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International Studies Students' Association
Department of International Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences
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Journal of International Studies

Message from the Vice Chancellor of
University of Kelaniya
Professor D.M. Semasinghe
Vice Chancellor
University of Kelaniya

It is with utmost pleasure that I send my felicitation for the sixth 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 that 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.

The University constantly takes measures to bestow and expose its undergraduates to excel in academics as well as extracurricular activities. Since its initiation in 2002, the International Studies General and Special Degree Programs have enabled undergraduates to accomplish greater heights in their endeavours. These achievements have been a great satisfaction for me as the Vice Chancellor of the University of Kelaniya. Therefore, I congratulate the International Studies Students' Association upon this sixth successful attempt at publishing an academic journal and wish all the students the best of luck in their future activities.

Professor D.M. Semasinghe
Vice Chancellor
University of Kelaniya

**Message from the Dean of the Faculty
of Social Sciences**
Professor. M.M. Gunathilake
Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Kelaniya

As the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, I extend my warmest congratulation to the International Studies Students' Association on the issue of the sixth volume of the Journal of International Studies.

The Faculty of Social Sciences strives to provide and sustain a high quality in research and this commitment encourages undergraduates to excel and innovate novel ideas. The Faculty recognizes the significance in undergraduates' participation in extracurricular performances and this journal exemplifies such activities. Further, the intellectual forum not only invigorates forward thinking but also professionally supports their future endeavors.

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

**Professor M.M. Gunathilake
Dean
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Kelaniya**

**Message from the Head of the Department
of International Studies
Senior Lecturer Sithara Priyadarshana**
Head, Department of International Studies
Senior Treasurer, International Studies
Students' Association
University of Kelaniya

As the Head of the Department of International Studies, it is a matter of immense pride and pleasure to present this message at this important milestone of the launch of the sixth volume of the Journal of International Studies. The Journal delivers a wealth of opportunities for undergraduates to enhance their skills in writing, analytical thinking and foster critical viewpoints on current affairs throughout the world.

The Department of International Studies takes prominence in constant encouragement of undergraduates to thrive in both academic as well as soft skills and performances. This journal is a clear example of such performance and the unity of the International Studies Students' Association. As the Head of the Department of International Studies I am proud to say that we have been able to produce future leaders to the world. It gives me great pleasure to see the fruitful efforts of the mentors of the International Studies Students' Association. I hereby extend my warm wishes for the sixth volume of the Journal of International Studies.

**Senior Lecturer Sithara Priyadarshana
Head of the Department of International Studies
Senior Treasurer, International Studies Students' Association
University of Kelaniya**

Message from the President of International Studies Students' Association

Sandeepa Randunu

As the President of the International Studies Students' Association (ISSA), I am delighted and honoured to convey a message on the occasion of the launching of the sixth volume of the Journal of International Studies - 2019. The main objective of this journal is to provide a platform for undergraduates to contribute to the understanding of world affairs. The Department of International Studies and the International Studies Students' Association can be named as pioneers of IR knowledge dissemination. The launch of this journal can be described as one of the successful steps among the programs organized by the ISSA. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Head of the Department of International Studies and the Senior Treasurer of the ISSA, Senior Lecturer Sithara Priyadarshana, all the lecturers and assistant lecturers of the Department for their guidance and their tremendous support. I would also like to thank the authors, reviewers, editors, committee members and all those who supported behind the scenes, from the commencement up to the successful launch of this journal. I hereby extend my best wishes to the launch of the sixth volume of the Journal of International Studies.

Sandeepa Randunu
President
International Studies Students' Association
University of Kelaniya

Message from the Editor of the Journal
Poornima Abeygunasekara

As the Editor of International Studies Students' Association, I am humbled to be a part of the sixth volume of the Journal of International Studies. The resilient pillars behind the Journal are Senior Lecturer Sithara Priyadarshana, Head of the Department of International Studies, Lecturer Savithri Fernando, Lecturer Sandesha Perara and the rest of the lecturers in the Department. My sincere gratitude is with them and I also extend my appreciation to the panel of reviewers for their valuable thoughts and time. Moreover, I give my heartiest gratitude to the core committee of International Studies Students' Association for their commitment in organizing the Journal launch and the Research Symposium 2019.

The Journal of International Studies microscopes the knowledge of undergraduates studying in our department and demonstrates the understanding of global affairs by young undergraduates. As, by nature, International Studies is a multidisciplinary study, the Journal is composed of articles from diverse dimensions of the subject. The Journal will be highly beneficial for anyone who is passionate about the field of International Relations. This Journal also encourages young undergraduates to become researchers in the field and to conduct in-depth reading in their preferred areas. I am proud to have taken part in this effort since the fourth volume as a junior editor and consider myself blessed to be a part of the sixth volume of the Journal as well. I would like to extend my best wishes for the upcoming Editor for the publishing of the next volume and many more. I hope that everyone who took part in this would consider this as a special privilege as it is for me.

Poornima Abeygunasekara
Journal Editor
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Influence of the Foreign Relations towards Sri Lankan Civil War

A.A.S.Chathurika[1]

Abstract

Sri Lankan civil war is one of the bitter experience happened in Sri Lanka over 30 years. Due to the ethnic tension between, majority population Sinhalese and the Tamils in Sri Lanka led to a massive bloodshed in the Sri Lankan history. This ethnic conflict became a civil war between Sri Lankan government and the liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). The main objective of the LTTE was to establish a separate state for Tamils known as Eelam. The 30 years' war between Sri Lankan government and the LTTE was ended in May 2019 by giving victory for the Sri Lankan government. Behind this military victory of the Sri Lankan government there are several kinds of factors that influenced for the war. Among them the influence of the foreign relations is very vital. This study specially focuses on "influence of the foreign relations for the civil war". Basically, this study is a qualitative case study based on secondary data, seeks how the foreign relations affected for the 30 years of war. Many researches covered the area of "the foreign policy of Mahinda Rajapakse towards the civil war" but there has not enough researches about this particular area. Particularly this study focuses on how did the foreign relations affected for the civil war under various regimes. This study is not limited only to the Mahinda Rajapakse era. Looking at the findings, foreign relations between Sri Lanka and other states affected for the civil war differently. Sometimes it was an advantage but sometimes it increased the tension. The method of handling foreign relations is based on the nature of the leadership.

Keywords: Foreign Relations, Foreign Policy, Civil War, Ethnic Tension, LTTE

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[1] International Studies Honours Second Year, Department of International Studies
aasandalichathurika@gmail.com

Introduction

Foreign relations are a major element in a country when consider about its international image in the international system. Especially after the 2nd world war most of the states were interdependent and had not an ability to fulfill their needs and wants alone. By the other hand at least one country could not stand alone in this system. This situation forced world to build up relations with each other. When consider about the foreign relations, the concept of foreign policy is very important. The way of handling foreign relations is based on the foreign policy of that country. Through a foreign policy, a state can mention the way of they deal with the rest of the world. As an example, most recently the newly appointed president in Sri Lanka Mr. Gotabhaya Rajapakse said that "we want to remain neutral in our foreign relations and stay out of conflicts among the world powers" (the Japanese times, 18.11.2019). So basically, foreign policy is a strategy which the government of one country follows to deal with other countries. The main goal of the foreign policy is to promote the principles, interests and objectives in the international level.

According to the George Modelski, "foreign policy is a system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment". In simple words the foreign policy is a plan, which attempts to change the behavior of other states.

"Foreign policy as a comprehensive plan based on knowledge and experience for conducting the business of government with rest of the

world.it is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nations".
- Huge Gibson-

According to this statement the foreign policy is a comprehensive plan which conduct relationships with other states. This plan based on knowledge and experience. The aim of foreign policy is promoting and protecting the interests of the nations.

According to the Paddleford and Lincoln "Foreign policy is the key element which a state transfers its goals and interests" foreign policy is a medium to express the goals and the interests of a particular country with the international system. Through the foreign policy, a country tries to achieve its goals and interests. However according to above details foreign policy is a key element of any country and it represents the goals, national interests, ideology, nature of the government etc. By the other hand it describes how to deal with the other states.

The next question is how the foreign relations of a particular country with other states affect for an internal matter of it. As in the above page's foreign policy is a key element to achieve its goals and interests. It represents the goals, interests, public opinion, nature of the leader and government, ideology. It describes the way of build-up relations with the rest of the world. By the other hand it is not possible that a country can stand alone in the international system because all the countries are interdependent. The tool to maintain relations with the international system is the foreign policy. Using the foreign policy, a particular country can build up relations with the others and can find solutions for its burning issues or it may

escalate the situation. The way of using foreign policy is depending on the leadership and time to time it changes.

Sri Lanka which is situated in the Indian Ocean is a multi-cultural and multi ethnic country. One of the bitter experiences in the Sri Lankan history was the civil war between Sri Lankan government and the LTTE which was began in 1983. There were many historical reasons behind the Sri Lankan civil war after her independence gained in 1948. One of the main reason behind the ethnic tension between Sinhalese and the Tamils was the "divide and rule "policy practiced by British. But After 1948, Ceylon became an independent state. At that time the majority population was Sinhalese and others were Tamils and moor. During the colonial rule there were Tamil migrant plantation workers in Sri Lanka who came for work in the plantations. By the various constitutional reforms of the British rule such as Crew Mc Callum, Manning Devonshire provided more benefits for those Tamil minorities also. But after the independence Ceylon became as Sri Lanka with the 1972 constitution and named Sinhala as the official language and Buddhism as the main religion. This step helped to increase the ethnic tension between Sinhalese and Tamil. In 1976 LTTE was established under the leadership of Velupillai Prabhakaran. But they began to active in 1983 by killing 13 army soldiers of Sri Lanka army. With the huge amount of lives and property damages, in 2009 Sri Lankan government could gain the victory. Still Sri Lankan government seeks solutions for reconciliation and experiencing ethnic tension. This study basically focuses on how the foreign relations between Sri Lanka and the other states influenced to the civil war under various regimes. This discussion mainly highlights the four categories such as USA and Sri Lanka relations, Indo Sri Lanka relations, Norway Sri Lanka relations and

finally UN Sri Lanka relations. This research discusses how the above relations affected for the civil war under several regimes in Sri Lanka.

Methodology

This article is based on qualitative secondary data gathered by journal articles, online articles and others. The above objectives of this study achieved by the SL US relations, SL Indo relations, SL Norway relations and SL UN relations during the war period and aftermath.

Literature Review

This literature review seeks to develop understanding of the role of foreign relations towards civil war. Various articles and the research papers clearly described how the foreign relations between Sri Lanka and the international community affected for the Civil war. When focusing about the USA and Sri Lankan relations, at the latter part of the civil war USA did not follow a friendly way about Sri Lanka and tried to restrain Sri Lanka due to the Tamil diaspora's pressure. USA most of the times played a friendly approach towards Tamil population in Sri Lanka rather than be a fair mediator. Many of the western media networks created documentaries and made accusations to Sri Lankan government regarding the war crimes. (Dilan P.H Senanayake, 2016). The government has been accused by the international community of favouring the Sinhalese people, and doing little to promote equal political voice and economic opportunities for its Tamil population. (Bruce Vaughn, September 4, 2013). This action damaged heavily to the image of the Sri Lanka in the international level. By the other hand those western countries tried to restrain Sri Lanka and it was an advantage for LTTE. In 2008 during the

Mahinda Rajapakse regime Sri Lanka exited from the peace agreement signed in 2002. This action led a political shock in all around the western world. Switzerland, Norway, USA and Great Britain declared official statements and critically condemned the government decision. (Dilan P. H Senanayake, 2016). This was an advantage for Sri Lanka but internationally it was a damage for the image.

When focus to the indo Sri Lankan relations during J.R Jayawardene's regime Sri Lanka and India signed a peace accord to find some solutions related to the civil war and the ethnic issue. As the result of that India sent their Indian peace keeping force (IPKF) as a support for Sri Lanka. That was a good step between two countries. But with the pressure of the Tamil Nadu, Rajiv Gandhi also took one step back and violated the sovereignty rights of Sri Lanka. The historical factors highlighted the Indian authoritarian foreign policy during the 1987 and how it influenced the Sri Lankan foreign policy and the civil war. Geopolitical locations and Indian military concerns violated the sovereignty rights of the Sri Lanka during the J.R.Jayawardane regime. Indian military forcibly entered to the Jaffna peninsula, some controversial political activities related to indo Sri Lanka agreement and the presence of Indian peace keeping force in Sri Lanka soil highlighted the power exercised by the Indian government over Sri Lanka with the concern of civil war. (Dilan P.H Senanayake, 2016). Also through this accord India could intervene for the internal matters of Sri Lanka." The accord seemed to fulfil all the Tamils' demands: extensive autonomy in their home areas, equal status for their language with Sinhala, and a provisional merger of the northern and eastern provinces subject to a referendum. On top of that, it offered India greater influence in the shaping of the Sri Lanka's foreign policy. (Dagmar Hellmann- Rajanayagam,

winter, 1988-1989). Finally, the relations between India and Sri Lanka was highly collapsed with the withdrawal of the Indian peacekeeping force from Sri Lanka under Ranasinghe Premadasa regime. Because of that Sri Lanka could not take her neighbour's support until the arrival of Mahinda Rajapakse. After 2005 the new president Mahinda Rajapakse could build up friendly relations with India again. Therefore, Rajapakse government appreciated positive intervention and advocates of Indian government which related to the civil war and other regional issues. Sri Lankan government officials had regular visit to India and these visits strengthen indo Sri Lanka relations to endure the civil war with the consecration of Indian government. (Dilan P.H Senanayake, 2016)

When consider about the relation between Sri Lanka and Norway, at 2002 Norway worked as a mediator between Sri Lankan government and the LTTE. A series of negotiations was hold from 2002 between two parties. But Sri Lankan government and human rights watch accused Norway. Norway has, as a central player in the peace negotiations, received a lot of criticism from all those involved in the conflict. The Sri Lankan government accused Norway of supporting the Tamil tigers and their fight for a separate Tamil state, while human rights watch accused Norway of thwarting a UN based observation mission because they wanted to play the role themselves. (United Nations regional information centre for Western Europe)

The UN and Sri Lankan relations are also very important in this context. The relations between Sri Lanka and the UN also collapsed specially aftermath of the civil war. In 2011 UN panel of experts founded that the both side of the Civil war should responsible for the war crimes. Specially

the US department of state issued a report on human rights and directly accused that Sri Lankan government should responsible for human rights problems. The 2010 state department human rights report on Sri Lanka issued on April 8, 2011, found "the government [of Sri Lanka] and its agents" were responsible for "serious human rights problems" in 2010. (Bruce Vaughn, June 16 2011). The report found that most of the casualties in the final stages of the war were caused by government forces which shelled "no fire zones" where they had urged civilians to congregate. The government also reportedly shelled hospitals and food distribution lines. The LTTE apparently used civilians as human shields and shot civilians trying to escape being used as a strategic human buffer in the fighting. (Bruce Vaughn, June 16 2011). But the foreign policy of Sri Lanka during the president Mahinda Rajapakse was strict but straight. The government has denied that it killed civilians during the final stages of the war. It also described the UN panel of experts as "an unwarranted and unnecessary interference with a sovereign nation" (Bruce Vaughn, June 16 2011)

Data Presentation and Analysis

Sri Lankan civil war is one of the terrible events in the Sri Lankan history that led to mass destruction and loss of human and physical resources. Throughout 30 years Sri Lankan government could receive peace after a bitter war. Military victory is not a single effort and it contains various strategies and tactics. One of the important tools is the foreign policy. Sri Lanka used her foreign policy in different ways to maintain foreign relations with the rest of the world and to find solutions for the civil war and the ethnic tension. Throughout the civil war there were some important partners to Sri Lanka when dealing in the international level in this case.

They are USA, India, Norway and United nations. The way of Sri Lankan leaderships dealt with these partners help to control LTTE. Sometimes it brought advantages for Sri Lanka and sometimes it destroyed the image of Sri Lanka in the international level.

USA-Sri Lanka Relations

There is no any issue about the USA as the super power in the contemporary world. As the global super power, USA played a specific role in the civil war of Sri Lanka as well as towards the foreign policy of Sri Lanka during the civil war and aftermath.

During the Chandrika Bandaranayke's regime Sri Lanka used her foreign policy fruitfully towards the civil war. Specially with the great service of Lakshman Kadiragamar as the minister of foreign affairs, Sri Lanka could maintain friendly relations with the international system and finally as the result of that he was assassinated by the LTTE. Initially during the period of George W Bush, USA was against the LTTE and declared LTTE as a terrorist organization. Also, USA provided financial, military and diplomatic support for Sri Lanka during the battle against LTTE. USA provided intelligence about LTTE ship movements and disrupted fund raising and weapons purchases. That was a huge support for Sri Lanka as well as a friendly mark in Sri Lanka's foreign relations with USA.

However, in the final war in late 2008 and early 2009 USA was not in a good way about Sri Lanka with the strict but straight position of the president Mahinda Rajapakse. USA realized that Sri Lanka execute the war without any consideration about civilian's casualties. USA mostly cared only about the Tamils in Sri Lanka and USA tried to restrain Sri Lanka.

But towards the leadership of Mahinda Rajapaksa, Sri Lankan government could win, despites the huge pressure and the obstacles from the international system. Even today, USA put pressure on Sri Lanka to go for a fair solution to the ethnic conflict and held a fair investigation about war crimes and human rights violations. And by the other hand USA directly points finger towards the Rajapakses about the war crimes.

Even though initially USA supported for Sri Lanka during the civil war, at the final stage USA put a huge pressure on Sri Lanka. Influence of the Tamil diaspora and the strict position of the president Mahinda Rajapakse, are the main reasons behind the scene. Literary, international system is anarchic. There is no king or specific country to rule the world. The sovereignty of the countries is equal. But practically USA tries to be a super power and tries to be a policeman. Involving internal matters of a particular country is one of the strategic points in the USA agenda. Sri Lanka is an independent and sovereign state to resolve its internal conflicts itself. As a country in the international system, USA has a right to express its ideas. But there is a question about USA that does USA has a fair right to put pressure on Sri Lanka.

However, at the beginning Sri Lanka used the foreign policy fruitfully in the context of the relations with USA but with the regime changes, Sri Lanka could not build up friendly relations with USA. Due to that reason sometimes, Sri Lanka faced many problems during the war period and aftermath and lost her image little bit towards the international community. Even though Sri Lanka established the military victory, she is still suffering from the results of the war.

Indo-Sri Lanka Relations

India is the neighbor country of Sri Lanka. As one of the historical friends, India has a very closer relationship with Sri Lanka by various sides such as culture, history, tradition, religion etc. However, during the civil war period, the relations between India and Sri Lanka is different at time to time. Sometimes the relationships between two countries were strong and sometimes it was collapsed.

In the war period, the main goal of the national interest of Sri Lanka was to stop the war by defeating LTTE and build the peace. Sri Lanka hoped to build friendly relationships with the other countries and defeat the LTTE through the international co-operation. Sri Lanka requested the support of the commonwealth countries and SAARC countries. Most of the western countries rejected to give their support to Sri Lanka because of the influences from Tamil diaspora. But the countries like India, China and Russia gave their support to Sri Lanka. When consider about the India, she was a mediator in sometimes. In the pre-war period there was a surge in Sinhala nationalism and because of some acts such as Ceylon citizenship act, 300000 Tamils deported back to India. But India didn't actively intervene but activated watching closely mode.

In 1976 LTTE organized as a prominent group and everyone assumed that LTTE was a creation of RAW and they trained LTTE. However political parties in Tamil Nadu directly helped to the Tamil tigers. Also, it was a black mark to the relationship between India and Sri Lanka. During the J.R.Jayawardhane period, Sri Lankan government effectively blockaded the Tamil dominated regions and there was a scarcity of foods. The Tamil

parties in India gave a huge pressure to Rajiv Gandhi to give aids to the Tamils in Sri Lanka. As the result of that foods and supplies were dropped by India, in to the Sri Lankan Tamil dominated regions. It collapsed the bond between Sri Lanka and India. By the other hand it was escalated the tension between Sinhalese and Tamils.

With the INDO-SL accord between Rajiv Gandhi and J.R.Jayawardhana, Indian peace keeping force came to Sri Lanka to maintain peace. Though this accord was a debatable topic, this accord could strengthen the relationships between India and Sri Lanka. Also, it was an example to promote Sri Lanka's goal (to bring the peace) in the international system. With the withdrawal of the Indian peace keeping force from Sri Lanka during Ranasinghe Premadasa period, the relationship between two countries were collapsed and India didn't support for anything to Sri Lanka. But as an authoritarian ruler, Ranasinghe Premadasa didn't considered about those problems. But at that time Indo Sri Lankan relations were collapsed.

With the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi, India didn't show much interest towards the war between Sri Lankan government and LTTE. Even the 2002 peace talks, India didn't take part in it. However, during the final war in Mahinda Rajapaksa period, Tamil political parties put pressure on Indian leadership to intervene. But Sonia Gandhi took a decision that they will intervene or even condemn the actions. Also, India provided Sri Lanka with attack helicopters. Finally, Sri Lanka could defeat the LTTE. After the post war period, India supported to Sri Lanka to provide relief for those affected by the war and rapidly rehabilitate all those who have been displaced, bringing their lives normal as soon as possible. Simply, foreign

policy means a strategy which describes the way a particular country deals with other countries while promoting its goals, national interests etc. Above information clearly show how did Sri Lanka deal with India and how the relations between India and Sri Lanka affected for the civil war.

United Nations-Sri Lanka Relations

United Nations is a global organization which helps to maintain international peace and security. As a world leading global organization, United Nations did a huge service towards the civil war in Sri Lanka.

Initially United Nations warned for both sides of the civil war to give priority to protecting civilians and take necessary actions to halt the escalating humanitarian disasters. Also, in 13 May 2009 Security Council issued a press document informing that all the parties take urgent actions to ensure the safety of the civilians. Additionally, during the special session of human rights council in 2009, a European-backed resolution was push forward, concerning about the detained civilians and to hold an internal investigation of alleged war crimes by both sides. But the alternative resolutions proposed by Sri Lanka won by majority votes.

However, there were many challenges to the Sri Lanka from United Nations. Countries like USA tried to punish Sri Lanka. It was a challenge to Sri Lanka's foreign policy during the post war period. But countries like Cuba, China, and Russia supported to Sri Lanka. And it was a great opportunity to Sri Lankan. Anyway, when Sri Lanka dealing with the UN, specially the countries that have diaspora tried to control Sri Lanka towards the civil war. But the leadership did not consider about that.

Norway-Sri Lanka Relations

Norway is one of the third party during the peace talks between Sri Lankan government and the LTTE in 2002. At that time Norway could facilitate a series of peace talks between Sri Lankan government and the LTTE. Norway tried to be a mediator to bring peace for Sri Lanka. The goal of the peace talk was to bring the ethnic groups for a peaceful political solution about the burning issue. But Sri Lankan government accused Norway that supported for LTTE and human rights watch also accused that Norway disturbed for UN based observations. Anyway Norwegian government rejected the charges. The intervention of the Norway was not succeeded and it escalated the war. Most of the parties accused that LTTE could gather more weapons during the ceasefire period. According to this, the way of maintaining foreign relations using foreign policy by the leadership was affected to civil war. Sometimes Sri Lanka could achieve her goals favourably using foreign policy and sometimes it escalated the situation.

Conclusion

Sri Lankan civil war is one of the terrible experience that faced by Sri Lanka. Some of the disparities between Sinhalese and the Tamils caused to this civil war. One of the reasons for ethnic conflict between Sinhalese and Tamils is the "divide and rule" policy of the British rule. After the independence Sri Lankan government adopted Sinhala language as the official language of Sri Lanka and Buddhism as the main religion. This step also escalated the situation. By the other hand disparities of dividing resources, issues in civil services, ignorance also helped to increase the

tension. In 1976 LTTE or the Tamil tigers established under the guidance of the Velupillai Prabhakaran to achieve their dream of a separate Tamil state known as Eelam. They started their terrible steps by murdering 13 Sri Lankan army soldiers in 1983. Until 2009 LTTE organization continued their terrible activities such as murdering Bikkhus in Aranthalawa and many innocent people despites of their religion or language, blasting the Central Bank, Dalada Maligawa etc.

In 2009 Sri Lankan government gained the victory from the war with LTTE that fought over 30 years. Throughout the war period foreign relations between Sri Lanka and the rest of the world affected for the civil war. LTTE is not an isolated organization and there were many shadows behind it to provide aid. Also this was not just only an internal matter of Sri Lanka because the Tamil Diaspora a global organization that supported LTTE internationally. Throughout the war period, International attention was with the Sri Lanka due to this situation. Because of that Sri Lanka wanted build up friendly relations with the international system to control terrorism. This study mainly focused on the matter that the role of the foreign relations between Sri Lanka and the international community towards the civil war.

Since in the J.R.Jayawardane's regime Sri Lanka could build up friendly relations with western world and the India. The peace accord sign with India and Sri Lanka is a good example that Sri Lanka used her foreign policy to build up friendly relations with the other countries during the civil war. But with the pressure of the Tamil Nadu, the bond between Sri Lanka and India was collapsed. As the result of that during the Ranasinghe Premadasa's time IPKF sent by India was withdrawn. Since that situation

until 2005, the relation between India and Sri Lanka was not in a good manner towards the civil war. After 2005 president Mahinda Rajapakse could build up friendly relations with India and it was an advantage to Sri Lanka towards the civil war.

When consider about the USA and Sri Lanka relations, at the beginning USA supported for Sri Lanka towards the civil war especially during the Chandrika Bandaranaikes's regime. But during the Mahinda Rajapakse's regime USA tried to restrain Sri Lanka due to the pressure of the Tamil diaspora. Sri Lanka also followed a strict way towards the western world and during the civil war period pressure of the western countries was a challenge to Sri Lanka.

When go through the Norway and Sri Lankan relations, in 2002 Norway acted as a mediator in the negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE. The peace talks between two parties was not succeeded and finally Sri Lankan government and Human rights watch accused Norway. This peace talks between two parties was an advantage to the LTTE organization. The relations with United Nations also collapsed during the war period and aftermath. During the war period UN was informed both sides to give priorities to innocent civilians. After the war, Sri Lanka was under pressure of UN and because of the friendly relations with the countries like Cuba, China and Russia Sri Lanka could face that challenges. As a multi-cultural and multi ethnic country Sri Lanka could have to provide equal space for all the citizens despite of race, language, religion and sex. Especially freedom, dividing of resources, legal personality, development, education, job opportunities should be wider despite of the language, nationality or religion. If Sri Lanka practiced that

since the independence, Sri Lanka may be not suffered from 30 years' war. But even today this method is not practicable enough because the nationalism concept of both Sinhalese and Tamils. The changes of the attitudes and the political intervention also necessary for the ethnic tension in Sri Lanka.

By the other hand, during the civil war, Sri Lanka could maintain friendly relations with the communist countries, third world countries and with the south Asian countries. But most of the western countries and the world leading international organizations were not followed a friendly policy with Sri Lanka towards the civil war. As mentioned in the above passages LTTE was not a single organization and it had a huge support from the international community especially from the Tamil Diaspora. Due to this situation Sri Lanka should wanted to follow a strict but straight foreign policy to maintain foreign relations. Throughout the war period the way of Sri Lanka maintained her foreign relations towards civil war is different. It is depending on the nature of the leadership. Finally, the way of maintaining foreign relations towards the civil war was depend on the leadership. Sometimes Sri Lanka could use it in a favorable manner and sometime it escalated the situation.

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Impact of Terrorism on the Tourism Industry in Sri Lanka (Easter Sunday Attack)

G.N.I.Sewwandi, H.U.D.Keerthisinghe , K.V.S.Imasha, &

W.M.H.H.K.Weerasinghe[1]

Abstract

Terrorism can be identified as a highly destructive phenomenon in all over world history. The government forces of Sri Lanka involve in armed conflict with LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) in 1983 and defeated Tamil tigers in May 2009 On 21st April 2019 three churches and three luxury hotels were blasted by the terrorist suicide bombers. These terrorist acts directly affected tourism industry as well as economy of Sri Lanka. The research problem of this study is "what is the impact of terrorism on the tourism industry of Sri Lanka". Sri Lankan tourism industry was at the top. But the Easter Sunday attack have had serious repercussions for the country. This study mainly based on qualitative data with primary and secondary data. The qualitative data was analyzed and presented through charts and figures when necessary. The objective of this research is to discuss about through ISIS militant group and its impact on the tourism industry of Sri Lanka. But however, there is a lack of information on the impact of terrorism on small industry when regarding this research, it has found that terrorism in Sri Lanka has severely affected tourism industry. Several steps should be taken to rebuilt the tourism sector in Sri Lanka.

Keywords: Terrorism, ISIS, Easter Sunday attack, tourism industry

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[1] International Studies Honours Second Year, Department of International Studies niroshikaishini1995@gmail.com,umashadivya@gmail.com,chapaweerasinghe@gmail.com, sadunismc@gmail.com

Introduction

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

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

Terrorism in Sri Lanka has been a highly destructive phenomenon during the periods of the Sri Lankan civil war and the recent Easter Sunday Attack by the extremist group. A common definition of terrorism is the systematic use or threatened use of violence to intimate a population or government for political, religious or ideological goals. Sri Lanka has experienced 30year war against the liberation tigers of Tamil Eelam which is also known as Tamil Tigers. It is a deadly extremist militant group that has launched a campaign of violence and bloodshed in Sri Lanka. This campaign led to the Sri Lankan civil war until 2009, when the LTTE was decisively defeated by the Sri Lankan Military. But, its impact was highly destructive. Before Several days to celebrate the end of the 30 years' war on 21 April 2019 an Easter Sunday Sri Lanka was targeted in a series of terrorist Suicide bombings. This attack killed almost about 300 people including 45 foreign nations.

According to the Sri Lankan government officials, all of the Suicide bombers were Sri Lankan citizens and associated with the organization of National Thouheeth Jamath. State minister of Defense Ruwan wijewardhana said in parliament that, the attack was in retaliation for the attack against Muslims in Christian church on 15 March 2019. After a few days from the attack, ISIS leader Abu-Bakar Al Baghdadi released 18 minute of video and they took the responsibility of Easter Sunday attack

of Sri Lanka. The Easter Sunday attack was particularly affected to all the sections of Sri Lanka. As a middle income country If has directly affected to the economic side and it could damage to the long term economic plans and perceptions of Sri Lanka. Especially for the tourism industry of Sri Lanka as it is the country's third largest foreign exchange earnings. Therefore, this extremism of Islamic state has contributed to increase concern on the development process of Sri Lanka. Hence the question remains that how the terrorism in Sri Lanka has affected to the tourism sector in Sri Lanka and what are the sections which was severely affected from this attack. In addition to that, from this study it is forward an assessing what are the measures taken in national level to counter the terrorism threat.

Methodology

This study is mainly based on a qualitative desktop based data which relies on the method of documentary analysis. And also it has used principal methodologies to examine the above mentioned flics. When consider about the type of data which has used in this it has used both the primary and secondary data. In terms of the primary documents speeches, video recordings and the newspaper articles. In terms of the Secondary data journal articles and published papers. Documentary analysis is more reliable and it defines a qualitative research and it is also related to find out the specific facts regarding to the topic. And also when we consider about the type of data the conceptual analysis also provided for open study and to the development of defining attributes. Concept maps have also used to do a qualitative research and it could use for analyzing the present findings.

Furthermore, the use of direct quotations has helped to present an accurate depiction to the researcher.

Literature Review

Sri Lanka as an emerging economy with its greater dependence on tourism, there has a greater possibility of facing threats. That is what exactly happened on the past Easter Sunday. Therefore, this literature review seeks to examine what is the effect of terrorism on the tourism industry as it is the third largest foreign income to Sri Lanka.

When we discuss about the industry response, in the immediate aftermath of the attacks Sri Lankan tourism sought to ensure the safety of tourists, rolling out its emergency response protocol." trained teams were deployed to the affected hotels, all hospitals and the airport to ensure that all tourists directly affected by the attacks received the care, attention and assistance they needed" said Sri Lanka tourism chairman Kishu Gomes.

At the same time, the global insurance and assistance industry reached out to its client and customer base. According to Carl Carter (Managing director of voyager insurance, a UK insurer) told that;" The insurance and assistance industry was swift to respond to the Easter Sunday Bombings in Sri lanka in that many travel insurers ad brands were very quick to provide clear directives in how they would respond to both existing policyholders who were planning to travel, as well as to those who had travelled and were currently in Sri Lanka."

After the immediate aftermath of the attacks, many of the government administered travel advisories were quick to advice against all but essential

travel to Sri Lanka following the attacks. According to the UK's foreign and commonwealth office Travel advisory website sated that;" Terrorists are very likely to try to carry out attacks in Sri Lanka. attacks could be in discriminated including in places visited by foreigners." however website also states that security has been stepped up across Sri Lanka and a state of emergency remains in place." According to the US department of state," Terrorists may attack with little or no warning, targeting tourist locations, transportation hubs, markets/shopping malls, local government facilities, hotels, clubs, restaurants, places of worship, parks, major sporting and cultural events, educational institutions, airports and other public areas."

As many travel insurers link their cover to the advice of government travel advisories, the industry swiftly pointed travellers to relevant websites. In the UK carter said of insurers;" they are very quick to ensure that customers checked the FCO travel advisory website to keep updated on the situation and also made it very clear that their standard retail policies should no longer be purchased for travel to Sri Lanka due to the FCO travel advisories warning against travel to Sri Lanka."

Based on these facts voyager insurance further explained that the FCO's advice means that most mainstream travel insurance policies in the UK will now no longer cover anyone travelling to Sri Lanka, as it is a common elusion in many standard travel insurance policies widely available to exclude cover to any country or region here the FCO advises against all but essential travel or all travel." As per these facts it seems that with the rise in terrorist activity in tourist areas it has put a question on the future tourism industry in Sri Lanka. After these series of attacks, a number of

tour operators have cancelled bookings to Sri Lanka up to April 2020 and inevitably and it also proves through the following factors.

