5, 2013). , *Cyber security threats characterization a rapid comprehensive analysis*. Retrieved from https://www.google.lk/search?q=Cyber-security+threat+characterisation&oq=Cyber-security+threat+characterisation&aqs=chrome..69i57.930j0j1&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8

[7]Lino, C.(2014: pp:24).
[8] Lino, C.(2014: pp:24).
[9] Wong T. P. (December 2011). *Active cyber defense: enhancing national cyber defense*

economic, political, and other advantages; and a growing supply of new vulnerabilities along with attack tools to exploit them, as well as all the previously discovered vulnerabilities that have not been fixed in victim computers. As presented by the different cases discussed, the attacks have also also become increasingly sophisticated. [10]

One of the earliest examples of a cyber-counter attack occurred in 1998. A group of activists by the name of the Electronic Disturbance Theater (EDT) had launched a "web sit-in" (DOS attack) against a Pentagon website. The attacks that occurred in May 2011 on the US defense and aerospace company Lockheed Martin, which produces several fighter jets such as F-16 and F-22 for the US armed forces.While official reports suggested that the damage from the attacks was minimal and quickly responded to, it is reported that restoration of normal employee access to its systems took at least several days following the incident (BBC News 2011). [11]

Additionally in 2010 the *"Second Annual Cost of Cyber Crime Study"* done by the Ponemon Institute based on a representative sample of 50 sizable companies from different industry sectors in the United States revealed that the costs incurred from cybercrime for them ranged from 1.5 million up to 36 million USD per annum, with the median cost being incurred standing at 5.9 million USD. These loses represented a staggering 56 per cent increase from the results of the same study conducted the year before. The study noted that the 50 organizations in the sample sustained about 72 successful cyber-attacks per week, averaging out at more than one per week per company. This also showed an increase from the 2010 study by 44 per cent. Moreover it was also found that some of the most costly attacks for these companies

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[10]Wong T. P. (December 2011). *Active cyber defense: enhancing national cyber defense*

[11]Pakalniškis, S. (2012). *What factors explain why there is not a common and comprehensive global response to cyber threats?, Global Response to Cyber Threats*, Retrieved from https://www.google.lk/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=0ahUKEwiw0cmKnvzWAhWJu48KHfaQBjIQFggsMAA&url=https%3A%2F%2Fopennaccess.leidenuniv.nl%2Fbitstream%2Fhandle%2F1887%2F19509%2FMaster%2520Thesis%2520-%2520FINAL.docx%3Fsequence%3D1&usg=AOvVaw27uXYV0c-LcQzaoaqz20E7

were actually basic denial of service attacks that severely disrupted business (Ponemon Institute 2011). [12]

According to the US Department of Justice, cyber-crime is one of the top threats facing the USA, and it has excessive implications for their national security. In the year of 2011, USA spent almost US$9m due to cyber-crime and today, the cost of cybercrime continues to be very costly not just for USA but even for the world. The estimated cost in the USA is between US$24bn to US$120bn (McAfee), compared to the worldwide cost (US$400bn), a rate that is pretty high. In 2014, the loss related to cybercrime had reached 0.64 per cent of the gross domestic product (GDP) (USA). In the USA, the problem of e-crime has become a national political issue.

There are a lot of researches and many reports about malicious attacks and cybercrime in the USA. They make a national effort to investigate high-tech crimes, like cyber-based terrorism, espionage […] etc. Although laws and legislation in the USA strictly protect cyberspace, people, organizations and companies are still harmed by cyber-attacks. In early 1990's, cyber-insurance was generated as an alternative product to protect companies and individuals against the risk of e-crime. Today, the cyber insurance market has grown proportionally to cyber-attack frequency. The report written by Deloitte (Hurtaud et al., 2015), the US cyber insurance market accounts for almost 90 per cent of the Global Market and estimated gross premiums generated were US$1.3bn for 2013 and US$2bn for 2014.[13]

China possesses the capability to conduct crippling cyber-attacks in U.S. critical infrastructure. Using the 2003 northeast blackout as an analog the chapter concludes that though cyber-attacks on U.S. critical infrastructure are possible, wide scale full spectrum cyber warfare is unlikely; however the

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[12]Pakalniškis, S. (2012). *What factors explain why there is not a common and comprehensive global response to cyber threats?, Global Response to Cyber Threats*.

[13] Damla Kuru, Sema Bayraktar, (2017) "The effect of cyber-risk insurance to social welfare", Journal of
Financial Crime, Vol. 24 Issue: 2, pp.329-346, https://doi.org/10.1108/JFC-05-2016-0035

threat thatstate actors pose to the U.S. infrastructure is real, and requires further attention. [14]

The engagement of the administration in harnessing executive powers in this domain was marked with the release of the 2003 White House National Strategy to Secure Cyberspace. This initiative was integral to a wider Department for Homeland Security National Security Review undertaken after 9/11. Cyber-security policy has continued to evolve in the USA, its emphasis shifting from non-state terrorism to state actors' activities with the 2010 US National Security Strategy. The importance of the threats posed in the cyber domain has been a persistent theme at the top of US government across federal agencies for at least a decade. However, the way in which the threat has been characterized has changed in that period. The emphasis has shifted from non-state terrorism to state actors' activities and from a predominantly political to an economic concern.

In February 2012, the Director of National Intelligence, James Clapper, noted to a House Select Intelligence Committee on worldwide threats: "We all recognize [cyber-attacks] as a profound threat to this country, to its future, to its economy, to its very being." In the same session, FBI Director Robert S. Mueller noted that the cyber threat is growing and is crucial to address: "I do believe cyber threats will equal or surpass the threat from terrorism in the near future." The nature of US policymaking has meant that processes of development of cyber strategies and action plans have been fragmented. However, there now exists a broad web of national plans that establish cyber standards and targets.[15]

The focus of the cyber threat debate continues to develop, and over the last 18 months it has shifted to encouraging private actors to increase their efforts to protect their information infrastructures. Agencies and the administration continue to lobby Congress for regulation and the enactment of a

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[14]Leon, A. (August 2015). *Impacts of malicious cyber activities*. Retrieved from https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/39429/LEON-THESIS-2015.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

[15]Neil Robinson et al. (February 5, 2013). , *Cyber security threats characterization a rapid comprehensive analysis*. Retrieved from https://www.google.lk/search?q=Cyber-security+threat+characterisation&oq=Cyber-security+threat+characterisation&aqs=chrome..69i57.930j0j1&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8

comprehensive framework on cyber-security: a recent attempt to pass a Cyber security Act, placing onus on private enterprise to ensure the protection of their networks, failed. President Barack Obama's administration has stated an intention to fortify the security of critical cyber systems through his executive powers, although lobbying from interests that see the regulation of private networks as economically damaging are likely to continue.[16]

The characterization of threat provided by US strategy documents varies over time and according to the agency articulating the threat. The comprehensive 2009 Cyberspace Policy Review outlines cyber- security strategy to secure digital infrastructure from attack. In May 2011, the USA also released its international Strategy for Cyberspace66 to clarify and unify its approach to international partners on cyber-security.

According to a Washington post, President Bush had approved the national cyber security policy in 2003 in order to guide government and industry efforts to protect the nation's most critical information systems from cyber-attack.[17]

Many cyber-attacks are launched via compromised computers, thereby masking the origin of the attacks. In response, governments worldwide have taken measures to improve their national cyber defenses. President Obama identified cyber- attacks one of the most serious economic and national security challenges that the US faces. The administration reviewed cyber policies and programs, releasing the comprehensive national cyber security initiative. Also the U. S. cyber Command was set up, achieving full operational capability on November 2010.[18]

As a response to the dangerous cyber-attacks on US national security, the United States of America started to investigate on this particular scope. Therefore President Obama had given a proposal to apply the fiscal year

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[16]Neil Robinson et al. (February 5, 2013). , *Cyber security threats characterization a rapid comprehensive analysis*.

[17] Brian krebs, Washington Post. 2003-01-31.

