Journal of International Studies

International Studies Students' Association

Department of International Studies

Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Kelaniya

Journal of International Studies

Editorial Board

Message from the Vice Chancellor of the University of Kelaniya

Professor Nilanthi de Silva

It gives me great pleasure to pen this short message of felicitation for the seventh volume of the Journal of International Studies, published by the Department of International Studies.

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

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

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

Prof. Nilanthi de Silva
Vice Chancellor
University of Kelaniya

Message from the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences

Professor M. M. Gunatilake

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

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

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

Professor M. M. Gunatilake
Dean
Faculty of Social Sciences

Message from the Head of the Department
of International Studies

Senior Lecturer Sithara Priyadarshana

I am delighted to forward my felicitations at the occasion of the publishing of the seventh volume of the Journal of International Studies by the students of the Department of International Studies. This publication is a result of studies conducted by students of the Department of International Studies in various fields of the discipline.

The Department of International Studies has always supported aspiring young researchers to seek and explore the realm of academia through research. Therefore, this endeavour taken to nurture a research culture among university students is praiseworthy. It provides a platform for our undergraduates to exhibit their research and be exposed to academia. The journal reflects the length and breadth of the research being conducted by undergraduates in the field of international relations. It fills me with pride to see the fruitful efforts of the International Studies Students' Association.

I thank the authors for adding to the wealth of knowledge in International Relations and contributing to the prestige of the University. I also sincerely thank the editorial board and the review committee for their voluntary efforts to make this publication a success. I hope this would be a stepping-stone for the authors to continue academic research and contribute to the discipline of international relations.

Senior Lecturer Sithara Priyadarshana
Head
Department of International Studies

Message from the Senior Treasurer of the

International Studies

Students' Association

Probationary Lecturer Savithri Fernando

As the Senior Treasurer of the International Studies Students' Association, it is with utmost pride and pleasure that I extend my felicitations to the seventh volume of the Journal of International Studies.

This volume is the outcome of the constant efforts made by the Department of International Studies to improve the critical thinking and academic writing of its undergraduates. I firmly believe that through such publications, young researchers are encouraged to improve their problem-solving skills and to challenge themselves in new ways. This volume is a manifestation of this effort.

I extend my thanks to Mr. Sithara Priyadarshana, the head of the Department of International Studies for his unfailing support throughout the publication process. I also fondly remember the distinguished faculty members that helped us with reviewing these research articles. My thanks also go to the International Studies Students' Association for their efforts to make this publication a success. I wish all the best to all authors who contributed this volume. This is a milestone in your academic life to inspire you to remain curious about the world. I hope that the readers of this volume will find it insightful as they peruse through these pages.

Lecturer (Probationary) Savithri Fernando
Senior Treasurer
International Studies Students' Association

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

Charuka Madusanka

As the president of the International Studies' Students' Association (ISSA), it is with profound pleasure, humility, and anticipation that we celebrate the launch of the 7th issue of the Journal of International Studies. On behalf of the editorial team, I would like to extend a very warm welcome to the readers of the Journal. I take this opportunity to thank our authors, editors, and reviewers and all others who volunteered to contribute to the success of the journal. I appreciate the dedication of my fellow undergraduates who contributed immensely to make this task a success.

The International Studies Students' Association has always directed the way to elevate the extra-curricular activities of the International Studies undergraduates. I am grateful to the Head of the Department of International Studies Senior Lecturer Sithara Priyadarshana and Senior Treasurer of the ISSA probationary lecturer Savithri Fernando, all the lecturers and assistant lecturers of the Department for their guidance and support extended throughout by encouraging us to walk that extra mile to write to the Journal of International Studies. I fondly remember the ISSA family who were behind this endeavor from the beginning up to the final launch of the journal.

Charuka Madusanka
President
International Studies Students' Association

Message from the Editor of the the

International Studies Students'

Association

Arosh Martin

The Journal of International Studies, published annually, is a platform for undergraduates of the Department of International Studies of the University of Kelaniya to present and discuss emerging developments on international relations. The 7th volume of the Journal consists of original empirical investigations and comprehensive literature review articles focusing on topics related to current issues of international relations. Thus, it is with great pride and enthusiasm that I invite you to read this treasure trove of knowledge, which provides valuable insight into the field of international relations.

My sincere gratitude and appreciation is extended 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. I am humbly proud to be a part of this initiative. The Journal as it is launched today is not the work of a couple of individuals, nor a work of a few days' time. It is the final product of the long labour of many people who committed to see it as it is today. I am grateful to the Head of the Department of International Studies Senior Lecturer Sithara Priyadarshana and the Senior Treasurer of the International Studies Students' Association Probationary Lecturer Savithri Fernando, all the lecturers and assistant lecturers of the Department and the editorial team for lending their guidance and support for this publication.

Arosh Martin
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Content

The Role of Sri Lankan Government in Relation to SDGs in Mitigating Trafficking in Persons

D. P. S. N. Jayasinghe[1]

Abstract

Human Trafficking is fundamentally identified as the exploitation of individuals through threat or use of force, coercion, abduction, fraud/ deception. Slavery has only expanded over time to form an enormous global trade system of human beings into what is now known as human trafficking or modern-day slavery. The United Nations bodies and agencies which have prioritized combatting trafficking in their agendas have constituted a ripple effect in anti-trafficking protocols. Sri Lanka is an origin country and a transit point of trafficking in person. Sri Lankan low skilled workers and female domestic workers are prone to forced labor involuntary domestic servitude and sex trafficking. The research problems of this study are whether United Nations provide a legally abiding requirement for the Sri Lankan government to implement National anti- trafficking in person measures and what is the role of the state in weakening TiP in Sri Lanka? The research objectives are to determine whether there is an inspiration of UN based agencies and protocols on Government of Sri Lanka to implement National counter-trafficking measures and to observe the role of the Government in weakening human trafficking. Qualitative approach has been adopted and secondary data is the main type of data utilized. Qualitative secondary data were retrieved from scholarly journals and other sources. The research findings suggest that, collaboration of UN based organizations in Sri Lanka such as IOM, UNHCR, UNODC and the national policies of the government and The National Anti-Human Trafficking Task force play a significant role in their efforts to mitigate trafficking in Sri Lanka.

Keywords: *Human Trafficking, SDGs, United Nations, Government of Sri Lanka*

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Introduction

'Modern slavery' and human trafficking are umbrella terms that are used interchangeably. In a detailed typology, many forms of human trafficking or exploitation are identified, such as, practices of forced labour, debt bondage, domestic servitude, forced marriages, child marriages, sex trafficking, child sex trafficking and recruitment of child soldiers in wars. (Human Trafficking Search, 2020) The profits that are being drawn from modern day slavery make it one of the fastest growing sources of income for global criminal networks.

Trafficking in terms of criminal trade ranks third behind drug and ammunition networks, in generating income for organized crime. The traffickers tend to risk their involvement to these practices since it is highly profitable and distinctively" unlike other commodities such as drugs, people can be used and resold repeatedly. The risk of detection is relatively low as many of the victims come from countries where the authorities are a source of fear rather than assistance" (Kreston, 2007:39). Among these various forms, forced labour and sex trafficking can be perceived as the most common practices of trafficking in person.

United Nations, in its role to tackle and control trafficking in person has introduced multiple conventions and protocols in a holistic point of view. The United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (UNTOC) is the UN's primary legal instrument in the combat against organized transnational crime. Furthermore, 2000- Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the United Nations Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime and The Sustainable Development Goals, otherwise known as the Global Goals, aimed at resolving an array of issues, can be recognized as some of the other anti-trafficking measures. Specifically, the Sustainable development goal number 5 (Gender Equality), 8 (Decent Work and Economic Growth) and 16 (Peace Justice and Strong Institutions) prioritize Trafficking in Person. Nevertheless, many other SDG targets and goals are applicable in addressing trafficking in person since it is an issue deeply rooted in development issues at-large including poverty, education, child labour, abuse and exploitation, gender inequality and discrimination, migration and

the effects of climate change (The Inter-Agency Coordination Group against Trafficking in Persons, 2018).

The amendment to the penal code of Sri Lanka in 2006 can be introduced as one of the most prominent actions taken by Sri Lankan government to believe that in fact, Trafficking in Person has become a dire issue worldwide as well as in Sri Lanka that needs to be addressed by the authorities concerned. It refers to the human trafficking as, "whoever (a) buys, sells or barters or instigates another person to buy, sell or barter any person or does anything to promote, facilitate or induce the buying, selling or bartering of any person for money or other consideration; (b) recruits, transports, transfers, harbors or receives any person or does any other act by the use of threat, force, fraud, deception or inducement or by exploiting the vulnerability of another for the purpose of securing forced or compulsory labour or services, slavery, servitude, the removal of organs, prostitution or other forms of sexual exploitation or any other act which constitutes an offence under any law."

Since, presently Sri Lanka has become a strategic location and a transshipment hub for numerous drugs, emerging trends in human trafficking that Sri Lanka must give heed to are cybersex trafficking and drugs and narcotics trafficking. As Within the Sri Lankan society, sex trafficking does not operate on its own. It is intertwined with the influences of globalization, the free market system, free trade, class struggle, patriarchic principles, and post-war conditions. (Vithanage, 2015) In a similar study of 2008 titled, 'The sexual abuse, commercial sexual exploitation and trafficking of children in Sri Lanka, J. Squire and S. Wijeratne observed that children are trafficked from rural to urban and tourist areas, mainly for domestic labour and sexual exploitation. The research particularly mentions that the country was notorious for child sex tourism in the 1980s. (Squire & Wijeratne, 2008)

Methodology

This research is prominently based on qualitative approach; it will also apply quantitative approach to determine certain hypotheses. Secondary data will be utilized to collect reliable data for the research. Qualitative and quantitative secondary data will be retrieved from online scholarly journals and other sources such as e-books, articles, online videos, reports available on the

internet. Furthermore, public speeches conducted by International relations specialists and Human Rights advocates will be referred.

Literature Review

According to former-president Barack Obama, Human Trafficking affects the society in a variety of strata. In his TIP report 2013 he refers to human trafficking as,

> "It ought to concern every person, because it's a debasement of our common humanity. It ought to concern every community, because it tears at the social fabric. It ought to concern every business, because it distorts markets. It ought to concern every nation, because it endangers public health and fuels violence and organized crime. I'm talking about the injustice, the outrage, of human trafficking, which must be called by its true name – modern slavery." President Barack Obama September 25, 2012 (TIP Report, 2013:1).

The establishment of United Nations undoubtedly marked the appraisal of International law and furthermore it launched a common platform to address burning issues such as Human Trafficking itself. The preamble of the charter of United Nations interprets the motives behind the establishment of UN, and it advocates "to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom" (Charter of the United Nations,1945). Thus, it is apparent, that in the founding of the organization itself, it endeavored to respect human beings and protect their individual rights.

This humanitarian perspective of United Nations is further elaborated with the establishment of Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In the preamble of the declaration, it is said that "disregard to contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advert of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people" which connotes advocacy towards anti-human trafficking and human rights violations in that regard.

There are various types of Human Trafficking. According to Human Trafficking Search, sex trafficking can be explained as the instances where the individuals involved, are engaging in prostitution or similar commercial sex act, resultant of a coercion or fraud. In her study "Understanding the Nature and Scope of Trafficking of Women in Sri Lanka for Sex Work: What Needs to be Done?" D.S. Vithanage observes that the prevalence of commercial sexual exploitation of children (CSEC) has been booming in the context of the sex trafficking in Sri Lanka. According to the International Labour Organization, approximately 4.8 million individuals are sexually exploited, 3.8 million adults and 1 million children. Women and Children are the most common victims prone to the trafficking related atrocities while there is a growing tendency of LGBT or especially transgender trafficking.

Trafficking in Person is not a novel phenomenon to Sri Lanka. Therefore, there is sufficient precedence to research on Trafficking in Person concerning the island. Previous studies have contributed to the appreciation and understanding of human trafficking realities and challenges in Sri Lanka. It is noteworthy that many of the studies have focused on victimization of women and children. The findings of these studies unveil that people are in situations of modern slavery in Sri Lanka and trafficking is a fluid phenomenon responding to market demands, weakness in laws, and economic and development disparities. They further confirm that trafficking is less often about the flat-out duping and kidnapping of naïve victims than it is about the coercion and exploitation of people who initially entered a particular form of service voluntarily or migrated willingly. Traffickers often use sexual violence as a weapon against women to keep them in compelled service, whether in a field, a factory, a brothel, or a home, and child sex trafficking in on the decline in the country. (Coomaraswamy & Satkunanathan, 2006)

In his book, "Sex workers of Sri Lanka", Prof. Nandasena Ratnapala examines the reasons behind child sex trafficking and prostitution in Sri Lanka. The foremost reason substantiated by the author is the economic and social poverty of the child victims. Overburdened families with too many children, view prostitution as a solution. The lack of education of both parents and child victims may lead to child trafficking as well. Their ignorance is fully exploited by intriguing procurers or middlemen. Furthermore, Sri Lanka being a

tourism-oriented country has become an encouraging factor of child sex trafficking. Especially, Holland and West Germany have in addition to magazines such as 'Spartacus' and similar journals contributed to the advertising of Sri Lanka and in popularizing it as a place for young boys and girls. In some European countries, Sri Lanka is thus portrayed as a 'gay' paradise- particularly as a place where young male children are available for every known abominable form of 'sexual gratification'. Further elaborating the reasons behind the popularity of Sri Lanka's sex trafficking, the author presents that, the spread of AIDs has led some tourists to come to Sri Lanka in order to expose themselves to minimum risk of AIDs. (Ratnapala, 1999)

The practice of trafficking for commercial sex exploitation shows that each of its stages (recruitment, transportation, entry into a country, exploitation and criminal proceeds) is associated with related crimes, against either specific individuals or the State. For instance, recruitment involves fraudulent promises or kidnapping perpetrated against the individual victim. Transportation and entry may involve assault, rape, false imprisonment, forced prostitution (against victims) and violations of immigration laws (against the State). During the exploitation stage, trafficked persons are victims of coercion, threat and extortion, false imprisonment, forced prostitution, domestic violence, rape or sexual assaults, and in some cases manslaughter or murder. Making use of criminal proceeds from trafficking and exploitation involves money laundering, tax evasion, and crimes against the State. Most stages may entail corruption of government officials and at times document forgery.