According to the government figures, since the attacks there has been an 80% drop in tourist arrivals. Because of that it has destroyed the livelihoods of many Sri Lankans who depend on tourism and that's why it's really important to tourism returns to where it was before the attacks." it is a big blow to the economy as well as to the tourism industry" (Former president Maithripala sirisena) Before Sunday, the Sri Lankan government could justifiably have expected that tourism to continue its relentless pace of growth in 2019.However beyond the mere fact of terrorism striking the country is the nature of the attacks which specifically targeted a number of luxury hotels in the capital Colombo.

"The attacks will not only impact already weak economic activity (real GDP growth was at a 17 Year low of 3.2% in 2018) but also the country's relatively vulnerable external liquidity position," (Citibank's Asia desk said in a note)

A high profile terrorist attack hick kills hundreds of people will inevitably have an effect on the numbers of people who choose to travel to that country for leisure purposes. Sri Lanka knows that better than most because of its long civil war, which featured many terrorist attacks and kept its tourism numbers for low for decades. Much of the data shows that countries which are struck by terrorist attacks do not necessarily suffer a decline in tourism numbers and even if they do they can quickly recover. For this a good example is France. In 2015 and 2016 there were devastating terrorist attacks in the country which killed hundreds of people. France is

traditionally the most popular tourist destination in the world and while the numbers did take a hit in the immediate aftermath of the attacks in 2016, they surged in 2017 and 2018.

Given the importance of tourism to the country, the country itself and the tourism industry in particular were fast running to normal. At a recent meeting called by Regional director, international congress and convention association Asia –Pacific Noor Ahmed Hameed, chairman of the Sri Lanka convention bureau Kumar de Silva stated that, measures had been taken to ensure the safety of visitors and that the country was open for business. According to the secretary general of the UNWTO Zurab pololikashui has stated that," I have had the privilege of seeing Sri Lanka emerge as one of the world's great tourism success stories, the country offers a warm welcome to visitors from all over the world, regardless of nationality or creed. In return tourism has provided many Sri Lankans with secure jobs, helping whole communities grow and develop. Tourism has also been a major factor in the past decade on national reconciliation and contributed to bringing the people of Sri Lanka closer together." Further he stated that," Sri Lanka's tourism sector is a beacon of hope and unity. That's why those who seek to divide us target hotels and other places where people come together. I offer my sincere condolences to those affected by the recent attacks, especially the families of the many victims."

These views have shown that, the tourism sector in Sri Lanka is still in a turmoil and several steps have taken to rebuild the tourism industry in Sri Lanka. Accordingly, here we could identify some range of literature studies about the tourism industry immediately aftermath of the terrorist attack. Through this study researcher will mainly try to identify what is the

impact of terrorism on tourism industry and what is the current situation of it.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Sri Lanka was celebrating peace since the end of 30 year Sinhala-Tamil conflict until a series of horrific attacks shocked the nation. The Easter Sunday attack on churches and tourist hotels claimed more than 250 lives and injured another 500 or more innocent people.

In 2018 Tourism was in the third-place accounting for over USD 4 billion in foreign exchange earnings. Earnings from tourism increased by 11.6 percent in 2018. This growth in tourism was remarkable because it was the highest ever growth in annual tourist arrival.

The locations of the Easter Sunday attack are mainly connected to foreign exchange earnings. The blast at the three tourist hotels in Colombo killed both locals and foreigners. Those hotels are the prominent luxury hotels in Sri Lanka full with wealthy travellers in Sri Lanka. This attack damaged entire tourism industry. This is because as the UN world tourism organization notes "more than any other economic activity, the success or failure of a tourism destination depends on being able to provide a safe and secure environment for visitors. Tourists have become cautious once again. Arrivals are estimated to have plunged by 70%. Cancellation of flight booking was at 80% and also new booking have fallen away.

The suicide bomb attack impacted heavily to almost all the fields that were bounded with tourism industry in Sri Lanka. For example, small businesses like diving schools raised since the end of the civil war. "Pearl Drivers"

was one of the popular diving school in southern beaches of Sri Lanka, shut shop for two months after Easter Sunday attack. Its manager Nuwan Harshana said that "Everything was good before April. Now that situation is finished... there are no customers".

After the bombing in April, tourist arrival decreased 70% in May and 57% in June from a year earlier. The government introduced a series of technics such as lowering airport charges, cutting taxes on jet fuel and offering discounts by hotels. The government planned to relax visa rules for some countries. Sri Lanka received 2.5 million foreign tourists last year. "The lonely Planet" magazine introduced Sri Lanka as 2019's top destination. The government was hoping for 3 million this year. But the chairman of Sri Lanka Tourism Department Authority, Johanne Jayarathne said now they hope to get around only 2 million tourists.

Mary Fernando was selling cloths for tourists more than 30 years on Negambo beach. This Islamic extremist stayed away tourists from our country. They bombed the live hood of these individuals also. Jilan Rajitha worked in a hotel nearby Benthota for three years. His life changed totally sudden after the Easter Sunday attack. "I lost my job after the Easter Sunday bomb attack. There were sudden cancellations and 50 of us lost our jobs in our hotel".

When we concern the tourism industry in last October earnings from tourist reached peak of USD 4.10. After terrorist attack these situation was fail down. Several economic activities that have back ward linkages with tourism and other affected industries would be affected adversely. Travel, hotels, guest houses other tourist accommodation, restaurants, arts and

crafts, gem and jeweller's sales would have a setback owning to the law number of tourists.

Figure 2: The tourist arrival to Sri Lanka
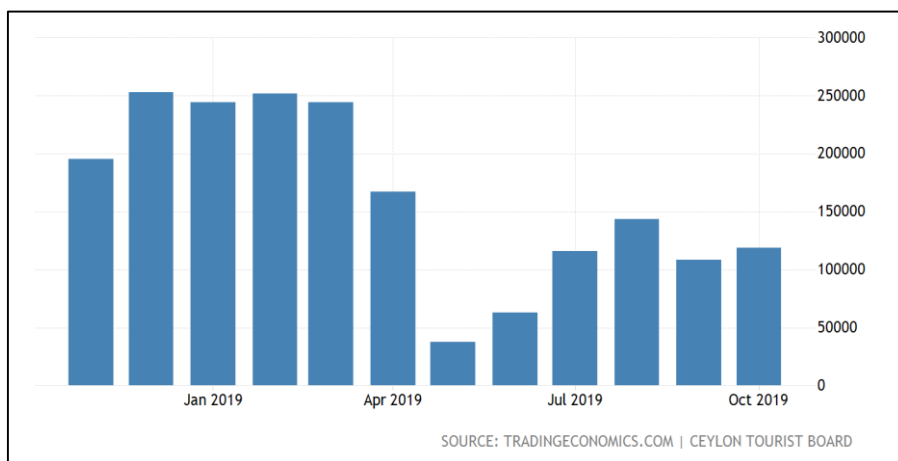
Source : www.tradingeconomies.com

Conclusion

Terrorism is not new to the world and as well as for Sri Lanka. 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 by the groups like ISIS. Since the series of suicide bombing attacks in Sri Lanka, the country has witnessed a threat of unprecedented magnitude. After win over the 30 years of war in the past Easter Sunday attack ISIS has presented a new version of extremism and terrorism to Sri Lankan society. Sri Lanka, after the 3 decades of war it could lead to achieve greater economic progress especially through the tourism industry. As a developing country, the other developed countries also invested a lot to Sri Lanka and they had some other investment plans

to be implemented. If this series of bombed were not happen then it may be surely leads to an economic progress by now. However, the Islamic State like in the other targeted countries has been capable to organized a severe damage to Sri Lanka. When we consider about all the above facts it reflects that the Easter Sunday attack could directly affected to the Sri Lankan tourism industry. But however, according to some scholars it's not so much of hard to get Sri Lanka again to the development track. However, it's all need the hard work and position of all the Sri Lankans.

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Absence of Universal Consensus on the Plight of Rohingya

D.P.S.N Jayasinghe[1]

Abstract

Myanmar is emphasized as one of the populous nations with the most government restrictions and social hostilities towards religion. Due to the discrimination against Rohingya within the domestic legal frame work and the Tatmadaw military-led clearing operations conducted in 2016 and 2017, the NLD government is accused of violating Responsibility to Protect (R2P) under which a state is bound to protect its citizens without following any discriminatory policies. The responses of the international community endorsed the formation of Kofi Annan Commission, the labeling of Rohingya situation as 'Ethnic cleansing' by the United Nations and the US, and eventually the UN Security Council's visit to Bangladesh and Myanmar. Against this backdrop, the study observes how the international community is focused on short-term humanitarian relief and farfetched prospect of repatriation. Although previous studies have captured the growing refugee crisis in Myanmar and their humanitarian violations, there have been less focus on the failure of United Nations and the International community as a whole to implement a sound mechanism in light of prosecuting the atrocities of the government. For this qualitative approach has been adopted and secondary data is the main type of data. The research findings suggest that, the mere existence of global regimes and legal mechanisms is not adequate to establish a favorable concern for the refugees and stateless persons.

Keywords: Rohingya, Refugee Crisis, Host States, Universal Consensus, Statelessness

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[1] International Studies Honours Second Year, Department of International Studies
saliyaneranjan1996@gmail.com

Introduction

The United Nations characterized the Rohingya crisis as the world's fastest growing refugee crisis (UN News, 2017). It is an illustrative example of a prolonged internal crisis in a developing state where the deprived civil society fights against the government and the government-backed military same as ongoing Kashmir dispute in Indian-occupied Jammu-Kashmir and 1996-2006 Nepal Maoist rebellion.

The earliest use of the term Rohingya was by Francis Buchanan in 1799 in "A Comparative Vocabulary of Some of the Languages Spoken in the Burma Empire" published in the Asiatic Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal from London. According to the writer, it was a dialect derived from Hindi and "is that spoken by the Mohammadans who have long settled in Arakan and who call themselves Rooinga, or natives of Arakan. Later, the Classical Journal published from London, in its 1811 issue titles "Numbers in 200 Tongues" included "Rooinga" as one of the languages of Burma. Therefore, an assumption that can be drawn is that, it is a language, spoken by Hindus,Buddhists and Muslims in the Rakhine region for centuries. Thus, the term Rohingya can be introduced as a linguistic term rather than an ethnic or religious term. (Rath, 2017)

The Rohingya are an ethnic Muslim minority who practice a Sufi-inflected variation of Sunni Islam and they are known to have resided in Rakhine state, Myanmar until 2017. Discrimination against the Rohingya community in Myanmar is introduced as a systematic process since they are legally denied citizenship and most of the human rights. Myanmar's citizenship law in 1948 was discriminatory against the Rohingyas and after

the military junta came into power in 1962, another law was introduced which denied Rohingya of access to full citizenship. However, the junta identified Rohingya Muslims as temporary residents with issued identification cards known as 'White cards. The 1982 Myanmar Citizenship Act legally excluded the Rohingyas from citizenship while the 2014 National Census excluded them as an official ethnic minority in the country. (Human Rights Watch, 2000). The exclusionary census was the consequence of rising Buddhist National sentiment against Rohingyas amidst which they threatened to boycott the census if Rohingyas were recognized as citizens of Myanmar. Due to the continued protests of Buddhist nationalists the temporary identity cards were also cancelled by then President Thein Sein in February 2015 effectively revoking their newly gained right to vote, which was offered in a constitutional referendum in the same year. The Myanmar government effectively institutionalized discrimination against the ethnic minority through restrictions on family planning, marriage, employment, education, religious choice and freedom of movement. The lack of citizenship, systematic disenfranchisement, categorization as stateless, denial of rights and anti-Muslim campaigns have fuelled violence and further discrimination against them. This article investigates how the international community; inclusive of United Nations, emerging regional organizations such as ASEAN, and states particularly who have been receiving exodus of Rohingya refugees, have developed their stances towards addressing the refugee crisis and growing tensions in Myanmar.

Methodology

The study is a desk research which is predominantly based on qualitative secondary data retrieved from online journals and other sources such as e-books, articles on the subject available on the internet. As well as the secondary data were collected through books, research articles, journal articles. In order to analyze the collected data, Creswell's data analyzing methods; (organize data, read notes and make notes, identifying the themes related to the collected data, amalgamate themes, interpret data) were utilized.

Literature Review

Ethnic Identity and Citizenship

The origins of the Rohingya can be traced back to the fifteenth century when thousands of Muslims came to the former Arakan Kingdom while many others arrived during the Nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when Rakhine was governed by colonial rule as part of British-raj. The successive governments in Burma (Myanmar after 1989) refused to accept Rohingya as part of their own community and considered them as illegal immigrants from Bangladesh.

Identity of Rohingya as an ethnic minority and their citizenship issues have been debated for several decades. Although they present themselves as Rohingyas, neither the government nor the vast majority of the people accept them as citizens and they are identified as "Bengalis", which hints that they are illegal immigrants from neighbouring Bangladesh. Although the UN-backed national census in 2014 recognized 135 ethnic groups,

Rohingyas were legally excluded. According to Nehginpao Kipgen in his article 'Conflict in Rakhine state in Myanmar: Rohingya Muslim' Conundrum', the governments in Myanmar have been cautious and considerate on addressing Rohingyas. President Thein Sein under the USDP (the military-backed Union Solidarity and Development Party) government from 2011 to 2016 officially used the term 'Bengali' to introduce Rohingya while the NLD (National League for Democracy) who came to power in 2016 hesitated to use either 'Rohingya' or 'Bengali'. State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi stated that "The Rakhine Buddhists object to the term 'Rohingya' just as much as Muslims object to the term 'Bengali' because they have all kinds of political and emotional implications, which are unacceptable to the opposite party." Thus, the NLD government decided to use 'the Muslim community in Rakhine State' as an acceptable term to refer Rohingyas. (Kipgen, Nehginpao 2013). It is to understand that Rohingyas and Myanmar's dominant Buddhist groups differ ethnically, linguistically and religiously and lack of understanding between the two communities have had grave repercussions.

The term Rohingya has become a crucial issue as it accords the Rohingya a historical justification. For the Myanmar government, the word Rohingya is critical. If the government acknowledges Rakhine Muslim community as members of the 'Rohingya' ethnic group, they are bound to give these Muslims an autonomous area within the country according to the 1982 citizenship law. (European Foundation for South Asian Studies, 2018)

Although the citizenship issue of Rohingya and various boycotting of Buddhist nationalists pressurizing the government to abstain from

providing a favorable solution to Rohingya conundrum still continue, the fact that many of them had been settled in Rakhine state for generations is undeniable. Rohingyas are descendants of Arab traders who have settled in Arakan for centuries and they are ethnically of the same group as the people of Chittagong. (Anand, J.P.1978. "Refugees from Burma. "Economic and Political Weekly)

Reasons behind Legal Prosecution

As the most persecuted minority in the world, Rohingyas faced many legal challenges inside their home province, including disenfranchisement, freedom of movement, through various legal instruments such as 1982 Citizenship Act. Rakhine state. As theorized by Samuel Huntington in 'Clash of Civilization' the cultural differences inclusive of ethnicity, race, religion and other key factors can cause an outburst of violence between two or more communities. In the same point of view, many analysts prioritize the cultural differences, and ideological differences between the two communities to co-exist as one of the major reasons for the conflict between Muslims and Buddhists in Rakhine. Contrary to this perspective, Simpson (2014) argues that there have been economically motivated reasons behind the discrimination. Further, he stressed upon the geography and geopolitical significance of the province of Rakhine, which is predominantly rich in oil and natural gas resources. His arguments direct the promotion of nationalism by Buddhists of the central lowlands, government and armed forces was in order to gain access to land, natural resources and water in Rakhine.

However, another distinguishable assumption presented by Md.Saddam Hossain & Md.Sajjad Hosain (2019) is that the Myanmar government was in need of expunging the Rohingyas to accommodate other populations in the same province. As one of the primarily supportive factors to the assumption, many rights activists point out the government's clearing of abandoned villages and farmlands of Rohingya from the beginning of 2018.

Religious Terrorism

It is observant that the Rohingya refugee influx in Bangladesh and other neighbouring countries face arduous conditions. Apart from the epidemic diseases, the refugees are often prone to sexual harassments and human trafficking. In addition, these refugee sites have been famous as hubs of prostitution and transit points of drug trafficking. Many of the scholars have confirmed that the vulnerable condition of Rohingyas has become an incentive for them to join various terrorist organizations. Intelligence analysts have suggested that Pakistani Terrorist Hafiz Saeed, the founder leader of the LeT, was actively involved in the creation of ARSA. Moreover, Obaidul Quader, Bangladesh's Minister of Road Transport and Bridges, recently disclosed that his country was investigating the involvement that Pakistani intelligence agency, ISI had established with ARSA. The Bangladesh government further informed that the LeT had launched a recruitment drive among the displaced Rohingya after visiting the Bangladesh-Myanmar border area in 2013 which was interpreted by political analysts as an act of "Fishing in Troubled Waters". (European Foundation for South Asian Studies, 2018)

In his book, The Management of Protracted Social Conflict: Theory and Cases (1990), Edward Azar introduces prolonged internal conflicts in developing countries as protracted social conflicts, which occur when communities are deprived of their basic needs on the basis of their communal identity. The Rohingya crisis has grown into a protracted social conflict over time. In addition, Md. Saddam Hossain and Md.Sajjad Hosain conclude their paper with a note of caution, highlighting the vulnerability of Rohingyas with tempt them to join various religiously motivated terrorist organizations.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Root Causes of the Clash

In the months of June and October in 2012 the tensions were high when pamphlets claimed that a Buddhist woman had been raped by 3 Muslims. As an act of revenge, in a nearby village, ten Muslims were detained and killed. President Thein Sein, gave the control of the riot-ridden regions to the Myanmar military after announcing the state of emergency. Although the government denied complicity of the state in the systematic persecution of the Rohingyas, it nevertheless played a role in stoking fear and animosity. The 'only solution' as suggested by President Thein was of the expulsion of the Rohingyas to other countries, or to camps that are overseen by the UNHCR (Al-Adawy).

The recent clashes in late 2016 and 2017 have fuelled more violence. After a militant group named 'the Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army' (ARSA) claimed responsibility for attacks on army posts and police security forces in October 2016 and August 2017, Myanmar's government declared

ARSA a terrorist organization and the Tatmadaw military-led campaigns ransacked the villages of Rohingya resulting seven hundred thousand Rohingya to flee from Myanmar. The primary objective of ARSA, as stated by the leader, Attullah Abu Ammar Jununi, was 'to liberate their people from dehumanized oppression perpetrated by all successive Burmese regimes. According to the international medical charity 'Doctors without Borders', an approximate count of 6,700 Rohingya were killed in the first phrase of attacks between August 25 and September 24, 2017. Fleeing unarmed civilians were met with land mines planted by Myanmar's security forces near border crossings used by Rohingya to flee to Bangladesh. Moreover, the security forces allegedly opened fire on the civilians amidst their attacks. (Hossain,Saddam & Hosain,Sajjad,2019)

Myanmar authorities reportedly cleared the abandoned Rohingya villages and burnt farmlands to build new buildings and various infrastructure since the beginning of year 2018. While the government state that the development is for the repatriation of the refugees, many rights activists express their concerns on government's plan to accommodate other populations in Rakhine state and harvest the oil and other natural resources.

Refugee Exodus

Even before the violent crackdowns on Rohingyas in 2017, they were forced to flee to neighbouring countries abandoning their villages, livelihoods and possessions. More than 168,000 Rohingyas have fled Myanmar according to United Nations Human Rights Council. Since the Rohingyas speak the Bengali language, massive number of refugees

headed towards Bangladesh, and later entered North-East India. Apart from Bangladesh and India, they fled to other South Asian countries such as Pakistan, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. Countries in West Asia such as the United Arab Emirates also received exodus of refugees.

According to UNDP (November, 2018) Bangladesh received more refugees in just the first three weeks of the influx (in August 2017) than all of Europe received in 2016 during the Syrian crisis. With less than 0.31 per cent of the earth's population, Bangladesh hosts 4.7 per cent of the world's total refugees. Escaping the retaliatory attacks of the Myanmar armed forces the mass exodus of persons entered the neighbouring Bangladesh territory in search of safe havens.

The ARSA attacks in 2017 to the Myanmar security forces are defined by some critics as their attempt to draw international attention towards the issue. Consequently, the formation of a nine-member state advisory commission on Rakhine, formed by the Myanmar government on 24 August,2016 chaired by former UN secretary General Kofi Annan which consisted of six Myanmar nationals and three committee members occurred. The advisory commission was an attempt of NLD government to provide a sustainable solution for the continued conflicts in Rakhine. The final report of the committee involved recommendations on citizenship verification, rights and equality before the law, documentation, situation of the internally displaced and freedom of movement.

On 11 September 2017, the chief of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein labelled the Rohingya issue as an 'ethnic cleansing'. He accused the Myanmar military of violating

international law, including extrajudicial killing of unarmed civilians, rape and other atrocities. He termed the situation as 'a textbook example of ethnic cleansing'. (Kipgen, Nehginpao 2013). His response to the crisis was controversial and the international community moreover focused on the issue.

Figure 1: Map - Host countries of Rohingya
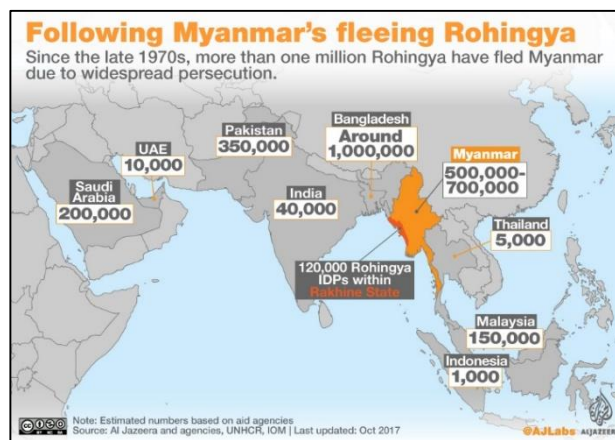
Source: www.aljazeera.com

After the Secretary of State Rex Tillerson's visit to Myanmar, the United-State's usage of the phrases 'ethnic cleansing' and 'horrendous atrocities' to refer the Myanmar military operation against the Rohingyas with the threat of an imposition of targeted sanctions was intended to put pressure on both Myanmar's civilian leadership and military which share power in a hybrid political arrangement. Apart from Tillerson, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley have been vocal about the humanitarian situation in Myanmar. According to Nikki Haley, the military operations launched by Myanmar

authorities were 'Brutal, sustained campaign to cleanse the country of an ethnic minority'.

The visit of UN Security Council delegation to Bangladesh and Myanmar from 28 April to 1 May 2018 was another highlighted international engagement in the process of finding a solution or mitigating the status quo of the situation. In Bangladesh, the delegation visited Cox's Bazar which is an ample refugee destination and interacted with the Rohingya. The visit included meeting with Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina, Myanmar State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi and the Myanmar military commander-in-chief, Senior General Min Aung Hlaing. The recommendations of the UNSC members were inclusive of urging the Myanmar government to conduct a proper investigation regarding the atrocities of the military, hastening the repatriation of Rohingya refugees from Bangladesh with the help of UN agencies. According to the suggestions proposed by Karen Pierce, the UK's permanent representative to the Security Council, the government of Myanmar was left with two choices with regard to prosecuting the criminals; either referring the issue to the International Criminal Court or conducting the investigation itself. Eventually due to various pressures from international state and non-state actors the Myanmar government agreed to sign a tripartite Memorandum of Understanding with United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and United Nations Development Program to establish a framework for cooperation aimed at creating the conditions conductive to voluntary, secure, dignified and sustainable repatriation of Rohingya refugees to their places of origin or of their choosing. (Kipgen, Nehginpao.2013)

Absence of Universal Consensus

The study's findings do not suggest that there have been an absence of actions/measures against the humanitarian crisis in Myanmar but it argues for the lack of unanimity amidst various measures. Many strategic stances proposed to settle the conundrum can be defined according to the states own geo-political and political agendas. A recent study by Wake and Yu (2018:3) showcases that the stagnation in the context of finding a viable solution for the refugee crisis is because of China and Russia's vetoing of UN resolutions for prosecuting Myanmar. In order to implement the R2P principle, nine out of fifteen Security Council members must express support and it must not be vetoed by any of the five permanent members. China and Russia maintain a favourable foreign policy towards Myanmar supporting both in economic and military issues. Ganesen and Hlaing (2007). China is unlikely to support any resolution against Myanmar since its geopolitical leverage allow China to gain access to the Bay of Bengal through the Rakhine state which is rich in natural resources such as oil and gas.

Although Bangladesh denies the prevailing opinion of some scholars that Rohingyas are interlopes from Bangladesh, the government of Bangladesh take measures to cater the Rohingya people fleeing the violent ethnic cleansing campaign conducted by the Burmese army who have entered into the borders of their country. More than 1.1 million Rohingyas living in Bangladesh have no refugee status or legal rights. The World Health Organization projects the birth of sixty thousand infants in Bangladesh's crowed camps in 2018. Moreover, the health risks such as tetanus, diphtheria, acute jaundice syndrome, and measles prevail in these refugee

camps. Despite of limited resources and land to occupy refugees, various factors such as the state's geographical proximity to Myanmar, International pressure compelled Bangladesh to receive the Rohingyas. (UNHCR, 2000) Nevertheless, Bangladesh is not a party to UN Refugee Convention (1951) and the 1967 Protocol. The refugees are registered as Undocumented Myanmar Nationals and depend on humanitarian provisions. In 2015, the government of Bangladesh proposed a relocation plan and the remote island of Thengar Char in the Bay of Bengal was chosen as the location. (Sen, 2017). This relocation plan was highly criticized by human rights activists and international media since the inhabitants of the island need immediate evacuation in monsoon season because of the island was prone to constant cyclones. Since then, Bangladesh has signed to MoUs. One MoU was signed with Myanmar in October, 2018 and the latter with UNHRC. Although the terms were set to repatriate several thousand Rohingya to Myanmar, the MoU offered little specifications on the selection process of the refugees. Human Rights Watch later unveiled that the process had not been voluntary but random. Thus, due to various criticisms by United States and human rights groups, the United Nations urged a cancellation and stressed that the conditions in Rakhine state are still volatile.

While this stance taken by Bangladesh is sympathetic and a welcoming sign for humanitarian assistance in Cox's Bazaar authorities, India's stance towards the Rohingya refugee influx within its borders is unprecedentedly strict. Approximately 40,000 Rohingyas have spread across India according to Amnesty International. The Rohingya who lived in Bangladesh have crossed the Indian border to settle in the Northern Indian States of Jammu, Uttar Pradesh, Harayana, Rajasthan in the West,

Hyderabad in the South and Delhi. (Majumber,Velath,Chopra & Chakraborty,2015). India, as the regional giant in South Asia is on high alert about the country's threat perception. India has been a haven for refugees and minority communities from Sri Lanka, Tibet, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan. In September 2015, through a gazette notification the government amended their 1948 Foreigners Order (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2015). The amended policies allowed a 'certain class of foreigners' belonging to minority communities in Bangladesh and Pakistan namely Hindus, Buddhists, Paris, Jains, Sikhs and Christians, who were forced to leave homeland to escape religious persecution, to reside in India if they had entered the country's borders on or before 31st December,2014. (Ministry of Home Affairs, 2015). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Rohingyas were excluded in the amendment. The refugee influx from Rakhine into Indian borders was instantly interpreted as a threat to their national security. New Delhi's concerns involve the vulnerability and the underprivileged living standard of the refuges which can be easily manipulated and the opinion that Rohingyas are likely to be recruited by terrorist organizations such as ISIS and Laskkar-e-Taiba. (Jayrathne, Surangika & Samarasunghe, Senuri, 2018)

Apart from neighbouring Bangladesh and India, a large exodus from Rakhine state have sought haven in Malaysia, Indonesia and Thailand. According to the United Nations, there were eighty thousand refugees in Malaysia as of October 2018. Thailand serves as a common transit point for Rohingya. As the country is a known hub for regional human smuggling, the refugees are often smuggled through Thailand despite of the Thai Military led government has cracked down on these traffickers. Moreover, the situation in Indonesia regarding the migrant boats arriving

to its shores are compelling, since the government rescues the boats, dispatches humanitarian aid and supplies to the starved and malnourished Rohingyas. In January, 2018, during a visit to refugee camps in Bangladesh, Indonesian President Joko Widodo pledged to supply more assistance.

Although India's intervention policy in the region's internal conflicts proceeded in many instances such as Sri Lanka's civil war, it follows quiet diplomacy about Rohingya crisis. (Yhome, 2018) Western countries however criticize China, Russia and India for their friendly approach regarding Rohingya issue. Countries such as United States, United Kingdom, European Union and Canada have demanded solid measures against Myanmar's government while withdrawing multi-faceted cooperation. Many Middle Eastern countries, assisting their Muslim brotherhood, voiced their objection against ethnic cleansing in Rakhine whereas Saudi Arabia followed a neutral policy. Nevertheless, it promised US$15 million in humanitarian aid. With the failure of SAARC, scholars in South Asian region recognized ASEAN as the mode to achieve regional cooperation. The ASEAN Community and its spheres of interaction in the political, economic, security and socio-cultural arenas have pledged a commitment to uphold the rights of people of ASEAN. However, the organization's stance towards the issue proves that it lacks established legal frameworks to protect refugee's rights and the ten members have not adequately formulated a response to the escalating crisis. Although the member states have signed the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration in which the prohibition of torture is identified and further, guaranteed the right to seek and receive asylum in accordance with national law and international agreements, it has been limited to a written document.

Conclusion

Key challenges to accomplish a universal consensus on the issue are determined by geostrategic choices, foreign policy preferences of states driven by their national interests, the clash between religions and civilizations, and the lack of implementation of international human rights law. The refugee crisis in Myanmar needs a holistic approach and a collective implementation because its escalation has caused the issue to be multilateral. Bangladesh has been battling alone from 1980 providing a safe haven to the Myanmar refugees. Although the core milestone of Human rights; the UDHR emphasized every individual's right to seek and enjoy asylum and affirms the necessity of granting asylum for those in need, the Myanmar authorities deliberately violated the basic rights of the Rohingya minority.

According to the article 14 of UDHR every human who hasn't been proven to be involved in acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the UN or in non-political crimes, is entitled to the right to seek and enjoy other countries' asylum from persecution. Displaced and stateless persons from the war-torn states are treated with hostility although the 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1954 Convention relating to the status of stateless persons are imposed into the international legal frame. International organizations such as United Nations and regional organizations such as ASEAN or advocacy groups are reluctant to meddle into the problem, since it involves implementing aggressive policies to deal with the government of Myanmar. Resolutions to prosecute the government which has neglected the Responsibility to Protect (R2P), were less successful because the constant usage of veto power by China and

Russia. Thus, the study accentuates through the gathered data, that the mere existence of global regimes and legal mechanisms is not adequate to establish a favourable concern for the refugees and stateless persons. The proper implementation of the law enforcement and engaging political will can be identified as the main requirements to form a holistic measure. The research findings conclude that these refugees can be easily lured into joining various terrorist organizations given their despondent situation and a unified agreement among the international negotiators can assist the South-east Asian region sidestep a severe menace.

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Rise of Populism and its Effect on Regional Organizations: Case Studies of European Union and Organization of American States

T.C.M.K.Peiris[1]

Abstract

Populism can be known as a theory that rarely used by scholars and philosophers to understand the political context of the world from 1948-2013. Even small glimpse of populist waves raised during 2008 due to Global Economic fall, it was not considered as an influential factor to change the political context. That changed after 2014. Narendra Modi appointment as Prime minister in India, Hoffer's narrow lost in Austria, Brexit in 2016, Donald Trump's remarkable victory in US presidentship all. So main Research question of this paper is to understand What is the relationship between Rise of populism and its impact on Regional organizations. And research to understand whether that impact on regional organizations are positive or negative. To achieve aforesaid objectives qualitative approach has been adopted and secondary data is the main type of data. The research finding conclude how regional organizations like European Union and Organization of American states faced off this rise of populism wave. Document analysis and Theoretical analysis are used to analyze data. Both theoretical and Empirical reviews have been used to understand the main research question to find out specific issues.

Keywords: Populism, Right Wing populism, OAS, EU, Impact

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[1] International Studies Honours Second Year, Department of International Studies
madusanka.charuka@gmail.com

Introduction

Even though everyone talks about populism because of the political movements from 2014, populism is not something new to the studies. Anyhow even among scholars, academics it has been difficult to defined. But what scholars have agreed on is that populism have two main parties. That are people and the elite class. According to Britannica[1] encyclopaedia Populism can be defined as "political program or movement that champions the common person, usually by favourable contrast with an elite. Populism usually combines elements of the left and the right, opposing large business and financial interests but also frequently being hostile to established socialist and labour parties". Populist theory further divided into two main parts. They are Left-Wing Populism & Right-Wing Populism. There's academic debate on how to categorize the concept. Is this an ideology or a style, a discourse, or a strategy, but across these debates, researchers tend to agree populism has two core principles; It must claim to speak on behalf of ordinary people. These ordinary people must stand in opposition to an elite establishment which stops them from fulfilling their political preferences.

Regional organizations are Institutions drawing membership from at least three states, having activities in several states, and whose members are held together by a formal agreement. Only a few existed before 1850; several thousand were active in the early 21st century. Some are intergovernmental and some are nongovernmental. Some have multiple worldwide or regional purposes, and some have single purposes. The creation of international organizations on a wide scale in the 20th-century is the result of the progress in the technology of communication, transportation,

warfare, and the spread of industrialization. These developments gave rise to a sense of interdependence among the peoples of the world, and made people recognize the importance of international co-operation to avoid the dangers, solve the problems, and use the opportunities which confront the society of nations on a world-wide scale.

In this paper I would like to address how Right-wing branch of populism risen after 2014 and its impact on above mentioned Regional Organizations. According to the Far-Right Politics in Europe by Jean-Yves Camus Right-Wing populism can be referred as Nationalism also. Anyhow Right-Wing populism is a political ideology which combines right-wing politics and populist rhetoric and themes opposition to the perceived establishment and speaking to the "common people".