[18]Wong T. P. (December 2011). *Active cyber defense: enhancing national cyber defense,* Retrieved fromhttps://calhoun.nps.edu/bitstream/handle/10945/10713/11Dec%255FWong%255FT.pdf ?sequence=1

2017 budget for cyber defense by 35% to $19 billion.[19]There are two competing arguments regarding the gravity of the threat that cyber-attacks pose to the nation's security. On one hand, cyber-attacks present a serious national security threat that can cause as much harm as conventional military attacks, warranting a robust cyber security policy (cyber threat theory). Alternatively, cyber-attacks present a nuisance primarily to businesses and do not pose an imminent threat to the survival of the United States, causing the U.S. to overinvest in this area (cyber threat inflation theory).[20]

As President Donald Trump once suggested in the Donald Trump debate in 2016 U.S. Presidential Election at the Hofstra University: Cyber threat theory contends that cyber-attacks are emerging national security threats that may cause as much harm as conventional military tactics. U.S. policy tends to reflect this threat assessment.[21]

Conclusion

The issue of cyber security is as vital to our way of life as technology itself. In fact, they can't be separated: economic health, national security, and indeed the fabric of the society are now defended by the technology that we depend on every day. Logically, then, protecting that upon which we depend should be front of mind for government, business and industry, academia and every individual with a smartphone in their pocket. [22]

Cyber-attacks pose a serious threat to all states. Therefore, states constantly seek for various methods to encounter those threats.[23]Cyber-attacks are becoming an attractive option for the enemies of a state, social movements,

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[20]Mok, K. (2017). *Cyber Threat or Cyber Threat Inflation? -Assessing the Risk to U.S. National Security.*

[21]Mok, K. (2017). *Cyber Threat or Cyber Threat Inflation? -Assessing the Risk to U.S. National Security.*

[22] Wong, A. President, ACS. (2016). *Cyber security threats challenges and opportunities*. Retrieved from https://www.acs.org.au/content/dam/acs/acs-publications/ACS_Cybersecurity_Guide.pdf

[23]Dal, S.Y. S. (2014). *Active Cyber Defense within the Concept of NATO's Protection of Critical Infrastructures, World Academy of Science, Engineering and Technology International Journal of Computer and Systems Engineering*

terrorists, etc. One reason is the ever-increasing reliance on computers and the Internet; for governments and militaries around the world, these systems have become easy targets. It has been reported that more than one hundred countries are trying to break into the United States' government networks. Another reason for an adversary's interest in cyber-attacks is the ease of hiding a perpetrator's identify on the Internet.

Today, everything is connected to the Internet. Every business's network is part of the internet. The capacity to interact with each other is an important part of their risk environment. Telecommunications, businesses, universities, and households are all connected in different ways. Cyber threats are complex, dynamic, and network defenses have trouble keeping up with them and Natural or man-made incidents (intentional or unintentional) that would be detrimental to the cyber domain, or which are dependent on or operate through cyberspace/cyber domain.

Since the first cyber-attack in 1988, online viruses have proliferated through personal, organizational and government computers worldwide with devastating consequences. Concern was raised in 1999 regarding potential effects on the nation's poorly protected nuclear weapons, and further reports have highlighted flaws in the country's information infrastructure that put national security, public safety and personal privacy at risk. A 2014 report revealed the alarming frequency of attacks on government systems and agencies, gaps in awareness and response and minimal disclosure. Software protections are often nonexistent, ineffective or simply unused and insufficient to match rapidly advancing technology. Lack of leadership, expertise, funding, time and other resources adds to the challenge. Creation and implementation of cyber security policy standards have been thwarted by conflict over public and private sector roles, capabilities and inaction, and compliance with existing standards is negligible and ineffective. Joint pressure from the public and government will be needed for meaningful action.[24]

Thus, it is not difficult to see that cyber-attacks have severe security and financial implications to the public and private spheres. Due to the global nature and prevalence of information systems with network enabled capabilities cyber-attacks do not leave any state, business or private

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[24]Lino, C.(2014: pp:24).

individual safe from their adverse effects. In addition cyber-attacks are no longer rare occurrences, but very common, pervasive and at times extraordinarily damaging events. Furthermore, precisely the global nature of these threats once again leads to the inevitable conclusion that any significant solution to them has to be global as well.

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Cyber-attacks: An Emerging Threat to Sri Lanka's National Security

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Abstract

Cyber-attacks have become increasingly prevalent in the 21st century with daily evolving information technology posing a serious threat to 'National Security' of countries. The balance between a state military with that of the cyber power has become a decisive factor for a state's national security with the global technological interconnectivity in the present context. Sri Lanka claimed its complete territorial sovereignty by eradicating the LTTE terrorists. But there remains a question of whether the country is ready to face emerging threats in the new domain of cyberspace. The objective of this research is to reveal the sectors of national security in Sri Lanka that are more vulnerable to cyber-attacks. Moreover, it discusses the importance of modifying the prevailing legal system to increase awareness on network based crimes. In this article, focus is made to a globally accepted model of cyber intrusion analysis. The "Diamond Model" which was built by the analysts Sergio Caltagirone, Andrew Pendergast, and Christopher Betzdetails how to map an adversary's TTPs (Tactics, Techniques and Procedures) through building up Threat Intelligence. This study is based on a qualitative study including both primary and secondary data. Cyber-attacks typically take place against targets of economic or military affairs. Hence, Sri Lanka has a greater possibility to fall under the spotlight as its economy continues to develop rapidly. Prevailing inadequate preventive mechanisms, privacy laws and non-compliance need to be addressed in a more comprehensive and pragmatic manner to confront possible cyber-attacks in future.

Key words: Cyber-attacks, National security, Preventive mechanisms, Sri Lanka

Introduction

Sri Lanka, as a developing nation currently has a greater possibility of facing an unforeseen vulnerability in cyber-attacks owing to its greater dependence on critical infrastructure, industrial automation and cyber based control systems. Protecting and assuring the availability of critical infrastructure is thus vital to Sri Lanka, as the country is ranked among the top 10 countries in the Asia Pacific[1] impacted by and facing growing threats to cyber-attacks. Increased use of cyber-attacks as a political instrument reflects a dangerous trend in the national security apparatus of the state. Thus, the article clarifies what cyber-attacks are and what elements of national security are threatened. Moreover, it demonstrates how existing law is deficient and what needs to be done to improve it. Examining existing law with globally accepted analytical models leads to a clear conclusion that a new, comprehensive legal framework is needed to address cyber-attacks. It is important to note that, the terms "cyber-attack," "cyber-warfare," and "cyber-crime" are frequently used with little regard for what they are meant to include. This lack of clarity can make it all the more difficult to design a meaningful legal response. Therefore, "cyber-attack is any action taken to undermine the functions of a computer network for a political or national security purpose." Researcher also explains the difference between "cyber-attacks," "cyber warfare,"and "cyber-crime," and describes common forms of cyber-attacks faced by Sri Lanka since the end of civil war up to now. These aspects are widely viewed as serious political threats to national security, public safety and economy. Hence, cyber space has become the newest national security breach to infringe on its development.

Methodology

The study is a qualitative research with an aim of gathering insights for the discussed phenomenon. It includes both primary and secondary data. As primary data, the study has referred to lectures and discussion forums delivered at Ethical Hacking and Cyber security programme held on 30th August 2017 in Colombo. Moreover, this study has utilized discussions held respectively by interviewing the resource persons in the Network Security

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[1] Malware Infection Index 2016 by Microsoft Malware Protection Centre and Microsoft Security Intelligence Report

field at Goodhope Asia Holdings Ltd, LAUGFS Holdings and Carson Cumberbatch PLC, leading technology oriented regional holding companies (South and East Asia) indicating energy, natural resources and economic shperes in national security. In addition, as secondary data newspaper articles and electronic media are being used. "Diamond Model of Intrusion Analysis" is used to analyze an adversary's tactics, techniques and Procedures in any cyber-attack hindering country's national security.

Literature Review

Sri Lanka, as an emerging economy with its greater dependence on network applications has a greater possibility of facing dangerous threats in protecting its critical information infrastructure in future. It is important to illustrate the existing literature to address inadequate prevention methods and privacy laws to counter this national security problem.