Trafficking involving sexual exploitation commonly refers to the exploitation of persons for prostitution, entertainment, and pornography, and is now increasingly understood – where it occurs for the purpose of exploitation - to encompass forced or arranged marriages, "mail order" brides, temporary wives or marriages of convenience. Trafficking does not require transportation or the crossing of international borders; women and children are victimized by trafficking in their own countries and abroad (Ranasinghe, 2019).

Data Presentation and Analysis

In their study on 'Human Trafficking in South Asia: Application of Anti Trafficking Laws and The States' Duty to Protect Human Rights of The Victims', Jahan Efat and Sheikh Anisuzzaman claim that South Asian states such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lank are pressured by the international community to take necessary steps in order to prevent Human Trafficking, they have signed following International Instruments willingly.

I.   The Government of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have ratified the Conventions on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in the early1990s.

II.   The governments of Afghanistan. Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have ratified the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), 1981.

III. The Afghanistan and Bangladesh have not ratified the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography, 2002. Besides this, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have ratified this protocol.

IV.   South Asian countries are signed and ratified the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) Convention on Prevention and Combating Trafficking in Women and Children for Prostitution.

V.   The Government of Bangladesh is reviewing the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons; Especially Women and Children, Supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime2000, which calls for the prevention, suppression and punishment for trafficking in people. Afghanistan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka have ratified the Convention on United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

VII.   Afghanistan, India, Sri Lanka have ratified the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

VIII.   Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka have ratified ILO Forced Labor Convention, 1930.

VIII.   Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have ratified Abolition of Forced Labor Convention, 1957.

IX.   Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka have ratified Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, 1999.

X.   Afghanistan, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan do not ratify the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their families, 2003. On the other hand, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka ratified this Convention.(S.I.J & Anisuzzaman.S, 2015)

Nevertheless, according to the Trafficking in Persons report completed by the United states Department of State in 2019, the Government of Sri Lanka does not fully meet the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking; however, it is making significant efforts to do so. These efforts included convicting more traffickers than previous years, including the first conviction under the trafficking statute in five years; identifying more potential trafficking victims; and continuing to conduct numerous anti-trafficking trainings and awareness raising events for government officials and civil society. However, the government did not demonstrate overall increasing efforts compared to the previous reporting period. While it convicted more traffickers, it issued suspended sentences to some of those convicted and initiated significantly fewer prosecutions. Despite numerous trainings, officials did not make adequate efforts to screen individuals arrested or charged for prostitution, vagrancy, or immigration offenses for indicators of human trafficking; the government detained child sex trafficking victims and did not provide appropriate care. Complicity remained a serious problem and the government did not initiate any new investigations into allegedly complicit officials, despite multiple reports of official complicity in

trafficking. Therefore, Sri Lanka was downgraded to Tier 2 Watch List (US, 2019).

The laws of the Penal Code on trafficking in Sri Lanka have recently been amended to concur with the Optional Protocol on Trafficking. As of the 2006 amendment, the mechanisms of trafficking include buying, selling, bartering, recruiting, transporting, transferring, harboring, receiving, 'or any other act'. The addition of the words 'or any other act' allows the law to address a wide range of recruitment mechanisms that may not be included in the definition. In the 2006 amendment, the modus operandi of the trafficker includes the use of threat, force, fraud, deception, or inducement or by exploiting the vulnerability of another. However, some common means by which traffickers acquire victims are not included, such as abduction, or deceiving, causing fear to, threatening or coercing the parent or guardian. Whereas the previous Penal Code legislation on trafficking, as of the 1995 amendment was limited due to its emphasis on the transportation of the trafficked child 'to a foreign country', this has been addressed in the 2006 2amendment, in which the country of destination is not mentioned. Thus, the law includes both internal and external trafficking. The most significant weakness in the present amendment is the exceedingly soft penalty for trafficking, being 'not less than two years' for an adult, and 'not less than three years' for a child.

SDG target 16.1 requires significant reduction in all forms of violence and related death rates everywhere. Compared to 2008, Sri Lanka's homicide rate in 2016 has decreased to 2.5 cases per 100 000 and the number of grave crimes has recorded a decrease of approximately 40% to 35,987 in 2017.152 Target 16.2 requires ending abuse, exploitation, trafficking and all forms of violence against children. In 2016, the number of victims of human trafficking per 100,000populations was 0.12. Abducting/kidnapping have reduced from 1239 in 2010 to 897 in 2017. Cruelty to children and sexual exploitation of children have reduced from 340 in 2010 to 131in 2017. Sri Lanka ratified the Palermo Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons especially women and children on 15 June 2015, and through coordinated efforts by a stakeholders task force led by Ministry of Justice, substantive progress has been achieved to raise awareness, provide victim assistance, and in getting due processes against perpetrators. Sri Lanka has also been actively

contributing bilaterally and regionally through mechanism such as the "Bali Process".

The Ministry of Women and Child Affairs has established women and children's units at the divisional level which is staffed by officers working on women and child affairs at the grass-root level to provide protection, care and guidance, to resolve issues related to Gender Based Violence, and to provide emotional support and counseling (Targets16.1 and 16.2). They also collaborate with other State agencies such as hospitals and community organizations, functioning as a crucial link between the State machinery and the community. The National Anti-Human Trafficking Task force has developed a strategic plan for the 2015 - 2018 periods to monitor and combat human trafficking, endeavoring to bring together stakeholders to work in coordination and collaboration on targeted interventions.(Ministry of Sustainable Development, 2018)

The Sri Lankan National Plan of Action on Trafficking in Children is exceptional in South Asia for recognizing family disruption as a key cause of trafficking as well as addressing the common 'root causes', such as poverty and lack of education. While this NPA does not identify certain elements of family dysfunction, such as domestic violence, as contributing causes of trafficking, it does recognize the family's need for health care, economic, and social stability. Community-based development initiatives are endorsed as means to strengthen the family's protection of the child. Notably, the NPA addresses the excessive institutionalization of children in Sri Lanka by encouraging community and family involvement in rehabilitation. While not directly covered in the NPA, child sexual abuse in Sri Lanka is addressed by the establishment through legislation of the National Child Protection Authority, an interdisciplinary governmental body to address sexual abuse, commercial sexual exploitation, trafficking, forced labour and illegal adoption. (Squire & Wijeratne, 2008)

Conclusion

The focus of UN-based organizations such as IOM for addressing trafficking in person can be appraised, as they are specifically supportive for developing nations, since the lack of research capacity in such countries is predominantly

observable. In a report conducted by the International Organization for Migration in 2008, it is perceived that there are many potential gaps in the field of research in the context of human trafficking. It further perceives the fact that, other than having little uniformity among nations to define trafficking in Person, there are many gaps and weaknesses in the present empirical research on trafficking. (IOM, 2008) Among the various research gaps, it highlights issues such as the overemphasis on trafficking in women for sexual exploitation, lack of research on trafficking of boys and men in labour exploitation. It further highlights lack of empirical research, particularly studies presenting the viewpoints of the victims as a potential weakness. Furthermore, having much less evaluations of policy responses and counter-trafficking programmes whilst the abundance of too many studies with a petite timeframe, low budget, and narrow focus to meet the needs of operational programs, Lack of research capacity in developing countries; dispersed research findings which are not easily accessible to policy-makers.(F.Laczko & E.Gozdziak, 2005) Thus, the report has observed that the Trafficking in Person has become an issue of global concern whilst there are many research gaps to be filled.

Nevertheless, according to the Government's Vision 2025, Government of Sri Lanka will ensure the rule of law and good governance, protect human rights of all and promote inclusive and equitable growth and development of the country, which is the need for a strong democracy. Strengthening law enforcement institutions and proper monitoring mechanisms are crucial in ensuring peace and justice in the country. People, Planet, Prosperity and Partnership can be brought together through a new constitution with strong institutions. Education about values, attitudes, modes of behavior, and ways of life that can enable them to resolve any dispute peacefully and in a spirit of respect for human dignity and of tolerance and non-discrimination.(Ministry of Sustainable Development, 2018)

It is fair to argue that, Sri Lanka is still in the amidst of recovering its economy from certain threats such as terrorism, bribery and corruption. The government recognizes the SDGs and the amalgamation of efforts by UN based organizations in Sri Lanka such as IOM, UNHCR, UNODC and the national policies of the government and The National Anti-Human

Trafficking Task force play a significant role in the mitigation of trafficking in persons in Sri Lanka.

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Post COVID-19 World Economy: Era of Digital Economy

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

Abstract

The world is facing a global health crisis unlike any in the 100-year history, one that is killing people, spreading human suffering, and upending people's lives. However, this is much more than a health crisis. It is a human, economic, and social crisis. The coronavirus disease (COVID-19), which has been characterized as a pandemic by the World Health Organization (WHO), is attacking societies at their core. The global economy could shrink by up to 1 percent in 2020 due to the coronavirus pandemic, a reversal from the previous forecast of 2.5 percent growth, the UN has said, warning that it may contract even further if restrictions on the economic activities are extended without adequate fiscal responses. The COVID-19 pandemic will cause a dramatic drop in FDI flows. Local businesses and investments have been severely affected with far-reaching social and economic repercussions. The main research question of this paper is to understand the Digital economic spillover caused by COVID-19 pandemic. To achieve the aforesaid objectives qualitative approach has been adopted and secondary data is the main type of data obtained from various sources such as books, journal articles, newspapers, government records, and other relevant documents available in both printed and electronic versions. The research finding concludes the main economic sectors that will spillover into a Digital based economy.

Keywords: *Digital Economy, Spillover, Economic Repercussion, E-commerce*

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Introduction

The introduction will be briefly explained COVID-19 situations and the Impact of the Coronavirus pandemic on the world economy. In December 2019, a coronavirus outbreak blasted off in the Chinese region of Wuhan provoking severe cases of pneumonia in those infected. According to the WHO, COVID-19 is the disease caused by SARS-CoV-2, a novel strain of coronavirus from the SARS species changed the outlook unexpectedly (WHO, *COVID-19 Case definition* 2020). On January 30, 2020, the World Health Organization declared a novel coronavirus, COVID-19, a matter of Public Health Emergency of International Concern. WHO Director-General Tedros Adhanom said in this statement that, "this is the time for facts, not fear. This is the time for science, not rumors. This is the time for solidarity, not stigma."

The WHO announced COVID-19 outbreak as a pandemic on 11 March 2020. Globally, as of 22 September 2020, there have been 31,174,627 confirmed cases of COVID-19, including 962,613 deaths, reported to WHO.

Figure 01: COVID-19 statistics as of 22 September 2020

Source: WHO Coronavirus disease (COVID-19) dashboard

According to health experts at WHO, the COVID-19 pandemic can last at least for another four months and in the worst-case scenario, it could last up to 18 months or longer. Some have predicted this pandemic could come in three waves (Kristof, 2020). This article will focus about how impact of COVID-19 will change the future of world economy.

Methodology

This study has used some principal methodologies to examine the above-mentioned objectives. When considering the type of data that has been 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, the documentary analysis collects available documents and data, which are related to the study and interpret them to find out specific issues.

Literature Review

According to WHO coronavirus is a novel virus that is known to cause illness ranging from the common cold to more severe diseases such as Middle East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) and Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS). COVID-19 originated in the city of Wuhan in the Hubei province of China, it has spread rapidly across the world, resulting in a human tragedy and tremendous economic damage. Given the rapid spread of COVID-19, countries across the World have adopted several public health measures intended to prevent its spread, including social distancing. According to J Weng's publication on "The Coronavirus and the Great Influenza Pandemic: Lessons from the "Spanish Flu" for the Coronavirus's Potential Effects on Mortality and Economic Activity" (2020) strategy of social distancing saved thousands of lives both during other pandemics such as the Spanish flu of 1918 and more recently in Mexico City during their 2009 flu.

The spread of COVID-19 is expected to result in a considerable slowdown of economic activities. According to an early forecast of the International Monetary Fund (2020a), the global economy would contract by about 3 percent in 2020. The contraction is expected to be of far greater magnitude than that of the 2008-2009 Global Financial Crisis. However, in its latest update (June 2020), the International Monetary Fund (2020b) revised the forecast to 4.9 percent contraction in 2020.

According to Haider et al. (2020), the economic situation depends on the GDP rate helping to affect economic recovery measures. Global economic crises

due to COVID-19 reveal economic decline. Moreover, the report by Allcott et al. (2020) highlights the declining economy related to fluctuations in GDP rates. In the current scenario, the GDP rate has shrunk by approximately 4.2%, the first time for a pandemic (Fetzer et al., 2020). Another report estimated that a difference of 7% is projected in the coming period if the same conditions continue (IMF Blog, 2020). Additionally, there will be a considerable number of further crises if the IMF faces losses. The overall rates of advanced economies like those of Europe and America have declined the same as emerging economies (Kang et al., 2019).

According to Tapscot (1996) digital economy is a network economy as well as a technology-driven Internet economy. According to Invostopedia (2020) Electronic commerce or e-commerce or the Digital Economy is a business model that lets firms and individuals buy and sell things over the internet. OECD (2020) report on "Connecting businesses and consumers during COVID-19: trade in parcels" examines how The COVID-19 crisis has led people in many OECD countries to significantly limit physical interactions. Results on the retail market show that shifts from brick-and-mortar retail to e-commerce are likely significant across countries.

Dobrica Savic (2020) explains "COVID-19 and Work from Home: Digital Transformation of the Workforce" A spillover is an event that occurs in a specific context. Something else in another context is overflowing, spreading, or becoming a trend. Ozili and Arun (2020) believe that similar as the world has experienced a health crisis translated to an economic crisis, this would spill over to more restrictive measures, monetary policy changes and international travel restrictions, and the continuous fluctuation of the core pride of the capitalist economy, which is the stock market.