Since 2014 all the Right-wing populism based political parties in Europe have increased their electoral base at least by 17.5%. And it led to the most iconic political incident in this decade. The Brexit. Despite the efforts of leader Marine Le Pen to make the far right palatable to France's mainstream, she was comprehensively defeated by Emmanuel Macron for the presidency in May 2017. Her far-right party, the National Front (FN), failed to break through in parliamentary elections the following month. So, the FN became the National Rally (Rassemblement National) and latest opinion polls give the rebranded party a lead over President Macron's ruling liberal LREM ahead of the European elections. Ms. Le Pen's party is opposed to the euro and blames the EU for mass immigration, and she has found a common voice with other nationalist and far-right parties in Europe. Even she lost the election since 2017 Nationalist thoughts spread towards France with the help of Digital Media and its leading to a potential

FREXIT now. From all these political events have a huge impact on European Union and from this paper I would like to discuss whether it's negative or positive.

And moving onto American continent populism is not somewhat new to them. There was a huge Populist wave in Latin America in mid 1980s. But with the influence of American Politics Organization of American states able to face off it well. But with the appointment of Donald trump to the President's office context have changed. And even in Latin America Right-wing populism wave started that based on Economy. So, in this paper I would like to analyse how its impact to the OAS to.

Methodology

This study has used some principal methodologies to examine the above-mentioned objectives. When consider about the type of data that has used in the study, secondary data have been used as its sources. Mainly documentary analysis and theoretical analysis are the key analyzing methods this has used to examine the above-mentioned objectives. Document analysis defines a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the researcher to give voice and meaning. Thus, in the documentary analysis, it collects available documents and data which are related to the particular study and interpret them to find out specific issues.

Literature Review

Reading the Rise of populism and its impact on Regional Organizations there is no agreed definition to Populism. Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira

Kaltwasser (2017) published 'Populism: A Very Short Introduction' which contained understanding of the concept Populism. According to this publication populism is an ideology, with a set of ideas shared by its adherents. The core concepts of populism are threefold. it is built on an appeal to the people, a denunciation of the elite, and the idea that politics should be an expression of the general will. But the authors argue that with such vague concepts and no clear prescription for how to organize society, unlike other -isms, populism is a 'thin-centered ideology'.

According to the Jean-Yves Camus and Nicolas Lebourg (2017) published 'Far-Right Politics in Europe' which contained what kind of populism in Europe. According to the author Right wing populism used to describe Euro centric political activities based on Populism. Right-wing populism, or national populism, is a political ideology which combines right-wing politics and populist rhetoric and themes. The rhetoric often consists of anti-elitist sentiments, opposition to the perceived Establishment, and speaking to the "common people". While both right-wing populism and left-wing populism object to what they see as the capturing of liberal democracies by elites, populism of the left also objects to the power of large corporations and their allies, while populism of the right normally focuses its attention on immigration.

The key element that seems to distinguish right-wing populism from other forms is its racial and ethnic component. According to Mudde (2007) argues that right-wing populists are nativists who claim to represent the true people who make up the true nation and whose purity is being muddied by new entrants. He writes, 'nativism is defined here as an ideology, which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by

members of the native group "the nation" and that non-native elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation-state' (Mudde 2007,19). This gives right-wing populism its particular ethnic, cultural and racial caste.

Roger Eatwell (2017) published 'Populism and Fascism' he writes that writes that Whilst populism and fascism differ notably ideologically, in practice the latter has borrowed aspects of populist discourse and style, and populism can degenerate into leader-oriented authoritarian and exclusionary politics. For populism to transition into fascism or proto fascism requires a "nihilistic culture and an intractable crisis."

Dr Daphne Halikiopoulou (2018) published 'Brexit and the rise of right-wing populism in Europe. From that paper she discussed about two things. Why Nationalism matters to Brexit & how nationalism matters to Brexit. In that research author found out how Cultural Backlash, Economic Insecurity, Loss of status boost populist ideas in Great Britain and how it leads to Brexit. But that particular article did not cover up how exactly those populist ideas effect to the Fall of European Union.

According to the Erik Jones (2007) published 'Populism in Europe'. Main research question of that paper was Understanding the populist wave in Europe. Erik Jones found out that Success of populism will weaken the political parties and system in Europe. But author failed to mention about What will happened to the Regional level politics when European political system falls. It will be covered up by this article.

Joshua Kurlantzick (2018) published 'Southeast Asia's Populism Is Different but Also Dangerous'. In that paper author writes how Southeast

Asian populists focus on spurring religious and ethnic divides, countering drug trafficking, particularly of methamphetamines, and appealing to the working and lower-middle classes. And he further mentions about how Southeast Asian Populism Is Different.

According to Gianfranco Baldinia, Edoardo Bressanellib and Stella (2019) published Taking back control? Brexit, sovereignism and populism in Westminster. Paper focused about What are claims for national sovereignty made in the British Conservative and Labour parties. Final result of the paper was about to find out Main dynamics of British sovereignty.

The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) enables the Union to take a leading role in peace-keeping operations, conflict prevention and in the strengthening of the international security. It is an integral part of the EU's comprehensive approach towards crisis management, drawing on civilian and military assets. The Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) enables the Union to take a leading role in peace-keeping operations, conflict prevention and in the strengthening of the international security. It is an integral part of the EU's comprehensive approach towards crisis management, drawing on civilian and military assets.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Understanding the Populism Wave in Europe and its Effect on European Union

Right wing populism or in another words Nationalism has always been a part of European politics. But with issues based on Immigration such as

Cultural backlash, Economic insecurity and Specially because of Terrorist problems there has been a boost on Right wing populist parties in Europe. For examples, Even Emmanuel Macron comprehensively defeated Marine Le Pen,right wing populist leader of Rassemblement National. Right now, with the help of Digital media Nationalist ideologies have driven through to France for a potential FREXIT right now. And in Sweden anti-immigration Sweden Democrats (SD) made significant gains in the 2018 general election, winning about 18% of the vote.

But the most significant Right-wing populist movement in Europe was 'THE BREXIT'. Based on Economic crisis, Immigration problems 51.9% British people voted Britain to exit Eu. And since this political movement rooted by right wing populist ideologies, I would like to explain how it will effect on European Union.

Map 01: How nationalist parties won votes over Europe in National elections
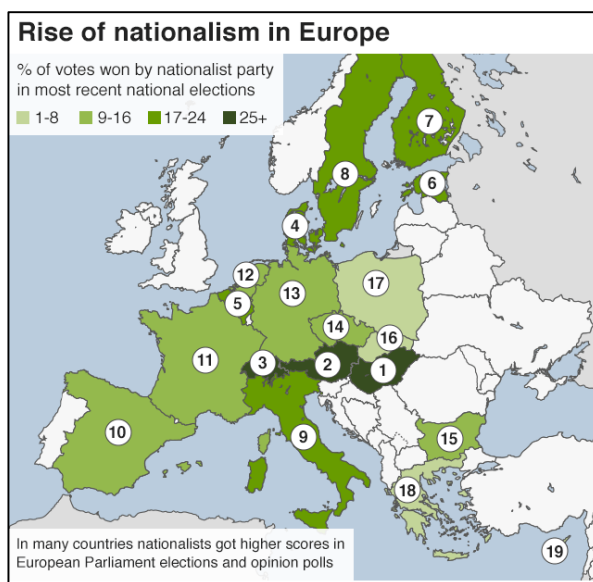
Source : www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36130006

Wealth & Budget

According to this graph United Kingdom is the third country which contributed money to the European Budget. The European Union has a budget to finance policies carried out at European level such as agriculture, regional development, space, trans-European networks, research and innovation, health, education and culture, migration, border protection and humanitarian aid. But with Brexit European Union will lose above 5% of their budget and it will lead European Union to cut regional spending up to 30%. And with the Brexit European Union Gross Domestic product will reduce by around 2 Trillion. By the end of 2015 approximately 1.2 Million workers of Eastern European countries worked in UK. With Brexit all these workers will lose their jobs and it will lead to approximately 7.2% unemployment in European Union according to European Data Journalism Network. Now these are the consequences faced by EU just because of Brexit. With the uprising of Right-wing populist ideologies in France if they also decided to exit from European Union, it will surely be the end of the most institutionalized regional organization in the world.

Graph 01: Share of total contributions to the European Union budget in 2018, by Member State
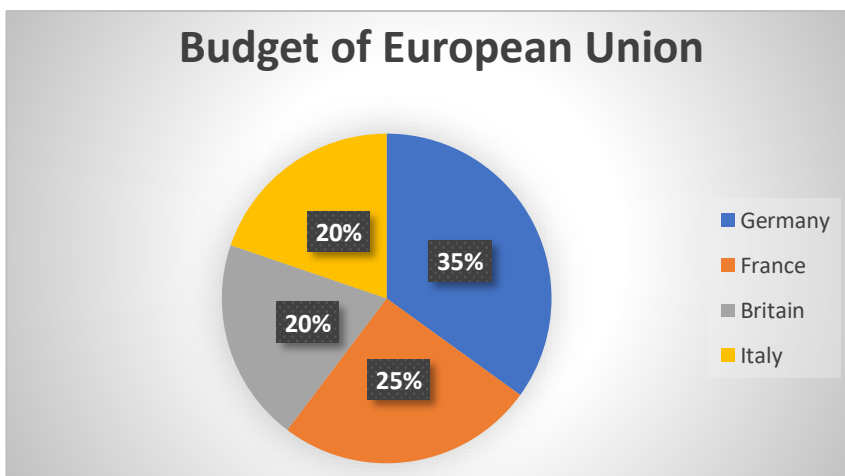
Source: EU contributions by country Statista_files

Security

According to The Implications of Brexit For European Defence Cooperation with the United Kingdom gone, one of Europe's leading military powers is stepping out of the CSDP. With a 52 billion-dollar defence budget, the UK is the largest European defence spender and one of only five NATO member states to reach the 2% of GDP spending target. Brexit will take a huge chunk out of the EU's overall capabilities, of which the UK owns about 20%. According to the Graph 02 given below United Kingdom is the second country which contributed to the CDSP missions in world. In 2018 European Union have spent around €328 million on its Common Foreign and Security Policy, which provides the funding for civilian CSDP missions. Out of that 16% financed by United Kingdom. But with the Brexit European union will set to cut huge number of Humanitarian missions in the world. So in here final impact of Right wing

populism rooted Brexit will not only effect on European Union nut also to the whole world.

Graph 02: UK personnel contributions to CDSP missions and operations 2007-2016
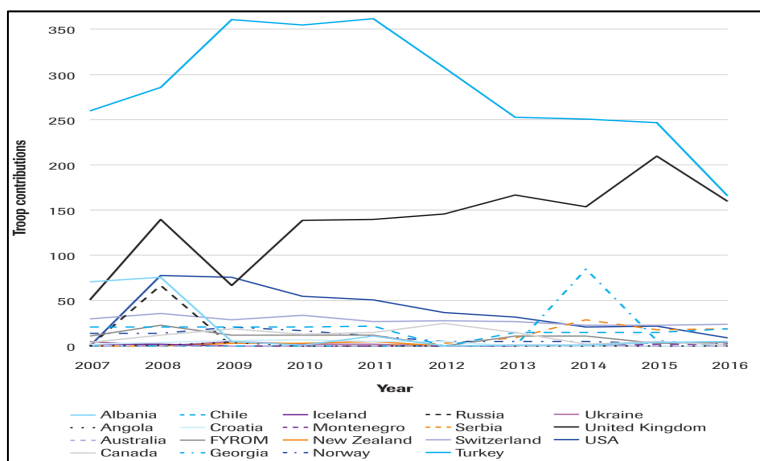
Source:www.spectator.clingendael.org/en/publication/implicationsbrexit

Public Opinion

As I mentioned before right-wing populism wave in Europe has been a part of European politics for so long. But what actually triggered this was the Immigration problem and Brexit. And since the Brexit happened Right wing populist parties in France and Italy and even Germany have upraised. They have able to win sensible number of votes in National election. And the public opinion of these countries is rapidly changing towards taking sovereignty back from the organization and making their countries great again.

So as finally when understand about Right wing populism wave in Europe and its effect on European union, very much clear that it has a bad impact on the regional organization and if the populism wave driven throughout entire continent it might be the end of the One of the strongest Regional organizations world have ever saw.

Understanding the Populism Wave in America and its Effect on Organization of American States

Populism wave in American continent is somewhat different from the European populism. Even Right-wing populism triggered European continent in 2015, Populist ideologies specially in Latin America was there since 1920's. Populism in America can be divided into two main parts. When Latin American populist ideologies mainly based on Economy, Populism in United States of America was based on Nationalism just as in Europe. Donald Trump in USA and Hugo Chávez in Venezuela and Evo Morales in Bolivia can be named as the dominant political leaders in this continent. Donald Trump use the immigration problem in his country to enhance the populist ideologies in USA while Chávez and Morales used unemployment, Economic insecurity to promote populism in Latin America. Graph 04 will explain how long Populist parties ruled in Latin America over these years. However, Organization states of America was the regional organization consisted with 35 countries in American states and main function of the organization is to turn nondemocratic countries into democratic nations while enhancing the Human rights in the continent. From this chapter I would like to conclude how two different populist ideologies effect on OAS.

Graph 04: Period of populism rule in Latin America

Country	Beginning of populism	End of populism	Years of populism
Argentina	2003	2015	12
Bolivia	2006	2016*	10
Brazil	2002	2014	12
Ecuador	2007	2016*	9
Venezuela	1999	2016*	17

* Denotes that the populist government is still in office at the end of 2016.

Source: www. notesonliberty.com

Wealth and Budget

The main resource provider of the OAS was for all these years was United States of America. But since trump took over the presidentship things have changed. His politics not only created chaos in the organization but also weaken the Wealth too. Due to his strong policy on immigration he decided to cut loose the relationship between OAS. According to the Andrés Oppenheimer Trump administration is proposing drastic U.S. budget cuts for international organizations that could paralyze the institution. President Donald Trump is asking Congress to cut 50 percent of U.S. funding for the State Department's Bureau of International Organization Affairs, which pays U.S. dues to the United Nations, the OAS and other international and regional groups, according to news reports disclosed by Foreign Policy magazine. The cuts would be part of a 37-percent slashing of the State Department budget. At the same time, the Trump administration is asking Congress for a $54 billion increase in military spending, U.S. officials say. Setting aside the fact that diplomacy and "soft power" are much cheaper and effective than military spending, Trump's proposed cuts in funding for

international organizations could hardly come at a worse time for Latin America.

Apart from trump's Budget cutting to OAS Latin American countries which based on populism ideologies driven by Economy have drastically failed economic level of their countries.

Graph 05: Speed of loss of economic freedom under populism

	Populist period	Beginning of populism	End of populism	Difference	Yearly fall in rank	Years to fall to bottom of ranking
ARG	2003 – 2015	88	155	69	5.75	27.8
BOL*	2006 – 2016	95	126	28	3.11	51.4
BRA	2002 – 2014	79	134	58	4.83	33.1
ECU*	2007 – 2016	124	130	6	0.75	213.3
VEN*	1999 – 2016	94	159	71	5.07	31.5

Source: Economic Freedom of the World
* Denotes the populist government is still in office.

Source: www. notesonliberty.com

This economic fall down have alluded OAS. According to Roger F. Noriega in 2015, the OAS's annual budget was about $85 million, but half of its 34 member states had quotas below $100,000. For the same year, the quotas for 26 member states equalled less than one percent of the OAS regular fund, while the United States had a quota equalling nearly 60 percent. In 2015, six member states, including Brazil and Venezuela, failed to pay their quotas, totalling $20 million dollars. The insufficient contributions by member states and rising operations costs have taken a toll on the OAS reducing its workforce by 30% between 1995 and 2016, even as the organization's responsibilities increased significantly.

The situation forces the OAS to rely heavily on voluntary contributions to a "specific fund" to carry out essential activities. Half of the funding for the Human Rights Commission comes from such contributions. The challenge facing the OAS now is not feckless leadership, but insufficient financial and political support from regional governments. In 2015, the United States gave over $19 million to the specific fund, while the Bahamas, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Jamaica, and Costa Rica, combined, gave less than the non-member state of Estonia.

Public Opinion

Since trump took over the American presidency as a strong populist leader, it triggered the populist ideologies in other countries too. Trump wanted to execute the Monroe Doctrine again in the American continent and it started to cause problems within other countries. As a result of that Samuel Moncada said that "Venezuela will leave the OAS on April 27, 2019 because the racist "Monroe Doctrine," followed by Trump to run over the countries of the continent, will never defeat the ideas of our liberators." The diplomat added that Venezuela "will always be an independent, free and sovereign nation!". And worst above all with the populism wave arise in Latin America yet again nondemocratic regimes who ruled over the years will look forward to capture the power in respective countries by promoting Nationalism.

Conclusion

In this paper I have analysed and compared contemporary populism in Europe and Latin America. And I have presented my data according to my main research question which was what is the relationship between Rise of populism and its impact on Regional organizations. Both European Union and Organization of American states have chosen to this particular paper because those two organizations have faced this populist ideology than other regional organizations. After presenting my data which was what exactly happened to both Regional Organizations when they faced off to Populism wave I can come for conclusion. And it will be my research finding too. Populist based ideologies always emphasize Nationalism, Sovereignty and Independence. But Regional Organizations built upon breaking most of those ideas and promoting Regionalism. When populism triggered inside countries people as well as the leaders will work to take their Independence. Even it causes economic fall downs like in Latin America, even it will cause problems for security like in United Kingdom, even it will question the Status quo of United States of America everyone will sacrifice them in order for a sole country. So, finally my research finding is that when Populism rise it will have a Negative impact on Regional Organizations according to the case studies that I used in this paper.

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India's Foreign Policy Challenges in 21st Century

W.G.D. Nimeshika Weerakoon[1]

Abstract

Foreign policy is an instrument at the disposal of a country to protect and promote its national interests. The core of the national interest is constant defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty, enhance the economic and social well-being of the people, promote opportunities for profitable trading relations with other countries, and exploit the 'soft power' through propagation of the cultural assets. From this perspective this article tries to analyze the India's foreign policy. India is quickly rising as a crucial player in regional and international arenas India continues to be beset by lots of challenges, both regional and global. World's scenario has been changed to a great extent in 21st century. In this study, a modest attempt is made to look at India's regional and global foreign policy challenges in 21st century. This empirical study is purely based on secondary data sources which collected from academic journals, reports, publications and articles. Besides, these relevant literatures have been obtained through various websites to collect secondary data. The analysis of this study is based on qualitative analysis. For the convenience of readers, the article mainly concerned about India's Foreign Policy challenges in 21 Century from introduction to global and regional foreign policy challenges concerns; and the last part contains India's regional and global prospects in the future and concluding observations.

Keywords: India, Foreign policy, Challenges, Regional, Global.

[1] International Studies Honours Third Year, Department of International Studies
dananjaninimeshika@gmail.com

Introduction

The world in twenty first century is markedly different from the cold war period. The end of ideological conflicts and strategic competition between the superpowers, which had Great role in accentuating conflicts across the world generated new hope for building a peaceful and cooperative world order. There is a great deal of uncertainty within the rising world order. New conflicts and issues have emerged in the form of ethnic conflicts, refugee problem, environmental degradation, terrorism; etc. Foreign policy of a country is determined by the times in which it is conducted.[1] Foreign policy is an instrument of a country to protect and promote its national interests. The essence of the national interest is constant defend the territorial integrity and sovereignty, improve the economic and social well-being of the people, promote opportunities for profitable trading relations with other nations, and exploit the 'soft power' through propagation of the cultural assets. Foreign policy of any country is determined by the times in which it is conducted. Foreign policy of India is going to be very different from what it was when country became independent in twenty-first century. India is quickly rising as a crucial player in regional and international arenas.

World's scenario has been changed to a great extent in 21st century. In this study, a modest attempt is made to look at India's regional and global foreign policy challenges in 21st century. India's region is fought with security threats arising out of unstable, often weak states such as Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, Myanmar and Afghanistan, a near neighbor

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[1] Dutt, V.P. (2010). *India's Foreign Policy: since Independence*. India, National Book Trust, pp.1.

in which India is heavily invested. India has recent times benefited from cooperation with the US, while it grapples with potential threats emanating from China, India's regional and global security concerns are reflected in its military modernization, maritime security, and nuclear polices. Nonetheless, domestic security concerns to influence Indian perceptions of regional security. Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, India, Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka are the current territories of South Asia. India is fast emerging as an important player in South Asian Region. India is uniquely positioned to be a driver of interstate cooperation in south Asia, which is a predominantly Indocentric region. And also India consider as a hegemonic power in south Asia. India has also improved its security cooperation with most South Asian countries in recent years, except for Pakistan. Even in India, China has raised as a significant economic actor in the field of security, China has increased its military cooperation, supplying arms to many South Asian countries. The following sections discuss types of regional security challenges for India's foreign policy.

Methodology

This study is entirely based on secondary data collected through academic journals, Articles, books and other web based academic publications. Since only secondary data will be analyzed using content analysis the article assumes a Qualitative approach. Objectives of the study will be achieved in the light of several information taken by secondary sources.

Literature Review

When reviewing the Literature about the India's Foreign Policy challenges, the book Challenges before India's Foreign Policy in 21'st

Century described as the world in twenty first century is remarkably different from the cold war period. The end of ideological clash and strategic competition between the superpowers which had tremendous role in accentuating conflicts across the world generated new hope for building a peaceful and co-operative world order. Instead there is a great deal of uncertainty in the emerging global order. New conflicts and issues have surfaced inthe form of ethnic conflicts, refugee problem, environmental degradation, terrorism; etc.[2]

The book India's foreign Policy in the 21'st Century describe that India in the early twenty-first century has become a focus of international attention more than ever before. "In the pyramid of world powers in 1947, India was perhaps at the rock bottom. However, within a short span of three or four decades India had pushed forward its position and became a most developed country among the developing countries."[3]

According to Foreign Affairs Record of India (1992), the dynamics of India's relations with each of the other five powers will determine its global power status. It was major challenge for India in the 21st century to keep the United States (US) as the focal point of its new foreign policy. The Indian delegation pointed out that, after the end of cold war, India was willing to diversify, and also to expand economic, technological, cultural and educational relations with US.

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[2] Kumar, M. (ed.) (2006). *Challenges before India's Foreign Policy in 21'st Century*. New Delhi, Gyan Publishing House, pp.66.

[3] Chopra, V.D. (ed.) (2006). *India's foreign Policy in the 21'st Century*. Delhi, Kalpaz publications, pp.7.

Rohan Mukherjee and David M. Malone has examined India's Global and security challenges in Indian Foreign Policy and contemporary security challenges. According to this Article, India could serve as a pivot in a new triangle much promoted by commentators, composed of the United States, China and India. Beyond the sphere of enjoyable geostrategic speculation, India has in recent times benefited from cooperation with the US, while it grapples with perennial potential security threats emanating from China. India's regional and global security concerns are reflected in its military modernization, maritime security and nuclear polices. Nonetheless, domestic security concerns continue to influence Indian perceptions of regional security.[4]

Data Presentation and Analysis

India and its Relations with Pakistan

India has problematic relations with all of its South Asian neighbors especially Pakistan. Both India and Pakistan have fought three major wars Since 1947, one minor war and had several misses. Coping with the threats arising from Pakistan is the most important security challenge for India. Over two and a half decades, successive governments in Delhi, of very different political hues, have sought to normalize relations with Pakistan but without much success. Despite these difficulties, India has traversed some distance with Pakistan over the last few years. After a series of military crises from the late 1980s to early 2000s, India worked out a negotiating framework with Pakistan that involved three elements: India's

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[4] Mukherjee, R. and Malone, D. (2011). Indian foreign policy and contemporary security challenges. *International Affairs*, 87(1), pp.90.

willingness to negotiate on Kashmir, Pakistan's commitment to end cross-border terrorism, and the expansion of confidence building measures.

As a result, there were periods of relative lull in the intensity of cross-border terrorism, back channel negotiations on Kashmir, and the institution of a range of military, political and economic. Many in the Indian strategic community call on Delhi to suspend talks and confront its support to cross border terrorism. There is an alternative course that Delhi could consider. Neither military confrontation nor turning one's back on Pakistan is going to produce the desired effects for India. Delhi, instead, must demonstrate strategic patience and seek a significant internal shift within Pakistan in favour of political moderation, economic modernization and regional integration. Presently Narendra Modi's big challenge for India will be how to deal with Pakistan, particularly with the administration of Imran Khan coming to power in that country. There has been no setback in anti-India terror activities emanating from Pakistan in recent times, because of which the Modi government has taken a no-talks posture.

India will need to develop policies that at once tilt the internal political balance in favour of the civilian leaders and develop instruments to mount pressure on the Pakistan Army. This, however, is easier said than done and will need enormous political fortitude in Delhi. A strong and purposeful government in Delhi can, however, make the case for a sustained and unconditional engagement with Pakistan. A failure to initiate such a policy will make India's challenges much harder with the passing of each year and complicate Delhi's ability to pursue its broader national security goals.

In current situation, growing religious radicalization and nationalism in both India and Pakistan in the context of structural differences between the two states and its impact on religious minorities is a major security challenge to India. And China-Pakistan joint security/trade related projects are also contemporary security challenge to India. furthermore, Kashmir issue as the crucial point of reference in India's and Pakistan's regional security challenge. The historically-inherited, protracted conflict has had a direct impact on shaping security challenges in South Asia since 1947. Although it entered phases of escalation and de-escalation, both sides have not managed to come up with solution acceptable for India, Pakistan and the Kashmiris. Moreover, it serves as an excuse for those elements of establishments in both states which are not interested in improving bilateral relations.

China's Involvement within South Asian Countries

China's involvement within South Asian countries are emerging challenges to India's ability to engage with the region. There was a time, a quarter century ago, when India and China seemed roughly equal powers. That no longer is true today. China's GDP is four times larger than that of India; Beijing spends four times as much as India on defence. The expanding strategic gap with China has begun to pose multiple security challenges for India and constrict its freedom of action in a variety of domains. India will take time to catch up, which in turn means Delhi must be prepared for a period of vulnerability. Additional confidence building measures like the Border Defence Cooperation Agreement are unlikely to resolve the problem of a changed military balance on the frontier in favour of Beijing. The transformation of the Sino-Indian frontier has raised the

prospect of simultaneous military crises on both borders if not a two-front war. China is an observer country in SAARC, is close ally of Pakistan. China has also begun to engage with Bangladesh, Nepal and Sri Lanka, on energy cooperation and economic development. China factor will force to India to review its foreign policy in South Asia.

Currently the biggest challenge for India will be how to deal with Beijing and its growing assertiveness. New Delhi has a disputed border with Beijing and relations with Beijing cooled down in the aftermath of the standoff between the two countries following in 2017 China's road construction activities in the Doklam region of Bhutan. New Delhi has a disputed border with Beijing and relations with Beijing cooled down in the aftermath of the confrontation between the two countries following China's road construction activities. Although relations between the two countries have improved since then, there are still many issues which bedevil the ties between the two, especially New Delhi's refusal to join the Beijing-led Belt and Road Initiative China is also rising as a major supplier of arms to India's other neighbours.

While India can live with China's expanded economic cooperation with its neighbours, some of the strategic economic projects include ports, highways and rail corridors all across the neighborhood. Beyond the subcontinent, China's rise has also begun to muddy the waters of the Indian Ocean. Over the last few years, China has intensified its economic, political and security partnerships with Myanmar, the Indian Ocean island states, the Persian Gulf and the East coast of Africa, all part of India's traditional sphere of influence in the littoral. Given its growing economic stakes in the Indian Ocean, China is bound to raise its naval profile in the

region to secure its interests. While India comes to terms with the expansion of the Chinese strategic profile in waters to the South, it also has unexpected opportunities to expand its own role in China's neighbourhood in East Asia and the Western Pacific. Whether it is the consolidation of India's position in the Indian Ocean or strengthening its role in the Pacific, New Delhi will need to intensify its security and defence diplomacy in the two oceans.

India and its Relations with United States

One way of addressing some of India's security dilemmas is to lend greater consideration to strategic cooperation with the United States on regional security issues. For decades now divergence rather than convergence on regional security issues has been the norm in the relations between India and the United States. The Clinton administration's questioning of Kashmir's accession to India, and its eagerness to mediate between India and Pakistan in the early 1990s sharpened political tensions. It was only with the advent of the Bush administration in 2001 that the prospects for regional security cooperation opened. The de-hyphenation of U.S. relations with India and Pakistan and Washington's strict neutrality on the Kashmir dispute helped build a new level of trust on regional issues with Delhi. While differences remained on how best to deal with Pakistan, India and the U.S. learnt to live with those. In another first, the Bush administration also decided to defer to Indian interests elsewhere in the subcontinent. Above all, the subtext of the Bush administration's warmth towards Delhi was the belief that a strong India will help contribute to a stable balance of power in Asia and limit the Chinese ability to dominate

Asia. A logical corollary to this belief was the proclamation that America should assist India's rise to great power status.

If Bush transformed the basis for American engagement with India, initial missteps of the Obama administration tended to revive old suspicions of the U.S. policy in Delhi. Obama's public musings on mediation between India and Pakistan and the presumed link between the Kashmir dispute and Afghanistan renewed many Indian suspicions of U.S. policy. In the East, the U.S. emphasis on a China first policy raised questions about continuity in Washington's approach to India. To his credit, Obama held back from diplomatic activism on Kashmir and the failure of his outreach to Beijing resulted in the articulation of the pivot to Asia. The United States, under Bush and Obama, strongly supported India's objectives of seeking regional integration in the subcontinent and a greater role in East Asia. While the momentum of India-U.S. relations has faltered in the last few years, the need for regional security cooperation between Delhi and Washington has never been as critical as it is today. Recently major challenge for India will be how to deal with the Trump Administration in Washington D.C., which has been blowing hot and cold on issues related to India. While Washington has been tough with Pakistan, President Donald Trump's dealings with China are making many in India wonder if New Delhi figures high on his radar screen at all. US president Trump had earlier declined an invitation to be the chief guest at India's Republic Day celebrations later.

India and its Relations with Super Powers

 The collapse of the USSR, this was close ally to India during cold war which was one of the greatest challenges that India faced to make a balance

relation with super powers. India needed to determine its policies towards the other global powers like America, Russia, China, Japan and European Union. The main foreign policy objective of India's is to achieve global power status. It will anyway, greatly depend on its relationship with the US, and the other global powers, to attain this. The dynamics of India's relations with other five powers will determine its global power status. It was major challenge for India in the 21st century to keep the United States as the focal point of its new foreign policy. The Indian delegation point out that, after the end of cold war, India was liked to diversify, and also to expand economic, technological, educational and cultural relations with United State. The main reason for this is that close relations with the United State will help to convince the international community that India is truly a global player.

India and the United State have been cooperating recently in several areas. including in defence and the technology. Recently the highlight of their cooperation has been the civil nuclear energy cooperation deal that has been signed between both countries. The civilian nuclear deal which is a positive development in Indo-US bilateral relations, there is still a need for India to carefully manoeuvre its foreign policy to manage its ties with US. The Indo-US bilateral relationship progress through the next step in strategic partnership initiative is also notable, as it is believed to lead towards significant economic benefits for both countries and improve regional and global security. India and America agreed to expend co-operation in three specific areas viz. Civilian space program, civilian nuclear activities, and high technology trade. The 123 nuclear treaty which was historical event in confidence building for both countries.

Besides the United State, China is another superpower and playing an important role in world politics in general and particular in Asia. China's rise presents challenges to India to achieving its foreign policy objectives. India and China found themselves as a rivalry, competitor and co-operator in twenty first century. They are conflicts on the border issues, competitor in market economy, for influence in Asian politics, not only in ASEAN but also in south and west Asia International terrorism is also major global security challenge to India's foreign policy. India has long been a victim of what it calls "cross-border terrorism" on its territory committed by Groups India alleges to be based in and sponsored by the Pakistani military and intelligence establishment.

Although Al-Qaeda has not been directly involved in attacks in India, the equally Pakistan based Lashkar-e-Taiba has, and India is a potential target for further attacks in Mumbai.[5] Large international terrorist organizations are the newest type of Islamist group to face India, which has long elicited little attention from such organizations. Since 2014, India has become a target of the two largest international terrorist organizations, al-Qaeda and Islamic State (IS), which are competing to radicalize Indian Muslims and unleash terror on Indian soil. In 2014, al-Qaeda announced the formation of a south Asian affiliate, al-Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS), which reportedly unified different South Asian terror groups under the leadership of an experienced Pakistani militant. While numbers of Indians

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[5] Mukherjee, R. and Malone, D. (2011). Indian foreign policy and contemporary security challenges. *International Affairs*, 87(1), pp.87-104.

suspected of IS-links vary, a reliable estimate put them at around 142 in early 2017.[6]

Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

For India, non-proliferation challenges have warranted special attention both from regional and global contexts for several decades. India's tumultuous relationship with its neighbours and its desire to be a regional and global power has continually shaped the tenets of its nuclear weapons programme and policy. India has also remained a steadfast champion of global nuclear disarmament, including through multilateral initiatives such as the 1988 "Action Plan for A Nuclear Weapon Free and Non-violent World Order."[7] Nevertheless, nuclear weapons proliferation and the current international security environment has created a tough space for making global disarmament a reality. India's nuclear weapons programme, therefore, is heavily predicated upon its ability to act as a deterrence mechanism to prevent a nuclear conflict.

The discourse on the logistics of nuclear non-proliferation has remained focused on the need to maintain regional stability. Even as India's dominant assumption of its nuclear weapons has been determined by the effectiveness as a deterrence mechanism, the international community, from time to time, finds discrepancies in India's ideology and its ability to actively promote nuclear disarmament. The non-proliferation challenges

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[6] Perkar, R. (2011). India Internal Security and Challenges of Terrorism. *SSRN Electronic Journal*.

[7] Mohan, P. (2019). *India's nuclear dilemma | ORF*. [online] ORF. Available at: https://www.orfonline.org/expert-speak/india-nuclear-dilemma-44593/ [Accessed 15 Nov. 2019].

faced by the world today require focused engagement by major nuclear powers like India, France and the US, since the popular understanding is that Pakistan has plans to steadily increase its nuclear weapons arsenal, despite India putting the advancement of its weapons programme on hold.