According to Wilson (2008) a cyber-attack consists of any action taken to "undermine the functions of a computer network" for a political or national security purpose. It is the political or national security purpose that distinguishes the term 'cyber-attack' from 'cyber-crime'. Cybercrime in its broad range is committed by individuals, not States. It does not undermine the target computer network and does not have a political or national security purpose. Cyber warfare on the other hand, always meets the conditions of a cyber-attack but not all cyber-attacks are cyber-warfare. Only cyber-attacks with effects equivalent to those of a conventional "armed attack," rise to the level of cyber warfare.

Figure 1: Relationship between cyber actions
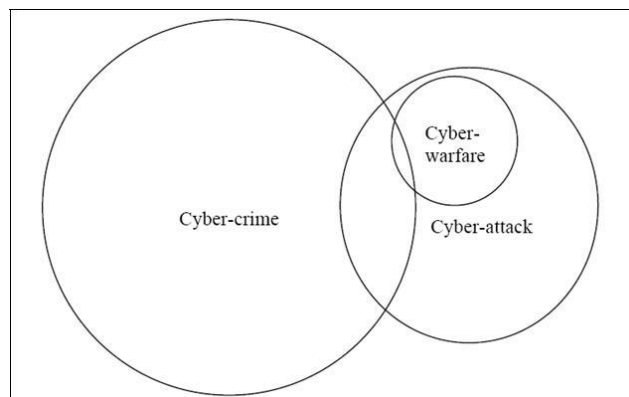
Source: The Law of Cyber-Attack, 2012

As Samarakoon (2011) points out, in Sri Lanka cyber-attacks were strategically employed for the first time by the LTTE. In 1998, the LTTE terrorist organization flooded Sri Lankan embassies with 800 e-mails a day for a two-week period. This incident was characterized as the first known attack by terrorists against a country's computer systems which illustrate the prevalence of cyber-attacks even during the war. The technological capability of the LTTE compelled Sri Lankan government to be more concerned with its information security. LTTE websites were seen by the Sri Lankan government for threatening its national security (www.tamilnet.com).

In 2010, UNGA Resolution denotes Cyber-attack and cyber security are issues that can hardly be separated in an interconnected environment of the national security apparatus of a country. Hence, Sri Lanka has been ranked among the top 10 countries in the Asia Pacific threatened by

and facing growing threats to cyber security, according to findings of a top regional study released in Singapore on 7th June 2016[2]. Evidently, the Computer Crimes Act 1997 further proved to be void with the increasing growth of network based cyber-attacks threatening country's security.

Jayasuriya (2011), has revealed that in the final stages of the war against LTTE, the website of the Sri Lankan Army at several times had encountered 'web defacement attack[3]' and efforts to hack into country's security networks are still continuing. The need to ensure a proactive and adequate defensive capability from physical to cyber-space was identified to prevent 'false propaganda' disseminated by 'anti-Sri Lankan activists' to the national security of the country. In addition, vital information in the financial sector and the need to 'maintain updated security systems' by continuously monitoring both externally and internally.

The report of Centre for policy alternatives (2011) has divulged that in August 2011 the Sri Lankan branch of Anonymous have carried out several DNS attacks against agencies in Sri Lanka, including the nation's Parliament, military and largest telecom provider. The main reason behind this alleged

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[2] Malware Infection Index 2016 by Microsoft Malware Protection Centre and Microsoft Security Intelligence Report

[3] Sri Lanka Army commander says Cyber War still continues. (2011)
http://www.colombopage.com/archive_11/Feb22_1298388902CH.php

attack was social, political and economic exploitation of country's assets which are more prone to national security breaches of the country. This incident provided a loophole in the prevailed network security system to the CERT CC.

According to Weeratunga (2014), there is a growing need to protect financial data in the banking system of Sri Lanka as the country has already embraced Internet banking, mobile banking, electronic cheque transactions and e-transfer of money. Cyber-attacks in the banking sector have an impact not only on the individual itself, but on the wider economy and the whole fabric of a state since the country has already embraced the "e-Sri Lanka Development Programme". A deficit in network security mechanisms is perceived with attempt of introducing such a programme in absence of a data protection law or privacy protection for individuals in Sri Lanka.

Despite the fact regarding Sri Lanka's unpreparedness to emerging cyber-attacks threatening its national security Fernando (2016) elaborates an important fact regarding a legal measure to combat Cyber-attacks for. Sri Lanka became a state party to the Council of Europe Convention ("Budapest Convention") on 1st September 2015. Accession to the Convention has created a platform to investigate cyber offenses meaningfully drawing European best practices. Thus, it enables Sri Lanka to meet the "adequacy standards" for smooth trans-border flows of data while countering national security breaches to the country.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Local cyber security landscape

The post-war outlook of Sri Lanka enabling greater dependence on critical infrastructure, industrial automation and cyber based control systems has shown possible complexities to the maintenance of national security of Sri Lanka. Technology transfers established by Sri Lanka through partnerships with Chinese firms and experts for the implementation of broadband infrastructure grants more benefits as well as national security breaches.

The most reported cases of cyber-attacks in Sri Lanka have been largely linked to politically motivated attacks and are external rather than internal. According to Jayasuriya (2011), in the final stages of the war against the LTTE, the website of the Sri Lankan Army had encountered what was described as a 'web defacement attack' and that there are continued efforts to

hack into security networks. Hence, Sri Lanka recognized to shift its defensive capability from physical infrastructure to cyber-space to address the loopholes or vulnerabilities of the government's information security.

CERT CC[4] (2016) has pointed out that the cyber-attacks encountered by Sri Lanka so far:

1. Web defacement attack - an attack on a website that changes the visual appearance of the site or a webpage.

2. Phishing- automated targeted emails, SMSs, Skype, faxes and other channel abuse where users are directed to malicious sites.

3. Malware- Viruses, Trojans, Backdoors.

4. Threat Mail- exploitation of e-mail to gain control over an organization, access confidential information.

5. Unauthorized access at places of business.

Most of these cyber-attacks do not cause physical damage; instead they often result in economic loss to a state and tend to increase tensions among states. Therefore, it is worth outlining the key reasons resulting network security intrusions of a country in cyberspace. Moreover, the cost of entry into cyber space is relatively low (Schreier, 2015) and cyber capabilities are relatively inexpensive. The attacker has a reduced risk in execution. As a result of these profitable and motivational factors cyber-attacks have converted into a "transnational game" played by states.

What fundamentally defines a national security problem?

Clearly, the concept encompasses a threat that would affect a country's military capability, economic advancement and security in a way that gives the opponent an advantage. Thus, Cyber Computer Emergency Readiness Team and Coordination Centre- a subsidiary of the ICT Agency of Sri Lanka established to respond to cyber-attacks and strengthen existing security systems against potential attacks can be drawn as an intractable problem that poses severe threat to information security, communication infrastructure and internet governance of a state because "a cyber-attack consists of any action taken to undermine the functions of a computer network for a political

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[4] Computer Emergency Readiness Team and Coordination Centre- a subsidiary of the ICT Agency of Sri Lanka established to respond to cyber-attacks and strengthen existing security systems against potential attacks

or national security purpose". (Wilson, 2008)Once an element of security of a state is threatened the rest of the national interests lose its equilibrium in maintaining law and order within the state. To that end, Sri Lanka shows a greater possibility in facing more complex cyber-attacks notably with the accession of 'e-Sri Lanka Development Programme'.

Evidently, considering different elements of 'National Security' of a State, Sri Lanka after eradicating ruthless LTTE acquired complete freedom in 'Military security' paving promising possibilities for its development. Many organizations and groups have taken steps to prevent the country from making its progress. Despite the visible threats the latest weapon they have took in hand is Cyber Space since Sri Lanka represents promising growth in economy through adopting international technological standards in electronic media. Thus, in this context country's Political Security, Economic Security and Energy Security are threatened.

1. The report of Centre for policy alternatives (2011) has divulged that in August 2011 the Sri Lankan branch of Anonymous have carried out several DNS [5]attacks against agencies in Sri Lanka, including the nation's Parliament, military and largest telecom provider. The main reason behind this alleged attack was social, political and economic exploitation of country's assets.