According to Sarah Perez (2020), COVID-19 forced shops around the world to shut for months and recently reopen under strict new guidelines. The time in lockdown has caused an e-commerce boom, with the pandemic accelerating the shift away from physical stores by roughly five years. While department stores are expected to decline by over 60%, e-commerce is expected to grow by nearly 20% in 2020. This will lead to an economic spillover in the world physical to Digital.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Impact of the Coronavirus Pandemic on World Economy

Since the COVID-19 threat first emerged, economists have debated whether the shock to the global economy will be temporary or permanent (Mishra, 2020; Rajah, 2020). The pandemic is disrupting global supply chains and international trade. With nearly 100 countries closing national borders 2020, the movement of people and tourism flows have come to a halt. Millions of workers in these countries are facing the bleak prospect of losing their jobs. According to International Labour Organization through the massive economic disruption, the COVID-19 crisis is affecting the world's workforce of 3.3 billion. ILO further mentioned that this is "the most severe crisis since the Second World War".

Graph 01: Share of employment in at-risk by region (%)

SHARE OF EMPLOYMENT IN AT-RISK

Percentage

WORLD 37.50% | AFRICA 26.40% | AMERICAS 43.20% | ARAB STATES 33.20% | ASIA AND PACIFIC 37.90% | EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA 42.10%
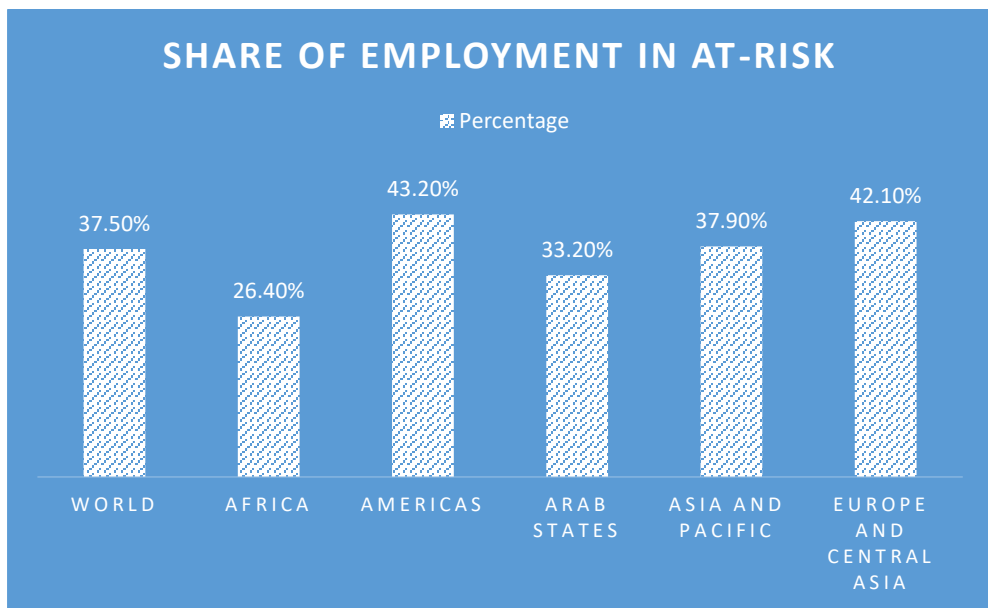
Note: Formal employment only

Source: ILOSTAT, ILO modeled estimates, November 2019; ILO, World Social Protection Report 2017-19, ILO, A statistical picture, Third edition; and European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control

Early estimates predicted that, should the virus become a global pandemic, most major economies would lose at least 2.4 percent of the value of their gross domestic product (GDP) over 2020. According to World Bank forecasts, the global economy will shrink by 5.2% this year. That would represent the deepest recession since the Second World War, with the largest fraction of economies experiencing declines in per capita output since 1870, the World Bank says in its June 2020 Global Economic Prospects. Economic activity among advanced economies is anticipated to shrink 7% in 2020 as domestic demand and supply, trade, and finance have been severely disrupted. (World Bank, 2020)

Figure 02: GDP growth projections for 2020 due to COVID-19 pandemic
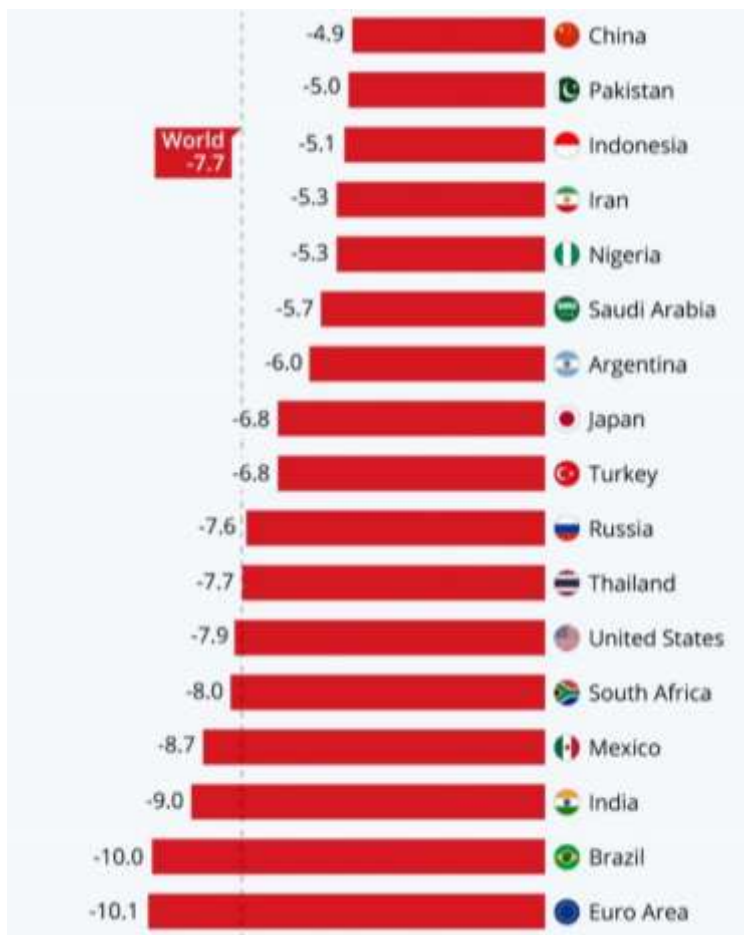
Source: Statista, 2020

Impact on World Economy by Sector

Before discussing economic spillover, we should understand different economic sectors. According to the International Labour Organization's real-time, the financial data number of key economic sectors will drastically fall due to COVID-19. There are parallels between the COVID-19 crisis and the events of 2007-2008. As in 2020, many experts in the earlier recession assumed the impacts would largely be localized (Ozili & Arun, 2020). The sudden economic disruption caused by COVID-19 is not only destructive but also has spillover implications because it created demand and supply shocks in almost every area of human endeavor (El-Erian, 2020).

Graph 02: Threat level towards different sectors in the world economy.
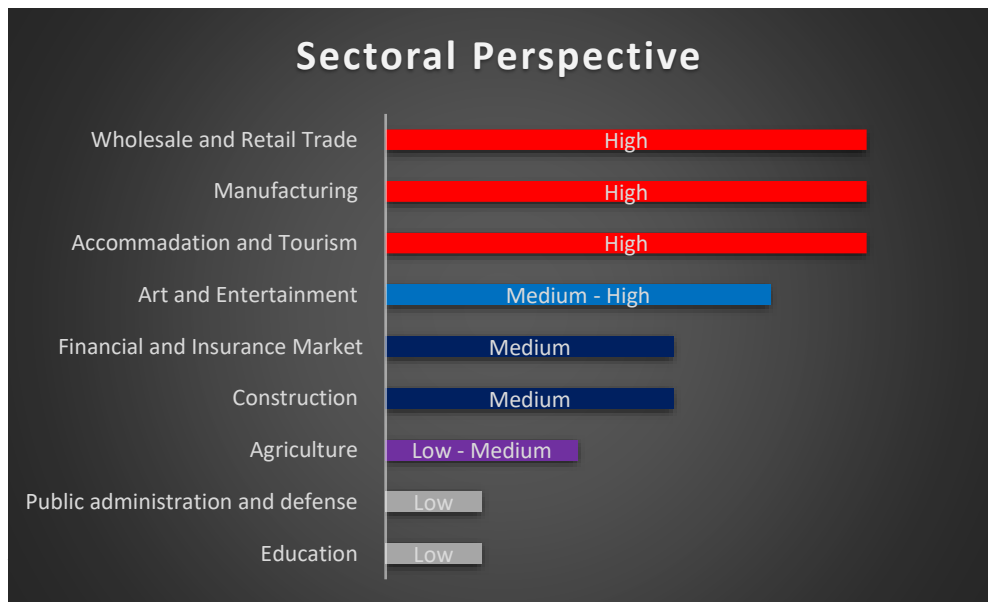
(ISIC Rev. 4)

According to the above graph Tourism, manufacturing and Wholesale and retail sector have a higher threat comparing to the Financial market and Agriculture. Education and Public administration have a very low threat comparing to other sectors. Here briefly explain Tourism, Manufacturing and Wholesale, and Retail. Travel and tourism in 2018 contributed around $8.8 trillion to the global economy and generated 10.4% of global economic activity (Karantzavelou, 2019). The coronavirus outbreak led the governments

of many countries to impose restrictions on non-essential travel to countries affected by COVID-19. Available data from the World Tourism Organization points to a double-digit decrease of 22% in Q1 2020, with arrivals in March down by 57%. This translates into a loss of 67 million international arrivals and about USD 80 billion in receipts. UNWTO panel points World Tourism will start to recover from 2021 (WTO, 2020).

Figure 03: International tourist arrival change by 1st quarter of 2020

Source: World Tourism Organization, 2020

The manufacturing sector is a major part of the economy as it accounts for nearly 16% of the global GDP in 2018. As per the estimation by United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), the COVID-19 outbreak could cause global FDI to shrink by 5%-15%, due to the downfall in the manufacturing sector coupled with factory shutdown. The negative effects of COVID-19 on FDI investments are expected to be high in the energy, automotive, and airline industries. Due to the epidemics of COVID-19 across the globe, the manufacturers of the automobile, chemical, electronics, and aircraft are facing concerns regarding the availability of raw material (Kasper, 2020). Looking at the Wholesale and Retail industry total retail sales worldwide are expected to hit $23.358 trillion in 2020, down 5.7% from 2019 and nearly 12% below the pre-pandemic estimate by economists of $26.459 trillion.

Spill over to Digital Economy

As the world is only at the early stages of digitalization, the evolving digital economy and several other related economic terms lack widely accepted definitions. Since the first coined in the mid-1990s, the definition of the digital economy has evolved, reflecting the rapidly changing nature of technology and its use by enterprises and consumers. According to OECD, the "digital economy enables and executes the trade of goods and services through electronic commerce on the internet" (OECD, 2012).

Figure 04: A representation of digital economy
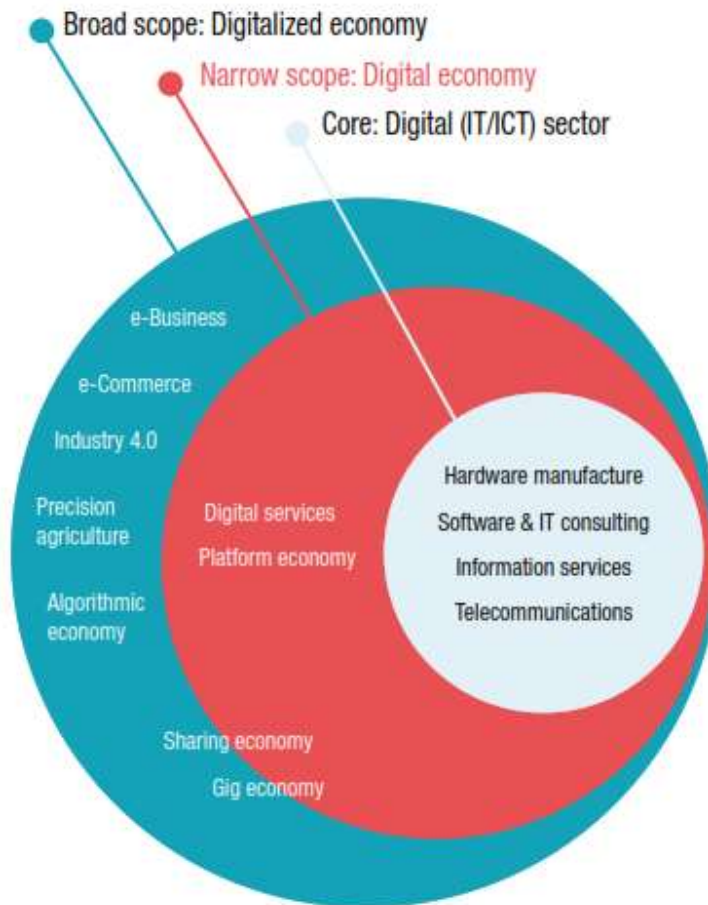
Source: Bukht and Heeks, 2017

The SARS crisis in 2003 is widely known for kick starting Alibaba's and other Chinese companies' e-commerce successes in Asia. Alibaba launched its online marketplace for consumers during the SARS crisis when many Chinese were at home in quarantine. The SARS pandemic accelerated the behavioral change of the internet becoming the mass medium in China. Spillover of the Digital Economy will be discussed under the following topics.

a) Rapid Increase of Online Order Volume

In the first eight weeks of the year, online order volume consistent compared to 2019. However, since WHO declared a global pandemic online order volume jumped to 40.4% because of panic buying. However, after the 13th week of the year, online order volume plateaued at 63.6%. This was the first indicator that e-commerce will shape the next decade of the World Economy.