India's position on the non-proliferation challenges cannot be divorced from the intentions of nuclear states like Pakistan and China. In order to engage major nuclear powers in a productive dialogue, there has to be special effort from New Delhi to reify its position as a responsible partner in the nuclear stability dialogue.[8] Another potential aspect that affects India's stance is Pakistan's development of tactical nuclear weapons and the expectations that come with a significant response to these advances. Common perception of defence policymaking in India dictates that many policies in the advancement of weapons on either side of the border is a calculated response to the other's moves. Pakistan's close relationship with China (a nuclear and global superpower) has also been a cause of concern for Indian policymakers. However, in India's quest for a Nuclear Weapon Free World (NWFW), the exaggeration of this relationship is potentially detrimental. India has managed to gradually define its parameters for nuclear weapons in a manner that reflects its resistance to increasing its arsenal. However, the role of Pakistan's stance and its relationship with its neighbours cannot be downplayed in the context of regional stability.

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[8] Rajesh, K.M. (2007). Nuclear Proliferation Challenges and India's Response, *Strategic Analysis*, [e – journal] 31:5, 791-814, DOI: 10.1080/09700160701662294

India's Global Regional Prospects in the Future

Foreign policy of a country is changeable which changes with time and circumstances. With the end of cold war period, World politics became totally change and many challenges emerged in front of nation-states in terms of their foreign relations. Policy planner of India brought changes in foreign policy according to changed world scenario. India's foreign policy becomes closer to realistic approach with her long-term and short-term national interest. But it's impossible to say that the idealistic components of India's foreign policy are just irrelevant. In the new situation, colonialism and imperialism are existing in the world, drug trafficking, pseudo war, nuclear armaments and other threats to human security are incredibly grown. The idealistic components of India's foreign policy are relevant to eliminate these problems. India has been deepening its ties with superpowers since the end of the Cold War.

Accordingly, the US has become the center of India's foreign policy. India has closer relation with super powers but India's tend to US is questioned to its independent foreign policy. China's influence is continuously growing in South Asian region that is ignored by India as the hegemonic power of the region. In this situation, India needs to look back and redefine its foreign policy for Asian region. And also, it is time for India to work with third world countries and immediate neighbors on economic, energy and environmental issues. India can play an important role at international platform like World Bank, WTO, Copenhagen conference, Kyoto Protocol and in UN reforms with developing countries. The end of the Cold War and the growing impacts of globalization are also making India redefine its security position and role both at the regional and at the global level.

Accordingly, since the economic liberalization of the 1990s, which lead to current growth rates of 8-9 percent annual, India's global presence has been steadily visible. India's economic development would require energy security. Therefore, improving energy security and energy conservation should be top of India with addressing environmental safety net.

Conclusion

According to these points, India has always remained concerned about its foreign policy challenges. Foreign Policy is always contextual and situational can only be defined and ensured keeping in view time and space. It keeps on changing with the change of context. India continues to be beset by a number of foreign policy challenges, both are regionally and globally. According to this study India's bilateral issues with Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Nepal and Afghanistan, China's Economic Growth and Intervention to the South Asia, Strategic Cooperation with the United States on Regional Security Issues, Subnational ethnic movements in South Asian region have discussed as regional challenges of India's foreign Policy. On other hand India's Relations with Power Blocks, International terrorism, and Nuclear proliferation were described as global challenges of India's foreign policy. Accordingly, there are many foreign policy challenges for India and many changes are viewing in its foreign policy since the end of cold war period. But main challenge is to attain global power status and make India a major player in international affairs. Many changes have brought to attain this goal by Foreign policy designers. According to this process we can see naturally clashes between foreign policies and necessities, because it is transitional period, which will be

build coordination with time and circumstances. India needs to adopt a pragmatic foreign policy; which will help to attain global power status.

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China's Maritime Economic Development and Debt-trap toward Sri Lanka

Sadeepa Randunu Hettiarachchi[1]

Abstract

Sri Lanka has been a significant commercial hub along the maritime route because of its position in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR). Currently, China has keen to maintain a closer relationship with Sri Lanka due to its strategic location. Therefore, Sri Lanka has been selected by China as a greater partner of the Chinese maritime silk route concept. In the meantime, they are offering construction development projects and loans as a part of the silk route concept by using their soft power. Chinese infrastructure-based development strategy has contributed to robust their economy more than others. Therefore, they make other countries a victim of their economic policies. As a result of that, Sri Lanka has become a major hub of China for infrastructure development projects. Thus, China financially providing loans to Sri Lanka to process the constructions but if they fail to pay back their loans, China is pressuring toward the alternative measures instead of debts. This paper reviews the strategical development of China's maritime economy and its influence on Sri Lanka through debt trap. According to that, this study takes up a Qualitative approach and it gathers secondary data from books, journal articles, magazine articles, newspaper articles and various online websites.

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[1] International Studies Honours Third Year, Department of International Studies
sadeeparandunu1@gmail.com

Introduction

The People's Republic of China is a country which has the largest population in the world. It occupies approximately one-fourteenth of the land of earth. And also, it comprises full of natural resources. China plays a major role in the whole world through its demographic, political and economic factors. China has dramatically increased its interaction with the international community with economic purposes, and it has helped to shape a dominant figure in world trade. China has opened its economy to foreign trade and investment and implementing free-market reforms in 1979. Due to these actions Today, China remains its economy as the second largest in the world with the highest GDP growth rate (6.14%).[9] According to that, they have a huge ability to influence the world as a Great power and emerging superpower because of their high emerging economy and solid political system. They have strong foreign policies and strategical thinking capability, that helps to influence and compete with each other to stable their position in the international arena.

China maintains close relationships with all countries in the world to achieve their economic goals. More than the other regions, the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) is becoming more important to China's economic and security interest because of the Indian Ocean region covers 17.5% of global land area and it consists of 28 states giving shelters to 35.0% of the world's total population (2.6 billion people). Likewise, it opens to the major sea routes such as the Middle East, Africa and East Asia with Europe and the

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[9] International monetary fund. 2019. *World Economic Outlook Reports*. [Online]. [15 November 2019]. Available from: https://www.imf.org/en/Publications/WEO

Americas. The sea routes of the IOR facilitate maritime trade in the Indian Ocean region and it carries more than half of the world's sea-borne oil, furthermore, it hosts 23 of the world's top 100 container ports.[10]   In the contemporary world, it can be identifying, that the Indian ocean as a crucial place to the emerging great powers. China has gained more attention to be as next emerging superpower in the world. President Xi Jinping has a great idea to be a superpower by the year 2050.[11]

Chinese strength depends on its economic development. According to that, the Chinese government has made a top priority on their innovation through a number of high-profile initiatives, such as "Made in China 2025". Therefore, there should be a huge market for their productions. Hence, China has paid their attention to the Indian Ocean Region for its economic development. To achieve their goal, it is very useful to have such an amazing plan like One Belt One Road (OBOR). As the world's second-largest economy, now China with their export-oriented economy has a high degree of dependency on its maritime development projects. The State Oceanic Administration announced that the gross product value generated

[10] Cordner, L. (2010), "*Rethinking Maritime Security in the Indian Ocean Region.*" Journal of the Indian Ocean Region, 6(1), pp.69.

[11] The economic times. 2013. *What does a Chinese Superpower Look Like? Nothing like the US*. [Online]. [13 November 2019]. Available from: https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/international/world-news/what-does-a-chinese-superpower-look-like-nothing-like-the-u-s-/articleshow/65584615.cms?from=mdr

by China's marine industry exceeded $802.6 billion, in 2012 and their target to double that output volume in 2020.[12]

Chinese intentions in the Indian Ocean region (IOR) explained in the geopolitical theory of the "string of Pearls". This theory demonstrates that the network of Chinese military and commercial facilities and relationships along its sea lines. According to this theory, there are five main pearls and they have recognized that Sri Lanka as a one of among them. Sri Lanka as a country in the Indian Ocean Region is extremely important because of its strategic and decisive position and it plays a major role in the Chinese marine economic development process. If someone who dominate Sri Lanka, they could capture the naval power in the Indian Ocean because of their geopolitical position. As a result of that, Sri Lanka became one of the member countries in the Chinese strategic economic development mechanism of Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). Sri Lanka comprises 1,585 km coastline. And it covers an Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) extending 200 nautical miles. The coastline and its waters support highly productive marine ecosystems. Because of that, it is home to fringing, coral reefs, estuarine seagrasses. Likewise, Sri Lanka has natural deep-water harbours and that facilitate even for the Large Ships. Also, Sri Lankan political, social and historic cultural system makes a peaceful environment and hostess for everyone. Chinese Ambassador Cheng Xueyuan said that "Sri Lanka's black tea, rubber, gems, textiles and other featured products will come to Shanghai". According to that Sri Lankan, Hambantota Port and

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[12] China daily. 2013. Chinese marine economy to hit 10% of GDP by 2015. [Online]. [13 November 2019]. Available from: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-01/17/content_16134893.htm

Colombo Port City play the main role of Chinese Maritime Silk Road project.

After the end of the 30 years' war, the Sri Lankan government offered lots of opportunities to the local and foreign investors to invest in the country. As a result of that, the Chinese investors have launched their large-scale projects in different sectors such as hotel construction, agricultural product processing, manufacturing, warehouse logistics, roads and highways etc. Likewise, Colombo International Financial City, Colombo International Container Terminals and Hambantota Port can be seen as the large scale constructions of their maritime economic development projects.

China has become as one of the country's biggest lenders of loans in the current situation. As a developing country, the Sri Lankan government continuously borrowing loans from China to process their constructions further. Because of their easy payment methods Sri Lanka trend to deal with China more than the other money lenders. But there has been criticism, both locally and internationally, as China lured Sri Lanka in their debt trap. And also, they criticize, if Sri Lanka fails to pay back the loans, they have to hand over their properties as compensation to their loans without concerning their security. According to that, this article research about the Chinese strategic maritime economic development in the Indian Ocean Region and its impact over Sri Lanka due to their debt-trap.

Methodology

The study focuses on, what are the various factors that contribute to the Chinese strategic maritime economic expansion and how their loans influence as a debt-trap toward Sri Lanka. Therefore, respective to the

problem statement study considers the factors that commit Chinese strategic maritime economic expansion and identify the way Chinese loans influence as a debt-trap. This is a qualitative study. Secondary data have used in this research and secondary data is obtained from secondary sources such as published materials (newspapers, reports, journals and existing research studies) and online web articles.

Literature Review

Literature review deals with previously written and published information regarding the Chinese strategic maritime economic development in the Indian Ocean Region and its influence toward Sri Lanka. This study is carried out to identify the Chinese strategic influence toward Sri Lanka because of its geopolitical importance. Likewise, this article analyses the evolution of Chinese marine economic development policy and its characteristics. It helps to identify the hidden objectives of China with its maritime economic development projects.

The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has become the hub of intense global activity over the decades for various reasons, such as major sea routes connecting the Middle East, Africa and East Asia with Europe and the Americas. And also, there are 40% of the world's offshore oil production comes from the Indian Ocean. Today, nearly 20 million shipping containers are moving around the globe through the Indian Ocean.[13]Thus, each and every nation looking forward to the Indian Ocean because of its

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[13] UK essays. 2016. *Strategic importance of the Indian Ocean Region*. [Online]. [17 November 2019]. Available from: https://www.ukessays.com/essays/history/strategic-importance-of-the-indian-ocean-region-history-essay.php

geopolitical and natural importance. The geopolitical importance of Sri Lanka goes back to the imperialism period. "Sri Lanka was colonized by Portuguese, Dutch and the British to be used as a transit hub for trading goods. These powers also used Sri Lankan ports for docking and refuelling their ships which were navigating their vast empires. Some examples that highlight Western interests in Sri Lanka's strategic location are the British Defence and External affairs Agreement of 1948, and the Maritime Agreement with USSR of 1962 during the Sirimavo Bandaranaike administration."[14] Furthermore, Chinese scholar Lin Min Wang stated that in his article published in the World Affairs magazine of Chinese daily Global Times, as, "The Indian Ocean evolves to be a geopolitical wrestling venue among major global powers". According to that, China also paid their attention to the Indian Ocean because of its importance.

China has variously proposed to develop itself into a powerful country in different aspects such as sports, technology and culture. During the 18th National Party Congress, the strategic plan of developing China into a maritime power was first mentioned and supported by many. As the world's second-largest economy, China now has a high degree of dependency on the resources in its maritime areas. And with an export-oriented economy, it relies heavily on the sea for transportation of its products.[15] Likewise, General Secretary Hu Jintao declared, "We should

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[14] Fernando, N. 2018. *Can Sri Lanka capitalise out of its strategic location in the Indian Ocean region?* The London School of Economics and Political Science. [Online]. [17 November 2019]. Available from: https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/southasia/2018/08/06/can-sri-lanka-capitalise-out-of-its-strategic-location-in-the-indian-ocean-region/

[15] Jingyu, L. 2013. *The uncharted waters of the future*. 14th Jan. China Daily. [Online]. [17 November 2019]. Available from: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/business/2013-01/14/content_16112563.htm

enhance our capacity for exploiting marine resources, develop the marine economy, protect the marine ecological environment, resolutely safeguard China's maritime rights and interests, and build China into a maritime power." And the director of the State Oceanic Administration (SOA) explained the "maritime power" as, "Building China into a maritime power is an essential path on the way to the sustained development of the Chinese nation and global power. A 'maritime power' is a country that has great comprehensive strength in terms of the development, use, protection, management, and control of the seas."[16]

Likewise, Robert Kaplan, the author of "Asia's Caldron" has described China's string of pearl's strategy. This theory has demonstrated the aim of Chinese strategical expansion in the Indian Ocean and it describes as China trying to dominate the Indian Ocean Regions. According to this theory, Sri Lanka takes very significant place because of its natural resources and geopolitical importance. According to the One Belt One Road concept, China has identified Sri Lanka as one of the major destinations on their maritime economic development mechanism because of its strategical location in one of the world's busiest shipping routes. In additionally, Sri Lanka has located 14 miles away from India. India is one of the countries becoming the superpower in the current international arena and its 1.2 billion population represents one of the largest consumer markets in the world. Hence, China is keeping a close relationship with Sri Lanka.

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[16] Takeda, J. 2014. *China's Rise as a Maritime Power Ocean Policy from Mao Zedong to Xi Jinping*. 23rd April. The Sasakawa Peace Foundation. [Online]. [18 November 2019]. Available from:
https://www.spf.org/islandstudies/research/a00011.html#footnote_0_

Thus, One Belt One Road (OBOR) initially announced by the President Xi Jinping in the year 2013 with an intention of restoring the ancient Silk Route that connected Asia and Europe. The concept of the "Silk Road Economic Belt" can be defined as an economic development purpose project and it separates into two parts as land-based and sea-based and sea-based route called the "Road". Many scholars have criticized the Chinese "One Belt One Road" concept and their investments in Sri Lanka such as Colombo International Financial City (Port city), Hambantota Port, Mattala airport, highways and other constructions projects. Likewise, they are criticizing that, China is following the debt-trap diplomacy toward the developing countries for their strategic economic development.

Sri Lanka is often portrayed as a country that fell into a debt trap as a result of public investment projects financed by China. One such investment project was Hambantota port, which was leased to China Merchant Port Holdings Limited (CM Port) for 99 years for $1.12 billion in 2017. This project is largely the reason why Sri Lanka is widely cited as a clear example of getting trapped in Chinese debt and being forced to hand over assets with national and strategic importance to China. The general belief seems to be that Sri Lanka was unable to pay off the loans obtained from China to construct Hambantota port in the first place, and therefore had no choice but hand over the port to Chinese control to pay off the debt.[17]

"The Chinese influence at the expense of trapping poorer countries in debt and enhancing corruption. Regarding OBOR's influence in Sri Lanka, It

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[17] Moramudali, U. 2019. *Is Sri Lanka Really a Victim of China's 'Debt Trap'?*. 14th May. The Diplomat. [Online]. Available from: https://thediplomat.com/2019/05/is-sri-lanka-really-a-victim-of-chinas-debt-trap/

will be argued that both perspectives are valid to an extent. On one hand, projects like Colombo Port City can potentially develop Sri Lanka into an economically vibrant Indian Ocean hub. And the projects like the Hambantota Port and Mattala Airport are reflective of near unilateral Chinese gain through debt-trap diplomacy".[18]

China holds approximately 9% of Sri Lanka's total outstanding debt as of 2017, and 14% amongst bilateral lenders. Sri Lanka tapped China for a total of USD 9.2 billion as development loans, and an additional USD 1 billion as a foreign currency term financing facilities (FTFF) in 2018. Not surprisingly, international sovereign bond (ISB) and FTFFs together account for 33% of Sri Lanka's outstanding foreign debt in 2017, against a 9% share held by China.[19] By the end of 2018, nearly a quarter of Sri Lanka's total foreign debt was owed to China, which has lent some eight billion dollars while building ports and highways and planning other major investments in the island state as part of its drive to build a 21st-century "Silk Road" across nations and shipping lanes. Therefore, China has lured Sri Lanka into a debt trap. And also, the two countries signed a $1.12bn agreement, giving China a 70% stake in a major port in Sri Lanka - Hambantota, despite security concerns and demonstrations.[20] According to the web articles, research papers, newspapers and other secondary data

[18] Daily news. 2019. *Cost-Risk Analysis of One Belt One Road Initiative on Sri Lanka*. [Online]. [17 November 2019]. Available from: https://www.dailynews.lk/2019/02/27/business/178640/cost-risk-analysis-one-belt-one-road-initiative-sri-lanka

[19] Weerakoon, D. 2019. *Managing Sri Lanka – China Economic Relations: BRI, Debt, and Diplomacy*. 22nd Jan. Talking Economics. [Online]. [17 November 2019]. Available from:http://www.ips.lk/talkingeconomics/2019/01/22/managing-sri-lanka-china-economic-relations-bri-debt-and-diplomacy/

[20] Aljazeera. 2019. *Bank of China offers $300m loan to Sri Lanka*. [Online]. [17 November 2019]. Available from: https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/01/

provide evidence about Chinese debt-trap diplomacy and other hidden objectives toward Sri Lanka.

Data Presentation and Analysis

China is using its soft power to capture the world economy. They believe that economic development is the ideal way to become the superpower in the international arena without using any bullets. According to the International Monetary Fund in 2018 explains that China's economy produced $25.3 trillion in economic output. And it contributed 19% of the world's total gross domestic product. That progress makes China the world's largest economy. The European Union is second, at $22 trillion. The United States is third, producing $20.5 trillion. [21]

Today China could gain first place in global economic status because of their economic development policies and strategies. China used the method of "more export than it imports" and they have exported $2.2 trillion of its production. According to the World Trade Statistical Review, 2019 demonstrated that China became the world's second-largest exporter of manufactured goods in 2018.[22] Chinese marine strategical economic development policies can be identified as a key contributing factor to strengthening their GDP. Through their marine economic development policies concern about the shipping, shipbuilding and marine equipment, capture fisheries and fish processing, maritime and coastal tourism, conventional offshore oil and gas exploration and production, providing

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[21] Amadeo, K. 2019. *China's Economy and Its Effect on the US Economy*. [Online]. [20 November 2019]. Available from: https://www.thebalance.com/china-economy-facts-effect-on-us-economy-3306345
[22] World Trade Statistical Review 2019

port facilities and handling. Today, Sri Lanka has been chosen by China as one of its main marine economic development destinations because of its strategic location in the Indian Ocean. As a result of that, the Chinese government is trying to grab Sri Lanka into their debt-trap by providing both project-linked and commercial loans for process their constructions, agricultural products, manufacturing, roads and highways in Sri Lanka. Chinese outstanding official loans to the Sri Lankan central government amount to approximately US$3 billion based on the end of 2018 data or 9 per cent of external central government debt. [23] The increased debt created weaker economic performance and the devaluation of the rupee in last year.

Today, China has become the leader of infrastructure development in the world. Under the leadership of President Xi Jinping has expanded its foreign aid, infrastructure investment and technological investments. Chinese infrastructure-based development strategy has contributed to robust their economy. Currently, Sri Lanka also has become a major hub of China for infrastructure development projects. According to that China has contributed to the infrastructural development projects in Sri Lanka such as Norochcholai Power Station, Mattala Airport, Nelum Pokuna (Lotus Pond), and Lotus Tower, Colombo Port City, Hambanthota Harbor and highways. According to the Ministry of Finance Sri Lanka annual report in 2018 has explicated how much China has granted for the infrastructural development projects in Sri Lanka.

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[23] China's loans to the Sri Lankan public sector, including SOEs, are around US$5 billion (15 percent of external debt).

The infrastructure-based development strategy based on the policies of debt-trap diplomacy. Thus, they are introducing loans with the low-interest rates to process the projects but if they fail to pay back the loans, they are pressuring toward the alternative measures instead of loans. As an example, Sri Lanka had to lease Hambantota harbour for 99-year because they were unable to service the debt on the port to China. According to the Ministry of Finance, Sri Lanka demonstrates that 39 per cent of Sri Lanka's outstanding foreign debt was owned by China in 2017.

Figure 1: World Largest Exporters of Manufactured Goods, 2018
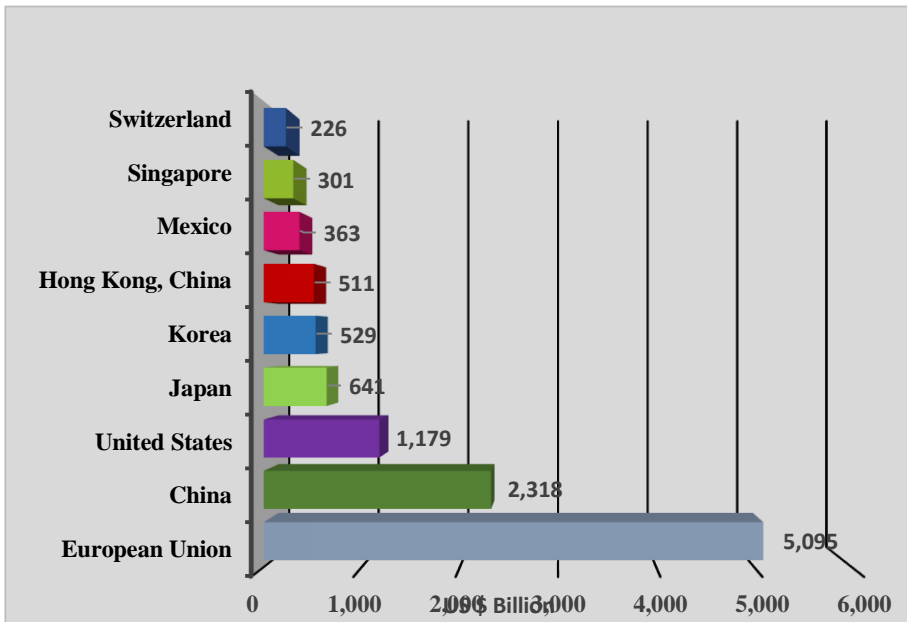
Source: STO Estimates

Sri Lanka spends more money annually on imports than it receives from its exports. Sri Lanka as a country imports a greater value than it exports, it has a trade deficit or negative trade balance. According to the Department of Census & Statistics report in 2018, China is the largest importer of Sri Lanka. The US is the main importer of Sri Lankan

manufactured goods, but China had ranked in the sixth place in the list of importers of Sri Lankan goods in 2017. It is clear that although China exports most of its products to Sri Lanka, they import less from them. This import trade relation has led to a severe economic recession in Sri Lanka.

China making money by creating infrastructure development projects and providing debts. Lending money is a trap. Because China introducing high-cost development projects and lending money that anyone cannot be repaid. Thus newspapers, reports, journals, research studies and online web articles provide statistical evidence to explain and prove the Chinese economic growth and its influence toward Sri Lanka.

Figure 2: Sri Lanka Debt Stock by Lender
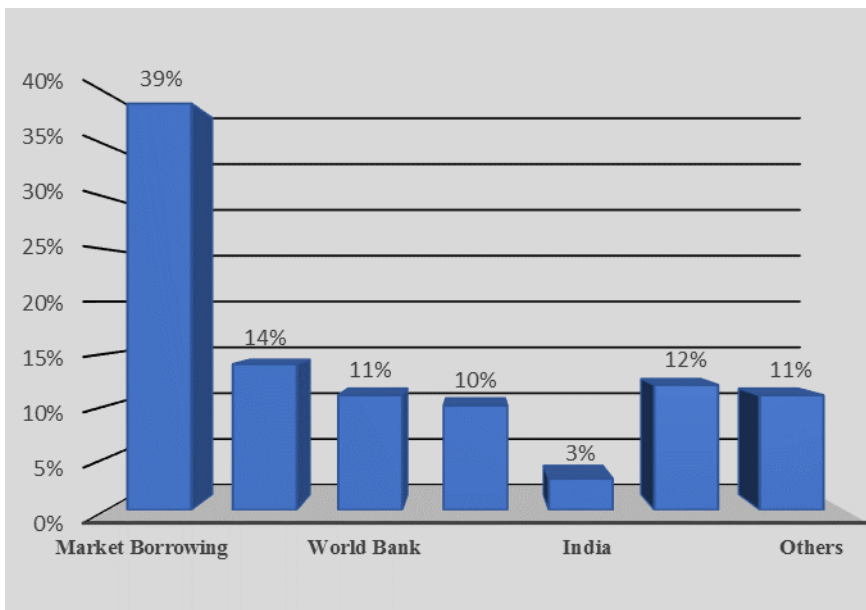
Source: The Ministry of Finance, Sri Lanka. (2017)

Table 1: China Granted Infrastructural Development Projects in Sri Lanka

Development Partner/Lending Agency	Projects	Amount Disbursed Rupees (million)	Interest rate	Grace Period (Years)
China Development Bank Corporation	Moragahakanda Development Project	740.7	Variable	4
The Export-Import Bank of China	Matara-Beliatta Section of Matara - Kataragama Railway Extension Project	1,604.70	2%	6
	Kurunegala Water Supply and Sewerage Project	2,918.00	2%	5
	Hambantota Hub Development Project	3,469.50	2%	6

Source: Annual Report 2018, Ministry of Finance Sri Lanka

Table 2: Value of Imports and Exports to Sri Lanka by China, 2012-2017

(Rs. Mn)	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Exports	13,796	15,704	22,651	39,837	28,996	63,291
Imports	327,686	382,501	445,805	507,272	622,241	638,983

Source: Economic Statistics of Sri Lanka 2018, Department of Census & Statistics

Conclusion

Ocean and coastal economic expansion have played a vital role in the economic and sustainable development of developing countries, especially in China. Currently, China and India are competing together to capture power in the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile, China is trying to strengthen its bilateral relations with Sri Lanka through the diplomatic, defence and economic ties because it situated at the strategic centre of the Indian Ocean. Their bilateral relations have reached to the peak point, particularly in the post-2005 period. As a result of that, China always providing its infrastructural development supports and diplomatic support to Sri Lankan in multilateral organizations such as the United Nations Human Rights Council.

On the other hand, Powerful countries like China are implementing their strategies to achieve their hidden objectives but small countries like Sri

Lanka are struggling to make successful their objectives. China launching construction projects in Sri Lankan because of its geopolitical importance and they offer loans to process their constructions. As a developing country, Sri Lanka unable to settle down the loans in time because of their low-income. Therefore, they have to borrow again to pay off the loan. Hence, that cycle will continue and Sri Lanka will not be able to get out of it. If they are unable to repay their loans, weaker countries like Sri Lanka have to abide by with the alternative solutions offered by China. Currently, China has gained control over many developing countries by using this debt-trap diplomacy and China uses them to achieve their hidden national interests. According to the above data and observations, Sri Lanka is also can be identified as one of the countries that have fallen victim of Chinese debt-trap.

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Legality of the Development and Deployment of Autonomous Weapon Systems for State Security, Under International Law

Shannon Hardy[1]

Abstract

The newest trend of utilizing AI technology for autonomous weapon systems mandated to protect State borders has raised many humanitarian concerns. The autonomous aspect of these weapon systems contradicts principles underlying international law. The objectives of the study include assessing whether lethal AI weapon systems (LAWS) are legal under the principles of international law; examining whether the existing laws are sufficient to combat a potentially harmful outcome; extending the understanding of whether and how States could be held accountable for such violations of international law; and proposing suggestions, in terms of international law, to mitigate the risks of LAWS. The study is primarily based on qualitative data, using primary sources and secondary sources. Previous works of scholars are examined along with existing principles of international law, i.e. in treaties, conventions and customs. It has been observed that there exists a lack of legislation focused on LAWS and loopholes in the existing laws that enable States to contradict principles of international law. Thus, it is clear that there is a dire need for a binding instrument that focuses on the autonomous aspect of LAWS.

Keywords: lethal autonomous weapons, International Humanitarian Law, Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons, Meaningful Human Control

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[1] International Studies Honours Third Year, Department of International Studies
Shannonhardy17@gmail.com

Introduction

The Oxford Dictionary defines Artificial Intelligence (AI) as "the theory and development of computer systems able to perform tasks normally requiring human intelligence, such as visual perception, speech recognition, decision-making, and translation between languages." It is said that swarms of automated drones controlled by AI technology are set to patrol Europe's borders using powerful sensors to detect threats and criminal activity under a contemporary plan by the European Union (EU). This system is expected to include large-scale sea, land and water surveillance by AI robots. A mass network of drones, land vehicles and water crafts are being developed into fully automated surveillance systems with the support of EU countries. These robots are expected to be able to identify and track human activity and report risks to border officials. This AI-driven network of land, sea and air robots, officially described as an 'Autonomous Swarm of Heterogeneous Robots for Border Surveillance', is known as 'Roborder', taking into consideration its function of border surveillance.

However, concerns have been raised by various parties that such powerful technology in the wrong hands could bring about serious implications. For instance, such technology could be used to develop 'killer robots'. There are a number of security and human rights concerns related to the project, and the International Committee for Robot Arms Control (ICRAC) which is supporting the 'Campaign to Stop Killer Robots' has also voiced concerns about the rise of technology that could support 'killer robots' in general.

Similarly, there have been other contemporary developments with regards to emerging AI-driven weapon systems across the world. These have raised certain ethical and legal concerns among various parties leading to debates about whether the development and use of fully autonomous weapon systems for State security is legal under International Human Rights Law, International Humanitarian Law and International Criminal Law; whether they should be banned altogether, or regulated; and whether they are actually necessary and more efficient than human-operated systems.

Accordingly, this study will, at its outset, provide a definition and a background for LAWS, and proceed to examine the various opinions held by scholars in their published pieces of work, dwelling upon existing principles of international law, in terms of treaties, conventions and customs, applicable to the said area. Specifically, this study will focus on the applicability and weaknesses pertaining to the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) in relation to addressing issues with regard to LAWS. It will then analyse the varying arguments put forth by various parties and search for answers regarding the research questions. It will also analyse a hypothetical situation (of an issue related to LAWS between two States), as a case study in order to attempt to resolve the situation using existing international legislation. Finally, it will attempt to predict future implications and provide recommendations as to how the principles underlying international law could be utilized in such a way as to mitigate possible repercussions in the future.

Methodology

This study was conducted utilizing qualitative research methods. It was primarily based on qualitative data. Primary sources such as existing legislation, and secondary sources such as research papers, journals, textbooks and UN reports have been utilized. The existing principles of international law, i.e. in treaties, conventions and customs, have been critically explored in order to determine where and how the line should be drawn in the development and use of new AI weapon systems for the purpose of State security. Previous works of scholars have been examined along with components underlying International Humanitarian Law, International Human Rights Law and International Weapons Law. Such principles have then been critically analysed, drawing upon various viewpoints set forth in existing literature and textbooks. This has enabled the dissertation to evenly address arguments in favour of banning, regulating or continuing with LAWS for State security. This combination of primary and secondary resources has enabled arguments set forth in the paper to be challenged and developed more completely.

When observing past works of researchers, it is evident that much of the studies have been conducted on the ethical and legal arguments for and against the development and use of LAWS. However, it is clear that there is a lack of legally-based recommendations for the mitigation of risks posed by LAWS. It also appears that there is a lack of case studies performed on the use of AI weapon systems by States against other States which enables the two parties to bring it under the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice or the International Criminal Court. Thus, this study has attempted to review prior works of scholars, and analyse

their arguments while also discussing how a possible (hypothetical) dispute between two States, pertaining to the development and use of such AI-driven lethal weapon systems, could be solved in the international arena.

Literature Review

Despite the discovery of AI technology and the subsequent introduction of autonomous weapon systems being comparatively new and recent phenomena, much research has been conducted on the legality of the development and deployment of autonomous weapons using such technology. For the purpose of this study, an 'autonomous weapon system' is defined as 'Any weapon system with autonomy in its critical functions— that is, a weapon system that can select (search for, detect, identify, track or select) and attack (use force against, neutralize, damage or destroy) targets without human intervention.' (Davison 2018, p. 5). According to Davison (2018), this working definition encompasses any weapon system that can independently select and attack targets, including some existing weapons, such as missile and rocket defence weapons, and potential future systems. It has been suggested by the ICRC that States determine where limits, in terms of the level of autonomy, must be placed by assessing the type and degree of human control required in the use of weapon systems to carry out attacks—at a minimum, for compliance with IHL, and also to satisfy ethical considerations.[24]

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[24] ICRC, Statement to the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW) Meeting of Experts on Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (LAWS), Geneva, 11 April 2017, *available at:* https://www.icrc.org/en/document/statement-icrc-lethal-autonomous-weapons-systems

According to Sassoli (2014), notwithstanding that there is no weapon system possessing the capability to select and engage targets without on-going human intervention in an open environment under unstructured and dynamic circumstances, they could be developed within twenty years. He also states that many parties have voiced their concern over such possibilities and have requested to impose a preventive ban on them, especially since their use will be inconsistent with principles of IHL.[25]

Sassoli (2014) is of the view that weapon systems which do not base their use of force upon an ad hoc human decision possess a greater possibility of respecting IHL than a human being - that is presuming that such a system is capable of making decisions as accurate as an average soldier in terms of distinction, proportionality and precautions. His argument is that only human beings can be inhuman and only human beings can deliberately choose not to comply with the rules they were instructed to follow. However, he also agrees that there may be technical failures. Additionally, there is also the question of what happens if and when such advanced technology falls into the wrong hands. In that regard, Sassoli (2014) is of the view that States developing autonomous weapon systems must take necessary measures to ensure that the enemy cannot tamper with such systems and direct them at civilians. [26]

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[25] HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH, LOSING HUMANITY: THE CASE AGAINST KILLER ROBOTS (2012), *available at:* http://www.hrw.org/reports/2012/11/19/losing-humanity; European Parliament Resolution on the Use of Armed Drones H.2(d) (2014/2567(RSP)) (Feb. 25,2014); Peter Asaro, *On Banning Autonomous Weapon Systems: Human Rights, Automation, and the Dehumanization of Lethal Decision-Making*, 94 INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF THE RED CROSS 687 (2012).