2. In addition, there is a growing need to protect financial data in the banking system of Sri Lanka as the country has already embraced Internet banking, mobile banking, electronic cheque transactions and e-transfer of money)Weeratunga, 2014). Cyber-attacks in the banking sector have an impact not only on the individual itself, but on the wider economy and the whole fabric of a state since the country has already embraced the "e-Sri Lanka Development Programme.

A deficit in recognizing a cyber-attack, situational awareness and preventive mechanisms is a thriving need for the cyber security apparatus in Sri Lanka. Inadequate and ineffectively implemented cyber security leaves entities and individuals open to attack easily by hackers. Despite 2007's Computer Crimes Act being enforced, very few crimes have been reported to CERT since banks rather hush up attacks than report them thinking it to be a callus for their reputation. The experience of the Sri Lankan banking sector on

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[5] A DNS attack is an exploit in which an attacker takes advantage of vulnerabilities in the Domain Name System.

cyber risks remains in line with the international experience. The Bangladesh Central Bank attack in February 2016, hackers pretending to be officials of the Central Bank of Bangladesh, managed to transfer money worth USD 101 million from the account of Bangladesh Bank held at the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to private bank accounts in Sri Lanka and Philippines.

In addition, Sri Lanka's leading industries representing the Energy sector have been keen on enhancing network security in their businesses to combat possible cyber-attacks ahead. Business enterprises are rapidly expanding into various complex areas of business especially utilizing 'Internet of Things' which refers to the use of intelligently connected devices and systems to leverage data gathered by embedded sensors and actuators in machines and other physical objects. That is to ensure whether the industry/business assess the potential dangers from cyber-attacks.

Malware Infection Index 2016

UNGA Resolution 2010 has stated that cyber-attack and cyber security are indivisible aspects in an interconnected environment of the national security apparatus of a country. Sri Lanka has been ranked among the top 10 countries in the Asia Pacific impacted by and facing growing threats to cyber security, according to the Malware Infection Index 2016 by Microsoft Malware Protection Centre. The Computer Crime Act 1997 further proved to be void with the increasing growth of network based cyber-attacks threatening country's security. Thus, it is evident that there is a crying need to secure our cyberspace if we are to continue growing the national economy and protecting our way of life.

Budapest Convention: Sri Lanka a party to an international treaty on Cyber Crimes

Despite the fact regarding Sri Lanka's unpreparedness to emerging cyber-attacks threatening its national security Fernando (2016) elaborates an important milestone regarding a legal measure in combating Cyber-attacks. Sri Lanka became a state party to the Council of Europe Convention or which is also called as "Budapest Convention" on 1st September 2015. Accession to the Convention has created a platform to investigate cyber offenses meaningfully drawing European best practices. Thus, it enables Sri Lanka to meet the "adequacy standards" for smooth trans-border flows of data while countering national security breaches to the country. Accession to the Budapest Convention enabled Sri Lanka to carry out successful

investigation and prosecution of cybercrime and other offences involving electronic evidence. Protecting countries' rights in cyberspace with international legislation is the leitmotif of this Convention.

The "Diamond Model" of Cyber-attack Intrusion Analysis

Although Sri Lanka's CERT team has implemented many innovative and preventive measures yet, it has been difficult to clearly foresee the nature of a cyber-attack and certain vulnerabilities are in existing preventive mechanisms. To set preventive measures in accordance with daily evolving complex nature of cyber-attacks, it is vital to recognize the nature and vulnerabilities for a possible cyber-attack. In this process, the "Diamond Model" by Sergio Caltagirones which is globally accepted and utilized by most of the developed countries provides a ground plan to map an adversary's TTPs (Tactics, Techniques and Procedures) in a cyber-attack to build up threat intelligence.

Figure 2: Diamond Model
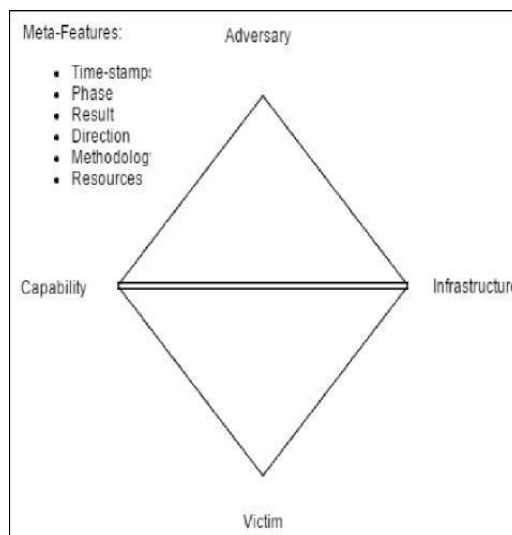
Source: Cyber-Attack Modeling Analysis Techniques, 2016

This model focuses more on understanding the attacker and what tools and infrastructure they use and their motivations. Rather than looking at a series of events, the Diamond Model works on relationships between its features (Adversary, Capability, Victim, and Infrastructure). Moreover, it enables better understanding on the nature of the cyber-attack to deal with and why

an attack occurs. According to the model it is clear to comprehend that an attacker attacks a victim depending on two main attributes:

    i.   Infrastructure
    ii.   Capability.

The attacker will attack a victim if the victim's capability or the infrastructure is weak. An attack will not be successful if the victim is stronger than the attacker in Infrastructure and Capability.

An adversary is an actor or set of actors who attacks a victim after analyzing their capability against the victim. Initially, the adversary starts with no knowledge of the capability of the victim. After analyzing the capability of a victim, the adversary finds whether more capabilities are available than the victim to attack or not. Also, adversary analyze the infrastructure to assume technical and logical ability to command and control any of victim's network. The model is also associated with some meta-features such as timestamp, phases, result, directions, methodology and resources. These features are edge-connected representing their underlying relationships and arranged in the shape of a diamond, giving the model its name: the Diamond Model.

The model establishes a method applying scientific principles to intrusion analysis providing a comprehensive method of activity documentation, synthesis, and correlation. Ultimately, the model provides opportunities to integrate intelligence in real-time for network defense, automating correlation across events, classifying events with confidence into adversary campaigns, and forecasting adversary operations while planning and gaming mitigation strategies. The purpose of this is to enable an effective response. A State is able to build up a picture of how an adversary operates and address those facts directly. Evidently, by adopting this model Sri Lanka can gain more increased possibility in threat intelligence with regard to cyber situational awareness to

1. Supports real-time event characterization by mapping the analytic process to well-understood classification in cyber-attacks.
2. Enable contextual and relationship-rich indicators improving cyber threat intelligence sharing and increasing the range of applicability of indicators.

3. Identify intelligence gap through a phase-based approach and the inclusion of external resource requirements as a fundamental 'meta-feature'.

Conclusion

In Sri Lanka, there is a challenge in preventing cyber-attacks. The growth of network based intrusions as a result of technological interconnectedness has caused threats to national security undermining Political, Economic and energy security. After analyzing the conducted interviews it was precise that, resources and attention given to Sri Lankan cyber security sector is less compared with neighbouring countries especially India. Cyber security is the least secure and of the security bodies in Sri Lanka (compared with Army, Navy and Air Force). Awareness in new media literacy and information technology shows its nadir among the citizens. The below mentioned recommendations are derived from the results analyzed so far:

1. The 'National Security' policy needs to be reformed to include a cyber-security agenda that covers the length and breadth of the country, to take the message to the people that cyber security is compatible with individual rights, privacy and freedom of speech. It is also crucial that Sri Lanka takes advantage of the overlaps it shares with its powerful Asian neighbours to coordinate activities among the countries.

2. Despite every step taken by Sri Lankan government to counter cyber-attacks, absence of a "Contingency Plan" as a back-up remains a loop-hole in the cyber security preventive mechanism. After all, businesses must continue to be functional, albeit at a lower speed. USA provides the best example in conducting simulations on a regular basis in order to analyze their current security measures.

3. Government's cooperation with the private sector is vital as the majority of web infrastructure is in the hands of the private sector. All developed nations have identified this and are working closely with the private sector, and the private sector in return should reciprocate equally.