Figure 05: Impact of COVID-19 on digital platform ordering
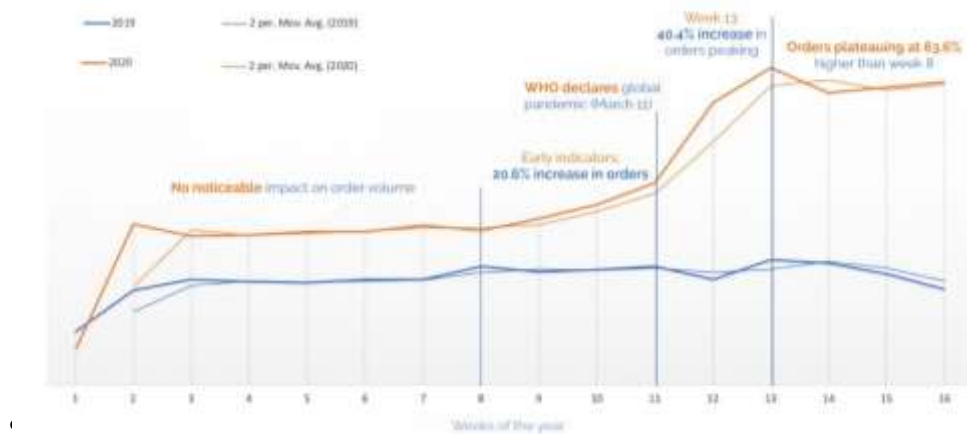
b) Work from Home

COVID-19 has been a game-changer for offices and the way we work. "Work from home", has become a phrase commonly used since the onset of COVID-19. Work from home can be defined generally as employees working outside company offices. It includes four basic characteristics,

1) A person who is an employee of a company or a staff member of an organization

2) Actual work engagement with a company or an organization on specific tasks
3) Work is performed outside the company's physical premises
4) Telecommunication with the employer.

According to PwC's Remote Work Survey asked the US financial services companies about the topic in June. It found 69% expect almost two-thirds of their workforce to be working from home once a week in the future.

Figure 06: Comparison of FS companies' work from home policy

Source: PwC's US remote work survey June 25, 2020

Google, Salesforce, Facebook, and PayPal are among the companies extending remote working to at least next summer, while Japanese tech firm Fujitsu is halving its office space and giving its 80,000 employees in the country unprecedented flexibility. According to Agility PR solutions, 48% of US employees want to work remotely even post COVID-19 era. More than 35% of all three generations in the labor force want to continue this work from

home trend in the post-COVID era. Work from Home will be an important part of the process of Digital Economy spillover in the Post COVID era.

Figure 07: Generational difference between where people want to work after a pandemic

Source: Working during COVID-19: U.S. employees embracing remote work survey

c) Online Education

COVID-19 resulted in the shutting down of education institutes all across the world. As a result, education has changed dramatically, with the distinctive rise of e-learning, whereby teaching is undertaken remotely and on digital platforms. Since the global pandemic, online platforms like BYJU has seen a 200% increase in the number of students using its product. Despite governments' use of traditional distance learning methods students prefer online platforms rather than others according to UNESCO. According to the ADB report, 90.3% of universities in Japan were providing distance learning as of 1 June 2020. Suffice it to say that COVID-19 gave rise to a tendency to focus on traditional education methods and online-based education. Accordingly, many educational methods will spillover in the coming decade.

Figure 08: Country choice of distance learning during school closures
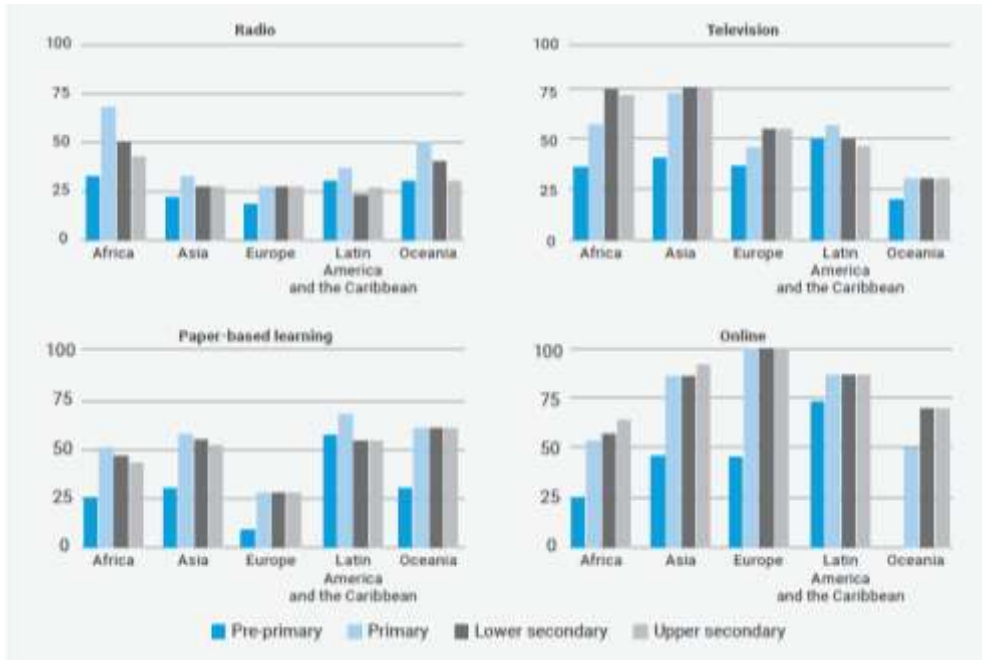
Source: UNESCO-UNICEF-World Bank joint database, May–June 2020

d) Spillover in Movie Industry

Movies are a massive value creator. Global box office revenues totaled $42 billion last year an all-time high contributing almost one-third of the estimated $136 billion in the value of worldwide movie production and distribution. However, COVID-19 halted the movie industry by closing cinemas. This had a huge impact on the future of the Movie Industry. A well-known director Christopher Nolan is known for Box-office records. His Inception movie hits $869.8M globally and the 2017 released movie Dunkirk earned $525.5M. Anyway, the latest release Tenet only able to earn $307M due to the COVID pandemic (D'Alessandro, 2020). According to Statista, estimated revenue loss of the film industry worldwide due to the coronavirus pandemic in the first half of 2020 is 10 Billion. However, subscription platforms like Netflix, Amazon Prime, Hotstar, and Hulu have thrived through this period. Netflix has added 10.1 million new paid subscribers as people stayed home, as the company reported net earnings of $720 million over $6.15 billion in revenue

for its second quarter. Even though it is not the time to write off the movie industry, we will be able to spill over from theater to subscription in the movie industry.

Figure 09: Netflix growth in pandemic

Source: Statista, 2020

e) Change of Platform in Retail Sales – from Physical to Online

The global e-commerce industry report indicated that the impact of COVID-19 on these sectors has been pervasive due to uncertainty in the supply chain and consumer demand worldwide (Abdelrhim, 2020). Shares of traditional trade have become volatile and in marked decline due to the spread of COVID-19. This will be a strong reason for the willingness of each of these traders of these traditional markets to move towards trade via the Internet to preserve the rest of its shares and maintain its commercial field and its success in the market. E-commerce giants like Ali Baba, Amazon, and Rakuten boosted during this COVID-19 situation. The e-commerce conglomerate passed $1 trillion in gross merchandise volume for the first time in fiscal 2020. Revenue for the 12 months ended March 31 came in at $72 billion while

operating profit grew 60 percent to $12.9 billion. Amazon's revenue is more than four times as high as Alibaba's. Amazon's operating profit for the 12 months ended on March 31 amounted to $14.1 billion, while Alibaba raked in $12.9 billion. COVID-19 has changed the market environment of the whole world. In 2019, retail e-commerce sales worldwide amounted to 3.53 trillion US dollars and e-retail revenues are projected to grow to 6.54 trillion US dollars in 2022. Online shopping is one of the most popular online activities worldwide.

Graph 03: Retail e-commerce sales worldwide from 2014 to 2021
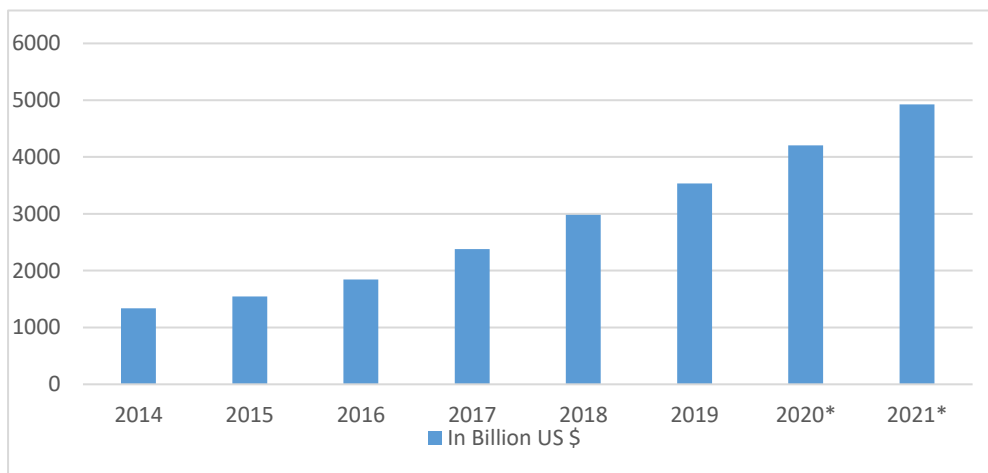
Source: Statista (2020), Global retail e-commerce sales 2014-2023

Conclusion

This paper aimed to verify the spillover of the world economy towards a Digital-based economic system. As the ripple of COVID-19 careens around the globe, World being forced to innovate and change the economy. Digital economy and new value creation platforms help companies leverage technology to be agile in the face of disruption and to create the new digitally enabled business models for a new normal – post-COVID, and be purpose-driven, sustainable, and inclusive. The unprecedented disruption by COVID-19 is accelerating the urgency for agility, adaptability, and transformation.

Industry structures and business models are being disrupted – and the digitalization of the economy is being rapidly accelerated. An estimated 70% of the new value created in the economy over the next decade will be based on digitally enabled platform business models. However, 47% of the world's population remains unconnected to the internet.

The COVID-19 situation can affect digital economic firms differently, depending on what kind of firm they are, which sector, and where in the world they have production and manufacturing facilities. COVID-19 has also shown signs of positive impacts for some of the Digital economic firms from the empirical findings in this paper. The current information that there is about e-commerce and COVID-19, points to the fact that the digital economy is growing and making even more profits than before, due to the situation.

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The Status of Human Rights of the Refugees amidst COVID-19

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

Abstract

Since the initial COVID-19 outbreak, it has now spread all over the globe at an unprecedented level. This pandemic is negatively affecting the highly untouched lives, especially refugees, further exacerbating their existing vulnerabilities. Against this backdrop, while almost all the countries are thoroughly confining to their national borders with strict lockdown measures, the fundamental human rights of this vulnerable group of refugees have been rendered unconscious. Thus, this paper seeks to propound the status of human rights of refugees during the pandemic as a case study on the Rohingya refugees in Cox Bazar Bangladesh, basically utilizing the most potent human rights mechanism; 'International Bill of Rights.' The study adopts qualitative research methodology and in the analysis process, secondary data such as articles, textbooks, and reports are utilized. Further, data analysis and presentation are done through mainly documentary analysis methods. Findings of the study reveal that the disproportionate impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the Rohingya refugees presents itself as three interlocking crises; health crisis, socio-cultural crisis, and protection crisis, inflaming the already prevalent human rights infringements. Consequently, the paper concludes with the focal argument that the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has aggravated the human rights violations in the Rohingya camps such as the right to health, right to decent living standards, right to work, right to be free from torture, cruelty and degrading treatments, right to education, right to information, right to be free from discrimination and right to life, liberty and security in the basic sense.

Keywords: *COVID-19, Refugees, Human Rights, Rohingya*

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Introduction

Throughout the recorded history, humans have always been affected by pandemics of infectious diseases such as successive waves of the Black Death (caused by the bubonic plague), Spanish flu (1918 Pandemic), smallpox, etc. Against this backdrop, the latter half of 2019 saw the emergence of a new pandemic, coronavirus disease 2019 (COVID-19), caused by SARS-CoV-2 (WHO, 2020). At this writing, there are a total of 14, 348, 858 cases while the death toll has reached 603, 691 globally (20/07/2020). The world, at this juncture, is truly gripped by this global health emergency, causing a vast array of economic, health, security, and socio-cultural impacts.

Amidst this, COVID-19 leaves few lives untouched and isolated. Unfortunately, its impacts are harsh on those groups who were already in vulnerable situations before the crisis. This is true for many people on the move, such as people fleeing their homes because of persecution – refugees, asylum seekers, etc. The global refugee population stood at 26 million at the end of 2018 and is now at the highest level ever recorded. Eighty four percent of the world's refugees are in countries surrounding their countries of origin, while one-third (6.7 million) are in the least Developed Countries with low living standards (UN, 2020). In aspects of health, income, and employment, nutrition, sanitation, social security, freedom of movement, access to information, social stigma, and humanitarian assistance, these vulnerable communities are affronting many hardships globally putting them into further precarious situations.

The most crucial questions; are refugees included in national as well as international responses to the virus and how is the status of their human rights amidst the pandemic? Thus, the objective of the study intends to evaluate the status of human rights of refugees amid COVID-19 pandemic. This is done as a case study on the Rohingya refugees in Cox Bazar, Bangladesh, basically utilizing the 'International Bill of Rights'; Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR), and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICCPR). The paper attempts to respond to the human rights of the Rohingya during the pandemic and positive measures taken during COVID-19.

According to the World Bank Data (2020), South Asia is home to some of the world's largest populations of refugees and IDPs, amounting to 2,562,340 by 2018. Since this article focuses on the Rohingya in Cox Bazar, the following section will scrutinize the general facts about this particular community. In terms of the disease, as per WHO data, 30 confirmed cases, 371 total tests, and 1 died by 7 June, 2020 (WHO, 2020).

The Rohingya are an ethnic Muslim minority who practice a Sufi-inflected variation of Sunni (Hossain. S, 2019). There are nearly 3.5 million Rohingya dispersed worldwide and before 2017, the majority of them resided in Rakhine State, a geographically isolated area in western Myanmar and with an estimated 78% of the population living in extreme poverty (Tay, 2018). The self-identified Rohingya trace their history back to few centuries, especially the era of British colonization. However, neither the central government nor Rakhine's dominant ethnic Buddhist group recognizes the Rohingya. They had been exposed to decades of discrimination, culminating in the 1982 Citizenship Law, which deprived them of their citizenship.