[26] Michael N. Schmitt & Jeffrey S. Thurnher, "Out of the Loop": Autonomous Weapon Systems and the Law of Armed Conflict, 4 HARVARD NATIONAL SECURITY JOURNAL 231, 242– 43 (2013).

Sassoli (2014) states that it has been questioned by various scholars whether it is inherently wrong to let autonomous machines decide who and when to kill.[27] However, he himself argues that if such statement is true, all mines and other weapons such as missiles that can be directed at a military objective and combatants, but which do not allow the operator to know who exactly will be killed, would be prohibited.

According to Asaro (2012), there is particular concern over whether autonomous systems are capable of satisfying the principles of distinction and proportionality required by the Geneva Conventions, and whether it will be possible to hold anyone responsible for any wrongful harm the systems might cause (Asaro 2012, p. 688). He also states that attention has begun to divert to the question whether IHL should be supplemented with an international treaty that explicitly prohibits these technologies. He argues that human beings are under a moral and legal obligation to prevent the delegation of lethal authority to unsupervised non-human systems. He supports his argument by utilizing a theoretical foundation for an international ban on autonomous weapon systems based on IHRL and IHL. He states that human rights also have a moral status independent of existing laws, which enables the provision of guidance in terms of extending the law to deal with various issues raised by emerging technologies. He further questions the ability of newly developed autonomous weapon systems to comply with the requirements imposed under the principles of IHL, such as Article 36 of Additional Protocol I on

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[27] Heyns, *supra* note 3, 92.

New Weapons[28], and if it is possible to test and verify it. He also voices the concern over how such fully autonomous systems may not have an operator that could be identified and held responsible when circumstances require it or, in the alternative, how it would be unfair to hold the operator responsible for the actions of a system which could be so unpredictable. He argues that such systems would eliminate the possibility of establishing mens rea (the mental element) required in order to establish criminal liability. On the other hand, he also argues that in the event that such a system operated under human supervision or command commits an atrocity, it could act as a shield to protect such operator from what might have otherwise been considered a war crime under international law. Thus, he emphasizes the importance of holding States accountable for the development and deployment of such systems and regulating them on an international level. (Asaro 2012, p. 688-693)

Further, Amoroso (2017) discusses the impact of the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, usually referred to as the UN Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), where a formal discussion on Automated Weapon Systems (AWS) among CCW State Parties was held at the Fifth Review CCW Conference (in December 2016), and it was decided to establish an open-ended Group of Governmental Experts on

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[28] Article 36 of Additional Protocol I on New Weapons reads: 'In the study, development, acquisition or adoption of a new weapon, means or method of warfare, a High Contracting Party is under an obligation to determine whether its employment would, in some or all circumstances, be prohibited by this Protocol or by any other rule of international law applicable to the High Contracting Party'.

Lethal AWS. He also explores the impact made by the Campaign 'Stop Killer Robots' launched in 2013 where the focus has shifted from calling a ban on LAWS to requesting meaningful human control (MHC) on weapon systems.

According to a post published in the *Humanitarian Law & Policy blog* of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Li and Xie (2019) questions the legality of such AWS in terms of Articles 1(2), 35, 51 and 57 of the Additional Protocol I[29] to the Geneva Conventions of 1949. They also argue that the consequences and legal responsibilities arising out of various situations concerning AI weapons must be attributed to humans since such weapons are designed, manufactured, programmed and employed by humans themselves. Further, they discuss about encouraging the international community to adopt a new convention specific to AI weapons. (Li and Xie, 2019)

Asaro says that these raise several ethical and legal questions when taking into consideration the implications of this on protecting civilians in armed conflict, specifically in relation to conforming to the IHL requirements of the principles of distinction, proportionality, and military necessity, and also the difficulty in establishing responsibility and accountability for the use of lethal force.

According to The Economist, as technology advances, future applications of unmanned undersea vehicles might include mine clearance, mine-laying, anti-submarine sensor networking in contested waters, patrolling with active sonar, resupplying manned submarines, and becoming low-

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[29] Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), 8 June 1977.

cost missile platforms.[30] Further, Stuart Russell (2015), Professor of Computer Science from the University of California, Berkeley is of the view that the main issue concerning LAWS is that it is hard to distinguish between combatants and civilians, which makes it unethical and inhumane.

Although scholars argue that LAWS blur the boundaries of who is responsible for a particular killing, Thomas Simpson and Vincent Müller (2016) argue that they may make it easier to record who gave which command. According to Filippo Santoni de Sio and Jeroen van den Hoven (2018), in order to bridge the responsibility-gap the principle of "meaningful human control" has been introduced in the legal–political debate; according to this principle, humans not computers and their algorithms should ultimately remain in control of, and thus morally responsible for, relevant decisions about lethal military operations.

Furthermore, according to Chengeta (2010), Rules of International Weapons Law (IWL) consisting of three basic principles include the prohibition of weapons that cause superfluous harm and suffering, the prohibition of weapons that cause damage to the environment, and the prohibition of weapons that are indiscriminate in nature. The proscription against weapons that are by nature indiscriminate, which is also a norm of customary international law, is a cardinal principle of IWL which applies to LAWS. For a weapon to be legal, it must be capable of "being directed at combatants and military objectives" and must not have "effects that an attacker cannot control." (Schmitt 2013). As such, anti-personnel

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[30] "Getting to grips with military robotics", The Economist, 25 January 2018. Retrieved 7 February 2018.

landmines, one of the earliest forms of automated weapons, have been nearly universally banned because they are non-discriminative in nature. Thus, the unpredictable nature of LAWS becomes a concern in relation to IWL.

Chengeta also states that almost all legal, moral, and ethical objections to AWS originate from the fact that AWS take humans "out of the loop" from the critical functions of weapon systems. But he also questions whether humans are actually out of the loop when it is humans themselves who programmed such AWS after all.

Data Presentation and Analysis

There is concerning judicial precedent found in the 1986 ruling by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the Case Concerning Military and Paramilitary Activities in and Against Nicaragua. In this case, Nicaragua brought charges against the United States in the ICJ related to the US' involvement in acts committed by the Contra, a US-backed rebel group which received American funding, training and supplies.[31] Here, the ICJ ruled that for state accountability to apply it would need to be "proved that State had effective control of the […] operations in the course of which the alleged violations were committed."[32] Accordingly, due to the absence of such evidence, the United States was not held accountable. Similarly, in any case whereby blatant injuries are caused on a State by another States using LAWS, there is serious difficulty placed on the court to identify whether the attacking State had effective control over the operations which caused damage against the prosecuting State. Thus, it is safe to assume that

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[31] (Nicaragua v. United States of America 1986; Human Rights Watch 2016)
[32] (Nicaragua v. United States of America 1986; Human Rights Watch 2016)

it will be rather effortless for an accused State to utilize the absence of evidence that is required to establish accountability, in order to walk free.

According to Hammond (2015), the ICJ also "lacks an enforcement mechanism" to adequately oversee remedies for potential cases and many Developer states that may eventually employ LAWS do not fall under the ICJ's compulsory jurisdiction.[33] He also discusses how suits brought against states by private individuals lack these sorts of drawbacks, although the victims of such violence often lack the means to pursue such justice as a result of being poorly situated.

In contrast, Davison is of the view that civilians and combatants remain protected by customary IHL, principles pertaining to humanity, and the dictates of the public conscience even in cases which are not covered by existing treaties and conventions. Such "principles of humanity and the dictates of public conscience" are mentioned notably in Article 1(2) of Additional Protocol I and in the Preamble of Additional Protocol II to the Geneva Conventions, referred to as the Martens Clause.[34]

However, although both activists and military leaders have called for international regulations to govern the development and deployment of LAWS, or even ban them outright, but key governments—like the United States and Russia—have so far resisted. Therefore, it can be deduced that resistance by such major powers in the international arena has held back any efforts taken towards the regulation of LAWS, thereby creating a bottleneck in that regard.

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[33] (Hammond 2015: 657; Private Meeting 5 2018)
[34] Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts (Protocol I), 8 June 1977.

However, it must also be noted that in 2018, the High-Level Expert Group on Artificial Intelligence (AI HLEG) consisting of fifty-two experts from academia, civil society, and industry appointed by the European Commission released draft AI ethics guidelines, which set out a framework for designing trustworthy AI. According to the guidelines, trustworthy AI must "respect fundamental rights, applicable regulation and core principles and values, ensuring an "ethical purpose," and "be technically robust and reliable since, even with good intentions, a lack of technological mastery can cause unintentional harm."[35]

Further, since 2014, an Informal Meeting of Experts on LAWS has been held annually in Geneva within the institutional framework of the UN CCW, gathering an ever-increasing number of States. According to a journal article,[36]during the session on legal aspects of this first Informal Meeting of Experts, States examined whether LAWS could, at the current state of technology (or people's lay understanding of technology), comply with existing international law, in particular IHL, including the 1949 Geneva Conventions, the Martens Clause, and customary international law. States and legal experts stressed that any development and use of LAWS would need to comply with IHL and there were divergent views regarding whether it would be possible for LAWS to comply with the

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[35] European Ethical Charter on the Use of Artificial Intelligence in Judicial Systems and Their Environment (Dec.3/4, 2018), *European Commission for the Efficiency of Justice (CEPEJ)* (2018)14, https://rm.coe.int/ethical-charter-en-for-publication-4-december-2018/16808f699c

[36] Michael W. Meier, *Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (Laws): Conducting a Comprehensive Weapons Review*, 30 TEMP.INT' L&COMP. L.J.119, 121 (2016), https://sites.temple.edu/ticlj/files/2017/02/30.1.Meier-TICLJ.pdf

rules, especially given the current state of technology. However, it must be noted that these dialogues and efforts have failed to implement any of the recommendations thereby displaying no real progress in that regard.

Conclusion

According to this study, it is clear that, at present, there exists a lack of laws and regulations to keep the development and deployment of LAWS under control. Although many parties have called for regulations or a total ban on LAWS, major players in international relations, i.e. the United States and Russia, continue to bar efforts of introducing regulatory measures on LAWS.

Certain states and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have expressed frustration that, despite five years of work on AWS and calls for urgent action on this issue, there has been little progress. However, it appears that momentum has been growing for "negotiations on a legally binding instrument to prevent the development and use of LAWS." Notwithstanding such negotiations, major powers in international politics continue to hinder tangible progression in that regard.

According to a report by Pax[37], it was suggested that the much-feared 'killer-robots' can be a reality sooner than expected, but that there is still time to head off eventual catastrophe. The group said companies can play a crucial role in this, and should first make a public pledge against the manufacture of LAWS. As far as AI-assisted weapons systems go, Pax believes defence firms must "establish a clear corporate policy with

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[37] Slippery Slope, 11-11-2019 The arms industry and increasingly autonomous weapons

implementation measures" which could include measures such as ensuring that each new project is assessed by an ethics committee; ensuring the principle of MHC is an integral part of the design and development of weapon systems; adding a clause in contracts, especially in collaborations with ministries of defence and arms producers, stating that the technology developed may not be used in LAWS; and ensuring that employees are well informed about what they work on and allow open discussions on any related concerns. This can be considered as practical at the moment, considering the difficulties of introducing a binding treaty focused on LAWS due to the varying positions taken by States in relation to such negotiations.

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The Role of Sri Lanka for Peace and Stability of Indian Ocean

Rashima de Silva[1]

Abstract

Indian Ocean is one of the most important water masses in the world today, due to its geo-political composition, mass of resources, influence it extends of global dynamics and its strategic significance. With rising significance of the Indian Ocean has come greater threats its stability over the years, and the region faces numerous conventional and unconventional security challenges which negatively impact its peace and stability. Indian Ocean has become a strategic interest of many global powers, which itself is exerting massive pressure on the power balance of the region. Sri Lanka claims the most strategically prominent placement in the Indian Ocean. Her location has earned her the attention of many extra-regional powers, making her a direct player responsible for the regional stability of the ocean. With shifting global dynamics, Sri Lanka's strategic importance has been amplified. Sri Lanka has played a historically proactive role in Indian Ocean affairs, especially when it came to peace keeping. Sri Lanka continues to promote her aspirations towards the Indian Ocean, however, needs to assess the intensity of her role in regional dynamics and move forward so as not to disturb regional stability. Omni-diplomacy, non-leniency, initiative on combatting maritime crime, strengthening cooperation on combatting unconventional security threats and cooperation on maritime environmental security could be proposed as approaches to maximize the benefit of the positive role Sri Lanka can play to preserve the peace and stability of the Indian Ocean.

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[1] International Studies Honours Third Year, Department of International Studies
rashimadesilvaa@gmail.com

Introduction

Statement by Alfred Mahan "Whoever controls the Indian Ocean dominates Asia. This ocean is the key to seven seas. In the twenty-first century, the destiny of the world will be decided on its waters" lends much credence to the level of significance Indian Ocean wields. Indian Ocean Region has been an important geographic area since times immemorial. It comprises of 38 littoral states, 24 ocean territories and 17 landlocked countries. Indian Ocean covers 20% of earth, ranked as the third largest water body of the world.

Economy of the Indian Ocean region amounts to approximately 14% of the global economy and it is expected to rise to 16% by 2025. Approximately 30% of world trade is handled in the ports of the Indian Ocean. It is one of the most critical trade corridors, carrying two-thirds of global oil shipments and a third of world's bulk cargo. 22% of the world container port traffic is in ports around the Indian Ocean and 23 of the world's top 100 ports are situated in the Indian Ocean. It is estimated that world energy needs will be doubled by 2030, and Indian Ocean is called the energy super highway, transporting 72% of world energy.

Apart from the economic context and the key facilitator of east and west maritime trade, the region also plays a pivotal role in international politics and global security. Two of global nuclear powers are littoral to Indian Ocean, namely, India and Pakistan and major powers like China, Russia and United States are on proxy wars at each other to obtain maritime supremacy of the Indian Ocean, due to these attributes.

With rising influence over global affairs, the region has recently become increasingly vulnerable to security threats including piracy, military presence, armed robberies at sea, terrorism, human trafficking, irregular movement of persons, drug trafficking, and pressure on the balance of power. The region also finds itself in the face of a plethora of unconventional security threats such as maritime terrorism, climate change, IUU fishing, smuggling of arms, illicit wildlife trafficking and modern piracy as well. It would not be an overstatement to say that the whole host of challenges the region faces today will only intensify in the days to come, fuelled by persistent and ever- evolving global dynamics.

Being part of this strategic ocean mass, Sri Lanka faces direct impacts of aforementioned security challenges. Its strategic prominence within the region enhanced by her location has earned her the attention of the world's big powers, despite the fact that she is a small nation. Sri Lanka is situated at a close proximity to the regional super power; India, but has maintained very close economic and political relationships with China over the past few years. This lenience towards China has been further increased by Sri Lanka's support to Chinese Belt and Road Initiative. This trend is not well received by India, which has thus far maintained the supremacy over India Ocean Affairs, and it continues to strive to maintain the status quo of the region. Indian initiative "Sagarmaala" could be quoted as an infrastructure development scheme devised to counter Chinese interests in the Indian Ocean Region. China and India, are both openly at a cold war to promote their interest to win and harness the influence of the Indian Ocean.

This study aims to explore the pragmatic role Sri Lanka plays in maintaining the peace and stability of Indian Ocean region. Sri Lanka, regardless of her comparatively smaller landmass, has earned a sizeable influence over regional affairs mainly owing to her strategic placement in the Indian Ocean and her historical role as a pioneer in Indian ocean peace keeping.

Role played by Sri Lanka in Indian Ocean Affairs, specifically in ensuring its peace and stability, as mentioned above, is historical. Sri Lanka had long realized the importance of a stable and secure maritime environment for national and regional prosperity, even back in times when the notion was unpopular. This was first conceptualized by Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranayake in 1971 through Indian Ocean Peace Zone (IOPZ) proposal at the United Nations. This was further manifested in Sri Lanka's Chairmanship of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of Sea in 1973 which led to the adoption of United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). In 1981, Sri Lanka voiced the much needed necessity of a dedicated forum within which Indian Ocean marine affairs could be properly addressed at the Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee (AALCC), which was the only appropriate general platform covering the Indian Ocean region at the time. These initial discussions soon prepared the launching pad for the First Conference on Economic Scientific and Technical Cooperation in the Indian Ocean in Marine Affairs in the context of the New Ocean Regime (IOMAC-I), which was held in Colombo, in July 1985. Sri Lanka has since and always been a front liner in promoting cooperation within the Indian Ocean region in numerous

international platforms, which she today considers "The Ocean of the Future".

Sri Lanka has been active in regional organizations associated with Indian Ocean Region, more specifically Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), but has her own national interests towards Indian Ocean region as well, as manifested through her original initiatives such as the Galle Dialogue. In the current context, with Sri Lanka adopting even an expanded role in Indian Ocean Affairs despite her being a small state and her close ties with extra-regional powers has amplified Sri Lanka's influence over the regional stability. In this light, activity and the stance of Sri Lanka is pivotal in determining the peace and stability of the Indian Ocean region.

Methodology

The aim of the study is to analyze role of Sri Lanka on peace and stability of the Indian Ocean Region. The study has employed both an approach which is both quantitative and qualitative. All data utilized were reliable secondary sources. Further, data also was obtained through discussions with experts on the subject.

The study by design will be an observational analysis, focused on the historical and present role of Sri Lanka in Indian Ocean Affairs, and aims to propose recommendations as to what the ideal role of Sri Lanka should be based on the findings.

The theoretical framework features the small state theory of International Relations, while the conceptual framework comprises of concepts from maritime security, regionalism, national interest and balance of power.

Literature Review

Much of the literature available on the subject emphasizes the importance of Indian Ocean Region on global economy and connectivity, which is a benefit but also a vulnerability.

Mohan (2012) identifies the importance of Indian Ocean for economic connectivity of the region. The Indian Ocean is one of the world's busiest international trade corridors, owing to the constant expansion of Asian economies and persistent increment of demand for raw materials and energy resources from other part of the world. A majority of economies of all major powers and rising powers in the world are directly dependent on the Indian Ocean. Japan receives 90% of oil via the Indian Ocean while 75% of China's oil imports and 85% of India's oil imports are transited through the Indian Ocean. 40 out of 54 types of raw materials used by industries in United States are supplied by the Indian Ocean. This economic value has attracted the attention of major powers to the region, with a shift of global dynamics towards the east. He explains that the combined value of India's merchandise exports and imports amounted to an approximate $750 billion in 2011. Considering the fact that most of this trade is seaborne, protection of the sea lines of communication proves to be an important commercial concern, thereby emphasizing on the importance of peace and stability of the Indian Ocean for regional economy.

Scholars have also explored the pressure exerted on the balance of the power of the region, which is one of the biggest challenges to the maintaining its stability, and have stressed the importance of the role Sri Lanka can play in mitigating unfavorable consequences.

Melegoda (2018) observes Indian Ocean is experiencing intricate geopolitical changes. In this context, the balance of power between small states and large states grows to be of paramount importance for regional stability and peace.

Fernando (2018) explains that due to existence of power rivalries and wars, the oceans are more prone to conflict. Taking the conflict over Suez Canal, Strait of Hormuz, Pirate and terrorist activity and South China Sea disputes for example she argues that due to connectivity within the region, repercussions as such could be felt by the entire region, thereby emphasizing the importance of maintaining peace and stability in the region. She further argues that Sri Lanka's location in the Indian Ocean region as an island State has been of strategic geopolitical relevance to several major powers, thereby earning her constant attention.

Senaratne (2015) observes Sri Lanka's strategic importance to the United States, China and India and explains that it is viewed by some as a key piece in a larger geopolitical dynamic, bringing in to light the tension between world powers to exploit Sri Lanka's strategic placement.

Rajan (2015) observes that strategically, China deems ties with Sri Lanka as a key to championing its interest towards Indian Ocean. China realizes

that Sri Lanka is the gateway to Indian Ocean which will pave its way to resource rich regions of Middle East and Central Asia, especially Iran, a vital exporter of oil to China.

Garver (2001), brings forth and intensity of cold war between China and India over maritime supremacy of the Indian Ocean. He argues that there are only two ways the conflict can be resolved, that is either by china agreeing that South Asia is India's security zone and sphere of influence and therefore refrain from actions objectionable India or by India accommodating itself to the seemingly unstoppable growth of China's political military role in South Asia. The importance of this argument is such that, until one of the two powers decide to accept and accommodate interests of the other, power tensions within the region will continue to accumulate.

Wijewardena (2019) claims that Sri Lanka's location in the Indian Ocean plays a fundamental role in the traditional East West maritime route. And the strategic importance Sri Lanka holds in the maritime history is much bigger compared to its small size. Thus he explains the legitimate right of Sri Lanka to practice influence in the Indian Ocean Region. Further he elaborates that transnational threats are becoming one of the major security issues within the region and that it has endangered the security of the major sea routes of the Indian Ocean.

Dodamgoda (2013) argues that   Sri Lanka needs to adopt a strategically neutral approach in dealing with the Indian Ocean strategic competition.

He further stresses that Sri Lanka should   take Indo-Lanka relations in to serious consideration.

Bewster (2015) elaborates on the role Sri Lanka has to play in surveillance of maritime space, considering its strategic location in Indian Ocean. Even though, the territorial size of Sri Lanka is comparatively smaller than most of other states in the Indian Ocean Region, he argues that Sri Lanka is a state that can largely influence the dynamics of the Indian Ocean.

Wakambura (2018) explores the enormous economic potential wielded by the Indian Ocean how growing strategic developments should compel Sri Lanka to start working on a well-planned maritime policy. She emphasizes that such policy is essential to safeguarding national interests of the country in the face of strategic competition between the great powers over supremacy of the Indian Ocean. She further stresses that Sri Lanka should assume a leading role in strategizing ways and means of maintaining regional peace and stability to ensure regional economic growth and future prosperity.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Regional peace and stability concerns the absence of acts which adversely influence socio-economic and political integrity in land and maritime domains. Maritime security refers to environmental and natural integrity of any navigable waterway. The peace and stability of a region is directly connected to the maritime environment being safe and conducive. Although Indian Ocean region enjoys a comparatively stable and peaceful

maritime domain, subtle yet acute threats for regional stability still prevail. These challenges could be discussed in three broad areas namely, geopolitical stability, environmental security and sustainable use of resources and the lack of a sound cooperation and security arrangement.

Indian Ocean, as the name itself insinuates, has been India's sphere of influence. Especially in comparison to other littoral countries in the region, India holds the strongest influence over the ocean. However, India's approach towards the region has been rather lethargic up until very recently, and was only revived following a rude awakening provided by western powers when they started looking towards east in mainly economic terms, and by China when her massive economic initiative "Belt and Road initiative" began spreading its footprint in the region.

China's Belt and Road Initiative is often claimed to be an economic integration maneuver of China, laying the foundation for a Euro-Asian common market led by China. These developments and increased activity of extra-regional powers has fed much to India's anxiety, building up a cold tension within the to a precarious level. However, India's lethargy towards sound regionalism is what has acted as an uncalled for catalyst for growing influence of extra-regional powers especially over the rest of the small states such as Sri Lanka. The small state theory of international relations describes that "smallness" of a state is equivalent to vulnerability, and it establishes that smallness can be defined both in qualitative and quantitative terms through elements such as geography, economy, resource mass, political influence, cultural influence and size of military etc. The theory argues that a small state is dependent on larger states and

multilateral organizations in terms of political, economic, and societal shelter. In this light, Sri Lanka's leniency towards other powerful states in the absence of the support from its immediate neighbor could be justified. However, Sri Lanka's polarization has become one of the biggest security threats to maintain the balance of power of the region.

Sri Lanka's leniency towards China especially during the post war time period from 2009 to 2014, facilitated a channel for China to exert its influence in the Ocean which was formerly dominated by India. However, what should be emphasized is that Sri Lanka's orientation towards China was not based on pull factors only, there was a significant amount of push factors as well. The civil war which was in its final stage in 2009 was one such major factor. Sri Lanka was desperately in need of a sponsor to compensate for extremely high costs of war and tarnishing international image due to alleged war crimes and extra-judicial killings, pinned on Sri Lankan government by Tamil diaspora and International Community. Sri Lanka was facing a multitude of challenges during this period, including hostile policies adopted by the West, pressures exerted by the United Nations Human Rights Council and suspension of GSP+ concession by the European Union. India's lack of participation in Sri Lanka's infrastructure development projects, lethargy towards mitigating machinations of the Tamil diaspora and the state of Tamilnadu itself was one of the strongest elements that pushed Colombo towards Beijing, as China proved to be the most reliable ally for Sri Lanka during that time. India was extremely concerned about the growing Chinese influence in her own backyard. India watched with caution the growing Chinese investments in Mega Projects and infrastructure development projects in Sri Lanka. Indian

stance on Chinese "String of Pearls" and "Belt and Road Initiative" in which Sri Lanka was earmarked as a maritime hub, was weary. However, India's anxiety was amplified when the Rajapaksa administration twice facilitated the docking of Chinese submarines in Colombo in September and November 2014. India denounced the Lotus tower as a façade, concealing Chinese digital penetration of Indian Ocean, considering the involvement of China National Electronic Import and Export Corporation (CNEIEC) and the Chinese Aerospace Long-March International Trade (CALMIT) in its building process.

After 2015, under the regime of Maithreepala Sirisena, the pro-Chinese policy was altered. Under the new regime, Sri Lanka was looking to repair the damage done to Sri Lanka's ties with the United States, India, and the European Union. The temporary suspension of the Colombo Port City project was one of the initial and most symbolic moves of the new administration in this front. The move set a clear tone to the direction of Sri Lanka. In addition to the port city project, other mega projects funded by China were also halted and tenders were suspended. With these developments, Sino- Sri Lankan relationships were depreciating. The suspended projects resumed in 2016, mainly owing to lowering Sri Lankan government bonds rating which lead to a difficulty in raising funds in international financial markets and meeting debt existing obligations as a result of decreasing foreign direct investments, Sino-Sri Lankan relations have never been the same, to the dismay of China and delight of India. The immediate result of this growing rift between China and Sri Lanka was, China distancing itself from Sri Lanka and gravitating towards its all-weather ally in the Indian Ocean Region, Pakistan, by injecting $46 billion

in energy and infrastructure investment deals. In this scenario, it can be observed that Sri Lanka's leniency towards China is primarily attributed to its vulnerability in the international and regional context. However, Sri Lanka's quest to seek international stability has taken its toll on regional dynamics, as it has opened a channel for extra-regional powers to influence the regional geo-political stability.

Indian Ocean plays an extremely significant role in global resource supply. Indian Ocean holds an estimated 16.8% of world's proven oil reserves and 27.9% of world's proven gas reserves. The region produced 28% of the global fish harvest in 2016. This abundance of natural economic resources within the region has multiplied its significance even further in addition to the pivotal role it plays in global economic connectivity. The global community is growing increasingly dependent on the oceans for food and mineral resources. As extraction of oceanic resources has increased, concerns on the sustainability of means of extraction persist. Oceanic resources in the Indian ocean are gradually depleting, mainly in terms of fisheries harvesting where employment of harmful methods such as IUU fishing is increasing every passing day. Fisheries and related industries are critical in ensuring food security and the impact of overfishing and climate change has posed a significant unconventional threat to the stability of the Indian Ocean. Emergence of concepts such as blue economy, has brought about new challenges, which is fair, equitable and sustainable management of resource extraction. On this front, Sri Lanka adopted Vision 2025 Program, a strong government policy with the view to promote environmental security of the Indian Ocean. Under this program, Sri Lanka adopted a Blue-Green Development Strategy, which comprehensively

addresses responsible consumption of Ocean resources. Sri Lanka also serves in an active role in "Our Oceans Conference" series initiated by the USA, to ensure the natural safety of the Indian Ocean. Further, Sri Lanka serves as the Champion country for the Action Group on Mangrove Ecosystems and Livelihoods (MELAG) under the Commonwealth Blue Charter by the United Kingdom, signed in 2013 calling for fair, equitable, inclusive and sustainable approach to ocean economic development and protection, which led Sri Lanka to subsequently host the first meeting of the MELAG in October this year. These voluntary activities showcase the proactive role Sri Lanka has assumed in ensuring the peace and stability of the Indian Ocean in terms of environmental security and responsible resource consumption. Further, through "Sri Lanka Next 2019- Blue Green Era", an International Conference was held with the main focus on Sustainable Nitrogen Management. The Government of Sri Lanka and the United Nations Environment Programme in partnership with SACEP, INMS and many other international organizations launched the United Nations Global Campaign on Sustainable Nitrogen Management 'Nitrogen for Life', where the "Colombo Declaration" was adopted with an ambition to halve nitrogen waste by 2030.

Number and scale of acts of violence in Indian ocean waters has unfortunately increased over the years. Indian Ocean region itself is battling with violent radicalization, terrorism and civil wars. The ocean also has been grounds to acts of violence and violation such as piracy, armed robberies at sea, human trafficking, irregular movement of persons, drug trafficking, maritime terrorism, smuggling of arms and illicit wildlife trafficking. Nature and frequency of these acts keep increasing at an

alarming rate, calling for sound cooperation of states in ensuring maritime safety. Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA), stands as the most inclusive cooperation platform for Indian Ocean Region. However, due to lack of coordination and an obvious lack of interest from major powers, including India and Australia, IORA has made little progress in its first 20 years towards serving its goal of enhancing regional economic cooperation. However, in 2017 The first IORA Leaders' Summit was held, which ended with the signing of the Jakarta Concord, which set important standards associated with freedom of navigation, counterterrorism, and enhancing regional trade, calling for a rules-based framework for the Indian Ocean.

Keeping up to the commitment Sri Lanka made towards the Jakarta concord, Sri Lanka currently serves as the coordinating Country on Maritime Safety and Security of IORA. As the coordinating country, Sri Lanka has overlooked the implementation of the IORA Action Plan 2017-2021 on Maritime safety and security. Sri Lanka hosted the Initial Workshop on the establishment of the IORA Maritime Safety and Security Working Group in September 2018, thereby proceeding to host the First Meeting of the IORA Working Group on Maritime Safety and Security, with the objectives of building a foundation for collaboration, establishing an integrated policy approach and a coordinated regional vision on Maritime Safety and Security. It also provided a platform to discuss collective priorities of Member States in the sphere of maritime safety and security, mainly focusing on tackling maritime criminal activities in Indian Ocean, evolving maritime security challenges with existing maritime legal jurisprudence, drug trafficking, transnational crime and the global fishing

industry. Under the leadership of Sri Lanka, the workshop finalized a Work Plan on Maritime Safety and Security to be adopted by IORA.

Peace and stability of Indian Ocean region is serves the national interest for Sri Lanka to become an economic hub in the Indian Ocean. Peace and stability of the Indian Ocean is highly relevant to realize this goal. In that light, apart from its active role in regional organizations and other secondary platforms, Sri Lanka herself has taken initiative and has provided a multilateral platform for nations to engage and contribute for common good of seafaring through "Galle dialogue", for the past decade. This initiative by Sri Lanka sets the tone of her national aspirations for a safer and secure Indian Ocean. The most recent event in 2019, was based on the theme 'Refining Mindset to address Transnational Maritime threats: A Review of the Decade', bringing together 148 participants from 54 countries and 17 International Organizations to deliberate on the safety and security in navigating the oceans. In addition, serving Sri Lanka's commitment towards preserving freedom of navigation in the Indian Ocean and sustainable use of its resources, Sri Lanka initiated yet another multilateral engagement, involving Indian Ocean littoral states and all maritime users of the Indian Ocean in 2018. In October 2018, "The Indian Ocean: Defining Our Future", a Track 1.5 dialogue was held in Colombo under this initiative, bringing together representatives from 40 states to increase engagement and focus on the Indian Ocean that has the potential to become a growth pole in the world economy in the future.

Conclusion

Indian Ocean has traditionally and by default been the sphere of influence of India. India geographically dominates the Indian Ocean and stands as a formidable regional power against any extra-regional powers who aspire to penetrate in to the Indian Ocean. Therefore, any state who wish to promote their interests in the Indian Ocean has to seek passage through other smaller nations in the region. It is in this scenario that Sri Lanka comes in to play as a strategic key to gain access to the Indian Ocean. Sri Lanka, occupies an extremely important location in the Indian Ocean. Approximately 60,000 ships pass through sea lanes situated simply six to ten nautical miles away from the country, carrying half of all container shipments and two-thirds of the world's oil transport. This open access Sri Lanka has to crucial economic chokepoints in the Indian ocean has earned her the attention of many extra -regional powers, namely, China, United States and Japan. The significance of this is that, strategic importance Sri Lanka weilds also offers her leverage against India, which previously dominated the region. Extra-regional powers are in a cold tug- of-war to exploit the strategic advantage Sri Lanka has to offer, serving as a value addition in her role in regional affairs. It has amplified the say Sri Lanka has in the region especially in regional power play.

Sri Lanka has played a historical role in the region, especially to promote it as a peace zone. Overtime, this interest has weaned but it could be observed that Sri Lanka has resumed its role as an influencer of Indian Ocean.