4. The existing legislation and litigation is not merely sufficient to overcome these ever increasing and complexity of cyber-attacks. Law Enforcement Agencies and the Legislature should focus on areas where it has particular competence such as protecting critical

infrastructure, coordinating legal structures, regulating business and consumer protection privacy.

In conclusion, the Diamond Model accurately captures the fundamental concepts which underpin how intrusion analysis is synthesized and used for mitigation and network defense. Its largest contribution is that it finally applies the scientific rigor and the principles of measurement, testability, and repeatability to the domain enabling intrusion analysis to become more effective, efficient and accurate leading to quicker mitigation to defeat adversaries. Thus, by applying the "Diamond Model" to Sri Lankan cyber intrusion analysis helps to identify an adversary's portfolio: their goals and methods can be understood and thus mitigations can be more effectively targeted. "For every intrusion event there exists an adversary taking a step towards an intended goal by using a capability over infrastructure against a victim to produce a result".

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Theoretical analysis on the convergence of India and China's interests and their impact on post-conflict Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Convergence of India-China interests on Sri Lankan context became critical during post conflict period as it provided the platform for these two powerful nations to check and balance their interests. This paper aims at discussing the impact of their interests on post conflict Sri Lanka. The main objective of the study is to theoretically analyze the convergence of Indo-China interests on above context and their impact on Sri Lanka. To achieve aforesaid objectives qualitative approach has been adopted and secondary data is the main type of data obtained from various sources such as books, journal articles, newspapers, government records and other relevant documents available in both printed and electronic versions. Document analysis, theoretical analysis and descriptive analysis are used to analyze data. In document analysis documents are interpreted to give meaning and it collects available data related to the study and interprets them to find out specific issues. Concepts derive from literature review and theoretical analysis helps to develop broader understanding on those issues and collect new knowledge. Descriptive analysis also used in certain areas to provide comprehensive understanding of collected data. The research findings conclude Chinese influence over the other regions seems inevitable with its rise as a global economic and military power which is perceived as a threat by India. India is also trying to match Chinese rise resulting suspicion and fear psychosis among one another's achievements. Both are engaged in a competition to achieve goodwill of their neighbors. Sri Lanka has become convergence point for both India and China due to its strategic importance in the Indian Ocean and it was intensified during post conflict period. Both attempted to attract the post conflict reconstruction projects but China impressed more positively on Sri Lankan policy makers since its aid came with no influences for domestic politics. India raised the issue on reconciliation and power

devolution and even supported UN resolution against Sri Lanka. Chinese approach was more peaceful and beneficial for Sri Lanka whereas India

Introduction

Every state has their own distinguished interests and those interests are decided based on their status which means, such interests of a state will change according to their profile which they are experiencing in the international system. Thus, interests of a powerful state are extended in a vast range in global politics. These states could be in regional level and also in global level. We could identify them as regional powers, Great powers or major powers and also the super powers according to their impact over the behavior of other states. Interests of these states will also be based on different concerns such as resources, geo strategic locations and etc. These sates around the world use different types of strategies in order to achieve the specific interest. Power is one of the main concepts which determine their capability of fulfilling the task of achieving interests. If a state has an ability to control the behaviors of other states by using their capabilities such countries could be identified as powerful nations. This could be happened in regional level and also in the global level. So, nations who have more power capabilities than others always try to pursue their interests by using their own capabilities. Generally we could clearly identify the fact that major powers or great powers have different types of power implication methods that use to achieve their interests like, by using other countries. Especially powerful states who have great capabilities in fields of economic, political, military, can influence directly or indirectly on other state`s behaviors. China has reached to a significant level in the contemporary world using its great powers because of the Chinese strategically model which can use to achieve national interests of powerful China.

Both China and India are 'regional powers' and especially China is one of the 'Great Power'. These two states are involved in a competition to gain their interests by vanquishing each other. So when formulating their bilateral relations, this dilemma is one of the main concern which created the nature of their relations. When it comes to South Asia, as a hegemonic power, India concerns more about the Chinese activities in the region and does not like its involvement with other neighbors of India. India concern it as a threat to their security and also to their status as the hegemony of South Asia.

Therefore, India try to protect their hegemonic power in South Asian region from threats poses by China.

China has established strong and close ties with those South Asian nations excluding India and Bhutan. As mentioned above, Indo-China relations are always carry out in a state of suspicious and Bhutan – China relations also have been hindered due to lack of cooperation. Thus except India and Bhutan all other states have strong relations with China.

Sri Lanka fought a war of thirty years with the separatist terrorist movement which is known as LTTE. LTTE was one of the most dangerous terrorist group which produced human suicide bombers to the world. In the year 2009 Sri Lankan military forces defeated the LTTE terrorism and achieved their victory. Therefore, 2009 is a significant year in the Sri Lankan history. But with the end of this war Sri Lanka had to face different challenges from the outside world. As a result of that their external relations became more complicated and problematic more than ever before. Main reason was, with the support of India, western powers made a resolution in the Geneva human right council against Sri Lanka. They repeatedly exclaimed against the Sri Lankan forces about the human right violations in the last few days of the war. As a result the development of Sri Lanka became more crucial during that time.

Convergence of Indo-China interests on post conflict Sri Lanka emanate various effects that can be analyzed by looking at their relations and the way their relations impact domestic, regional and international politics. Meanwhile India also developing to a level that it could challenge the Chinese rise resulting suspicion and fear psychosis on one another's achievements. Both are engaged in a competition to achieve goodwill of their neighbors. Sri Lanka it became more competitive level because of strategic importance of Sri Lanka China need to make Sri Lanka as its ally because of strategic importance and to gain South Asian rapport towards their interests. But as a regional power in South Asia India try to counter the involvement of China to protect its status in the region and its security. Therefore India also needs to protect strategic importance and rapport of Sri Lanka towards their policies. The competition on Sri Lanka became more strategically and competitive level post war period in Sri Lanka. Thus the main research focus of this study is to theoretically analyse the convergence of Indo-China interests and their impact on post conflict Sri Lanka.

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. It helps to develop deep understanding about the study and to collect new knowledge. This study has used descriptive analysis as well. Descriptive statistics have used to describe the basic features of the data in a study. They provide simple summaries about the sample and the measures together with simple graphics analysis. (www.socialresearchmethods.net). Furthermore, use of direct quotations in the study helps the researcher present an accurate depiction of what is being evaluated.

Literature survey

The study determine the effectiveness of already existing theoretical approaches and the contribution of adopting new conceptual approaches in explaining triangular relationship among India, China and Sri Lanka. 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 China peaceful rise theory. However, researcher attempt to explore the existing knowledge on relevant study; with the basis on such findings researcher will present hypothesis throughout the study.

The related studies have been spread vast range of area in different point of views of many scholars. But the vision of the study will be change one to another based on their perspectives and objectives of the study. So different scholarly efforts have been conducted in the area of external relations among China, India and Sri Lanka in different point of view.

According to Young and Jong (2008, pp. 453-472), China is using soft power1 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. Therefore, Chinese soft power practices make competition with the United States and its national interests. Both nations are trying to keep their interests in the Asian continent, as a result of that the nations who are in the continent facing various kind of challenges in their foreign relations. Furthermore Asian states have positive perspective on Chinese involvements in their countries. Can be identified as resources of Chinese soft power, [the Chinese developmental model, China's foreign policy, and Chinese civilization].

Shirin Tahir-Kheli (1978, pp. 996-1012) stated, Chinese objectives in South Asia didn't tally with other super powers who are involve in the competition to achieve the hegemonic position in South Asia. Because Chinese objectives in the region specially created as a security purpose that creates a security dilemma. At the moment Russia and the USA was acting the super powers role in the world (1970) Russia wanted to build up an alliance based on the collective security. Actually it was indirectly mean to the China. As a result of that India sign a new agreement with USSR in 1971. Both parties' experiences border disputes with China. Therefore China had to happen more careful about their interests. As a result of that China started to conduct more friendly foreign relations towards Pakistan and Bangladesh and other states in the region. [International political systems into "three worlds" Then according to Mao, the China and rest of Asia (with the exception of Japan), Africa, and Latin America comprised the third world].