Amidst this racial violence, Cox Bazar in Bangladesh has a long history of hosting Rohingya from Rakhine State in Myanmar (Tay, 2018). Waves of Rohingya refugees arrived in Bangladesh in 1991–1992 of which nearly 32 thousand were recognized by the Government of Bangladesh as official refugees and hosted in Kutupalong and Nayapara camps in the Cox's Bazar district. Since then, the influx of refugees to Cox Bazar has occurred in 2012, 2015, 2016-2017, 2017-2018.

Table 01: Period of the arrival of Rohingya refugees in Cox's Bazar Bangladesh (as of 2018)

Arrival period	Number of persons	% of total
Before 9 Oct 2016	72,821	8%
Between 9 Oct 2016 and 24 Aug 2017	93,64	11%
Between 25 Aug 2017 and 31 Dec 2017	712,179	80%
Jan 2018 to current	13,223	1%

Source: UNHCR, 2019

According to the UNHCR (2019), the recent refugee exodus in August 2017 has posed a great hit on the Rohingya and about 1 million Rohingyas escaped *en masse* from their homeland of the state of Rakhine to Bangladesh over the border. This deadly exodus started after Rohingya *Arakan Rohingya Salvation Army (ARSA)* launched attacks on more than 30 police posts. The following table shows the no of the arrival of Rohingyas to Coz Bazar during different periods. Currently, nearly 855,000 Rohingya refugees are residing in camps in Cox's Bazar as illustrated in Map 1 (ACAPS, 2020).

Map 01: Population of the Rohingya at different camps in Cox Bazar
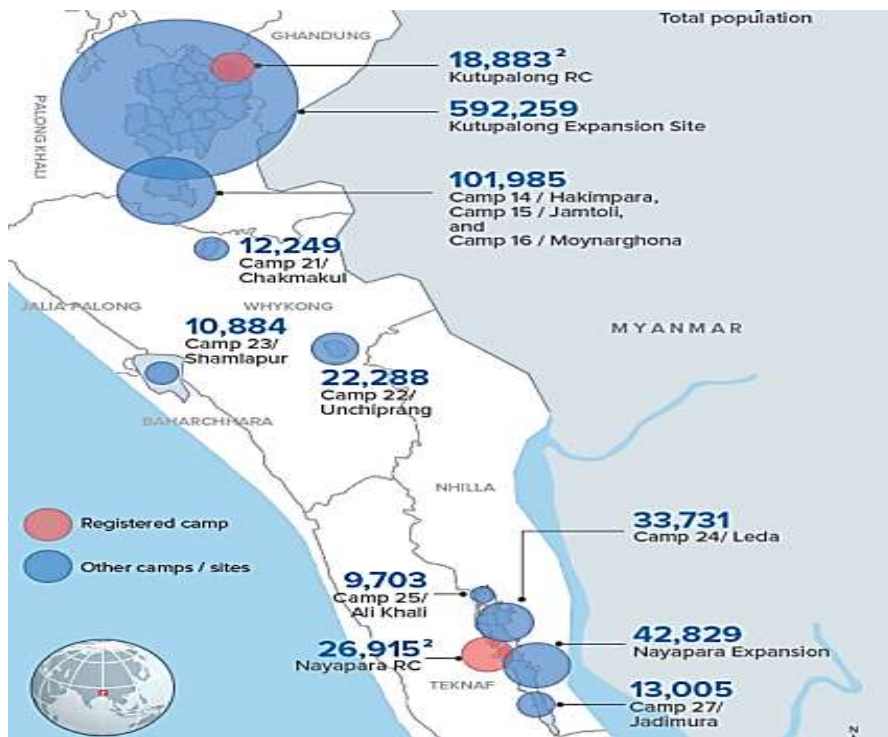
Source: Equal Rights Trust, 2019

Methodology

This study is a qualitative research in which secondary data has been utilized in order to justify the main research objective. On behalf of secondary data collection, journals, international treaty documents, articles, textbooks, and reports are used. Further, data analysis and presentation are done mainly

through the documentary analysis method. Document analysis is a procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents. Like other analytical methods in qualitative research, document analysis requires data to be examined and interpreted to elicit meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; see also Rapley, 2007).

Literature Review

Refugee Status

According to UNHCR (1992), refugee status, on the universal level, is governed by the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees. On par with the definition in the 1951 Convention, a refugee is a person who a result of events and well-founded fear of persecution (threat to life or freedom on account of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or membership of a particular social group) for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or unwilling to return to it (The Refugee Convention, 1951).

Further, when it comes to an asylum-seeker, he or she is, therefore, an individual who says he/she is a refugee, but whose claim has not yet been definitely evaluated by the country in which he/she has submitted it. Not every asylum-seeker will ultimately be recognized as a refugee, but refugees are initially asylum-seekers (Interpreting in a Refugee Context, 2009).

Ethnic Genesis and Refugee Crisis of the Rohingya

According to Amrith (2013), in the 18th century, people living in the coastal areas of the Bay of Bengal, what is currently called Bangladesh and Myanmar, converted to Islam under the influence of Arab traders. The Rohingya trace their history to that period and strongly self-identify as Rohingya but this term is not used as an indicator of an ethnic group by the government. The government of Myanmar considers them to be Bengal migrants who migrated during British colonial rule now Bangladesh (Cheeseman, 2018).

During the military rule (1962), the Rohingyas situation worsened with anti-Rohingya constituencies, and their civil, political, educational, and economic rights were gradually stripped away (Rogers, 2012). Against this backdrop, the 1982 Citizenship Act enforced the exclusion of the Rohingya people from the list of officially recognized minority ethnic groups and denied them many basic human rights including citizenship (HRW, 2009). This ultimately rendered them the largest stateless group in the world. A large wave of Rohingya refugees arrived in Bangladesh in 1991–1992 of which nearly 32 thousand were recognized by the Government of Bangladesh as official refugees. Since then, the arrival of refugees feeling persecution to Cox Bazar has occurred in 2012, 2015, 2016-2017, 2017-2018. According to the UNHCR, due to the refugee exodus in August 2017 about 1 million Rohingyas escaped from their homeland of Rakhine to Bangladesh over the border (UNHCR, 2019).

Definition of Human Rights

Human rights constitute a set of standards vis-à-vis the treatment of individuals and groups by states and non-state actors. Simply put, human rights are the minimum standards required for people to live with dignity, freedom, equality, justice, and peace. It is a common phenomenon that human beings everywhere, demand the realization of diverse values to ensure their individual and collective well-being (Shodhganga, n.d.).

The United Nations; the primary international institution to uphold human rights worldwide, defines human rights as "ensure that a human being will be able to diametrically develop and use human qualities such as intelligence, talent, and conscience and satisfy his or her spiritual and other needs" (UN, 2017). Universal Declaration of Human Rights states, "human rights are universal legal guarantees protecting individuals and groups against actions which interfere with fundamental freedoms and human dignity" (UN, 2015). Further, Human Rights Handbook for Parliamentarians says, "Human rights are the sum of individual and collective rights laid down in State constitutions and international law" (Nowak, 2005). In the words of Michael Freeden, a human right is a conceptual device, expressed in a linguistic form that assigns priority to certain human or social attributes regarded as essential to the adequate functioning of a human being (Freedman, 1991).

International Bill of Rights

The term 'human rights' came into use after World War II, particularly with the founding of the United Nations in 1945. Even though there are human rights clauses in the United Nations Charter, the Charter nowhere defines those rights. In 1946, the Economic and Social Council of the UN established the Commission on Human Rights to work on "an international bill of rights". Eventually, it was agreed to prepare two documents, i.e., one in the form of a declaration, which would mention general principles of standards of human rights, and the other in the form of a convention, which would specify and define rights and the limitations on their enjoyment (Shodhganga, n.d.). The Commission decided to apply the term "International Bill of Rights" to the entire series of documents comprising; Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

    a)   The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

According to Buergenthal, because of its moral status and the political importance it has acquired over the years, the Declaration ranks with the Magna Carta. (Buergenthal, 2009). The provisions of the document can be classified as (i) General (articles 1 and 2); (ii) Civil and Political Rights (articles 3 to 21); (iii) Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (articles 22 to 27); and (iv) Conclusion (articles 28- 30) (Shodhganga, n.d.).

There has been a great debate vis-à-vis the legality of the Declaration. One aspect is that the UDHR is not legally binding, ipso facto, a treaty. The other one, as Richard B. Lillich argues, the substantial parts of the UDHR originally thought not to give rise to international legal obligations have become, over the past, a part of customary international law binding upon all states (Meron, 1984). There is still another aspect, even though the Declaration is not legally binding on states, it has a great 'moral' and 'political' force behind it. The observations of Prof. Sohn seems to draw a proper conclusion: as the Declaration was adopted unanimously, it can be considered as an authoritative interpretation of the UN Charter of the highest order and while the Declaration is not directly binding on UN members, it strengthens their obligations under the Charter by making them more precise (Quoted in AB. Robertson, 1972).

b) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

According to Nour Mohammad, it is the main international treaty on civil and political rights that stipulates states to ensure civil and political rights of all individuals within their territory and subject to its jurisdiction (Mohommad, 2012). The ICCPR has 53 Articles, which define in much greater detail than the UDHR and imposing an absolute and immediate obligation on each of the state parties to respect and ensure these rights to all individuals within its territories and subject to its jurisdiction (Seighart, 1990). The ICCPR is the primary global treaty devoted to what people have come to call "first generation" human rights (Simmons, 2009).

The International Covenant of Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) was adopted by the General Assembly in 1966 and entered into force in 1977. It enshrines the economic, social, and cultural rights contained in the UDHR in a more developed and legally binding form. It has overall 53 articles comprising civil and political rights.

Legal Status of Refugees in Bangladesh

Bangladesh has not acceded to the 1951 Convention nor its 1967 Protocol. However, the principle of non-refoulement is being honored even though Bangladesh is not a party to the Convention. (UNHCR, 2007). Nevertheless, Bangladesh is a party to some major international human rights instruments such as UDHR, ICCPR, ICESCR, Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman, Degrading Treatment or Punishment, etc. (UNHCR, 2007).

As Nour Mohammad (2012) recounts, several articles in the Constitution arguably have a bearing on refugee affairs including the obligation to 'support oppressed people throughout the world who are waging a just struggle against imperialism, colonialism and racism' (art. 24(1) (c)); the protection of the law as an inalienable right of every citizen for the time being within Bangladesh (art. 31); the obligation that 'no person shall be deprived of life and liberty in accordance with the law' (art. 32); protection against arrest and detention for the citizens and non-citizens alike (art.33); any refugee like a citizen of can move the Honorable High Court Division for human rights violations (art. 102). Moreover, Mohammad (2012) further states the asylum seekers are

accorded refugee status by the Government of Bangladesh under "Executive order", meaning in 1978 and from 1991 to 1992, the Rohingya asylum seekers, were provided *prima facie* refugee status.

Data Presentation and Analysis

COVID-19 poses threats to the lives of refugees in three interlocking crisis factors (UN, 2020) which in return affect the human rights of these people. Those crisis factors can be classified as a health crisis, socio-economic crisis, and protection crisis.

Table 02: Crisis factors

Health Crisis	Socio-Cultural Crisis	Protection Crisis
• Crowded living conditions • Limited access to health services • Limited access to water and hygiene • Food insecurity	• Loss of livelihood • Impact on women and children	• Lack of access to information • Stigma, racism and xenophobia

Source: Created by the author

A health crisis as refugees finds themselves exposed to the virus with limited health tools and health access to protect themselves, their crowded living conditions, lack of access to other basic services such as water and sanitation, and food insecurity, which aggravate the situation. Socio-economic crisis because it affects refugees with loss of livelihoods, loss of employment and wages and negative impacts on women and children. Finally, it creates a protection crisis as border closures and other movement restrictions to curb the spread of COVID-19 have a severe impact on refugees, culminating in the levels of stigma, xenophobia, and racism, and lack of access to information. The following chart graphically presents the principal 3 crisis factors on the Rohingya that are used to evaluate the status of human rights during the pandemic situation.

Health Crisis

   a) Overcrowding

The 855,000 Rohingya refugees who are currently residing in 34 overcrowded, makeshift camps in Cox's Bazar are highly vulnerable to COVID-19, 444,000-host community members living in close proximity to the camps, with five camps intermixed with the host community (ACAPS, 2020). The overcrowded and unhygienic conditions increase the potential for the rapid spread of disease and the potential mortality and morbidity risk associated with COVID-19 is likely to surpass global averages.

This can have serious implications on the human rights of the Rohingya in these camps especially in terms of their living conditions and health. According to the ACAPS report (2020), there is 40,000 average population density per square km in Rohingya camps. Due to the number of refugees and the limited land available, shelters are small and very close to each other. The vast majority of households are sharing a one-room shelter, constructed of tarpaulin sheets and bamboo. The average number of people per shelter is 4.6 people, with 31% of households having more than six members (UNHCR 12/19). Shelters are not equipped with hygiene and sanitation facilities, meaning refugees must leave their shelters, and often queue to use toilets, showers, and collect water. Despite the fact that this condition of crowded and unhygienic living is prevailing even before the COVID-19 outbreak, it has caused a precarious situation for the Rohingya besides the pandemic. It has made it unrealistic to maintain social distancing or isolating himself or herself as the main health measure practiced to mitigate the virus.