Sri Lanka has given equal importance to mitigating unconventional security threats such as climate change, maritime terrorism, IUU fishing, smuggling of arms, illicit wildlife trafficking and modern piracy, through numerous regional and international platforms such as the commonwealth and IORA. Sri Lanka has also initiated original platforms such as Indian Ocean: Defining our Future conference and the Galle dialogue. But is has to be noted that there is a significant gap in corporation for combating terrorism in maritime domain, and that Sri Lanka, has not made tangible progress in addressing the issue. Maritime terrorism is of course a complex challenge with regional politics involved, but its growing intensity calls for a sound regional security mechanism that Indian Ocean Region has failed to achieve yet.

Sri Lanka should understand the importance of her own placement in the Indian Ocean, and use it for the benefit of the country without allowing it to be exploited by other states. Sri Lanka should engage actively in regional platforms available to uphold the peace and stability of the Indian Ocean with special attention to maritime terrorism. Further, it would be appropriate to maintain Sri Lanka's Omni-diplomatic approach towards regional affairs, both for the benefit of the country and the region, as consistency of the Indian Ocean will ultimately impact positively on the socio-economic and political dynamics of the region.

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Ongoing Trade War between China and USA and its Impact on Global Economy

K.L.S.R. Kalansooriya[1]

Abstract

Over the past year, the world's two largest economies have imposed tariffs on billions of dollars' worth of one another's goods. US President Donald Trump has long accused China of unfair trading practices and intellectual property theft. In China, there is a perception that the US is trying to curb its rise. Negotiations are ongoing but have proven difficult. The two sides remain far apart on issues including how to roll back tariffs and enforce a deal. The uncertainty is hurting businesses and weighing on the global economy. The trade war can principally be attributed to trade imbalances, as the fundamental conflicts between China and the US cannot be easily resolved. The ongoing trade war is merely a war to achieve world power. This paper analyses the global economic impact of the trade war between China and USA. This particular research is a case study which involves an up close, in depth and detailed examination what are the global economic impacts of ongoing US- China trade war and it's done by qualitative and quantitative data. Main objectives of this paper is to find out what are the principle impacts faced by other countries in the world through this trade war between US and China. It concludes some countries economically having advantage from the trade war and on the other hand most of countries and global economy facing to major economic crisis from the trade war between China and US.

Keywords: China, USA, Trade War, Global Economic Impact

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[1] International Studies Honours Third Year, Department of International Studies
klsrkalansooriya@gmail.com

Introduction

The China–United States trade war is an ongoing economic conflict between the world's two largest national economies, China and the United States. President Donald Trump in 2018 began setting tariffs and other trade barriers on China with the goal of forcing it to make changes to what the U.S. says are "unfair trade practices". Those trade practices and their effects are the growing trade deficit, the theft of intellectual property, and the forced transfer of American technology to China.

The United States and China are the world's two largest economies and the US has a larger nominal GDP, whereas China has a larger GDP when measured in terms of PPP. China as the world's largest exporter and the United States as the world's largest importer. They have so far been important pillars for the global economy. The global economy has witnessed a series of trade disputes between China and the US since January 2018, when the US government imposed safeguard tariffs on large residential washing machines, as well as solar cells and modules. These conflicts have started a full-fledged trade war. The United States and China are the world's leading powers in terms of the size of their economies, defense budgets, and global greenhouse gas emissions. Both nations are permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. In 2017, they were each other's largest trading partners. This bilateral relationship is perceived by many to be the most consequential in the world. The global importance of the U.S. and Chinese economies, as measured by their nominal gross domestic product (GDP), can be illustrated in two ways that will also illuminate the challenges of the ongoing power transition and one involves the rise of the Chinese economy relative to the U.S. GDP and the

other focuses on the concomitant shifts in globalization. In 2000, China's economy was barely a tenth of the U.S. GDP. But after China became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001, its export-led growth soared in the course of the 2000s, when its share of the U.S. economy more than tripled from 12 percent in 2000 to over 40 percent in 2010. The original Goldman Sachs estimate was that China would surpass the United States in the late 2020s and that remains the case under Xi Jinping's leadership, assuming current secular trend lines prevail. Yet there are two major caveats to the Goldman Sachs projections: the first involves international trade prospects amid rising U.S. protectionism; the second has to do with the impact of these trade actions on the consequent global prospects.

After a year of threats, the Trump administration initiated a "tariff war" against China in March 2018. The measures became effective in early July 2018. What began with "national security reviews" on steel and aluminum soon extended to intellectual property rights and technology. Even worse, bilateral frictions with China are spreading to U.S. trade conflicts with other North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) members, Europe, East Asia and practically the rest of the world. If the Trump administration continues moving away from the post-World War II trading regime, these bilateral frictions will broaden and multilateralism. And if a full-scale trade war cannot be avoided, then the nascent tariff wars have potential to spread across industry sectors and geographic regions. In fact, since the first half of 2018, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) growth projections have already been revised down for Europe, Japan, the United Kingdom, Brazil and India, among other major economies. The most important is how well the Chinese economy will do amid growing trade tensions with the United

States. China accounted for almost 50 percent of global growth and continues to constitute some 30 percent of global prospects today. In positive scenarios, such economic spillovers support global growth. In negative scenarios, such spillovers would penalize those growth prospects and the collateral damage would likely be the worst in emerging and developing economies.

Methodology

This particular research is a case study which involves an up close, in depth and detailed examination what are the global economic impacts of US-China trade war. Especially in this paper researcher using secondary data to analyze the impact. However most suitable way deal with data is analyze the data immediately when it in the hand. Secondary data or information can be defined as "second hand data" analysis (Cnossen, 1997). This name given because this data or information is collected by someone else and for his or her purpose. The most important part is choosing the data for the research it is needed to fit with the research. So carefully choose the most suitable data for the research.

Basically this paper is a mix research of qualitative and quantitative data and the main source of data collection is secondary data source. The research will be conducted based on secondary data collected through different sources including books, journals, magazines, newspapers, internet, and annual reports, surveys and researches conducted by various national and international institutions. Then, how analyze the data is will be the question. Answer will be content analysis. Content analysis is a research method for making replicable and valid inferences from data to

their context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action (Krippendorff 1980).

Literature Review

Trade war between China and US is researched and analysed by many authors and economists in the world. It is a major topic which affecting the world in better ways and bad ways. From the history trade wars are impacted the global economy in several ways. According to business dictionary trade war is a conflict between two or more nations regarding trade tariffs on each other. This type of conflict usually arises because the nations involved are trying to improve imports or exports for its own country. Trade wars have the potential of increasing the costs of certain imports if the nations involved refuse to make a compromise.

The worldwide trade relations are changing lately. US withdrew itself from the Trans Pacific Partnership (TTP) and President Trump started to impose tariffs outside of the World Trade Organization, as an instrument he uses in the economy strategy "putting America first", aiming to raise the American industry, protect the domestic products from imports, lower the trade deficit and expand the national economy overall. The protectionist measures started by imposing tariffs, firstly, on January 2018 on solar panels and washing machines, consequently in March 2018 on steel and aluminum (Bekkers, 2019) and from June 2018 imposed 25% tariffs on over 800 categories of Chinese products worth $34 billion and then increased the list to reach a worth of $200 billion in goods. China responded imposing tariffs on imports from US. Karaganov (2018) argues that the economic powers changed and the new Cold War or Trade War must be analyzed from geostrategic and historical points of view,

considering the weakening of the West economic power and its dominance and the strengthening of the non-Western countries, specifically in a centralized power center.

China disturbs the great economic powers through its fulminant economic ascents. This happened ever since Deng Xiaoping started in 1978 the economic reforms that had risen China from its lowest point and transformed it in one of the most advanced world economies, becoming "the fastest growing economy in the world" (Chang, 2001). It continued the trend after becoming a WTO member, in 2001. The problem with its high economic rise is with the way of doing business, like conquering markets aggressively with low prices and 'made in China' quality, which everybody knows what it means. Besides the tariffs, the US blacklisted the telecommunication enterprise, Huawei. A short story of this giant starts when it struggled to conquer the data internet Chinese market, owned by Cisco Systems in the 2000s and finally achieved 12 % of the total market share (Ahrens, 2013). Cisco sued Huawei for software theft and by the time they settled the conflict, Huawei owned 33% of the market. The unfair trade practices of the Chinese government and state-owned enterprises (SOEs) are also permanent reasons of discontent in the European Union, together with the security risks concerns.

As Plummer declared, (2019) US and UK share their mistrust and allegations of espionage via Chinese telecommunications firms and about Huawei particularly, due to (its founder) Ren Zhengfei links with the Chinese military (People's Liberation Army). It is well known that at its origins, Huawei copied world biggest telecommunication companies (Mascitelli & Chung 2019), like Cisco and Fujitsu. But afterwards, Huawei

managed to innovate and deliver quality products at much lower prices than its competitors and nowadays is considered to occupy the second position of telecommunication equipment producers, after Samsung and before Apple. This is a strong reason for impeding Huawei providing the 5G technology equipment in the US, Australia, UK, New Zeeland and Canada, but it doesn't mean that the other countries will not choose it. Furthermore, banning the Chinese producer does not mean that security issues are solved, as almost all telecommunication devices are made of components, most of them Chinese. What China understood is more important, meaning that in order to succeed it has to follow the global trading rules, offer quality and respect the regulations. China's trade policy, oriented on export is not reliable for economic development. An excess on Chinese goods export brings also foreign reserve accumulation. The truce between US and China will reduce the trade surplus and this will be on China's benefit. Along with these all things world is facing lots of impacts which are advantage or disadvantage to those countries.

In his scenario of a Sino-US trade war, James Wang, a professor with the City University of Hong Kong, predicts that the primary victims in China will be the "exporters of 'Wal-Mart type' goods, including clothing, furniture, footwear and textiles," while the fate of producers in higher rungs of the technological ladder will be less easy to predict, since, for example, "the lion's share of profit from an iPhone accrues to Apple Inc., instead of its Chinese suppliers." Wang's scenario sees China selecting from a range of targets for retaliation, including "aircraft orders from Boeing Co." as well as "automobile and agricultural imports from the US."(Lim, 2017)

All the US Presidents irrespective of political parties in power followed the same policy. After assuming power, President Donald Trump threatened tariffs of 45 percent on China and 35 percent on Mexico, two of the United States' biggest trading partners. Trump wants China to reduce its bilateral trade surplus with the US by USD 100 billion. The US President believes tariff on imports of foreign steel would raise the price of imported steel and encourage US firms and consumers to buy domestically produced steel instead. This will benefit US steel industry. His action will protect and create jobs in the US steel industry. (Siddiqui, 2018)

The United States and China are increasingly interdependent on each other economically. If these countries impose high import tariffs on each other despite such relations, their bilateral trade would become sluggish. Moreover, the prices of products imported from each other would rise in their respective markets, increasing the burden on businesses and consumers. If the economies of these countries became stagnant as a result, it would inevitably affect the world economy. (Siddiqui, 2018)

The ultimate objective behind current trade sanctions is an attempt to inflict free-market discipline on China's state capitalism which is the crucial source of Beijing's geopolitical muscles. By stimulating internal reform of the Chinese market, the US aims at pushing Chinese industries into free competition in areas where American companies have a competitive advantage. However, this betrays a subtle form of mercantilism. It is through this lens that one should analyse the tension surrounding the Huawei affair and the polemics about China-sponsored technological thefts. We should also keep in mind that in this diplomatic-

economic battle the agendas of both governments are ultimately backed by increasing military budgets, a return to 20th-century territorialism by China in the South China Sea and the US withdrawal from the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty. (Leoni, 2019)

Data Presentation and Analysis

In this research paper especially data was collected by secondary data collecting methods. Throughout history, trade wars have been hardly uncommon, with numerous precedents between the US and China. To date, the US has launched five 'Section 301 investigations 'against China since 1991, probing into areas of intellectual property rights, unfair trade barriers, and clean energy. In these past investigations, both sides threatened to use tariffs as a means of retaliation. However, the aforementioned conflicts were all eventually resolved by diplomatic means, be it through the signing of trade agreements after negotiation or reaching a compromise under the dispute settlement mechanism of the WTO.

In 2018 January 22 Trump announced tariffs on solar panels and washing machines. About 8% of American solar panel imports in 2017 came from China. Imports of residential washing machines from China totaled about $1.1 billion in 2015. In 2018 March 1, Trump announced steel and aluminum tariffs on imports from all countries. The United States had imported about 3% of its steel from China.

In 2018 April 2, Ministry of Commerce of China responded by imposing tariffs on 128 products it imports from America, including aluminum, airplanes, cars, pork, and soybeans, as well as fruit, nuts, and steel piping

(15%). U.S. commerce secretary Wilbur Ross said that the planned Chinese tariffs only reflected 0.3% of U.S. gross domestic product, and Press Secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders stated that the moves would have "short-term pain" but bring "long-term success". On April 5, 2018, Trump responded saying that he was considering another round of tariffs on an additional $100 billion of Chinese imports as Beijing retaliates. The next day the World Trade Organization received request from China for consultations on new U.S. tariffs. Chinese officials agreed to "substantially reduce" America's trade deficit with Chinamby committing to "significantly increase" its purchases of American goods. As a result, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin announced that "We are putting the trade war on hold". White House National Trade Council director Peter Navarro, however, said that there was no "trade war," but that it was a "trade dispute, fair and simple. We lost the trade war long ago."

In 2018 June 15, Trump declared that the United States would impose a 25% tariff on $50 billion of Chinese exports. $34 billion would start July 6, 2018, with a further $16 billion to begin at a later date. China's Commerce Ministry accused the United States of launching a trade war and said China would respond in kind with similar tariffs for US imports, starting on July 6. Three days later, the White House declared that the United States would impose additional 10% tariffs on another $200 billion worth of Chinese imports if China retaliated against these U.S. tariffs. The list of products included in this round of tariffs was released on July 11, 2018, and was set to be implemented within 60 days. After that China retaliates, threatening its own tariffs on $50 billion of U.S. goods, and stating that the United States had launched a trade war. Import and export

markets in a number of nations feared the tariffs would disrupt supply chains which could "ripple around the globe."

After that in 2018 August 8, The Office of the United States Trade Representative published its finalized list of 279 Chinese goods, worth $16 Billion, to be subject to a 25% tariff from August 23. In response, China imposed 25% tariffs on $16 billion of imports from the US, which was implemented in parallel with the US tariffs on August 23.

In 2019 May 5: Trump stated that the previous tariffs of 10% levied in $200 billion worth of Chinese goods would be raised to 25% on May 10 and After that June 1 China will raise tariffs on $60 billion worth of US goods. In June 29 During the G20 Osaka summit, Trump announces he and Xi Jinping agreed to a "truce" in the trade war after extensive talks. Prior tariffs are to remain in effect, but no future tariffs are to be enacted "for the time being" amid restarted negotiations. Additionally, Trump said he would allow American companies to sell their products to Huawei, but the company would remain on the U.S. trade blacklist. However, the extent of how much this plan to temporarily exempt Huawei from previous bans would be implemented later became unclear and, in the weeks later, there was no clear indication of the reversal of Huawei bans. After a meeting with Chinese leader Xi Jinping, Trump announces "China is going to be buying a tremendous amount of food and agricultural product, and they're going to start that very soon, almost immediately." China disputed making such a commitment and one month later no such purchases had materialized.

After that on August 5, The U.S. Department of Treasury officially declared China as a Currency Manipulator, reportedly under personal

pressure from Trump. In July 2019 the IMF found the Yuan to be correctly valued, while the dollar was overvalued, and some analysts found that market forces, rather than Chinese intervention, had recently caused the Yuan to lose value. China denied manipulating its currency, citing currency market reaction to Trump's announcement of tariff increases days earlier and after that China ordered state-owned enterprises to stop buying US agricultural products, totaling $20 billion per year before the trade war.

In August 26 At the G7 summit, Trump stated, "China called last night our top trade people and said 'let's get back to the table' so we will be getting back to the table and I think they want to do something. They have been hurt very badly but they understand this is the right thing to do and I have great respect for it. "Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman Geng Shuang said he was unaware of such a call and Trump aides later conceded the call didn't occur but the president was trying to project optimism.

In September 1 New USA and Chinese tariffs previously announced went into effect at 12:01 pm EST. China imposed 5% to 10% tariffs on one-third of the 5,078 goods it imports from America, with tariffs on the remainder scheduled for December 15The United States imposed new 15% tariffs on about $112 billion of Chinese imports, such that more than two-thirds of consumer goods imported from China were then subject to tariffs.

In September 12, Bloomberg News and Politico reported that Trump advisors were increasingly concerned that the trade war was weakening the American economy going into the 2020 election campaign and were discussing ways to reach a limited interim deal. The Wall Street Journal reported China was seeking to narrow the scope of negotiations to place national security matters on a separate track from trade issues. The Wall

Street Journal reported that Chinese retaliatory tariffs on lumber and wood products had caused hardwood lumber exports to China to fall 40% during 2019, resulting in American lumber mills slashing employment.

From this ongoing trade war rather that US and China other economies in the world also be part to face impact of it. It is not only a war between these two countries.

Conclusion

The world is in the belief that free and fair trade is one of the most powerful engines for growth, supporting millions of jobs and contributing to prosperity. Bangladesh policy makers also un-willingly and slowly moving toward free economy. The leader of free trade policy, USA has followed the policy from the late 1940s until today with closely zero import tariffs with infrequent exceptions on a few goods such as garment. All the US Presidents irrespective of political parties in power followed the same policy. After assuming power, President Donald Trump threatened tariffs of 45 percent on China and 35 percent on Mexico, two of the United States' biggest trading partners. Trump wants China to reduce its bilateral trade surplus with the US by USD 100 billion. The US President believes tariff on imports of foreign steel would raise the price of imported steel and encourage US firms and consumers to buy domestically produced steel instead. This will benefit US steel industry. His action will protect and create jobs in the US steel industry.

Some countries have benefited economically from the trade war, at least in some sectors, due to increasing exports to the United States and China to fill the gaps left by decreasing trade between these two economies.

Beneficiaries include Vietnam, Chile, Malaysia, and Argentina. Vietnam is the biggest beneficiary, with technology companies moving manufacturing there. South Korea has also benefited from increased electronics exports, Malaysia from semiconductor exports, Mexico from motor vehicles, and Brazil from soybeans. However, US-ASEAN Business Council CEO Alex Feldman warned that even these countries may not benefit long-term, saying that "It's in everyone's interest to see this spat get resolved and go back to normal trade relations between the US and China." The trade war between China and US is not only a problem of them and this is a situation which affecting developing countries more and more and on the other hand it builds up a huge impact on global economy.

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The MCC Impact on Developing Countries and Fighting Against the Global Poverty

K.H.P. Kumari[1]

Abstract

Millennium challenge corporation (MCC) is a bilateral United States (US) foreign aid agency. This was established in 2004 US congress gave the consent to establish this new agency considering foreign aid and reduce poverty by economic growth of lower income countries in the world. MCC compact is guided by three main principles of Competitive Selection, Country Solutions and Country led implementation. Applicants should be agreed and completed seventeen indicators to get the eligibility of granted projects of the MCC. Objectives of this study are to realize what are the formalities to select for the MCC aid receiving, how many countries have been selected as the MCC beneficiaries and how they promote fighting against the global poverty through their projects. The study reads the areas since the establishment of the MCC up to 2020 projects which are going to be held. According to the heading, methodology of the study is qualitative methodology. Secondary data is calculated data type and further it has used online informative articles, publications and previous research articles on the MCC data collecting tools. As the result of this study has found why countries willingly join to the MCC and poverty reduction while growing economic benefits by issuing long term investments. Moreover, this study equally overviews both necessary and unnecessary intervenes by the US into sovereignty and prosperity of granted aid receivers in the developing status world.

Keywords*: MCC, US, Poverty, Developing countries*

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[1] International Studies Honours Third Year, Department of International Studies
hansidarshiya@gmail.com

Introduction

The millennium challenge corporation (MCC) is bilateral an independent United States agency which is established in 2004 by the consent of US congress for the assistance of foreign aid and reducing poverty through the economic support. Which known as an independent means it works separated from the United States agency for International Development (USAID) and State Department. The main goal of the MCC is providing economic assistance by foreign aid which countries who follow on low-lower- and middle-income profiles in their countries. On the other hand, the MCC is not only handling economic development but also it has spanned over the many sectors including global health and bring friendly manner to the globalization. In 2002 at the Inter-American Development Bank meeting former president George W. Bush established a new compact which count on wealthy and poor both countries development. Paul Applegarth, a private businessman with an experience in managing emerging market investment, who was the first CEO of the MCC. However, this MCC establishment has composed with board of representatives. Regarding to that board of representatives the CEO of the MCC, the US secretary of the state who is the chair, the secretary of Treasury is the vice chair, the administrator of the USAID, the US trade representative and other private sector or development related officers are being included.

In 2004 the MCC received an authority to get bipartisan support and followings are the principle guidelines of it.

i. Competitive selection – Before a country can become eligible to receive assistance, MCC's board examines its performance on 17

independent and transparent policy indicators and selects compact-eligible countries based on policy performance.

ii. Country led solutions – MCC requires selected countries to identify their priorities for achieving sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction. Countries develop their MCC proposals in broad consultation within their society teams then work in close partnership to help countries refine a program

iii. Country led implementation – MCC administers the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA). When a country is awarded a compact, it sets up its own local MCA accountable entity to manage and oversee all aspects of implementation. Monitoring of funds is rigorous and transparent, often through independent fiscal agents

iv. Focus on results – MCC is committed to producing results and ensuring that the American people are getting a good return on their investment. MCC employs technically rigorous, systematic and transparent methods of projecting, tracking and evaluating the impacts of its programs. (About MCC,2014)

Moreover, MCC is a special agency which should be appreciated because of its unique features. Consequently, it adheres no politics approach to select countries for projects. To select a project applicant, have to follow selection indicators. A country is considered eligible for a compact grant if its 17-indicator score exceeds its peer group's median score. All 17 metrics are collected by non-MCC third parties; MCC grants are made without political consideration. This may be the most revolutionary feature of the MCC, as previous missions of foreign aid were hampered by political considerations. The MCC's emphasis is on supporting recipient countries ' economic growth. In the recipient nations, the system stresses

good economic policies. In countries with good economic policies, such as free markets and low corruption, the Bush administration has expressed its conviction that development aid works better.

Indicators of MCC;

1. Civil liberties
2. Political rights
3. Voice and accountability
4. Government effectiveness
5. Rule of law
6. Control of corruption
7. Immunization rate
8. Public expenditure on health
9. Girls' primary education completion rate
10. Public expenditure on primary education
11. Natural resource management
12. Inflation rate
13. Trade policy
14. Land rights and access index
15. Regulatory quality
16. Fiscal policy
17. Business start up

The purpose of MCC grants is to complement other US and international development programs, as well as to create an environment that will allow private sector investments. Following are the three primary types of MCC grants.

Compacts - large, five-year grants for selected countries that meet MCC's eligibility criteria

Concurrent compacts for regional investments - grants that promote cross-border economic integration, and increase regional trade and collaboration

Threshold programs – smaller grants focused on policy and institutional reform in selected countries that come close to passing MCC's eligibility criteria and show a firm commitment to improving their policy performance. (About MCC,2014)

Furthermore, MCC put efforts on create investments via projects. These are major projects of MCC.

- Anti-corruption
- Education
- Agriculture and irrigation
- Energy and power (generation, distribution and transmission)
- Finance and enterprise development
- Health
- Lands rights and access to land
- Transportation infrastructure (roads, bridges, ports)
- Water supply and sanitation

According to the above projects MCC wish to help developing countries and provide assistance to make brilliant life time in low income countries' citizens. Millions of people around the world, having successful guidance to get privilege through the above projects. Indeed, this Millennium Challenge Corporation is providing huge benefits to the modern developing countries and it guarantee their shareholders prosperity, safety. Specially forming MCC Advisory council and MCC economic advisory

council manifest how they are working to promote fighting against poverty through recommended councils without non intervening policy of political threats.

Methodology

This article has based on Qualitative Research type. Data was collected by Existing informational via online journal articles, websites, newspaper articles, books, magazines, twitter messages, resource persons' articles and official website of Millennium Challenge Corporation. Therefore, this study conducted under the Secondary data. Content analysis and Thematic analysis both used as Qualitative methods. Selected data was examined under the timeline of 2004 to 2019. Using secondary data was privileged to meet objectives and findings at the end of this study. Qualitative methodology has been used as the methodology of the Study.

Literature Review

This literature review shows the various functions, detailed facts and paramountcy as well as criticism on MCC. Impact evaluation of infrastructure investments: the experience of the Millennium Challenge Corporation by Ariel Ben Yishay and Rebecca Tunstrall have published a journal article on 23rd of March 2011. This paper studies the conditions that led to the design of each evaluation, including differing mechanisms for selecting infrastructure to be upgrade. It compares the propensity score matching approaches used in many of these evaluations, noting key observable characteristics used to match treatment and control communication.

The Millennium Challenge Account: foreign aid and international development programs of the bush Administration by Ashley R. Notini in 2017. That journal article advocates about, the wealthiest nations in the international system like America, how they try to devote a significant amount of resources towards the assistance and development of those lesser developed countries.

Challenging foreign Aid: A policymaker's Guide to the Millennium Challenge Account by Steven Radelet in 2003. Steven Radelet explores the possible promise and potential pitfalls of the MCA in this report. He provides a strict review of the main problem of the MCA: growing the efficacy of foreign aid in promoting economic growth and poverty reduction in the poor countries. The book ends with valuable suggestions on how to maintain the MCA's creativity and autonomy and ensure cooperation with other US foreign aid programs. It reflects on what makes the MCA special and points out the crucial issues that decide its success or its failure. Written at a practical level, this book is an invaluable resource for anyone seriously interested in the MCA and US foreign assistance policy.

The Role of Foreign Aid in combating Rural Poverty: case of Millennium Challenge Account- Armenia by Anil Zakarayan in 2013. He used to write his personal experiences that he assists to a development project. He has observed instances of poverty and increasing divergence in living standards. His observance provides how MCC impacts on rural area's farmers' acrimony of the life.

These above documents show how MCC evaluate on simultaneous global necessities which are happened in developing countries.

Data Presentation and Analysis

According to the Millennium Challenge Corporation, it strives to promote economic growth in developing countries and eradicate poverty from that countries. Anyhow there are some complex and critical points to examine. Under the US foreign aid care work other nationalities struggle to be privileged nations by MCC. It is absolutely hard to get select in to the selected list.

I. Formalities for Eligibility

The Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) measures the degree to which the political, social and economic conditions in a country foster wide, sustainable economic growth in the selection of countries eligible to receive compact funding from the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA). The Board of Directors ("the Board") considers three factors when making its determinations: success on established policy parameters, opportunities for poverty reduction and economic growth in the country, and funds available for MCC. The Board also takes account of the country's record of success when enforcing the previous compact when evaluating a country for a future compact. In assessing the implementation of a prior compact, the Board takes into consideration the nature of the country's partnership with the MCC and the extent to which the country has demonstrated its commitment and capacity to produce program results. MCC uses third-party indicators to assess policy performance to identify countries with policy environments that will enable MCA funding to be effective in poverty reduction and economic growth promotion. MCC assesses performance in three areas— ruling fairly, investing in people, and promoting economic freedom.

The selection process has four major steps:

- Identification of Candidate Countries
- Publication of MCC's Selection Criteria and Methodology
- Publication of MCC Scorecards
- Selection of Compact – Eligible and Threshold – Eligible Countries

Identification of Candidate Countries

Applicant countries are identified for the fiscal year on the basis of their per capita income and whether they are legally eligible for U.S. economic assistance. Until choosing the countries eligible for MCA assistance, MCC submits a submission to Congress with a list of applicant countries.

Publication of MCC's Selection Criteria and Methodology

MCC submits a report to congress describing the criteria and the methodology – including the indicators – which MCC's Board of Directors will use to select countries as eligible for MCA assistance. MCC holds a formal public comment period following publication of the report.

When assessing countries for eligibility, the Board considers whether countries perform above the median score of their peer group of income (either the Scorecard LIC group or the Scorecard LMIC group) on at least half of the overall indicators, as well as above the median score of the Control of Corruption indicator and above the threshold for either Political Rights or Civil Liberties. For Political Rights, Civil Liberties, Inflation and Immunization indicators, the performance of countries is measured against the absolute threshold as opposed to the median score. The Board also

considers whether at least one indicator in each category (Ruling Justly, investing in People, and Economic Freedom) is passed by a country.

Indicators

In order to evaluate policy success, MCC uses objective and quantifiable policy metrics to the maximum extent possible in three broad policy categories: Ruling Only, investing in People, and Encouraging Economic Freedom. The MCC supports policy metrics developed by independent third-party institutions which rely on reliable, publicly available information and have an analytically sound methodology. The MCC seeks indicators with broad country coverage, cross-country comparability and broad consistency in results from year to year. The MCC also seeks indicators related to economic growth, poverty reduction and government policies.

However, the MCC follows categorical indicators which are used to measure either selecting or not to the granted projects. this selecting process is not a day night incident .it might be taking more than two three years. Therefore, candidates have to fulfil recommended requirements to make feasible the process run.

II. What is the Threshold Program and Score Cards?

The Millennium Challenge Corporation is complex and process-based program and it is hard to get approval of the Aid receiving. If any country lost from eligibility formalities it has already created a new program namely Threshold Program, to assist those countries. Actually, it is guidance giving body which supplies guidelines to early preparations. Originally, Threshold initiatives tackled shortcomings in the country's

qualifying indicators, many focused-on briberies, the most common cause of a failure scorecard. At the request of the Congress, the MCC carried out an extensive review of its threshold programs. Instead of individual metrics, the threshold programs since 2011 have addressed wider policies affecting the quality of a country's scorecard through programs aimed at potentially binding restrictions on development. Instead of individual metrics, the threshold programs since 2011 have addressed wider policies affecting the quality of a country's scorecard through programs aimed at potentially binding constraints on development. MCC believes that this provides valuable evidence of the country's ability to adopt MCC initiatives.

Score cards means the MCC scorecards are a key component of the Agency's annual competitive selection process, which decides which countries are eligible to create compacts–grants investment over the last 5 years. The scorecard indicators can also be used by businesses, investors and the private sector to inform investment decisions and to better understand the operating environment in a particular country.

III. Assistance Providing Sectors by MCC to Reducing Poverty through Growth

Agriculture -Growth in agriculture is, on average, at least twice as effective in reducing poverty as growth in other sectors and is known to reduce poverty directly by increasing farm incomes and indirectly by creating jobs and lowering food prices. However, economic growth and food security objectives can be difficult to achieve for a number of reasons, such as poor roads, drought, low soil quality, inefficient irrigation systems, lack of proper storage of crops, poor livestock, lack of access to finance

and a lack of secure land rights. MCC has invested more than $5 billion in partner countries to address the many sources of food insecurity. MCC has also helped strengthen property rights and improve land policy to ensure that farmers many of whom are women have secure access to land, and that government institutions can effectively manage land resources.

Education - Poverty reduction and economic growth can be accomplished when countries invest in educating their people. MCC partners with partner countries to ensure that students have the knowledge and skills to help them get better jobs and improve their livelihoods.

Energy- Investments in the MCC energy sector help create self-sustaining electricity systems for businesses and households, and draw private investment

Health - MCC agrees that a healthy population — including decreased disease and increased life expectancy — is key for sustainable economic growth and poverty reduction.

Land and property rights - Investments in land and property rights are designed to contribute to poverty reduction and economic growth by establishing secure and efficient access to land and property rights and by creating more efficient land markets.

Roads and transportation infrastructure - Secure, efficient and cost-effective roads enhance access to public services such as hospitals and education, reduce the time and cost of bringing goods onto the market, and promote regional and international trade – all of which lead to growth and poverty alleviation.

Water, Sanitation and Irrigation - As a part of MCC's contribution to poverty reduction globally, the Agency has invested $2.2 billion in clean water, sanitation and natural resource improvement projects in partner countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and Latin America since 2004.

IV. Initiatives by MCC

Table 01: Initiatives by MCC

Africa Promise	Aid Effectiveness
Climate- Resilient Development	Country – Led Poverty Reduction
Data Collaborative for Local Impact	Democracy
Digital Strategy	Domestic Resource Mobilization
Environmental and Social Performance	Fighting Corruption
Food Security	Gender and Social Inclusion
Governance Data Alliance	MCC and Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)Partnership
MCC and Power Africa	MCC and Prosper Africa
MCC and the African Growth & Opportunity Act (AGOA)	MCC's Public-Private Partnership Platform
Open Government	The Sustainable Development Goals

Source: Created by Author

Conclusion

The Millennium Challenge Corporation provide vast benefits and development encouragement to the developing countries, which are lower income and middle lower income countries. According to the selection formalities it is highly complex stage work to process. However, through this US foreign aid assistance countries who can nothing to do about their progress this MCC projects are immensely be affected. Nevertheless, may be some countries are used to practice good governance, justification policies to receive MCC partnership. MCC is carrying out both good and bad criticisms. The most power full claim on MCC is they are trying to melt developing countries' hearts on them and get their acceptance to invest so badly. On the other hand, intelligence groups are saying that MCC is a pawn to play the hegemonic game in the world politics. It means USA striving to spread their ideology among the world. Finally, this article clearly manifests how MCC impact on developing countries and effectively how it reduces poverty through the economic growth.

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China's Sea Power Potential: Assessment Based on Alfred Mahan's Sea Power Theory

D.M.S.P.K.Dissanayake[1]

Abstract

In an increasingly globalized world, sea power acts as one of decisive elements of national power. China's need to augment sea power is twofold, to sustain economic momentum by safeguarding seaborne trade and securing energy supply, and to protect China's territorial and maritime sovereignty and interests. In such scenario, Beijing's Defense White Papers of 2015 & 2017 are in line with Alfred Thayer Mahan's thinking. The objective of the study is to apply SWOT analysis to identify to which extent China has a potential to build up a robust sea power based on Alfred Mahan's Sea Power Theory. The study adapts qualitative research methodology and in analysis process secondary data such as articles, textbooks and reports are used. Findings of the study reveals that China's geography, though seemingly a boon, gives Beijing favorable strengths and opportunities in terms of island-like enclosed nature, availability of small islands and strategic position in the SCS as potent strengths to develop robust sea power. In contrast, the locational proximity of potentially antagonistic US allies, the US naval presence in the region may act as threats. Having high amounts of ports and foreign naval establishments support to consolidate China's trade in return, to maximize its sea power projection. Yet low LPI of China's ports is possibly a weakness. Importantly, the Chinese coastline is long enough and well developed, with about 60% of the Chinese population living in the coastal zone. On the other hand, China's large amount of population following the sea in terms of fishery, shipbuilding, navy and coastal tourism are possible strengths for sea power. At the same time, the decision-makers in Beijing are putting a lot of consistent policy efforts such as BRI and modernization of PLAN to boost sea power.