Bonnie (1993, pp. 252-271) presents interests and ambitions of the Chinese regime. As he says, The Chinese communist government depends on rapid economic development. Especially they always consider about their economic development empowerment. And through its development buildup their national power in a sustainable way. Chinese leaders create unwanted tensions in Sino-American relation. Chinese government trying to improve the country's comprehensive national power, achieving due respect, especially in Southeast Asia, South Asia and Asia Pacific. Enhancing its military capabilities and assert their regional territorial claims. Military buildup is aimed at providing the basis for coercive diplomacy and maintaining the capability to use force to protect its interest.

John W. Garver (1992, pp. 67-85) stated, China will continue to develop friendly relations with all the countries in South Asia on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. Under Indira Gandhi, objected to the increasingly close political and diplomatic relations between Beijing and

Colombo. New Delhi opposed President Junius R. Jayewardene's initiation of a military relationship with the United States. Chinese support for Colombo was fairly strong in 1984-85 as the Tamil insurgency in Sri Lanka escalated and Indo-Lankan relations deteriorated.

While the Chinese leadership emphasized on realizing harmonious co-existence, mutual benefit and common development with countries involved through the OBOR initiative, and while they emphasized on realizing peaceful development while helping the others to develop, the world community is unconvinced of China's agenda of reviving an ancient concept which reminds of the grandiose of the Middle Kingdom. China is being criticized for trying to use charm offensive to gain power and influence through introducing OBOR. China's neighbours are suspicious of its intentions. They further notes that the charm offensive is absent when it comes to practice in certain issues during the recent years (Summer 2013).

Cheng (2012) defines peaceful rise in the case of China as "competition according to the rules, although the rules many not be fair to China, and China may not hold any role in defining the rules"

Advocates of the China threat feared that a sudden Soviet-style sudden-death, spinning out of control would create an even worse scenario. The sheer size of the population makes refuge problem, the failed state and the followed crises (warlordism, civil war, crime, proliferation of nuclear weapons etc) (Xia, 2005).

Therefore recognizing the advantages in deployment of an effective reassurance language, China developed a new policy reassurance and strategic option, relabeling "peaceful rise" to "peaceful development". The main advantage of "peaceful development" as a term is that it focuses attention onto China's internal socio-economic development rather than its external political-military rise (Scott, 2012, pp.48-49).

Zang (2012) China's rise should be understood as an amalgam of the world's oldest continuous civilization and a huge modern state which is a product of hundreds of states amalgamated into one over the past thousands of years of history.

Theoretical background

To answer and analyze the problem statement of the study, the researcher will be four important theories. They are namely; Realism, neoliberalism, China threat theory, peaceful development theory. The Peaceful

Development Theory as a Chinese perspective of their emergence and China's Threat Theory as Western and Indian view of china's concept of Peaceful Development or Rise will be discussed under the theory of Realism.

Neo Liberalism

Neoliberalism is related with the second era of globalization, the emergence of neoliberalism indicates after the period of Second World War. Neoliberalism, in brief, is an ideology that attempts to reduce the classical liberal concepts. Unlike the 1950's "neoliberals" who emphasized the importance to reduce the power of markets and increase the role of the state in order to ensure the needs and democratic wishes of citizens could be better served, while still retaining a liberal commitment to markets and private property, but the 1980's neoliberals focused to reduce the capacity of democratic political activity altogether by pushing the state out of the economy as much as was possible. As a result of that basically the duty of a state will be poses such duties of police and courts. Actually the state will be a "night watchman state" with only the most minimal functions while everything else would be left to the market.

As per Nonini (2008) since the late 1970s, China has experienced significant economic growth with the reforms such as privatization and de-nationalization of economic enterprises, the opening of export markets and new partnerships of state cadres with transnational investors in addition to Local Township, provincial and domestic entrepreneurs. Deng Xiaoping invited investment from abroad in Chinese industries. Ownership of industries by foreigners and by individual citizens was exist alongside state-owned industries. Furthermore high levels of public investment, and the accession to the WTO in 2001, foreign direct investment (FDI) in China has been very important to this dramatic growth of the Chinese economy. China exceeding 9% economic growth per year over more than twenty years. Since the 1970s, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has emerged as an important actor with regard to global governance. China has acquired membership of various institutions of international cooperation, most notably the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 1971 and the WTO in 2001.

Furthermore Nonni (2008) stated China's market reforms and opening up have demonstrated many definitive characteristics of Neoliberalization. The conception of a neoliberal urban China has been disputed by others who emphasized on the particular state-market relations in China that appear to be deviant from the neoliberal prescription. Despite increased marketization of the planned economy, the socialist state has maintained its power and exerted

strong control over market transition and this is in contrast with the neoliberal doctrine that prioritizes the interests of market forces and minimizes the distortion of state intervention.

Peaceful development theory

In international system, players will always emerge time to time. Thus China and India are two new emerging powers in global system. Both are involving to gain their interest by vanquishing each other. China's emergence as a major economic and military power is the most crucial phenomena in the 21st century. In the late 1970s leadership of China made a strategic decision to reform its economic system and to open up to the world economy. China's emergence has been identified by its economic expansion from late 1970s and 1980s onwards, which paved the way to become a dominant power on a global level. China is expected to surpass the United States as the world's largest economy by 2030 (Goswami: 2013).

According to Xie (2010), Neoliberals believes China's rise creates an integration into a "peaceful world system through economic and diplomatic engagement and a web of normative obligations"

The theory of "Peaceful rise" was the official policy under the leadership of Hu Jintao[1] who was the former president of China. Zheng Bijian who was the foreign policy adviser to Hu Jintao, described this new term as a new strategy which implicate by China to engage with global affairs in peaceful manner with demanding economic globalization through independent of socialism with Chinese characteristics. In effect, this was an attempt to stand against "China's Threat Theory." The concept of "peaceful rise" was attempting to blurb the character of China as a responsible global player, and China wanted to convince that China is a state which committed to its domestic issues and the welfare needs of its citizens, before interfering and challenge with global affairs. But, later the term was renamed as "Peaceful development theory

"China will keep to the path of peaceful development. We have just celebrated the 70th anniversary of the victory of the Chinese people's resistance against Japanese aggression and the world anti-fascist war. An important lesson history teaches us is that peaceful development is the right

[1] Hu Jintao is a former leader of the Communist Party of China. He served as the General Secretary of the Communist Party of China from 2002 to 2012, Chairman of the CPC Central Military Commission from 2004 to 2012 and President of the People's Republic of China from 2003 to 2013.

path, while any attempt to seek domination or hegemony through force is against the historical trend and doomed to failure. The Chinese recognized as early as 2,000 years ago that though a country is now strong, varicosity will lead to its ruling. China's defense policy is defensive in nature and its military strategy features active defense. Let me reiterate here that no matter how developed it could become, China will never seek hegemony or engage in expansion."

- Chinese President Xi Jinping delivers the only public policy speech of his U.S. visit during a dinner co-hosted by the National Committee in 2015-(www.ncuscr.org)

Therefore China believed freedom of economies, free trade between states, free flow of goods and capital etc. Such believes indicates open-up of China policies to world despite isolationism. But when it's come to practice China believes their own strength and capabilities. Thus their own capabilities and strength creates background for suspicious their activities to other actors in an international system. This situation led to the security dilemma among other states who consider as a threat of China's emergence. Countries like India involve with real competition in global level to challenge emergence of China on the consideration of threat.

Realism

The theory of realism consider as reality of real politics. They believe that structure of international relations will stay anarchic, there is no authority over the nation-state. Therefore that states should only pursue what is in their own self-serving interest. That is to say, all states have to aspiration on their own resources to secure their interests. To achieve their aspirations, states will enforce their agreements which they have signed or will sign with other states, or states will engage to control the desirable domestic and international structure. States should exercise dominance or try to become dominant as much as they can. Such situation will emphasize the role of the nation-state and make a broad assumption that all nation-states are motivated by national interests. Realism consider politics as struggle for power and seeks to explain it with the help of such factors as power, security and national interest.