With regard to human rights concerns, according to the UDHR art. 25 and ICESCR art. 11 and 12, these fundamental rights are being violated, even since before the pandemic, and the COVID-19 poses acute health risks to the lives of these refugees as they are living in poor living conditions. UDHR art. 25 explains the right to standard living conditions adequate for health and well-being such as food, clothing, housing, medical care, and essential services. In the same vein, ICESCR art. 11 stresses the essentially needed living conditions and due to the lack of better living for the Rohingya, it automatically violates the ICESCR art. 12, the right to the physical and mental

wellbeing of them. Since Dhaka is a state party to both UDHR and ICESCR, and as its constitution ensures to protect suppressed people, their right to decent living standards and health ought to be respected, fulfilled especially during the pandemic situation.

b) Limited access to health services

The right to health is inherent to the right to life. Every human being is entitled to the enjoyment of health conducive to living a life in dignity regardless of their social or economic status (COVID-19 and People on the Move, 2020). According to UDHR art. 25 and ICESCR art. 12, states must respect the right to health, which is in return essential for guaranteeing the right to life. In relation to Human Mobility and Human Rights in Pandemic report, states have an obligation to provide access to existing health care services. Access to food, water, and sanitation, safe shelter and education are recognized as part of realizing the right to health (Human Mobility and Human Rights in Pandemic, 2020).

As per the Rohingya Response report by ACAPS (2020), health infrastructure in Cox's Bazar district and within the Rohingya camps does not currently have the capacity to respond to a large-scale outbreak of COVID-19; 154 basic health units, 41 health centers (open 24/7), and 5 hospitals across the 34 camps.

Universal, affordable health-care systems assist with combating the pandemic by ensuring access for everyone without discrimination. However, according to the situation report published by the WHO of Cox Bazar in June, a low number of tests have been conducted in Rohingya camps, resulting in a low number of total Rohingya affected in government statistics. Further, according to Vincer (2020), currently, there is no mechanism to test refugees for COVID-19, the only testing facilities are in Dhaka, 400 km away, and without testing, it is difficult to contain the outbreak. Therefore, the Government of Bangladesh should ensure access to medical assistance, testing, and health care equally for the Rohingya refugees who are or may be at risk, as well as access to state programs adopted to ameliorate the economic hardships imposed by the pandemic. Elimination of discrimination is made certain in ICCPR arts. 2(1), ICESCR art. 2(2) and UDHR art. 2. In this

situation, it is prevalent that this right to non-discrimination of the Rohingya is violated.

Table 03: COVID-19 updates in Cox Bazar as of 7 June 2020

	Rohingya Refugee	Host Community
Total confirmed cases	30	966
Persons in isolation	23	986

Source: Relief Web, 2020

In aggregate level, according to the Institute of Epidemiology, Disease Control and Research (IEDCR), Dhaka has only 2,000 testing kits nationwide and these kits are being used to detect and test suspected cases only among people with a travel history, which Rohingya refugees do not have, given their stateless status and movement restrictions (New Age Bangladesh, 2020). This makes surveillance and early detection in the camps, under current practices, impossible.

Thus, it can be scrutinized that in basic level UDHR art. 25 and ICESCR art. 12 (right to health) and ICCPR arts. 2(1), ICESCR art. 2(2) and UDHR art. 2 (right to non-discrimination) are not fulfilled in the Rohingya community during the pandemic.

c) Limited access to water and hygiene

WHO is recurrently emphasizes the significance of safe water, sanitation, and hygienic conditions (WASH) for protecting human health during this infectious disease outbreak. The most critical information concerning WASH presented by WHO can be summarized as frequent correct hand hygiene using alcohol-based hand rub or soap and water, safe management of drinking-water (water disinfection), regular environmental cleaning and disinfection practices, managing excreta (feces and urine) safely, use of standard, well-maintained plumbing, etc. (WHO, 2020).

However, due to the lack of water and hygiene facilities in the camps, this is extremely difficult for Rohingya to maintain. Currently, 56% of households across the 34 camps do not have enough water to meet all their basic needs

(including drinking, cooking, personal hygiene, and other domestic purposes) without the addition of extra hand washing demands (ACAPS, 2020). All water and hygiene facilities provided in the camps are public, and these are often overcrowded, causing people to queue for long periods to access latrines and water points, conditions that increase the risk of COVID-19 transmission. Distance to these facilities is also a factor for many households, which further exacerbates their challenges. Rohingya recognize that their conditions make it impossible to follow prevention guidelines and protect their families from virus transmission (ACAPS, 2020).

Hence, access to water and sanitation is recognized as part of realizing the right to health amidst COVID-19. The lack of proper WASH facilities or infringement of the right to decent living standards at the Rohingya camps pose a dire threat on right to health and right to life of these communities according to UDHR art. 3, 25, ICCPR art. 6 (1) and ICESCR art. 11 and 12. Although there are reports of some degree of preparedness by the humanitarian agencies and the Government of Bangladesh, this is far from what is necessary and the community level awareness of WASH precautions is extremely limited.

    d)   Food insecurity

According to Global Report on Food Crisis, food insecurity refers to the lack of secure access to sufficient amounts of safe and nutritious food for normal human growth and development and active and healthy life (Global Report on Food Crisis, 2020).

According to Global Report on Food Crises, more than half of the world's refugees live in countries and communities that even before the current pandemic featured high levels of food insecurity (Global Report on Food Crisis, 2020). Proving this fact, according to the research done by Food Security Information Network in Coz Bazars in 2019, 1.3 million people were food insecure and in need of humanitarian food and livelihood assistance in Cox's Bazar, Rohingya comprising two-thirds of them (Global Report on Food Crises, 2020). Further, according to Multi-sector Needs Assessment, some 45% of households were calculated to have either "borderline" (41%) or "poor" (4%) food consumption scores (MSNA, 2019).

WHO repeatedly expresses the potential impact that this virus could have on malnourished populations, as they are likely to be more susceptible to more serve symptoms of COVID-19 (WHO, 2020). Currently, WFP's Refugee influx Emergency Vulnerability Assessment (REVA) estimates that 88% of Rohingya are considered vulnerable according to an amalgamation of poor food security indicators (such as poor food consumption or dietary diversity) and the adoption of negative coping strategies (JRP, 2020 & WFP, 2019). Rohingya refugees, face food insecurity resulting from diminished agricultural activity, supply chain disruptions, and price increases for essential goods, a decline in purchasing power due to the economic crisis, difficulty accessing food due to legal restrictions. Fill the Nutrient Gap Analysis revealed that almost no Rohingya households could afford a nutritious diet (JRP 03/20).

Against this backdrop, any break in the food supply chain will further threaten their survival. The lack of purchasing power among Rohingya households affects their ability to nutritious food to cope with the virus. This indicates the infringement of UDHR art. 25; and ICESCR art. 11, 12 which means the right to a standard of living adequate for the health, well-being, and right to the enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of physical, mental health. In this regard, the government should take a similar consideration to ensure a humanitarian response to the Rohingya in collaboration with the international community to fulfill their food necessities especially during this hard time of the pandemic.

Table 04: Situation of overall health crisis factors on Rohingya camps

Condition	Low or High
Living space/ Housing	Low
Water and sanitary facilities	Low
Health accessibility and facilities	Low
Food security and nutrition	Low

Source: Created by the author using previous data

Socio-Cultural Crisis

a) Loss of livelihood

COVID-19-related movement restrictions and the economic downturn are depriving many Rohingya refugees of their livelihoods by threatening jobs. During this time of global crisis, states must observe the labor rights of refugees to particularly protect their right to decent living standards to the same extent that such protection is afforded to nationals (Aleinikoff, 2020)

In Myanmar, the majority of Rohingya were engaged in numerous livelihood activities, including agriculture, fishing, small business activities, and daily labor before fleeing (UNHCR-WFP Joint Assessment Mission Report, 2019). According to an IFPRI survey (Rosenbach, 2018), on average, most men in Myanmar were farmers (81 %), fishermen (23 %), and traders (40 %), while women were mostly unemployed (75 %) or working as farmers (6 %).

Added to this, being unregistered refugees in Coz Bazars, the Rohingya refugees could no longer pursue their livelihoods. In addition, it is discernible that the absence of income and employment is synonymous with poverty, poor food consumption, and the borrowing of money/loans to fulfill basic needs. According to surveys conducted with 1034 Rohingya refugees in 30 camps in December 2019, 59 % of people sold aid items; mainly food, to meet their need for cash. (Ground Truth solutions, 2019). Against this backdrop, COVID-19 induced national wide lockdown measures since May 2020 and movement restrictions imposed on the Rohingya, they had largely lost their livelihood. According to the research conducted by Mixed Migration Center, USAID, and Winrock International, the crisis has significantly affected the daily lives of Rohingya. According to respondents, the biggest impacts of COVID-19 included dampened access to work (and reduced availability of basic goods. Among respondents, 31 Rohingya have reported having lost income due to COVID-19 (MMC, 2020).

Therefore, Rohingya refugees, who are out of livelihood and unable to work due to lockdown measures are also entitled to the same social benefits as nationals, including with respect to health care, social security, and unemployment insurance to prevent violations of UDHR art. 25; ICESCR art.

11 and UDHR art. 23; ICESCR art. 6. Fulfillment of the right to employment is essential to protect the right to decent living standards since livelihoods are essential to achieve well-being. In this regard, the Government of Bangladesh should also take steps to ensure that lack of livelihood does not expose these refugees and their families to further risks and human rights violations.

    b) Disproportionate impact on women and children

Lack of access to education

Even before the pandemic, Rohingya refugees in Bangladesh were already facing an education crisis. Approximately 60% of the estimated 670,000 new Rohingya refugees that have arrived in southeastern Bangladesh from August 2017 onward are under the age of 18 and they remain unregistered (IOM, 2017). Against this backdrop, the Bangladesh government forbids unregistered Rohingya children from accessing the country's public schools and prohibits the establishment of secondary schools in refugee camps. Thus, they have to rely on non-formal education provision in makeshift settlements provided by organizations such as UNICEF, BRAC, and other large international NGOs in so-called "temporary learning centers" (TLCs).

With the closure of temporary learning centers due to COVID-19 containment measures, many Rohingya children continue their learning from home with small-scale support from Rohingya volunteers and the provision of stationery and learning materials (UNICEF, 2020). The pandemic has caused diversion and a short-term pause in fundamental education and skills development for all age groups with the Rohingya camps (ISCG, 2020).

The child protection reports indicate that the current lack of recreational and learning materials for children is contributing to psychosocial distress and other severe impacts. Moreover, with learning centers and schools closed to slow the pace of the outbreak, adolescent girls and boys in Rohingya are now more at risk of dropping out permanently to help with unpaid caregiving work or to enter the labor force (ACAPS, 2020). For the girls that do attend school, the longer they are out of school the more vulnerable they become subjected to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), early marriage, and early pregnancy. Boys, meanwhile, are exposed to a higher risk of being forced into

child labor including illegal work (Centre for Global Development & HRW, 2020).

Where learning has switched to online delivery, access to online resources and reliable electricity are out of reach for the Rohingya. Even before COVID-19, the internet and education for the Rohingya refugees had already been limited. Any hi-tech or low-tech solutions are not readily available or executed in refugee camps of Rohingya to continue learning. In other words, though much focus has turned to online learning platforms, Rohingya learning centers and schools do not have the technology and equipment to run online teaching (COVID-19 & Secondary Impacts, 2020).

In this regard, it is perceptible that COVID-19 has further hindered the access of Rohingya children to even available education and temporary learning centers. According to UDHR arts. 26 and ICESCR arts. 13, everyone is entitled to the right to education and the state has to ensure undisrupted access to education for personal development. The violation of this right can have broad impacts on living standards, employment, etc. Therefore, despite the refugee status of Rohingya, they should be provided with prompt means of education even during the pandemic to ensure continuous skill development and personal growth.

Violence against children

Children face several risks in Rohingya camps based on age, gender, disability, other aspects of identity, and vulnerabilities. Threats for children include children going missing, kidnapping and trafficking, physical illness, road accidents, and verbal harassment (REACH and UNICEF, 2020). For instance, girls are regarded as primarily at risk of kidnapping/trafficking, sexual harassment, and boys at risk of kidnapping, road accidents, and going missing, while children with disabilities at risk of physical illness, road accidents, and lack of safety in their homes.

Closure of temporary learning centers, schools, and the partial closure of child-friendly centers, and increase of household tensions are leaving children and adolescents at greater risk of abuse, neglect, and violence. More importantly, the national impact assessment has already reported a 40 %

increase in calls to child helplines (NAWG, 2020). Restrictions in movement, lower decision-making power, and reductions in services and staff may limit the ability of child protectors, NGOs to report and take measures to protect vulnerable children.

This situation indicates the infringement of several basic human rights of children such as UDHR arts. 2, 3, 5; ICESCR arts. 2 (2), 10 and ICCPR art. 2 (1), 7, 24. With regard to the UDHR art. 2, ICESCR art. 2 (2), and ICCPR art. 2 (1) all these articles call for fair treatment towards all human beings despite color, age, sex, race, and any other distinction. Children being subjected to violence is a gross infringement of these rights of Rohingya children. The UDHR art. 5 and ICCPR art. 7 stand for the right to not being the victim of torture, cruelty, and any degrading punishment. Children being subjected to sexual harassment, it indicates the violation of this right. Imperatively, ICESCR art. 10 and ICCPR art. 24 specifically address the protection of child rights, which seem violated in the Rohingya camps during the pandemic. Apart, UDHR art. 3 (right to life, liberty, and security) also seem to be unfulfilled for Rohingya children, which the Government of Bangladesh and humanitarian organizations should take immediate actions.

Gendered discrimination on access to crucial services

When the demographics of the camps concerned, 54 % of the population is under 18 years, over 4 % of Rohingya refugees are over 60 years (with a slightly higher number of women), and 30 % of them require assistance to complete their daily activities (UNHCR and ISCG, 2019). The following table clearly demonstrates the gender and age distribution of Rohingya refugees.

Table 05: Demographics of Rohingya population in refugee camps in Cox's Bazaar, Bangladesh (as of March 31 2020)

Female	Male	Total
446,240	412,708	859,808
52%	48%	100%

Source: UNHCR, 2020

There are direct and indirect social, economic, and psychological impacts that are resulted from the virus on 52% of Rohingya women and girls. The gendered implications of COVID-19 must be understood within the overall framework of gender norms, roles, and relations that are inherent in Rohingya culture.