Keywords: China, Sea Power, Six Principles

[1] International Studies Honours First Year, Department of International Studies
poorna.diss997@gmail.com

Introduction

The rise of a country is undoubtedly the product of economics, politics, technology, and geography: necessitated by economics, textured by politics, allowed by technology, and shaped by geography. China's rise over the past two decades has fundamentally changed the global and regional geo-economic, geo-political and security landscapes. "Whereas the last three decades of the twentieth century witnessed China rising on to the global economic stage, the first three decades of the twenty-first century are almost certain to bring with them the completion of that rise, not only in economic, but also in political and geopolitical terms" (Golley, 2011). In the face of China's rise, there are different views on the international arena. Some people view the rise of China as a positive development, while a lot assume China's rise will pose a threat to the world.

China's growing economics and its ambition to mitigate territorial and maritime threats are the prime motivation for maritime reorientation, and securing the sea lanes that convey foreign energy supplies and other commodities now ranks near or at the top of China's list of military priorities. As Beijing turns its attention from land to sea power, international relations in East Asia has undergone a transformation. Anticipating how China will seek to safeguard its maritime trade and sovereignty, Beijing now has oriented its focus to the sea in alignment with Mahan's Sea Power theory. "Mahanian sea-power theory resonates in today's China, which is at once obsessed with economic development and increasingly reliant on seaborne commerce. So does his call for a powerful navy – suggesting that a globalized China's maritime strategy will take on

an increasingly military hue" (Holmes and Yoshihara, 2008). China's rise and its turn to the seas has now augmented the concerns about naval tension within the United States, Great Britain, and Japan and southeast nations.

Thus, this research article showcases to which extent Beijing will find Mahanian principles become more and more compelling as it comes to terms with China's ambitions for full-fledged maritime power like that of the US. In another words, this study will attempt to answer to the key research question; what is China's potentials for sea power by applying SWOT in terms of 6 main principles; geography, physical conformation, extent of territory, number of population, national character and finally character of government advocated by Alfred Mahan in his paramount literature.

Methodology

In this study, qualitative research method is used to examine the main objectives. In the pro-cess of the article, mainly secondary data has been utilized in order to justify the main re-search objective, and to collect secondary data, journals, articles, textbooks and reports are used. Information and insights derived from documents are used as valuable additions to a knowledge base. Further, data analysis and presentation is done through mainly documentary analysis method.

The main purpose of document analysis is to evaluate documents that can be both digital and physical. For that public records such as annual reports, strategic manuals, e-books and personal documents as articles, publications and daily papers can be utilized. Just like other analytical

methods in qualitative research, document analysis interprets data to elicit meaning and develop empirical knowledge.

Literature Review

The preliminary literature review shows the samples, findings, significance and relevancy extracted from previously conducted diverse researches which have correlation with the arguments presented in the research article; China's sea power potential, based on Alfred Mahan's sea power theory.

The literature demonstrates that sea power of a country needs not only strong navy but also requires to fulfil other diverse principles. For example, Colin Dueck (2013) shows that Mahan in his literature defines sea power as not simply a strong navy but also a national orientation toward the ocean, in terms of geographical position, commercial shipping, competitive ports, maritime production, and government policies. Dueck's article helps to understand how the factors such as geography, physical conformation, government policies etc. can have effect on the sea power potential of a country.

Tom and Alexander (2017), on the other hand, argues that China's concern over sea power is not only being reliant on sea routes for its commerce and energy supply, but also the result of having supply lines exposed to foreign threats. Further, Alexandre Sheldon (2016) highlights China has started a build-up aimed at rising China a "sea power" mainly in the Indo-Pacific region to deter US intervention in Taiwan and to protect its trade in the Indian Ocean. These authors provide deep insights to as why Beijing seeks to maximize sea power not only in the immediate seas but also in high seas which has a link with the research article. This article also adds how

China's tremendous economic growth in the past two decades has become the most prominent factor to concentrate Beijing's attentions and energies to the sea.

Moreover, Gompert (2013) describes that "though currently well behind the United States in the capacity to achieve sea power, China has the economic, industrial, and technological potential to mount a strong challenge in the Western Pacific." This article clearly allows to comprehend what are the China's capacities or elements of national power to develop full-fledged sea power, and this article only analyze the economic capacity of China as the 2nd largest GDP holder to improve its maritime strength in 21st century. R. Holmes and Yoshihara (2008) identify that the Chinese pays increasing attention to Mahan's logic. This article also showcase to which extent Chinese current sea power potential can be assessed based on Mahan's six principles or the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Why China Needs Sea Power?

According to Mahan, control of the seas is imperative for a state to grow, by managing commerce and subsequent trade routes during peacetimes on one hand; and by exploiting the seas for military purposes during times of war on the other hand. However, according to many Chinese scholars, China is facing many daunting challenges to be a full-fledged sea power.

The 21st century is a century with the ocean playing an increasingly important role in geopolitical game. Then, concerning the country profile of China, the most significant issue that should be concerned is "why china

needs to be a strong sea power?" firstly, to sustain economic development by safeguarding seaborne trade and energy supply. Since the reform and opening up, China's economy has been developing rapidly.

Table 1. The GDP value as per current US $ trillion

Country name	2015	2016	2017	2018
USA	18.219	18.707	19.485	20.494
China	11.016	11.138	12.143	13.608
Japan	4.389	4.927	4.86	4.971
UK	2.896	2.659	2.638	2.825

Source: www. data.worldbank.org/indicator

In accordance with the Table 1, China claims to be the second largest economy in terms of GDP in the contemporary world economy. China's GDP has increased at 6.6 % in the last year whereas US was 2.8% in 2018. Likewise, in production capacity, China also indicated high performance level in international trade, becoming the largest exporter of goods and services in the world. China's trade surplus, the highest among the top five merchandize traders, was US$ 421.4 billion in 2017.

However, it also faces many challenges such insufficient natural resources and markets for its huge production capacity. This is one of reasons China dispute over neighbouring nations for the South China Sea. The SCS dispute, according to many scholars is more economic. The South China Sea contains a great deal of strategic importance and according to estimations, 10% of world natural gas- 11 billion barrels and 190 trillion

cubic feet. Thus, one reason why china needs sea power is to control the SCS to fulfil energy security for sustainable economic prosperity.

On the other hand, the security of sea lines of communication (SLOCs) directly concerns China's national economic development. As of today 90 percent of China's foreign trade is conducted on the seas. Moreover, nearly 60 % of China's imported crude oil arrives through the Indian Ocean via the Malacca Strait into the South China Sea. However, with numerous choke points and sea areas controlled by other countries, China is not optimistic about the security of the SLOCs upon which it depends (Xiaoyun, 2014). Security of energy supplies transiting critical sea lanes has become a top foreign-policy priority for China. Once again, China's strategic concern on the sea power is for the safeguard of maritime trade basically in the SCS and the Indian Ocean.

Secondly, to safeguard China's territorial and maritime sovereignty, rights, and interests. Territorial claims in the South China Sea and the East China Sea. While the matter of the SCS is more economic, the East China Sea problem is more political. These reasons have caused Chinese maritime interests more acute. As China improve its maritime capacity and bases in artificial islands, this has made a greater assertiveness from Japan, the Philippines, and Vietnam (over continental shelves and exclusive economic zones). The US, China's most adamant rival, also shows greater naval presence in the Pacific. As long as the United States maintains its influence, including its sea power, in the region, China may be threatened. To counter this great challenge and ensure Chinese interest in the Pacific, of course China needs sea power.

Sea Power Theory; Alfred Thayer Mahan (1660–1783)

"Command of the sea is not 'naval.' It is one of national policy, national security, and national obligation." —A. T. Mahan

The American theorist; Alfred Thayer Mahan in 1890 published the book, The Influence of Sea Power upon History, advocating that sea power had been the deciding factor in the world dominance. To justify this argument, he utilized the example of British Empire, how Royal Navy enabled its industrial, commercial and imperial success. Mahan's literature successfully became the roadmap to America's acquisition of Caribbean and Far Eastern colonies and the construction of a world-class battle fleet.

"Alfred Thayer Mahan held that a world power needs overseas access to raw materials and markets to expand its production beyond its consumption and thus grow stronger" (Gompert, 2013). This can be further elaborated as Mahan identified the following factors as potent stimulus for a nation to acquire power of sea; Production, Shipping, Colonies.

As such, Mahan in his working has clearly discussed how the 6 principles; geographical position, physical conformation, extent of territory, number of population, national character and character of government can lead that very nation to a great and dominant power in terms of sea and interchangeably in international sea-borne trade.

Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities & Threats for China's Sea Power

Geographical Position

One pivotal principle of sea power, as per Mahan, is to a very large degree geography. The possibility of securing and seaborne trade, the ability to extract seabed resources, the concentration and movements of naval forces and ease of SLOC all depend on a nation's physical geography. Many analysts identify China's geography as disadvantageous and it is more prone to external threats. The following section of the article will identify to which degree China's geography has become a boon or a ban in its roadmap to maritime superiority.

Island or Continental state

According to Mahan; "if a nation be so situated that it is neither forced to defend itself by land nor induced to seek extension of its territory by way of the land, it has an advantage", the geo-graphical structure of the state as an island or continental is crucial for the sea power. China's coastline is adjacent to the Yellow Sea, the East China Sea, South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean, and, to the south, close to the Indian Ocean.

Map 1; Geography of China

Source: www. geology.com/world/china-satellite-image

•North- northern border with Mongolia and then Russia running right up to the Pacific. This region is sparsely populated and difficult to traverse.

•East- the Pacific coast, which has numerous harbours and has substantial coastal trade, first and second islands China.

•South-the border with Vietnam; the only border traversable by large armies. The rest of the southern border where Yunnan province meets Laos and Myanmar is hilly jungle and difficult to traverse.

•South-western- anchored in the Himalayas.

•West-the open passable corridor along the western border of China is with Kazakhstan. This area is passable but has relatively little communication routes as of now.

In this geographical respect, the substantial logic developed by Robert d. Kaplan is that China as an "Island" in theoretically even though in geographical terms it is still a continental nation. Such an argument is not

made on account of it being surrounded by water (which borders only its eastern flank) but of it being bordered on the other three sides by terrain that is difficult to traverse in virtually every direction starting from North Korea in the North-East to Vietnam in the South-East. (Kaplan, 2010). Thus, when coupled with Mahan's thinking, China's distinctive geographical position gives it a geopolitical strength even though does not perfectly suits Mahan's island nation.

On the hand, internally, the majority of Chinese population what the world regard as China live in the "The Chinese heartland". The surrounding areas west to China are known as "Buffer Regions" as they enclose the heartland and provide a buffer. The 4 provinces of Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria are the buffers which provide the protection to this heartland. At the same time, though not completely settled, but Chinese diplomats through diverse bilateral agreements have settled lingering border disputes with Russia, the Central Asian republics, Vietnam, North Korea, Mongolia, and, most recently, India.

In this sense, as a result of China's enclosed nature and natural shield from outside, similar to an island nation, and to some extent mitigated border tensions, the allocation of expenditure to preserve the territorial integrity from any threat from the land in recent years has reduced and, particularly can expend more on to enhance sea power. Thus, China's geographical position similar to an island nation gives the opportunity to become both a continental and maritime power.

Strategic Advantage of the Position

The Pacific Ocean – the regions which are close to China carries many strategic, political, military and economic value to the state. Yet, American

presence in Western Pacific still re-mains an obstacle to China's side; and disputes over territorial claims with Japan, the Philip-pines, and Vietnam are close to mainland China. At the same time, to reach the Pacific Ocean, the Chinese navy has to cross the so-called ―lines of islands comprised of the Korean Peninsula, the Kuril Islands, the Japanese Archipelago and the Archipelago of Philippines, Borneo and Australia. Most of these territories are under control of countries allied with the US. These two act as geographical threats for China's sea power projection.

According to Mahan's thinking, if a country "controls one of the great thoroughfares of the world's traffic, it is evident that the strategic value of its position is very high." In a more global context, the South China Sea encompasses approximately 3.5 million square kilometres of water surrounded by China and the littoral states of south-east Asia—Vietnam, the Philip-pines, Malaysia, Brunei Darussalam and Indonesia and rich in oil and gas resources. Stretching from the Strait of Malacca in the south-west to the Taiwan Strait in the north-east, this semi-enclosed maritime space is of vital strategic importance. Over 40000 ships pass through the South China Sea every year, constituting around 40 %of global sea trade.

China considers the South China Sea as its core value – with similar claim in the East China Sea as well. If China can control the South China Sea, besides negating the first island chain it will also be able to dominate what most analysts refer to as the "second Persian Gulf". The sea power in the South China Sea is one of reason why China has engaged in disputes with littoral states in the region.

Table 2; South China Sea Trade Share/2016

Country	Trade value in US$ billion	SCS trade as % of total trade of goods
China	1470	39.5%
USA	208	5%
Japan	240	19.1%
India	189	30.6%

Source: www. chinapower.csis.org/much-trade-transits-south-china-sea/

As depicted in the above table, China drives most of the region's traffic. Having more control over the South China Sea trade routes also give the holder power, conferring huge influence to which country dominates the SCS. The sea hosts shipping worth more than $3 trillion in 2016, according to the Centre for Strategic & International Studies' (CSIS). If the South China Sea were effectively closed to American ships and aircraft by an increasingly powerful Chinese military, it would limit US effectiveness as a world power. Thus, Chi-na's geography has a strategic opportunity and the importance of the South China Sea in world trade has added more value to China's geography and in return to achieve sea power.

Physical Conformation

Number of Ports and Quality of Ports

Even though a country consists of a long coastal line, the lack of enough ports can lead to less sea trade, shipping and navy. In the case of China, although it has coastal line only from one side of the country, its availability of higher amount of small, medium and large scale of ports has

become a vital strength for China's to gain strong maritime power. There are approximate-ly 200 sea ports including 34 major ports in China from North to South.

Table 3; Top 10 World Container Ports/2018

Rank	Port	Volume TEU
1	Shanghai, China	42.01
2	Singapore	36.6
3	Shenzhen, China	27.7
4	Ningbo-Zhoushan, China	36.3
5	Guangzhou, China	21.87

Source:www.worldshipping.org

The Table 3 clearly portraits China's ports have gained many of ranks for total cargo volume, container traffic. Thus, having large number of quality ports comparatively to its long sea board, China has greater strength in sea power.

On the other hand, it can be referred to the port infrastructure quality and logistics performance as the "character of harbors." Logistics performance refers to providing fuel, repair services, facilities for the crew, loading and unloading of goods, replenishments etc. The ability of a country to offer better logistics services and the quality of physical infrastructure of its harbors are interrelated. According to the logistic performance index ranking in 2018, measured by World Bank statistics, China counts the 26th in the rank of LPI rank and 3.61 LPI scores. In terms of trade infrastructure quality, it scores 3.75. Further, in terms of logistic competence China

scores 3.5. Even China has ranked 26th which is relatively good, it is a weakness and China needs to improve its LPI more in order to improve performance of logistics to develop sea power.

Maritime Bases/ Naval Stations

According Mahan, establishing land-bases along the shore-lines of different seas and bays is important. Mahan argued that forward bases were necessary for the warships to operate for-ward. The bases should be strategically placed along the SLOCs. "Foreign establishments, either colonial or military… would be one of the first duties of a government for the development of the power of the nation at sea."

China is maintaining its 3 major naval bases in its shores; Qingdao (North East fleet), Ningbo (East Sea fleet), Zhanjian (South Sea fleet). In addition, China has already established its first ever overseas military base in Djibouti, Indian Ocean which are strengths for Beijing. Djibouti occupies a vital strategic position at the southern entrance to the Red Sea from the Indian Ocean, with 30% of the world's shipping passing close by. On the other hand, there are predictions that China is on the verge of installing 18 strategic bases in Indian Ocean. Ex base in Jiwani. Same is with China Pakistan Economic Corridor; flagship project of the BRI, which intends to facilitate Gwadar port as a strategic maritime base in the Indian Ocean which at the same time provides better transfer for oil.

It is interesting to note that OBOR Initiative aspires to improve China's sphere of influence and particularly to build up naval bases (maritime silk route) for China to effectively continue its trade and security concerns together with possible future trade-oriented Indian Ocean ports to promote Chinese naval bases in the Indian Ocean. In Pakistan, Sri Lanka and else-

where, China is using the BRI as a debt trap policy to create client states. Beijing is using its infrastructure projects, while also creating debt dependency, to increase China's political leverage.

And Beijing is rapidly deploying sea ports and airbases in artificial islands such as Cuarteron Reef Subi Reef, Mischief Reef, and Gaven Reefs in the SCS. The hidden motive, as many strategic analysts assume, is to gain more control over the SCS by clamming on Exclusive Economic Zone. The more artificial islands they construct, the more ships can be operated, and as Mahan advocates those maritime bases are huge strengths in order to preserve sea power.

Extent of Territory

"As regards the development of sea power, it is not the total number of square miles which country contains, but the length of its coast-line….. According as the population is large or small…" Given its huge territory, the remaining border is a coastline of 14,500 km to the east and southeast. With more than 36,000 km of territorial boundary, slightly less than 40% is coastline, providing access to the Pacific Ocean through the Yellow Sea in the north, the East China Sea to the east, and the South China Sea to the south and southeast.

On the other hand, Mahan argued that not only the long coastal line, but there should be proportionate population along the coastal area to gain maximum utility from the long coast. Of China's 1.2 billion people, close to 60% live in 12 coastal provinces like Fujian, Guangdong, Hainan, Hebei, Shandong, Zhejiang, along the Yangtze River valley, and in two coastal municipalities — Shanghai and Tianjin. Along China's 18,000 kilometres of continental coast-line, population densities average between

110 and 1,600 per square kilometre. In some coastal cities such as Shanghai, China's largest with 17 million inhabitants, population densities average over 2,000 per square kilometre. This high proportion of population in coastal regions has added strength to the sea power of China by being able to effectively utilize the long coastal line.

Number of Population

When Mahan considered numbers of population, it was more specifically the number following the sea, or engaged in maritime economy. In the case of China, to fulfil its maritime supremacy, China has steadily expanded shipbuilding industry and naval forces. China's ship-building industry is mostly centred on two major shipbuilding companies, China State Ship-building Corporation (CSSC) and China Shipbuilding Industry Corporation (CSIC). CSIC has 140,000 employees and $27.5 billion in assets and the company's products include a range of vessels, such as tankers, bulk carriers, containerships and specialized vessels. With about 95,000 employees, CSSC is slightly smaller than CSIC. In terms of fishery & aquaculture, China has been world's top fishery producer for many years. According to 2017 China Fisheries Statistical Yearbook, fisheries GDP in 2017 was 1200.2 billion RMB about USD 187.5 billion.

Table 4: China Fisheries Statistics

	2010	*2013*	*2014*	*2015*
Employment (thousand)	13992	14430	15030	14587
Aquaculture	4978.9	5191.7	5124.2	5103.1
Capture - Marine	3109.8	3477.1	3561.7	9484.4
Fleet (thousand vessels)	1065.6	1071.6	1065.3	1042.4

Source:www.fao.org/fishery/facp/CHN/en#CountrySector-Statistics

According to the table 4, the fishery sector provided jobs for over 14 million people in 2015 in all sectors. Aquaculture accounted for 5.1 million jobs. From 2002, China's aquatic products exports have ranked the first in the world. In terms of employment, in 2014, there were 14.29 million fishery workers. Among the fishery operators, fishermen totalled 1.82 million, aquaculture workers 5.12 million, the supporting sector 872,906 workers, the part-time workers 4.85 million, and temporary employees 1.63 million. This high population readily available for sea and developed maritime economy, according to Mahan's 4th principle, is another strength for china to obtain sea power.

Table 5; Capture Production/ tons

Country	2016	2017
China	15,787,555	15,373,196
Indonesia	6,542,258	6,688,739
India	5,061,756	5,427,678
USA	4,903,483	5,036,112
Russia	4,759,476	4,869,316

Source : www.fao.org/fishery/statistics/collections/en

The above table clearly depicts that China ranks the no 1 in capture production in the world which means China has a greater population using seabed resources for the wealth generation on behalf of the country. This is, according to Mahanian theory, a highly positive strength in terms of sea power. In terms of maritime defence industry, PLAN is composed of five branches; the Submarine Force, the Surface Force, the Coastal Defence Force, the Marine Corps and the Naval Air Force and provides employment for around 255,000 servicemen and women, including 10,000 marines and 26,000 naval air force personnel, PLAN is the second largest navy in the world in terms of tonnage.

Character of Government

According to Mahan's the key to successful sea power is government should have a consistent policy directed towards maintenance of sea power. In the case of China, "The adoption of the strategy of "building China into a sea power nation" was put forward on November 8, 2012, at the 18th Party Congress of the Communist Party of China. It foresees China developing with ocean economic development pursued in tandem as

part of China's broader national development strategy—at the same time as safeguarding its national sovereignty, security, and interests" (Xiaoyan, 2014).

In the context of PRC; the president Xi Jinping has taken several consistent policy considerations to elevate China's position at sea with the aim of gaining rough parity with US in terms of sea power by 2030. BRI is the most strategic geopolitical strategy of China to improve its sphere of influence in Asia, Africa and Europe. Geopolitically, there are two aspects of the BRI that are to China's strengths. Firstly, the BRI will allow Beijing to greatly expand and consolidate its economic influence and secondly, since the BRI is a land and maritime infra-structure networks as well as supply lines, China will seek to expand its military presence abroad. Some BRI investments could create potential military advantages for China, should China require access to selected foreign ports to pre-position the necessary logistics support to sustain naval deployments in waters as distant as the Indian Ocean, Mediterranean Sea to protect its growing interests.

Conclusion

As pointed out, discussing China's potential of becoming a naval power within Mahan's framework, article analyses the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats china possess in its roadmap to a strong naval power. China's geography (location), though seemingly a boon, gives Beijing favorable strengths in terms of island-like enclosed nature, rather favorable Chinese international environment on the borders is rather favorable (except minor territorial disputes for borders), availability of small islands and strategic position in the SCS are potent strengths to

develop robust sea power. Having high amounts of ports and foreign naval establishments support to consolidate China's trade in return, to maximize its sea power projection even low LPI is possibly a weakness. Importantly, the Chinese coastline is long enough also well developed, with about 60% of the Chinese population living in the coastal zone. Mahan's theory suggests that such a population could be a promising factor to develop robust maritime economy, shipping and strong navy. At the same time, the decision-makers in Beijing are putting a lot of consistent policy efforts to boost sea power such as BRI and modernization of PLAN.

It is unlikely that the US would passively watch China's sea potential develop to the point of challenging American hegemony, and the Southeast Asian nations which are in disputes with China. As a recommendation to address this threat and maximize sea power, China must further strengthen and modernize the PLAN in terms of equipment, technology and strategy. Also, strong diplomatic relations with neighbouring countries is necessary to mitigate any external threat, either maritime or land, to consolidate Beijing's sea power projection.

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The Remarkable Foreign Policy and Political Ideology of United States of America

A.S. Thennakoon[1]

Abstract

A country's foreign policy, also called foreign relations or foreign affairs policy, consists of United States of America, importance of foreign policy is accepted widely, and it basically defines an America's approach towards the other states. A foreign policy should protect the territorial integrity of a country and protect the interests of its citizens, both within and outside. According to Tuen (1998), a majority of studies of political ideology (whether Marxist or non-Marxist) are rooted in the social sciences and pay much attention to political ideologies in relation to class, dominant groups, social movements, power, the political economy or, more recently, to gender and culture. This article is meant to discuss, about American foreign policy and its political ideology. This article investigates how their ideology developed with the changes of foreign policy. The research has used secondary data which are qualitative and have been drawn from scholarly journals in order to ensure its reliability. This study finds that the American attitude, from the late eighteenth century to the present, is of a three-part system of self-congratulatory promotion of liberty abroad, a tendency to view others on the basis of a racial hierarchy, and a profound antipathy to social revolution. Conclusively, this study claims that, the America wants to promote both world peace and democracy to other countries, because they believe it's a way to guarantee national security.

Key words: Foreign Policy, political Ideology, America, the United States

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[1] International Studies Honours Third Year, Department of International Studies. anjalisew@gmail.com

Introduction

"No foreign policy - no matter how ingenious - has any chance of success if it is born in the minds of a few and carried in the hearts of none." by Henry A. Kissinger

The concept of Foreign policy was defined as an activity of the State and its organs by which a country seeks, in its relations with other actors (Mainly states), to comprehend its own values and specific goals in international background by the means and methods at its disposal. Ali, (2018) argues, Foreign Policy of a state is the sum total of its interactions with the outside world. More powerful states are better able to better protect their interests. The essential interests of a state include ensuring territorial integrity and security, achieving economic development and protecting the rights and interests of its citizens around the world. Many factors affect the overall power of a state and thus its foreign policy. The main objective of foreign policy is to use diplomacy (-or talking, meeting, and making agreements) to solve international problems. They try to keep problems from developing into conflicts that require military settlements. President or Prime minister of a state almost always has the primary responsibility for shaping foreign policy.

Also, foreign policy is inclusive. In the recent past, there was a debate about global monetary governance. This aspect is relatively not focused in era of globalization, which led to inequality of accessibility to resources. Moreover, some researchers (Bartels, M., 1996; Elisabetta, B., 2007; and Michael, G., 2012) argues, that the life and death of nations can be determined by foreign policy there is nothing more important that a nations government undertakes. Foreign policy errors have led to wars, trade wars,

and other types of confrontations between nations. Good relations with a nation's neighbours are fostered by well-crafted foreign relations efforts this leads to peace and prosperity for all. Moreover, the ideologues should be those who have clear value commitments, and mutually supporting value commitments (Martin, 2015). Thus, one would be hampered as an ideologue were one to emphasize both individual freedom and state regulation, as increasing one seems to logically imply decreasing the other. Finally, this conception suggests that ideologues without sufficient information about the world would be unable to form opinions, as they would only have the "ought" part of their cognitive orientation, and not the "is" part.

The word ideology was coined for the first time by Destutt de Tracy in the 18th century. He says that ideology is a radical empirical analysis of the human mind. This also dates back to the French Revolution in the European History from where this phenomenon took actual roots. Ideology depends upon strong analysis based on empiricism over a long period of time. Though human nature tends to be changed and owes to new variations and dimensions.

Political ideology has been a confusing topic for social analysts, and those who attempted to eschew judgmental reductions of others' conceptions and develop a non-polemical political psychology found ideology behaving in ways that defeated their theories of political reasoning (Martin, 2015). Some argue that political ideology can best be understood as actors' theorization of their own position, and available strategies, in a political field. The United states of America, like the UK, had its governmental system designed before the existence of stable party organizations, while

the parliamentary systems that support multi-party systems were designed after the development of mass suffrage and the existence of parties, and these were taken for granted by constitution writers. Now it is not necessarily the case that a two-party system leads to a division into "liberals" and "conservatives," though I will argue below that there is actually good reason to expect the development of a "unidimensional" understanding of partisan differences. However, as this is the case in the United States, I use these terms to describe the consensual self-understanding of actors. Thus, if ideology leads to political choice, it does through "liberalism" and "conservatism."

According to Brecher, Steinberg, & Stein (1969), there have been two major orientations in foreign policy filed- single country studies and general systems theory. They also argue that theory-oriented studies of foreign policy are a product of the last two decades and they are rather scarce, that is, they develop categories for a mass of undifferentiated data. The aim of this study is to provide a better knowledge of ideology and foreign policy of United states. The first chapter included the introduction about the foreign policy, characteristic of foreign policy and the importance of the foreign policy. Second chapter is consisting of the introduction to ideology, characteristics and functions of ideology, the importance and how it's related to foreign policy. The third chapter provides better understanding of the history of American foreign policy, the structure of it, and political ideology in America and 21st century foreign policy in America. Finally, conclusion and recommendation attached with relevant references.

Methodology

This study is entirely based on qualitative secondary data retrieved from online scholarly journals and other sources 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.

Literature Review

The history of American foreign policy begins with the assertion of independence. One historian, Bradford Perkins, has characterized the American Revolution as "an act of isolation." Although the colonial relationship with Britain was soon severed by the Treaty of Paris (1783), the theme of independence reoccurred throughout the foreign policy of the early Republic. Americans envisioned a New World free from what they saw as the corrupting influences of the old. John Quincy Adams, for one, articulated a "Doctrine of Two Spheres," dividing the Old World and the new. And George Washington famously warned in his Farewell Address in 1796 against "entangling alliances" with Europe.

Perhaps the most significant expression of new world separatism came in the Monroe Doctrine of December 1823. The Monroe Doctrine had two main elements. First, President James Monroe asserted that the Americas were "not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." Although the United States did not propose to challenge existing colonial territories, it pledged to resist any further extension of European power into the Western Hemisphere. The second aspect of the Monroe Doctrine asserted U.S. opposition to European intervention in New World conflicts. The president declared that his

government would view any European effort to intervene in Latin American affairs as "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." Monroe set up his country as the protector of the New World, though he had little power as yet to back up his claims. The Monroe Doctrine was nonetheless of lasting significance: As Bradford Perkins has written, the 1823 statement amounted to a "diplomatic declaration of independence."

A second theme of early foreign policy was a belief in American destiny. Few among the early generation of Americans questioned that their new nation was meant for greatness. In part this belief came from the Puritan heritage. The United States represented a "city on a hill" that God had chosen for a special destiny and mission in the world. This mission was understood over time in different ways, but the survival of America's republican government remained central. Early Americans believed that republican government was fragile, easily corrupted into tyranny from above or anarchy from below. After all, the republican experiments of the past had ended in failure. Moreover, the French Revolution raised significant questions for Americans about whether republican government could succeed elsewhere in the world. The excesses of the French Revolution, in particular the Terror (1793–1794) and the eventual rise of Napoleon as emperor (1804), reinforced a sense of exceptionalism and superiority in the American mind. This sense of superiority also had a racial aspect. American destiny was an Anglo-Saxon destiny. As Hunt explains, belief in racial hierarchy was part and parcel of American ideology.

America's 1930s foreign policy was based on the realist school of thought. It emphasised international trade in order to achieve economic rejuvenation, whilst its security strategy demonstrated the practical restraints of Hans Morgenthau's classical doctrine of realism through withdrawing its military's international presence. Post-WW2 America's role within the world hierarchy altered significantly as a direct result of internal structural and technological developments that led it to being a world superpower. American foreign policy encompassed both realism and liberal internationalism in its attempt to defeat communism.

The 1970s signified a dramatic change in the foreign policy decision-making process; no longer were Presidents able to operate imperialistically making policy decisions without consulting Congress. Despite being internationally recognised as the victor of the Cold War, America lost its international footing somewhat. political analyst Kenneth waltz supports assertion and argues in the article 'Is Anybody Still a Realist?' that foreign policy in a pre-9/11though post-Cold War era, aside from the widely accepted notion that States "at a minimum, seek their own preservation," (Waltz, Kenneth. 1999: P.14), realism no longer played a leading role in foreign policy and national security decision-making.

Roger Burbach and Jim Tarbell argue that US foreign policy and National Security Strategy since 9/11 has mirrored that of former powers on a colonisation mission. A key example used to demonstrate this was Bush's desire to install a National Missile Defence (NMD) system in Europe. They ascertain that it was part of the regimes neoconservative, imperialistic agenda to impress upon the world American exceptionalism through attempting to colonise the globe by having a military capability

world-wide under the notion of 'national security.' (Burbach, Roger & Tarbell, Jim. 2004).

The US government opposes such a claim maintaining that its actions are part of an assertive-realist security strategy – seen previously within the Cold War era – which confronts threats to America. They argue that like America's proactive response to the attack on Pearl Harbour, the last time America had suffered such devastation on US soil, that 9/11 warranted a similarly aggressive response.

Benjamin Frankel supports this and argues in 'Realism: Restatements and Renewal,' that it is neo-realism, not neo-conservatism which recognises "the ultimate concern of states is not for power but for security…states seek maximum security not maximum power." (Waltz, Kenneth. 1988. in Frankel, Benjamin.1996: P.91). President Roosevelt's description of the attack on Pearl Harbour as a "date which will live in infamy," (Roosevelt, Franklin D.A Date which will live in infamy: FDR ask for a Declaration of War), have been echoed since 9/11. Bush proclaimed the "world has changed" (Cramer,Jane K. & Thrall, A. Trevor. 2012: P.30) as a direct result of 9/11 and therefore had to adapt his leadership style and policies accordingly.

Data Presentation and Analysis

History of American Foreign Policy

In the first place, it is clearly true that there are fewer consensuses today among Americans on foreign policy issues than was the case from about 1940 until about 1965. This is in no way surprising. The goals of World War II were simple and clear: the utter extermination of Hitlerian nazism

and its Japanese counterpart. At the end of World War II, the United States developed a grand global vision grounded in traditional American liberal economics, free trade, anti-colonialism and parliamentarianism. That vision inspired American leadership in the construction of the major world institutions that came into being at the end of World War II-the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the United Nations.

Very shortly, however, as the outlines of the cold war crystallized, the dominant drive of U.S. foreign policy increasingly became anticommunism and global Soviet containment; a secondary theme was the desire to help develop a united, democratic Europe that would forever preclude another European-centred world war; and a third motif was decolonization and, somewhat less wholeheartedly, assistance in the untried experiment of bringing modern economic development to the unindustrialized world.