The term realism divide into two assumptions in its perspective.

1. Classical realism
2. Structural realists (Neorealism)

Kenneth Waltz is Defensive realists who coined the new perspective of realism; acquire of too much power for state is unwise. Because the system will punish them. Offensive realists like John Mearsheimer argue that it makes strategic sense for states to acquire as much power as possible, and even to pursue hegemony.

For structural realists, human nature is not the most important basis for power. Rather than, the nature of the international system pave the way for states to pursue power. The neorealism theory will be divide into two.

1. Offensive Realism
2. Defensive Realism

Therefore states will take necessary offensive actions to counter any threats which are emerge as barriers in the way of their position, also states will behave in the same manner when achieving their interests. There are different forms of national interests. Some states may have an interest in securing more resources or land; other states will to expand their own political or economic agendas or capabilities into other regions or states. Some states achieve their interests as a single achievement with their own capabilities, as the position of USA and China in today world. But some other states achieve their interests as a collective achievement, ex: European Union.   Thus states maximize their power and influence to achieve their dominance in the world. That is state will engage in offensive approach to achieve their interests. But it is simply rational for every state to acquire sufficient power to defend itself to prevent that any attack which come from outside. That is to say state will take defensive approach to counter or prevent any threat which come from outside over their interests.

China threat theory

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 "rise" 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.

Since last century Western powers and its allies try to control the emergence of China. But they have become failed because of their misjudgments, wrong predictions, unexpected situations, and hesitation. Among all of them, hard

work and intentional objectives of China led its standing position in today world. Now it is hard to challenge to China with its drastic capabilities.

As China's impressive economic growth continues over the next few decades, the United States and China are likely to engage in deep security competition with considerable potential for war The ultimate goal of every great power is to maximize its share of world power and eventually dominate the system Mearsheimer (2006, p.160).

Therefore, the emergence of one state as global power always threat to the existing global power. Furthermore, such emergence will be threat to other states which are competitive for the global power. As a result of that such emerging power consider as a threat by other states who are involved in global power struggle. That is what happened in case of China, Their emergence became a threat not an only for the U.S.A but also for all other emerging global and regional powers like India.

Data Presentation and analysis

Imperatives of Post Conflicts Sri Lanka

Post conflict political situation in Sri Lanka became more controversial because domestic political interests of internal factors in the country and also from outside world. After defeat LTTE Sri Lanka became the first nation which physically eliminate terrorism from the country in 21st century. After 1976 LTTE made a huge challenge to Sri Lanka political system. The terrorist movement always destroyed the peaceful coexistence in the country including destruction of thousands of human lives and properties. In effect 2009 was the significant year of Sri Lankan history and mark the victory by defeating terrorism. But, no one believed the victory will make a challenge to Sri Lanka. That is to say, after the defeat of terrorism, LTTE allied diaspora[2] with the support of some western nations made a resolution against Sri Lanka in 2009 at the Human Rights Council in Geneva. The situation was reminded to government of Sri Lanka, the war is not still enough. Sri Lanka was understood that physical victory never made their lasting and sustainable peace to Sri Lanka. Therefore, they had to happened fight in strategically and diplomatic ways to counter the resolution that made against Sri Lankan victory.   They were voiced the victory as contravene of Human Rights of

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[2] Diaspora means "to scatter" in Greek, but today we use the term to describe a community of people who live outside their shared country of origin or ancestry but maintain active connections with it. A diaspora includes both emigrants and their descendants (www.diasporaalliance.org)

Tamil people during the last period of war. Therefore the political situation in post conflict Sri Lanka made a great challenge to the respective government in that time.

With the critical background of Sri Lankan political system there were some external power involvement to the internal factors of country brings positive and negative consequences. Among those states India and china could be identify as the most influential state which are involved in the post conflict Sri Lanka.

In effect, after the post war period Reconciliation process, Justice Process, Peace building, Human rights, inquiries of missing persons and resettlement of people brought big challenge to government of Si Lanka. Because of the involvement of international community on the issue. Therefore after 2009 those issues were internationalize ever happened before. Among these issues, former government of Sri Lanka incriminated for Human Right violation during the last period of war. Thus when comes to China and India factors with the involvement on the issue, India conduct pro-west allied position by neglecting Sri Lanka's interests with historical friendship of India. If India wanted to control the issue as a regional hegemon, they had to do more despite accepting criticism against Sri Lanka while inquiring about the issue on their own perspective. Especially, Tamil Nadu factor is the main consideration of Indian government. Because Indian national politics always depend on their party politics of Indian states. If Indian government need to hold their power in national politics, they have to have listen to their states. As a result of government of India continuously voted against Sri Lanka in favor of western powers and Tamil Nadu political interests. Party politics in India use this issue only for their electoral purposes. They always represented as liberator of Tamil people despite the government of Sri Lanka. Such inappropriate Indian mediation to internal politics in Sri Lanka will led to decrease their popularity and trust as a hegemon in South Asia; Especially in Sri Lanka. India struggle with their internal politics when conducting its foreign policy. Therefore India has political interests on Sri Lanka rather than economic interests. India has to do a responsibility to protect its neighbors from threats which are come from outside the region. If India need to protect its regional and global level status as a powerful state, they have to build up their trust and goodwill towards other states. First to their neighborhood. But in case of Sri Lanka their approach is very problematic. Indian implementations were not made lasting peace or reconciliation in Sri Lanka.

Consequently, Indian behavior on Sri Lankan issue, made foreign policy of Sri Lanka narrower towards China. In International arena China voiced for Sri Lanka with their fullest support. Especially, in the United Nations Security Council, China strongly rejected those accusations over Sri Lanka by using their veto power. During the war period also China provided the military armaments and aircrafts to Sri Lanka including huge amount of economic benefits. China and their aid were help to Sri Lanka eradicate the civil war in its northern parts and brought peace. America, India and other some western nations denied their foreign aid and support to Sri Lanka when it's most needed due to the allegations against of it against war crimes and human rights violations. Therefore, the foreign policy of Sri Lanka started to align towards china during the tenure of Mahinda Rajapaksa (former President of Sri Lanka). Foreign policy of the Countries such as Sri Lanka totally depends upon the government which is ruling the country. That period was one of the best tenure of their relations. During his term there were many projects conducted by China. Expressways, Hambanthota harbor, Mattala airport, port city and many other projects. Those project were economically benefited for both countries. Comparatively, relations between SLINDIA, were damage time to time. The main reason is internal politics of India with Tamil government of Tamilnadu. Among all these identifications, the purpose of China behind the assistance on Sri Lanka comparatively great advantage to China to their emergence in the world through South Asia by defeating India. Post war peaceful Sri Lanka is good strategic point to China to establish their power to dominate the Indian Ocean.

Chinese Peaceful rise strategies and their implications

One belt, one road (OBOR) initiative

One Belt, One Road (OBOR) is China's new foreign and economic policy. It is a grand development strategy to connect China with Central Asia and Europe countries through lands. One belt one road, also known as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a concept introduced by the Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013 with an objective to reestablishment of the ancient trade routes connecting Asia to Europe. The main objective is to build trade routes between China and the countries in Central Asia, Europe and Indo-Pacific littoral countries. In other words OBOR or BRI is a network of roads, railways, oil pipelines, power grids, ports and other infrastructural projects meant to connect China to the world. OBOR covers countries throughout the Asian continent from China to the rest of Eurasia. The plan is to connect the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. This will connect Chinese coastline

with SE Asia, South Asia, Gulf and East coast of Africa. China will build hard and soft maritime infrastructure. It will include trade liberalization, new ports, custom co-ordination, e-commerce, and policy coordination.

The OBOR policy has two routes

1. 'Silk Road Economic Belt' **-** This is a land based route. It will connect China with Central Asia, Eastern and Western Europe.

2. '21st Century Maritime Silk Road' - This is sea based. It will connect China to South-East Asia, Africa, South Asia and Central Asia.