The gender-related demarcations restrict women's access to healthcare and WASH services, information, relief distribution, decision-making, and income-generation in the Rohingya community. As with every crisis context, pre-existing gender norms are often exacerbated with negative consequences for women and girls. Activities by women are widely perceived as "dishonorable" and as a reason for the COVID-19 spread (Toulemonde, 2020). In other words, failing to observe purdah (seclusion of women from public observation/spaces) by women is concerned as one of the causes of COVID-19 according to their religious beliefs. These gendered perceptions and the increased social stigma against women may lead to increased discrimination against women, reducing their access to services, information, freedom of movement, and overall empowerment and subjecting them to various forms of gender-based violence (GBV).

In terms of human rights, this situation has led to the violation of UDHR arts. 2, 25, ICESCR arts. 11, 12, and ICCPR art. 2(2). UDHR art. 2 and ICCPR art. 2(2) stand for the right to non-discrimination based on race, color, sex, age, religion, etc. Here, Rohingya women are segregated from access to services and are objected to many discriminatory actions for gender. On the

other hand, based on UDHR art. 25 and ICESCR art. 11, Rohingya women are deprived of better living standards including adequate food, clothing and medical care, etc. for their gender-orientations. More crucially, the most compelling right during this pandemic; the right to health (UDHR art. 25 and ICESCR art. 12) of Rohingya women seems to be violated.

Gender-based violence

Across the world, the pandemic has been accompanied by a worrisome rise in violence against women and girls, especially domestic violence. According to consultations with Rohingya, women and adolescent girls have reported increases in household tensions and GBV in the camps (UN Women, 2020). Limiting access to GBV services is taking place due to restrictions in movement, fear of infections, reductions in activities and staff, and uncertainties caused by the closures of women's safe spaces. Therefore, GBV survivors are less likely to be able to access support or report cases during the COVID-19 pandemic.

On the other hand, increased economic vulnerability may result in a rise in domestic violence, which affects women and girls almost exclusively. This situation has led to the violation of UDHR arts. 3, 5, and ICCPR art. 7 which call for the right not to be subjected to torture, cruelty, and degrading actions and right to life, liberty, and security that are significant to live with dignity and freedom.

Protection Crisis

    a) Lack of access to information

Access to reliable health-related information like symptoms, prevention, treatment, etc. is a crucial part of the right to health, and states have an obligation to provide access to accurate and reliable information to refugees. Importantly, information must be made available in a language that refugees can understand.

Against this backdrop, ongoing restriction on access to the internet and telecommunications for the Rohingya in the refugee camps has limited their right to receive prompt and reliable information about COVID-19 and seek

urgent protection for sexual and gender-based violence (Hammadi, 2020). On the other hand, misinformation and rumors have the potential to greatly exacerbate the situation. Accurate and consistent public health messaging related to COVID-19 precautions (Wash facilities, social distancing, nutrition, etc.) is critical in preventing and controlling outbreaks. According to COVID-19 Rohingya Response report, initial FGDs with Rohingya conducted by IOM in March, COVID-19 is being referred to by some refugees as "moronavirus" (dying-virus in Rohingya). It seems the general perception of Rohingya interviewed is that COVID-19 is deadlier and more dangerous than the virus' actual fatality rate (COVID-19 Rohingya Response, 2020).

According to UDHR art. 19; ICCPR art. 19, everyone has a right to seek information. Access to scientifically sound health-related information is a crucial part of the right to health, and the Government of Bangladesh is obliged to provide access to accurate and reliable information to refugees such as the magnitude of the health threat, how to access health care, etc., thereby protect their right to information.

b) Stigma, racism, and xenophobia

The Government of Bangladesh must refrain from measures that foster or perpetuate stigma, and they should ensure that public health responses to COVID-19 are inclusive of and respect the rights of refugees (Zolberg Institute on Migration and Mobility, 2020).

Rumors about people who tested positive with coronavirus being killed in response to prevent the spread of the disease have caused fears about reporting illness. FGD findings suggest that the most common information sources were Mosques, Imams, and religious officials. If Rohingya feel they have to hide illness, either from their community members out of fear of stigma or from health providers, out of fear of being killed, the ability of health care provided to identify and isolate cases will be severely compromised. According to UDHR art. 2; ICCPR art. 2(1); ICESCR art. 2(2), the Rohingya refugees should be protected from violation of these rights due to any type of discrimination based on stigma, racism, and xenophobia. It is prevalent that, during the pandemic, stigma and racist ideologies cause discriminatory actions towards people within intra-community and inter-community.

Conclusion

COVID-19, while spreading all over the world at an unprecedented level (as of July 24, 2020) poses adverse effects on the lives of refugees who are already in precarious situations. Against this backdrop, while almost all the countries thoroughly confine to their national borders, the fundamental human rights of this 26 million stateless community are not given much attention. Thus, this paper sought to touch on the status of human rights of refugees during the pandemic as a case study of the Rohingya refugees in Cox Bazar Bangladesh, utilizing the 'International Bill of Rights.'

The disproportionate impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the Rohingya refugees presents itself as three interlocking crises; health crisis, socio-cultural crisis, and protection crisis, exacerbating existing vulnerabilities and infringement of human rights. COVID-19 as a health crisis has put pressure on the human rights of this community in terms of unsanitary and crowded living conditions, limited access to health services, limited access to water and hygiene, and food insecurity. As a socio-cultural crisis, it has caused violations of human rights of the Rohingya as a part of the loss of livelihood and disproportionate impact and discrimination against children and women. The paper discusses the impact on the rights of children and women in terms of access to education, violence against children, and gender-based violence. Finally, as a protection crisis, COVID-19 intimidates the rights of this refugee community based on lack of access to information and stigma, racism, and xenophobia.

Thus, the paper concludes with the focal argument that the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated the human rights violations as well as has caused new dimensions in the Rohingya camps such as the right to health, right to decent living standards, right to work, right to be free from torture, cruelty and degrading actions, right to education, right to information, right to be free from discrimination and right to life, liberty and security in the basic sense.

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The Consequences of Immigration Crisis on Europe

P. G. A. Sandeepani[1]

Abstract

Migration in the twenty-first century is a major concern for the United Nations. All aspects related to it like causes, direction, and impacts on the source country and destination. Major international attention today revolves around immigration policies of developed countries, migrants, migration, and impacts on their lives. During the period of 2015-2016, the number of immigrants in the European Union (EU) exceeded one million per year. Still, the identification of real refugees vs. economic migrants and even criminals still remains questionable. Yet the increasing flow of legal and illegal migrations from civil war areas, underdeveloped countries poses rising challenges to receiving countries. Some have moved to be settled in Europe from underdeveloped countries, mainly because of prosperity and life security offered by the individual countries in Europe and by the region as a whole. For instance, in some countries, the crime rate were increased because of the criminal activities of immigrants; while in other states have to carry the economic burden of the influx of immigrants. The majority of the countries witnessed high competition in their job market for locals due to foreign labour. The process of immigration from developing regions to the developed ones cannot be stopped, but it can be managed and settled. The influx of immigration in Europe were intensified and marked many profound impacts on the host societies both positively and negatively. The article attempts to highlight the consequences of this immigration on countries of Europe in areas like economic, political, social, and security. The causes of the immigration crisis are also briefly described in this article.

Keywords: *Immigration, Migrants, EU, Europe, Influx*

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Introduction

The refugee and migrant crisis has been both one among the most important and most divisive political issues in recent European history. While often identified as a pure refugee crisis, since its start in the aftermath of the Arab Spring in 2011 and in particular since its historically unique intensification in 2015, as many scholars show, it is, in reality, a – much more multifaceted and encompassing – "mixed" refugee-migrant crisis. Human migration has played an important role in shaping the world, as we know it today. Regardless of the reasons for which they immigrate, the arrival of a large number of foreign citizens to a new country can have political, social, economic, security consequences. Immigration is deeply rooted in European history. The European migrant crisis or refugee crisis was a period characterized by a high number of people arriving in the Europe overseas from across the Mediterranean Sea or overland through Southeast Europe. The 2010's have seen a higher number of people from the south moving towards north. In particular, Europe has seen a higher number of people from Africa, the Middle East, and South Asia, fleeing from poverty, political instability, wars, and the climate crisis.

Canada, USA, Europe, and Australia, are on the top of the list. As compared to others, Europe especially after becoming the Union has gained significant attraction as the destination of migrants. During 2015-2016, nearly one million migrants and refugees passed through Greece's Aegean islands and mainland toward central and northern Europe, causing a crisis in countries struggling with the influx of immigrants. Over the last four years, upwards of 3.5 million people have applied for asylum in the EU's twenty-eight-member states. While migration flows have decreased, the number of illegal crossings into EU territory, mainly through the sea routes, exceeded 150,000 in 2018. This has been one of the most divisive political issues in recent European history. During the peak of the migration crisis, in 2015, hundreds of thousands of migrants and refugees arriving at the Greek islands were transported by boat to the mainland, to northern Greece and beyond. Neighbouring states sought protection from sudden and massive migrant flows by temporarily blocking entry or closing their borders altogether. Nearly 4,000 people tragically drowned during 2015 in

their struggle to reach Europe. People traffickers and organized crime played a major part in this lucrative, illegal movement of peoples, with scant regard for safety. When these immigrants are accepted, many countries do not possess the ability to integrate them into their own societies. Often, immigrants end up confined in camps and ghettos. Many of them face severe problems created by their own cultures, which are frequently so very different from Western cultures and may even be antagonistic to European principles.

The migration crisis has destabilized the political economy of EU countries, especially those near or at its external borders. Regions and communities in frontline states, like Greece and Italy, have been overwhelmed by the asymmetric burden the migration crisis; in these areas, it feels like Europe is indeed under siege. (Kyriakopoulos, 2019) As many scholars shows, the issue of absorbing immigrants into Europe has continued growing, creating new politics and societies, and affecting the continent's entire future.

The definition of a refugee is subject to a constant struggle over who deserves and who is not. The UNHCR Refugee Convention of 1951 defines a refugee as a person who has left his country due to a "well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or membership of a particular social group or political opinion." This definition did not cover everyone who fled a war zone, but it changed following pressure from the newly independent African states in the 1960s and later on again from the Latin American countries in the 1980s.

In this respect, the Migration Crisis is one of the biggest humanitarian disasters since the Second World War, in the sense that it affected not only the targeted member States, mostly Western, but also the EU as a whole by showing the weakness and the feebleness of the European Project itself. (Apetroe, 2016) However, the issue of real refugees vs. economic migrants still raises overwhelming questions. However, there are unavoidable negative impacts on the European Union countries due to these immigrations. This study is going to examine these consequences, Such as the Social, political, economic, and security consequences of these immigrations. In addition, a brief look into the causes for these migrations.

Methodology

The immigration crisis has created huge pressure on EU nations. This article is mainly based on secondary data collected through books, research papers, journals, online reports, and online articles and from news websites. Since this study is related to immigration, the annual reports from the UN have used to get a better understanding. This article provides data to identify the social, political, security, and economic consequences of the immigration crisis on European nations.

Literature Review

Alexandru Apetroe (2016) analyze about the terms that are used to name these immigrants. According to him, first, the term "refugee" which is used to refer to the individuals who are trying to escape civil war, rape, torture and modern slavery in their homelands. Second, employed by the more reticent Europeans, the term "migrant" is used for those, which are viewed as "invaders" or as individuals, which choose to abandon their home in search of a better life, reaping the benefits of the welfare state, being labelled as "migrants" or more precisely "economic migrants". Thirdly he states that, as a follow-up to the previous idea, the terminology of "migratory flux/flow" seems even more unorthodox by dehumanizing the tragedy of the refugees, since they are labeled as a wave or forward motion and not as rational sentient beings, alluding to a form of natural phenomena or simply by making them indistinguishable one from the other. Hence, a new terminology has started to be used, that of a "mixed migration", he further states that there is no consensus in defining it, with some definitions such as: "complex population movements including refugees, asylum-seekers, economic migrants and other migrants; unaccompanied minors, environmental migrants, smuggled persons, victims of trafficking and stranded migrants, among others, may also form part of a mixed flow". Thus, this article is going to examine the overall consequences of this 'mixed migration'.

Karolewski and Benedikter (2018) in the article Europe's refugee and migrant crisis; Political responses to asymmetrical pressures, they argue that the asymmetrical nature of the crisis paired with the uneven structure of the EU can largely explain how the EU has responded to the crisis. As they show,

three main aspects of asymmetry are identified in the refugee crisis. First, it is the asymmetrical character of the crisis itself affecting some EU member states to a much higher degree than others do. Second, the uneven nature of the EU with its horizontal differentiation, opting-out clauses and asymmetrical burden-sharing produces tends to produce asymmetrical responses by the EU. Third, the position of Germany as the key player in the bloc adds to the uneven nature of the EU and has in fact affected heavily on how the crisis was handled in 2015-2016. They state that all three asymmetrical features have largely determined why finding a common solution to the refugee crisis in the EU has proven to be difficult.

Throughout this time, when tens of thousands died at sea trying to reach Europe, Europe has imagined itself to be the victim of a migrant or refugee "crisis". The concept of a "crisis" caused by the movement of people into the European continent has always been embedded in the Eurocentric way of seeing things. This rupture brought about by the arrival of the "other" creates anxiety and fear in the European mind, as the sociologist Encarnación Gutiérrez Rodríguez has pointed out– thus the need to create never-ending irrational, ideological justifications for that anxiety and fear. (Pai, 2020)

Report prepared for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (2015) by Mike Berry, Inaki Garcia-Blanco, and Kerry Moore examines how the press in five EU states reported on the refugee and migration crisis in 2014 and 2015 in two major samples of news coverage. The states chosen for the study were the UK, Germany, Spain, Italy and Sweden. Italy and Spain were chosen on the basis that they have been key entry points for refugees and migrants trying to enter the EU.

The article the European migration crisis-economic and political factors and challenges for the future by Aleksandra Borowicz, emphasizes the economic implications of the crisis and its impact on the political dimension of the EU in the future. This article is founded upon the belief that, at the European level, the right measures have been proposed to resolve the ongoing crisis. The lack of understanding of the fundamental principles governing the European integration process has resulted in the current difficulties. The negative reaction of different countries to the migration crisis in the EU is likely to lead to new scenarios in the integration process. He states that this may pose a

serious threat to the catching-up countries, as they may become only supporting actors of the European integration process. He states that the discussion between the EU Member States with respect to fulfilling the resettlement obligation is entirely unjustified, as the legal mandate of the European Commission stems directly from the Treaties.