Further, American foreign policy has been in ferment for the past decade or more. The extended conflict in Vietnam proved unsettling for Americans, especially those whose political coming of age coincided with the height of that war. Vietnam loosened the hold of Cold War precepts shaped by Munich and Pearl Harbour, just as involvement in World War I had shaken the crusading faith of an earlier generation. One observer announced in the early 1970s that "Young America" now wanted to "cool it" in foreign policy; another proclaimed a few years later the discovery of "shifting generational paradigms." (Hunt, 1987).

Structure of American Foreign Policy

According to American Foreign Relations (2019), four themes in particular form the frame for American foreign policy during its first hundred years: independence, territorial expansion, belief in a national destiny, and commerce. Throughout, ideological visions combined with a hunger for land and territory, a healthy respect for European power, commercial interests, and fears for American security. From the vantage point of the present, American foreign policy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries appears relatively inactive and isolationist. Compared with the global reach of American foreign policy during the Cold War and after, the Monroe Doctrine, for example, seems a small thing. Yet the experience of the early republic contributed lasting pieces to the ideological perspective from which Americans came to view the world in the twentieth century and beyond.

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The mixture of mission and race played out in a third theme of early foreign policy: expansion. For nineteenth-century Americans geography was destiny. To the west lay an empty continent, and expansion was nothing less than inevitable. For Americans at the time the same divine providence that had guided the founding seemed to sanction a right to expansion. In the 1840s the writer John O'Sullivan gave name to this impulse: manifest destiny. The United States had a mission "to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions." The new nation would make "manifest" the virtues of freedom and Anglo-Saxon civilization. As the historian Anders Stephenson explains, manifest destiny served as a legitimizing myth of empire.

Manifest destiny helped reconcile the national mythology of exceptionalism and virtue with ambition and acquisitiveness. Americans thus understood their territorial expansion in a particularly American way, drawing on ideas deeply embedded in their cultural heritage and self-identity.

And the United States quickly overspread the continent. Thomas Jefferson's Louisiana Purchase (1803) marked the first major expansion, extending the boundaries of the United States to the Mississippi River. Subsequently, John Quincy Adams became a key architect of American expansion, negotiating the 1819 Transcontinental Treaty with Spain, which extended American claims all the way to the Pacific. These claims did not go entirely unchallenged, as the British sought to retain their foothold in the Pacific Northwest and Mexico claimed significant portions of the Southwest.

Moreover, the issue of slavery complicated considerably the process of admitting new states into the union. And of course, the continent was not empty: The Cherokee and Iroquois among others tried desperately to keep their ancestral lands. But with a combination of war and treaty the United States managed to secure hold over much of the continent by mid-century. Racial attitudes of superiority helped rationalize the bloody and dangerous work of subduing the native populations, as did the ideology of destiny and divine mission. At the same time, race paradoxically limited American expansion to the south. During the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), President James K. Polk turned away from conquering the whole of Mexico, believing that Latin Americans were not ready for republican

government. This belief in Latin American inferiority proved lasting, though ambivalence toward spreading democracy did not.

The final ingredient of early foreign policy was commerce. Revisionist historians such as William Appleman Williams argue that the search for markets has driven American foreign policy from the beginning. Commerce and efforts to protect American trade in particular have always been an element of foreign policy. Americans have long shown a tendency to assert universalistic claims and champion neutral rights that serve American interests. The rebellion against Britain was in part over trading privileges. Even more so was the War of 1812. There were territorial issues and domestic political positions at stake in the War of 1812, but maritime rights were central to the American grievance with Britain. The United States opposed the British efforts to blockade France by decree, known as a "paper blockade," and demanded that Britain recognize the principle of "free ships free goods." Goods transported by neutral American shipping should be immune from seizure by British naval forces and American seamen free from impressment into the British navy, argued the Madison administration. The War of 1812 did not resolve these issues, though the principles of free trade and neutral shipping won some protection under international law in subsequent decades.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Secretary of State John Hay passed the Open-Door Notes to the other great powers. Hay hoped to establish the principle of free trade and open markets. The subject was the China trade, but the principle involved transcended the particulars. Much as the Monroe Doctrine expressed a long-held belief in the separation of the Old and New

Worlds, the open-door notes signified the importance of trade and commerce to American policy-makers.

Political Ideology in America

Since the time of the pioneering work of Free & Cantril (1967), scholars of public opinion have distinguished between symbolic and operational aspects of political ideology (Page & Shapiro 1992, Stimson 2004). According to this terminology, "symbolic" refers to general, abstract ideological labels, images, and categories, including acts of self-identification with the left or right. "Operational" ideology, by contrast, refers to more specific, concrete, issue-based opinions that may also be classified by observers as either left or right. Although this distinction may seem purely academic, evidence suggests that symbolic and operational forms of ideology do not coincide for many citizens of mass democracies. For example, Free & Cantril (1967) observed that many Americans were simultaneously "philosophical conservatives" and "operational liberals," opposing "big government" in the abstract but supporting the individual programs comprising the New Deal welfare and regulatory state.

More recent studies have obtained impressively similar results; Stimson (2004) found that more than two-thirds of American respondents who identify as symbolic conservatives are operational liberals with respect to the issues (see also Page & Shapiro 1992, Zaller 1992). However, rather than demonstrating that ideological belief systems are multidimensional in the sense of being irreducible to a single left-right continuum, these results indicate that, in the United States at least, leftist/liberal ideas are more popular when they are manifested in specific, concrete policy solutions than when they are offered as ideological abstractions. The notion that

most people like to think of themselves as conservative despite the fact that they hold a number of liberal opinions on specific issues is broadly consistent with system-justification theory, which suggests that most people are motivated to look favourably upon the status quo in general and to reject major challenges to it (Jost et al. 2012).

Furthermore, the happiness gap between conservatives and liberals in the United States was tied to the nation's level of income inequality, so that as inequality has increased over the last 30 years, the subjective well-being of liberals has dropped more precipitously than has that of conservatives. Thus, it appears that system-justifying ideologies such as conservatism can "provide a kind of ideological buffer against the negative hedonic consequences of social and economic inequality" (Napier & Jost 2009; Martini, 2012).

Twenty First Century American Foreign Policy

Twentieth-century U.S. foreign policy has been much thought and written about. It has been depicted in terms of the pursuit of overseas markets essential to stability and prosperity at home. It has also been treated as an extended struggle between clear-eyed realists on the one side and fuzzy-minded moralists, opportunistic politicians, and a mercurial public on the other. These approaches, whatever their merits, are by themselves incomplete, for they deal inadequately with one of the most notable features of American policy. And that is the deep and pervasive impact of an ideology with its roots in the eighteenth and nineteenth.

The United States today is in a unique position in the world. More nations today are free even if there is still a huge "democracy deficit" around this world. Free markets have brought millions out of poverty even if there are

millions yet to be benefited. Diversity is a strength, not a weakness. Considering all that, the 21st century American foreign policy based on six trends such as 01) Global war on Terrorism, 02) Globalization, 03) Free market, 04) Democracy, 05) Cultural and national identities, and 06) American power.

"The survival of liberty in our land increasingly depends on the success of liberty in other lands. The best hope for peace in our world is the expansion of freedom in the entire world," stated President George W. Bush as he was sworn in for a second term as president of the United States. History has proven time and again that the spread of freedom is the only way to counter tyranny. Democracy is the only means by which to offset despotism and totalitarianism. Recent developments in places such as the Ukraine and the Middle East have verified that freedom and democracy are not just Western ideals, but rather the universal ideals of mankind.

American military dominance is of considerable importance because the United States is currently the only guarantor of global peace and security. There are those in the United States who are uncomfortable with the idea of retaining so much power, arguing that it works against world peace. However, a lack of American military dominance could ultimately put American and global peace in jeopardy in the face of rising powers whose politics are not congruent with liberty and democracy.

While military dominance and the use of military force are clearly attributing of a successful American foreign policy, it would be incomplete were it not to actively promote democracy. The promotion of democracy is the critical final touch that allows all three components of U.S. foreign policy to work together harmoniously. Time and again democracy have

proven to be the only means by which to strike at the root causes of tyranny and turmoil. Democracy helped a fledgling nation to defeat the most powerful nation of the eighteenth century. Democracy persevered through the bloody American Civil War. Democracy defeated Nazism during World War II. Democracy overwhelmed totalitarianism during the Cold War. Democracy is the system that best serves the demands of human dignity. Thus, it is democracy that will prove to be the greatest weapon against desolation and despotism, and the greatest patron of American and global peace and security.

America's foreign policy today covers a wide range of functions and issues. It includes establishing and maintaining diplomatic relations with other countries and international organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

Conclusion

Americans are not unique in their belief that there is an exceptional nation. Many, if not all, countries have shared such national vanity at some time or another in their histories. Amricans are clearly not alone in holding exceptionalist beliefs. As the United States remains arguably the most powerful nation in the world, it is important to recognize the consequences that the belief in American exceptionalism has on us foreign policy. Political, economics, and strategic interests are the major determinants of us foreign policy. But no matter what the root reasons for a foreign policy decision are, that policy is usually couched in terms consistent with American exceptionalism.

The foreign policy of the United States is its interactions with foreign nations and how it sets standards of interaction for its organizations,

corporations and system citizens of the United States. The four main goals of America's foreign policy are National Security, international trade, and promoting both world peace and democracy to other countries. Also, the objective of American foreign policy is National Security, Free and Open Trade, World Peace, Democratic Government and Concern for Humanity. However, the most important objective is World Peace because they believe it's a way to guarantee national security.

Actions taken by the United States to promote its national interests, security, and well-being may include measures that support a competitive economy, provide for a strong defence of the nation's borders, and encourage the ideas of peace, freedom and democracy at home and abroad. Foreign policy may contain inherent contradictions. For example, an aggressive foreign policy with a country whose activities have been perceived as threatening to us security could result in a confrontation, which might undermine freedom and democracy at home. Foreign policy is never static; it must respond to and initiate actions as circumstances change.

Political ideologies in the United States refer to the various ideologies and ideological demographics in the United States. Citizens in the United States generally classify themselves as adherent to positions along the political spectrum as either liberal, progressive, moderate, or conservative. Modern American liberalism aims at the preservations and extension of human, social and civil rights as well as the government guaranteed provision of positive rights. It combines social progressivism and to some extent ordoliberalism and is highly similar to European social liberalism. American conservatism commonly refers to a combination of economic

liberalism and social conservatism.it aims at protecting the concepts of small government and individual liberty while promoting traditional values on some social issues.

Barack Obama undertook two supremely ideological foreign policy moves. In both cases he seemed largely motivated by myths about American crimes in the past, and for that reason failed of refused to bargain hard for American advantage. Instead, he appeared to see the new negotiations as including a bit of restitution for previous American wrongs. The more significant case was Iran, where he spoke of the crime of overthrowing the leftist Iranian prime minister, Mohammed Mossadeq, in 1953.the other case was Cuba. There, Obama handed valuable gifts of money and legitimacy to the brutal Castro regime.

Today we see the results, in both cases. Iran has received many commercial, political, and diplomatic benefits from the Obama deal, but there is no reform, no change.in Cuba, there has similarly been no change in foreign or domestic policy. Cuba continues to be the mainstay of the Maduro dictatorship in Venezuela, and continues to oppress abuse and imprison Cubans who seek freedom. And now, Obama's gifts are being taken back: The United States is withdrawing most of its embassy staff and has issued a travel warning against visiting Cuba, because of the vicious attacks on American diplomats there. Obama foreign policy had a gigantic ideological element, and was all too often an effort to right imagined wrongs from the Americans past. The result of such of policy is victories for enemies like Islamic republic Cuba, and danger for the Unites States, USA allies, and even now their diplomats.

The united states should not judge the new nations by standards derived from its own experience.in all of them, there prevails a widespread acceptance of the notion that only a socialist form of society can resolve the urgent problems of the immediate future. The likely consequences of this is widespread implementation of state planning and a considerable measure of state control those aspects of social life which Americans prefer to consider as free from state interference.

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Belt and Road Initiative: Threats or Opportunity to Sri Lanka

C.A. Jayasinghe[1]

Abstract

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a global development project which is initiated by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013 with the objective of developing infrastructure and investment connecting three continents. It is known as Belt and Road Initiative because it consists of Belt which is land route and Road which is maritime route. Sri Lanka is situated in a geographical location where significant hub facilitating easy transits of goods from China to Sri Lanka and other southeast Asian countries. location in Indian Ocean Due to Sri Lanka's membership in the Belt and Road Initiative, relations between Sri Lanka and China have increased significantly in recent years. Regarding China's growing to power with BRI and Sri Lanka's involvement in it has led to growing tension of regional powers like India as well as world powers like USA. Objective of this study is to explore the opportunities as well as the threats one would not see indeed to a large number of benefits BRI brings a small country like Sri Lanka. This paper is purely based on qualitative method. The game theory would be the theoretical approach of this study. Therefore, many believe BRI is a win-win situation for both nations. In brief its Sri Lanka's responsibility to make BRI a gain while avoiding threats. Equally, there is a considerable responsibility on the hands of decision-makers in taking decisions that are really beneficial to the country while avoiding threats.

Keywords: Sri Lanka, China, Game theory, Threats, Opportunities

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1 International Studies Honours Third Year, Department of International Studies.
anuradhi.jay@gmail.com

Introduction

Over the last few years, economic relations between Sri Lanka and China have grown with China becoming the second-largest economic partner of Sri Lanka. The Belt and Road initiative (BRI) is at the center of this. This project is initiated by Chinese President Xi Jing Ping in 2013. Belt and Road Initiative or one belt one road is an ambitious program to connect Asia with Africa and Europe via land and maritime networks along six corridors with the aim of improving regional integration, increasing trade and stimulating economic growth. The government of China has invested large sums to develop infrastructure and trade routes which bring mutual benefits. Sri Lanka's involvement in BRI is significantly considered due to Sri Lanka's strategic location is in the middle of the Indian ocean, with an emphasis on Sri Lanka becoming a hub facilitating easy transit of goods from China to Sri Lanka and the Southeast Asian economies and beyond.

Sri Lanka's involvement in BRI is significantly considered due to Sri Lanka's strategic location in the middle of the Indian Ocean, with an emphasis on Sri Lanka becoming a hub facilitating easy transit of goods from China to Sri Lanka and the Southeast Asian economies and beyond. On the other hand, China is rising as a global power in the world. Being a global power China is increasing trade relations and connectivity. Expansion of Chinese power has led to growing tensions in countries like U.S. and India. According to most scholars, this has succeeded to bring large number of opportunities to Sri Lanka while some of the scholars, view that has brought indirect threats. This paper will review the threats and opportunities of BRI with a special focus on Sri Lanka.

Methodology

In this research, both qualitative and quantitative data will be used to analyze the research problem. The data will be collected through secondary data sources. The secondary data will be collected through books, websites, research articles, online magazines, journal articles, and public speeches given by political leaders and intellectuals as well as other scholarly writings. The data will be analyzed using previous reports and documents which have been published relevant to this study.

The game theory would be the theoretical framework of this study. The game theory is a concept that is normally applied for human behavioral studies and any kind of conflict between two or more people. The objective of the game theory is organizing our knowledge on a certain incident and find an equilibrium. This theory mainly consists of many sub-theories like lovers' game, prisoner's dilemma, stag hunt, the battle of sexes, matching pennies, cake cutting deadlock, and trust game, etc. Therefore, according to this study to analyze threats and opportunities of BRI to Sri Lanka prisoner's dilemma would be the best.

Literature review

Game Theory in BRI

To analyze the threats and opportunities from BRI game theories can be used. The game theory is a concept used to study human behavior and strategic settings. The game theory is believed to be an evolutional theory in the present day. Game theory has become a tactical consideration making decisions, especially when dealing with a situation that involves several entities whose decisions are influenced by what decisions they

expect from other entities. The game theory has many sub-concepts that mainly be divided into segments such as cooperative games and non-cooperative games. (Al-Raweshidy, 2010) when it comes to threats and opportunities of BRI to Sri Lanka this paper has been analyzed through three-game theories.

This theory is a sub theory that can be applied in non-cooperative games, and come to a Nash equilibrium. The player has found when they had made a decision where both parties will be better off no matter what outcome happened. In a situation where both parties are at a risk assuming they do not have trust in each other, gaining the best out with an equal loss to both parties what discussed in the prisoner's dilemma.

The stag hunt theory is also applied in the non-cooperative situation in order to come to a Nash equilibrium. In this theory, there are two rabbits and one stag and two hunters. The two hunters can separately catch two rabbits and be on their way or they can both works together to catch the stag. The theory deals with two option in both the parties are not at risk but can achieve great results by joining hands rather than going alone. (Osborne, 2012)

This method is also called the mixed strategy because there are a lot of strategies mixed together. In this particular theory, the outcome is rather certain. Both parties give a certain amount of investments and wait for the best result. In this case, it could either be odd or either be a pulse.

Why BRI in Sri Lanka?

Belt and Road Initiative is the latest project presented by China that connects Asia with Africa and Europe via land and maritime networks by

Six corridors. This program was first presented by president Xi Jing ping's at present, China has presented the BRI as an open doorway to all countries. The BRI aims to increase connectivity and cooperation. In addition to that, it focuses on the development of transport energy, mining, technology, and communications. This project roughly covers 65% of the world population (Anon., 2018). Similarly, to the project name the project consists of Belt Road and Silk route from China through Central and Southern Asia to Europe and the maritime route reaching all the way to Africa and the Mediterranean Sea. The ancient silk route is the basic inspiration of this project but it is said that this project will take the economic prosperity to the world to the next level.

While observing the investment history in Sri Lanka in the past few years one can observe that China indeed has invested in a few major development projects like Mattala Rajapaksa Airport, Hambantota Port, Lotus Tower project, Nelum Pokuna Theater project, Port city project etc. China has also involved in Sri Lanka's Ruber industry and also has won housing project in the North Province. Thus, when it comes to Sri Lanka BRI has focused mainly developing ports and infrastructure. So that BRI has invested in Sri Lanka considerably.

This article paying both sides of Fence Sri Lanka's approach to the BRI, 2019 (Moonesinghe, 2019) the ambition of China may not be all it seems. Though the main reason is of cause the geographical location that Sri Lanka being a significant point in the old Silk Route and the new belt and road. Though the article also enhances that economical commandership also may be one of the reasons.

According to IIaria Maria Sala, he also has emphasized that Chinese interest in Sr Lanka has something to with the strategic location Sri Lanka is situated in. Through his article, he contrasts that Sri Lanka's locational fact is the reason that China has invested in Sri Lanka. (Sala, 2017)

According to the newspaper article Cost-Risk Analysis of One Belt One Road Initiative on Sri Lanka, Sri Lanka is strongly associated with the Maritime Silk Road Route. This is because Sri Lanka is strategically located between the Far East and the Near East as it is close to one of the busiest shipping routes in the world. In addition, Sri Lanka is just 14 miles away from India. Thus, Sri Lanka has been well situated to link the Far East and also the Near East with the Indian subcontinent.

Though China has yet to express their real intentions on investing in Sri Lanka. It is not hard to guess that the country's strategic location has played a major role in it. We have the port and the airport in our land they do not belong to our country their property rights have been given to 99 years lease. (Stacey, 2017)

Data Presentation and Analysis

BRI Projects in Sri Lanka

The BRI presented by the President of China Xi Jinping has increased the proximity between China and Sri Lanka. More an economic tie within the past few years China has invested in large amounts of financial and manpower in Sri Lanka in order to turn Sri Lanka into a regional hub which they believe will be beneficent for both countries Thus there have been progressive projects that are being in motion. The projects mainly began establishing its footsteps in the southern parts of the Island now making

their way into the northern province and the rubber tea and coconut plantation of the central highlands.

Major projects that are being Initiated by BRI in Sri Lanka are the southern highway project, the port city project, the Lotus Tower project, Hambantota Port and Mattala airport this is just the gearing up for the basic step to more their projects in Sri Lanka. Most recently China has made its final move by inventing in the Sri Lanka plantation industry. According to the strategic studies analysis, Sudha Ramachandran China's plans in Plantation is most likely to aid Sri Lanka's goal of increasing its sagging exports through investment in the rubber industry. (Ramachandran, 2018)

Through China has been laying the base to several projects in Sri Lanka it was the Hambantota port project that grabbed the world wide attraction to the country. There are a lot of projects within Sri Lanka that are handled by China through most of them seem to be loans.

Hambantota Port Project

The project of building a port in the southern Coastal area of Sri Lanka was a significant strategic move on China's part. This project initially started back in 2009. This project estimated cost was 360 million US dollars excluding 75.5 million dollars for the banker terminal. This harbor was officially opened 18th of November 2010 by the president at the time President Mahinda Rajapaksha. (Anon., 2016) Sri Lanka's port authority 2010, This port was created in order to relieve pressure in the Colombo port and to provide services to ships as refueling, maintenance logistics and buying provisions and medical supplies. The target was to make the port a commercial hub to the globe and by that gain economic advantage to the country like never before. Though this project along with Mattala

airport was proven to be white elephants. Hambantota port is a white elephant"2017 (Shengwei, 2018). Thus, the Prime Minister Ranil Wickremasinghe had to enter into a PPP agreement with China Merchants port company to revitalize the port alongside for a 99-year rent. In addition to this investment also gave china control 1500 areas of land adjacent to the port for the development of an industrial zone in Hambantota. (Ankit Panda, 2017)

The Hambantota port is aimed to be developed as a regional hub especially because it is situated near the old silk route, so instead of going all the way to the Colombo port to refuel the ships can easily come to the Hambantota port and refuel. This reduces the probability of ships turning away due to the reluctance to turn and go all the way into another country to refuel. Furthermore, this port also provides the space that is rather lacking in the Colombo port. Thus, this is a perfect income method if done efficiently.

On the other hand, Hambantota port has yet to show any results in profit gaining. When it comes to the threats Sri Lanka faces the Chinese involvement using BRI would be the threat the country faces about its sovereignty. Apart from that the Debt- trap is the main threat Sri Lanka face. The port has already been given to China for a 99 years' lease making it a threat rather than a profit to the country. (Stacey, 2017)

Mattala Airport Project (MIA)

The Mattala Rajapaksha International Airport [MIA] is a successfully finished project in Sri Lanka with the financial and technological assistance from China under BRI. The construction of the airport has cost USD $ 243.7 million and out of USD $ 243.7 China has funded with USD $ 190 by EXIM Bank of China. (Senarathna, 2018). This project aimed at

developing underdeveloped districts namely Hambanthota, Monaragala, Badulla and Ampara. The objectives were to create a foreign market in this region and to develop the tourism industry around the island.

In addition to the direct employment opportunities which were hoped to gain from this project, there were other objectives as well. Some of them are the aim of starting new industries, increasing the supply of transport to and from the airport and the development of new medical centers, boutiques, and shops. This is the second International airport in Sri Lanka and was opened o public in March 2013, though as mentioned above this was aimed to become a very profitable this was proven to be a white elephant. (Attanayake, 2018). The main reason for the lack of success in this project the area they had chosen to build this airport in rural areas like Hambantota.thus there are not many people who would use the airport or who would be able to use the airport. Another loophole in this project is that though this was aimed to be a tourist attraction. There is less than likely to become a touristic attraction in Sri Lanka. A senior economist at Hayley's plc, Colombo Mr. Deshal de Mel has said that the problem is with the location where the airport is located and to build up an International Airport there needs to have a resident attraction to make foreigners and commercial infrastructure. This author has further mentioned that he does not see any of that in Mattala airport. Thus, the project has been successfully finished with China's and Sri Lanka's cooperation to show any results. (Shepard, 2018)

Colombo Port City Project

The city is to be constructed between the new Colombo South Port and the port Lighthouse (CPCP) Though the project started in 2011 under

President Mahinda Rajapaksha's era, it was stopped in mid-2012 due to some circumstances. The project went back in to, motion again in 2014 under BRI with the cooperation of president Mahinda Rajapaksha and President Xi Jing Ping. This project covers 125 (310 acres) land. (Dias, 2016) Though the project was again stopped by the Sri Lankan government claiming the project is harmful to the sovereignty of Sri Lanka the project again picked up its pieces with changes in sectors as the role of the Sri Lanka port authority and urban development authority, role of the ministry of megalopolis and western development, legal situation of the land proposed to be filled, etc.

According to Dr. Ranee Jayamaha the project will bring long term benefits, such as the ports of Colombo and Hambanthota and Trincomalee and the two International airports are to be linked as special economic zones by road and rail. According to this article, this development would make CPCP a visible benefit to Sri Lanka. (Jayamaha, 2017) Another opinion on this port city is that the port which serves as Sri Lanka's prima-ry nub for freight has faced capacity concerns as a part of a joint venture with Chi-nese investors, construction of a new south container terminal was started in 2011. (Bloomberg, 2013)

Though there are many opportunities to Sri Lanka by this holds pros and cons. The first being that Sri Lanka has given the port for 25 years for the constructions to China. Thus, leading this to threaten the sovereignty of Sri Lanka. There are equal opportunities and threats it is yet to unfold whether this will actually be a threat or an opportunity as it is yet to be open. The opportunities that are hoped to gain from this project is to make Sri Lanka an industrial hub and a significant stop in the new silk route, bring in more

investment to the development of the country. Additionally, the government hopes to connect all the ports and rails throughout Sri Lanka.

Though there are many gains in this project there is uncertainty whether this would also be another failed project. That uncertainty is the main threat to this project. Other than that, there is also the threat of giving away Sri Lanka's one of the most strategic points to another country for almost a generation. Therefore, the most suited theory for this would be the pennies game theory, where both governments are unaware of whether this would turn out to be profitable or not. Yet they cooperate and hope to work together to achieve the best they can get out of the situation.

Prisoners' Dilemma

	China	Cooperation	Non-cooperation
Sri Lanka	Cooperation	3,3	1,0
	Noncooperation	0,1	0,0

To analyze the threats and opportunities of BRI to Sri Lanka according to the situation of Sri Lanka the best would be the Prisoners' Dilemma of Game theory. To analyze whether the BRI project is a threat or opportunity. It could be analyzed through the major investment projects in Sri Lanka.

According to this theory, Countries take the best option left for each. In this case, it is like two prisoners getting the same sentence in an unfortunate situation and to accomplish the maximum percentage of success where both are in a vulnerable situation. When regarding it with the theory of

Prisoners dilemma the alternative both countries can reach is already in progress which would be where both the countries gaining profit to some extent rather than nothing at all.

According to this diagram if Sri Lanka and China cooperate both can enjoy the full package both parties equally as 3,3. If one country wants to cooperate and the other does not they can go on their own way an achieve individual benefits correspondingly as 1,0 and 0,1. If both countries does not want to cooperate both will not be able to gain any kind of benefit on this situation. They also face a threat of losing a considerable partner which would be loss for both parties shown as 0,0.

Hambantota Port

When it comes to Hambantota Port best alternative both countries can reach at the time was entering into a 99 years lease. The port did not make any profit as the politicians at that time did not pay much attention to the port thus, the Sri Lankan government could not pay the loan China had issued in the due time thus the best option each country had at the movement was to enter into a 99-year lease making it a threat to Sri Lanka.

Though on the other hand Hambantota port has yet to show any results in profit gaining. When it comes to the threats Sri Lanka faces the Chinese involvement using BRI would be the threat the country faces about its sovereignty. Apart from that the Debt- trap is the main threat Sri Lanka face.

Sri Lanka gave management rights to China thus; they can use their connections and investments to make this none profitable project into a profitable one. In conclusion, the port may have been a white elephant to

Sri Lanka and China both, but this best choice they have left in order to minimize the threat and maximize the opportunities with the given situation.

Mattala Airport

Mattala Airport (MRIA) project one of the many was direct employment. Other hands that the government also wanted to create a foreign market in the district and turn in to a regional market. The opportunities were to gain more investors to start new industries and also to gain another international airport to the country.

Although many opportunities were presented the project has yet to gain any profit. Furthermore, the airport location has a complete failure thus the approximated profit was not it is even considered the emptiest international airport. (Davis Brew-ster,2018)

When we look at this according to Prisoners dilemma theory one can come to an equilibrium that if it is left in the hands of Sri Lankan government both the parties are going to gain loses thus the best option would be to have over the matters to China to easement to at least gain some kind of profit rather than nothing at all as Sri Lanka did with the Hambantota port. After all, China got Sri Lanka in a debt trap thus the best the above one would be the best option for Sri Lanka to gain as much as opportunities for the give situation. MRIA is failing and Sri Lanka has been unable to pay back debt to the EX-IM Bank of China. Sri Lanka has now seemingly decided to hand over the airport to India, then it can pay the Chinese loan. "India would operate the airport as a Sri Lanka-India joint venture. The joint venture would see India gain a major stake of the airport, Minister of Civil Aviation Nimal Siripala de Silva told the Parliament." As it is Sri

Lanka is in a serious vulnerable situation in the Debt Trap. The seaport built in Hambantota, another Rajapaksa pet project, has alredy been leased to China to set off Chinese loans as equity.it seems sri lanka is planning on leasing the airport to India in order to retrive this dying airort which has caused over rupees 20 billion loss. (The Hindu 2018)

Colombo Port City

Though the Colombo Port City might bring lots of opportunities to Sri Lanka by this holds cons as much as cons. Thus, leading this to threaten the sovereignty of Sri Lanka. There are equal opportunities and threats it is yet to unfold whether this will actually be a threat or an opportunity as it is yet to be open and it is estimated for 25 years. The opportunities that are hoped to gain from this project is to make Sri Lanka an industrial hub and a significant stop in the new silk route, bring in more investment to the development of the country. Additionally, the government hopes to connect all the ports and railway network throughout Sri Lanka.

Though there are many gains in this project there is uncertainty whether this would also be another failed project. That uncertainty is the main threat to this project. Other than that, there is also the threat of giving away Sri Lanka's one of the most strategic points to another country for almost a generation. Though it can be said like that Sri Lanka did the same mistakes in Hambantota Port and Mattala Rajapaksa International Airport the possibilities are Sri Lanka being trapped by debt up to the point of no return.

It is extremely harmful to a country to be confronted with debt trap. Eight countries will be exposed to excessive debt: Djibouti, Kyrgyzstan, Burma, the Maldives, Mongolia, Montenegro, Pakistan and Tajikistan. (Fernholz,

2018) Among these countries also Djibouti is the country that has highest debt. Presently Djibouti is projected to take on public debt worth around 88 percent of the country's overall $1.72 billion GDP, with China owning the lion's share of it, according to a report published in March by the Center for Global Development. If Sri Lanka does not take action carefully Sri Lanka also no sooner be in a situation like Djibouti.

There is another aspect to consider when it comes to BRI to Sri Lanka. It is that two of the most powerful nations in the world are not really in favor of the project BRI. Those countries are USA and India. Sri Lanka is in the middle of a power rivalry which will be a threat to the country in many ways. Already India's attention is on MRIA which is also a part of BRI. (Chaudhury, 2018) In that case Sri Lanka has to lease MRIA and payback to India. This is the option that is left with Sri Lanka. That is why Sri Lanka is in a dangerous debt trap situation. when we look at all these cases Sri Lanka is losing its sovereignty gradually as well as not only for China but also the other powerful countries that are interested in engaging in Sri Lankan ports and strategically important locations.

In contrast, the USA is also planning to start a significant counter project against BRI. According to the Indo-Pacific Strategic Report, 2019.USA is planning to create project called "BUILD" similarly BRI (Anon., 2019). There is no guarantee that these power rivalries won't affect Sri Lanka. This is in processing. Sri Lanka is in the middle of a dilemma with the MCC from the USA is also opening their arms to Sri Lanka. This is not a situation Sri Lanka can be afforded to be in. Therefore, unless Sri Lanka makes its decisions carefully the country will lose its sovereignty and Sri

Lanka's have to be living in a country that is conquered by powerful nations in the world.

Conclusion

Recently China is investing in Sri Lanka significantly because of its importance in the strategic location in the Indian Ocean as a hub facilitating trade as Sri Lanka is a significant stop in the Maritime route in the Belt and Road Initiative. Among the opportunities that Sri Lanka could gain so far through the projects mainly investments, economic development, and technology. The development projects like Hambantota port project, Mattala Rajapaksa International airport and Colombo port city project, are true added values to Sri Lanka. Though there are projects which didn't mention like Housing projects and southern express highway project. These investments bring opportunities as well as threats to Sri Lanka. The opportunities Sri Lanka can gain from BRI are investments, developments, technology. Even though there have been many opportunities there are many threats. The debt trap is the main threat we face in this situation and we already have been trapped by Hambanthota project since Sri Lanka failed to repay the loan China invested Sri Lanka had to go to their last resort witch was to give the port of China for a 99 years lease. And also the Mattala Rajapaksa International Airport may have been a white elephant to Sri Lanka and China both. Thus it seems that the Sri Lankan government has plans to manage the airport with India in order to make up the loss government faced. If Sri Lanka failed to address the debt trap in future this will happen to the Colombo port city and Sri Lanka will also be a country like Djibouti which has to pay 80% of GDP of the country to China. On the other hand, the other two main economies in the world are

not so pleased with China's economic dominance. Thus, India who is the powerful country in South Asia and the USA world supper power is also not overly pleased with Sri Lanka and China's relationship. Thus, Sri Lanka has been trapped inside of power rivalry War. According to the Indo-Pacific Strategic Report, 2019.USA is planning to create counter BRI project called "BUILD". There is no guarantee that these power rivalries won't affect Sri Lanka. The USA counter back through their project BRI is going to neck with China's BRI. On the other hand, India has shown its interest in MRIA. Thus, there is no guarantee that Sri Lanka won't be affected by these power rivalries Through it is known fact that neither did China forced themselves on Sri Lanka not they offered their loans to Sri Lanka. It was Sri Lankan government that made the deception to take China's hard. It was also the government that failed to pay the loans. Thus, Sri Lanka's duty to maximize the opportunities and minimize the threats while successfully handing international rivalry. Thus, the decision makers of Sri Lanka should take dicisions wisely, taking lessons from past in order to make BRI project to Sri Lanka opportunity while avoiding threats in the future.

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