Figure 1: China's new Silk Road

Source: MERICS, DW

This initiative, One Belt and One Road (OBOR) aims to create the world's largest platform for economic cooperation, including policy coordination, trade and financing collaboration, and social and cultural cooperation. Through open discussion, OBOR can create benefits for everyone.

OBOR is an ambitious project and it encompasses almost 65 countries. China has planned around $1 trillion of investment in various infrastructure projects by providing aids and loans to the countries which are involved at a low cost. Sri Lanka also one of the key point of their Maritime Silk Road strategy. Therefore all the implications and considerations on OBOR directly

effect on Sri Lanka as contributor to Chinese interest in the Indian Ocean. China created an opportunity to influence on Sri Lanka by providing benefits to the country.

According to Aoyama (2017) OBOR is not only a regional policy but a grand global strategy for achieving the "Chinese Dream". While there is little chance that China will be able to create a large area of influence around the world, the potential impact on global politics cannot be overlooked.

Overall, we can see that China's goal for OBOR is not only economic in nature but also political. On the one hand, China has numerous domestic problems to solve and many international impediments to overcome; on the other hand, the promotion of the OBOR policy, if it proceeds successfully, could solve both China's internal and external problems simultaneously by expanding China's export market through a friendlier international environment Hsueh (2017).

Above mentioned statements clearly emphasize the hidden ambition of OBOR. According to their statements there will be grand economic opportunity to China with large scale of influencing capabilities around the world. Therefore the OBOR brings not an only economic benefits but also Chinese dominance to other territories. In other words, "ONE BELT, ONE ROAD" is a plan of China to get access to resources of central Asia, such as oil and gas resources and to develop its trade by having multiple routes by both sea and land.

The OBOR strategy is often reported as China's ambitious push to take a bigger role in global affairs and expand its friend circle. China wants to develop global power by expanding its influence. Sri Lanka also became one of the main participant of this OBOR on the basis of its strategically position in Indian Ocean. Goodwill of those states will make better strong output to their economic expansion within their markets. Therefore, One Belt One Road will empower China as a greater influencer in coming years.

According to Wang Yiwei 's (2016) analysis, China wants to achieve at least the following five goals. First, China wants to solve the problem of over capacity by expanding the overseas market in the countries that will participate in OBOR. Second, China wants to procure indispensable resources for development by facilitating its relationships with the countries that have these resources and the countries that control the shipping channels. Third, China wants to consolidate its strategic security by balancing the degrees of development between the southeast costal and the

northwest inland regions. Fourth, China wants to upgrade its industries from labor-intensive to tech-intensive by implementing advanced standards of infrastructure such as high-speed rail and electronic power systems and promoting their adoption in the developing countries that participate in OBOR. Fifth, China wants to increase its leadership role in these developing countries by initiating international cooperation and stimulating the construction of basic infrastructure that can facilitate economic growth. These five goals together reveal China's grand strategy toward the world in the future.

"It is our hope that via the Belt and Road initiative, we will unleash new economic forces for global growth, build new platforms for global development, and rebalance economic globalization,"

-Xi Jing ping-

Convergence on India –China Interests and perceived threat theory

From a Chinese foreign policy perspective, while its principal objective in South Asia is avoiding a military confrontation with India, it has sought to enhance the autonomy of the smaller South Asian nations (Aiyengar:2010). India is seeking domination of South Asia that would preclude China from pursuing its legitimate interests in its neighborhood; Chinese presence and interest in Myanmar, and sale of military hardware to Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Nepal are at times seen in an adverse light. China's strategy to acquire port facilities for its navy in Pakistan, Myanmar, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka has been also called China's "String of Pearls" by some Western analysts.

China has clearly learned lessons from history for each and every incident. Therefore, if China need to protect its communist party government, they have to accept some reasonable changes in their governance. Because, if it is not Chinese communism also will collapse as it happened in Russia and many other communist countries. Existing features of Chinese authoritarianism as practiced from the time of Deng Xiaoping through the present did confer certain advantages. Therefore China represents a set of ideas and policies which are together oppose war and advocate the reform of international community through dependence upon moral values and the development of international institutions and international trade. Merely China peruse its economic interests to become a super power of the world by implementing the neoliberal policies throughout their agendas. Therefore,

China always try to pretend their attempt not for concur the world, they poses peaceful emergence by implementing win-win strategy which will benefit to all other states.

India has abandon the OBOR initiative due to its which are highly effect on Indian position in the region. Also India clearly understood the reality behind the OBOR which has been strengthen capabilities of China that will challenge to Indian aspirations in near future. When consider about the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) passes through the Indian Territory (Disputed Kashmir territory between India and Pakistan). It trespasses India's sovereignty and territorial integrity. India has a dominance in the Indian Ocean and is worried about the Chinese investment in the Maritime route through the Indian Ocean. States such as Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Maldives encourage their economic and maritime activities with China as a result of OBOR. In effect those states connected each other through the belt economic line. That will be a threat to India. India accuse the OBOR initiative lacks transparency. India has much to lose out in terms of economic boost through greater integration with other countries. India also risks isolation as all its neighboring countries are a part of this initiative. To mitigate the damage, it should build ties with other countries and increase its spending on infrastructure.

As a Great power and Asian hegemon China has gradually expanded its influence into the Bay of Bengal and to the Arabian Sea areas by developing and building ports and conducting many other projects. Countries in South Asia such as Sri Lanka, Pakistan, directly impact on Chinese influences. But the emergence of China in their way not consider as a threat to the world. China always emphasize that their emergence is a peaceful attempt which benefitted to all other states. That is the reason lie behind them promoting their peaceful development as a strategy to counter the ideology on China threat theory. But implications of China totally different from USA. Because China clearly identify such factors which are hindering the U.S policies in some other parts of the world. Therefore when they attempt to achieve their targets China practices different strategy rather than U.S apply to achieving their interests.

Thus the influence of China over the regions is unpreventable, because of its position of the world. South Asian context is a very important area to China on the basis of following reasons.

1. The Indian factor.
2. Economic interests around the South Asian States.

3. Geo strategic importance

China has already maintaining good and strong diplomatic relations with South Asian states. Also China enhance their friendly hands towards South Asian states by improving relationship with neighbor states of India. China invest billions of dollar on projects that they are conducting around the states, such as building ports, airports, hotels, roads-highways, cities etc. Sri Lanka is great example for those implications. But such developments clearly indicate the success and achievements of all their objectives that mentioned above.

Figure 2: Maritime Silk Route

Source: iakal.wordpress.com

The image clearly explain that question, why India consider China as a threat? China covered all the aspirations of India. India is the main challenge and obstacle for China in the Asia in establishing its position as a hegemony, Therefore China always attempt to encircle India from every possible side while them achieving their economic interests through OBOR and MSR strategies. They have already constructed their bases in Djibouti and Pakistan, along with these bases they have constructed ports in Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, and Myanmar to encircle India in the Indian Ocean region both economically and militarily.

Conclusion

China is gradually increasing its influence into the Indian Ocean and South Asia. India is suspicious that such involvements are threat to their security. As both are emerging global powers are engaged in a competition to achieve their interests by vanquishing each other. Both states are locked in a traditional IR concept security dilemma. China attempt to pretend their emergence as a peaceful development. OBOR is one of their key strategy under the peaceful development. Sri Lanka also an important part of their Maritime Silk Route strategy. Therefore, China and India are involve in a competition over Sri Lanka to protect their interests on little island nation. The reason is Sri Lanka located in a mid-point on one of the world's busiest international shipping lanes. Significant geo strategic location of Sri Lanka invite to major players to clash each other interests over the regions when achieving their regional and global level interests. A retired Indian army colonel and specialist in South Asian geopolitics R.Hariharan stated,

"Sri Lanka is the pivotal point for a global grand strategy, Sri Lanka's geography gives it an advantage disproportionate to its size."

<div align="right">-www.cnbc.com - (24 April 2016).</div>

Strategic location brings its highest advantage to Sri Lanka. Therefore rulers of the island need to understand how to manage such interests and balance of power struggles which are coming from great powers over the country, while protecting their own interests. Otherwise, in near future Sri Lanka will be like a sandwich between two great powers.

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