Bouoiyour, Miftah, and Selmi (2019) in their article the economic impact of migrants and refugees on Europe, The research reveals a non-negative effect of immigration on per capita growth and on employment. The results allow considering particular implications for the collaboration of EU countries on the immigration issue and seek to inform more specific and actionable public policy interventions.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Causes for Immigration Crisis

When considering about the immigration crisis 2015, many causes can be recognized. The immigration through the Mediterranean Sea and over the Turkish borders has been increasing over the past 10 years. They include the Arab Spring, The progression of the so-called Arab Spring across North Africa, beginning with Tunisia in December 2010, then through Libya, Egypt, Yemen, and the Gulf States and then into Syria, led to extensive internal conflict and in some cases governmental collapse in each of these countries. What began as protests against poverty and rising food prices in Algeria, against autocratic rule in Libya (leading to the demise of Colonel Gadhafi) and in Egypt with the ousting of President Hosni Mubarak in 2011, soon became a struggle for the Islamic soul, and initiated a series of crises across these nations. The wave of African wars has its epicenter in Libya, revolts against old dictators, and violent militias such as Boko Haram in Nigeria. All of these tragic and momentous events have been pushing men, women, and children toward the Mediterranean shores. A flourishing criminal trade of human beings is pushing masses of people toward rickety boats that can easily be sunk by the waves or the negligence and murderous behavior of the smugglers, whose interest is to move the largest mass they can, notwithstanding the danger. For this reason, almost 17,000 people have found

their deaths in the sea between 2014 and 2018. According to ISPI (Italian Institute For International Political Studies) data, one out of every 10 people who departed from the shores of Libya either died or went missing in the first months of 2018. In general, only half of the people who leave Libya make it to their intended destination. The climate changes have also caused to the immigration, like the impacts on natural-resource dependent livelihoods.

Some researchers suggest that increased population growth in Africa and the Middle East one of the reasons for the crisis. On the other hand, the economic migrants from underdeveloped countries migrate to Europe for a much better life and economic status. Loose smuggling networks often aid immigrants from regions like South Asia, Southeast Asia, and many other underdeveloped regions.

Political, Economic, Security and Social Consequences of the Immigration Crisis

The influx of uninvited people from distance lands and foreign cultures has generated new social, political, and economic pressures. This migration has become Europe's defining political challenge, creating huge stresses, major political divisions. Specially threatens European Union. The growing disagreements within the European Union over opening or closing borders, the imposition of quotas and systems of admission, and other issues are leading to serious discord among the member states. These issues have become the main cause of a growing crisis among EU countries due to a deterioration of the economic situation, with deep divisions growing between Western and Eastern European states. (Borowicz, 2017)

EU decision-makers were caught unprepared to deal with chaotic migration in a concerted fashion. During the peak of the migration crisis, in 2015, many hundreds of thousands of migrants and refugees arriving at the Greek islands were transported by boat to the mainland, to northern Greece and beyond. Neighbouring states sought protection from sudden and massive migrant flows by temporarily blocking entry or closing their borders altogether. If borders cannot be made secure, migrants will continue to pour in and threaten national stability, which could lead to the EU tearing itself apart. Recent developments in several EU member states of the re-nationalization of policies dealing with border controls and other measures to

protect or project national sovereignty provide strong indications that the migration challenge poses a greater danger to European integration than the debt crisis.

The major outcome of immigration crisis was Brexit. The immigration crisis in Europe was a trigger. The Paris and Brussels terror attacks by operatives who travelled among migrants sparked the first momentum for the UK to exit the 28-member EU. The threat of migrant terrorism spreading to the UK led to a rancorous 10-week national campaign that came to be known as "Brexit" and has been described as the most vital event in Europe since the 1989 fall of the Berlin wall. Extensive social science research since the referendum shows that public hostility toward immigration and "anxiety over its perceived effects" was sharpened by the arrival of a pan-European refugee crisis from 2015 onward and was a major predictor of support for the initial UK push to leave the EU. The regaining control over EU immigration was the top concern of UK citizens who voted to leave.

From the United Kingdom to Italy, Austria, and other European countries, recent elections have shown that nationalist and populist parties are attracting an increasing number of voters. One possibility is that immigration itself may have led to a rise in anti-immigrant sentiments. Native-born residents of Europe can perceive immigrants as direct competitors in the labour market as well as a drag on the welfare system (for example, pensions) and on public resources like schools and hospitals. In the wake of huge immigrant inflows, such attitudes may lead natives to support policies promised by nationalist parties. Nationalist parties have been on the rise in Germany with the electoral success of Alternative for Germany, in Italy with the Northern League, in Austria with the Freedom Party of Austria, in Switzerland with the Swiss People Party and in France with the Rassemblement National (formerly the Front National). One may think that countries experiencing the rise of nationalist movements are those where migration has become more intense. As many scholars show, one of the most important consequences of the Migration Crisis is bleeding effect that it had on other, less stringent, problems, which the EU had to cope, inflaming the already sensitive public opinion.

On the other hand, there are large economic effects of immigration on receiving countries. When refugees arrive in these countries, the economic burden is large. On the other hand, economic migrants can affect the local job market. Competing workers and, in some cases, taxpayers can be harmed economically by immigration. All the countries of Europe especially the most developed nations, which are the heavens for immigrants, are believed to be the welfare states that are responsible for the protection of the lives of its citizens. Therefore, to cater to the economic needs of its citizens is the main responsibility of the state, which is fulfilled by the government by providing more, jobs, and other economic facilities to all the inhabitants. The government creates jobs and provides other economic opportunities to its citizens by utilizing national resources. However, as in lieu of immigration, the number of citizens in Europe is increasing day by day at an alarming rate, the governments are failing to provide equal opportunities to all and therefore the unemployed population is very dependent on the government to meet their all ends. It causes a great burden on the national economy and national expenditures are superseding the national income.

The International Monetary Fund (2016) prepared a summary of the fiscal costs of the migration crisis in different European countries. It was estimated that the average budgetary expenses for asylum seekers in EU Member States could increase by 0.05 and 0.1 percent of GDP in 2015 and 2016, respectively, compared to 2014. Austria, Finland, Sweden, and Germany are most likely to note the largest increase in spending over the coming years; this assumption takes into consideration their actions since 2014. What is more, it is proportional to their engagement in solving the problem of migrants and asylum seekers. In turn, in 2015 the EU increased its spending on the migration crisis in the general budget from 0.01 EU GDP to 0.07 EU GDP (IMF, 2016)

There are also security aspects of this migrant crisis. There are many Global events such as terrorist attacks, which echo around the world, committed by immigrants. Across Europe, a median of 49 percent believes that a large number of refugees fleeing countries such as Iraq and Syria pose a major threat to their country. An even larger median of 59 percent says that refugees will increase the likelihood of terrorism in their country (Stokes, 2016).

Between January 2014 and January 2018, at least 104 Islamist extremists entered Europe by way of migration over external sea and land borders among more than two million people who crossed external European Union borders. All 104 were killed or arrested in nine European nations after participating either in completed and thwarted attacks or arrested for illegal involvement with designated terrorist groups. The majority of the 104 Islamist migrant-terrorists were primarily affiliated with ISIS, while 13 were affiliated with Jabhat Al Nusra. Others were associated with Ahrar Al-Sham, the Taliban, Lashkar-e-Taiba, Al-Shabaab, and the Caucasian Emirate. Some had unknown sympathies and some shifted among several groups. Only one was a woman and their average age was 26. They were from Syria and Iraq, but also from North Africa and South Asia (Bensman, 2019). As mentioned above the Paris and Brussels terrorist attacks were major reasons for Brexit Security implications of the migrant crisis that do not stop on state borders of countries that are part of the migrant route.

According to some authors, the fear of the local population is justified since it is a fact that migrations inevitably expose the local population to an increased risk of contagious diseases, crime, and terrorism. On the other hand, the immigrants and the host country do not share the same culture. Eventually, this will lead to a failure of integration and leads to a cultural divide. Generally, in Europe the cultural diversity is welcomed however as the number of migrants is increasing the concerns of the locals are also increasing. The response of natives towards immigrants also depends upon their educational background. Natives that are more educated are likely to accept outsiders compared to less educated. When security concerns increase, the negative attitudes towards immigrants also increase.

Conclusion

Immigration to Europe took a peak in the year 2015-2016. The immigration crisis has become a more serious and unsolvable problem among EU nations. As many scholars suggest it is important to identify the refugees and economic migrants that come from abroad nations, therefore many scholars names it as a 'mixed' refugee-migrant crisis. The migration crisis was one of the most complex issues in recent European history. It was literally dividing the European Union (EU) into those, which will accept the refugees, and those,

which reject them. The civil wars, the climate changes in regions like the Middle East, the African region caused the sudden rise of migration, and the economic migrants had been a reason.

As every other incident, the immigration crises also have consequences. Political, economic, security, and social consequences were discussed in this article. The migration crisis caused Brexit. Britain voted out of the EU because mainly they did not want to carry the burden of these migrants. In addition, it led to tear the EU apart. On the other hand, obviously the refugees have become economic burden to the receiving countries. It also has an impact on unemployment in these European countries. Many Europeans do not have a good response towards accepting these refugees. In addition, security concerns are also high. There could be terrorists, criminals among these immigrants. The Paris and Brussels terrorist attacks prove the point that there are security threats from these immigrations. In addition, cultural differences cannot be ignored.

The impacts and issues of immigration vary from state to state in Europe. The EU integration process must be re-envisaged to cope with the demanding times, especially after the Brexit. EU must try new strategies by addressing the root cause of both legal and illegal migration.

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Social and Economic Impact of Sri Lankan Female Labour Migration

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Abstract

The global policy arena has put positive spin on the link between migration and development. Labor migration has become an important aspect of a national development strategy for developing countries. Because it is beneficial to labor sending countries in terms of remittances, human capital, knowledge transfer and well as national income. Sri Lanka is a major labour sending country in Asia, with a high proportion of female labour migrants employed as domestic housemaids in the Middle East with increasing remittances. Despite such financial gains for families and national economy, social and negative effects on the left-behind families. In this situation, the Sri Lankan government faces a dilemma. On one side, remittances from overseas migrant workers are the second largest source of foreign export earnings. Migrant remittances have grown dramatically in recent years and are now estimated at US $1.5 billion annually. On the other side, there is a growing concern with the social effects of that movement on the families left behind migrant women. Therefore, examining the social and economic impact of Sri Lankan female labor migration provides valuable information that is urgently required by policy makers. The objective of this study is to evaluate the social and economic impacts of women's foreign employment. The results highlight a number of findings and contrasts. The results indicate that although women's foreign employment has a positive economic impact on remittances, on the other hand the female migration effects on the well – being of their family in different dimensions, like education, health, & psychology.

Keywords: *Labour Migration, Female domestic Labor Migration, Left-behind Families, Social and Economic Impact of Female Labour Migration*

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Introduction

Migration is a movement that involves a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence from one geographical area to another. Although human migration has existed throughout time, it is considered as one of modern history's most important social phenomena. Postindustrial economies and globalization have resulted in a greater demand for cheap labour from around the world, also the great changes in transport and communication and a bigger disparity between rich and poor countries lead to transnational communities. According to Chammartin, migration is recognized as beneficial to both sending and receiving countries. It relieves unemployment pressures in countries of origin, and provides productive labour and an economic lifeline for millions of women and men.at the same time. Remittances have a very positive impact on home economies representing a significant source of external funding for many developing countries (Chammartin, 2005). Therefore new migratory flows are no longer male-dominated and the role of women in the new composition of migrant populations across the world. Migrant women are no longer seen as subordinate to men.

One migration stream that has received considerable recent attention is the rise of large-scale labor migration of domestic workers. Credible estimates by the International Labour Organization (ILO) suggest that the size of the domestic work sector is large and growing. The ILO conservatively estimates that at least 52.6 million men and women were employed as domestic workers across the world in 2010.[2] Worldwide labour mobility has become an increasingly prominent feature of global economic structures. South Asia has long been a significant source of migrant workers for many countries all over the world experiencing labour shortages. Migrant workers' remittances have become an increasingly important source of export income for the South Asian region over the past 30 years. As a South Asian country, Sri Lanka is a major exporter of women workers all over the world especially in Middle East countries as well. The Sri Lankan government encourages labour migration of both men and women since their trade liberalization.

In fact, part of the function of the Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment established in 1985, has been training and recruiting women workers as domestic helpers for overseas employment. After that Sri Lanka has been seen

as a country with increasing female employment as domestic workers. As a result of that Sri Lankan economy depends heavily on the remittance of migrant workers, the government promotes female migration. According to the estimation of Sri Lanka Bureau for Foreign Employment, about 212,162 Sri Lankan migrants have been working abroad (ILO, 2017). Eighty five percent of migrants are housemaids. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Lebanon and Jordan are the top five countries to which Sri Lankan females migrate for employment. The most common occupation for female migrants for foreign employment in 2019 was housemaid. In addition, a report from the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS) showed that Sri Lanka received USD 6.7 billion as remittances. Economic factors such as severe economic hardship, indebtedness, increasing living cost and the compelling desire for a better standard of living are some of the main reasons for the Sri Lankan labour migration (SLBFE, 2009). These reasons are considered to be the major push and pull factors for labour migration.

Labour migration has significant multiple impacts for Sri Lanka. Women play a crucial role in the economic development of their families and communities with certain obstacles such as poverty, unemployment, low household income and social discriminations. Most of the women migrate abroad for employment, as they have to maintain their children and family. Women's foreign employment leads to alleviate economic poverty at the household level, improves family living conditions and is also helpful to the national economy. At the same time, the issues facing children of migrant mothers and families have been increasing nowadays. Such as serious injury, death, abuse and family well-being etc. this article examines the social and economic impact of female labour migration in Sri Lanka because Women's foreign employment is a problem in Sri Lankan society because it has various negative and positive impacts on their families. The effects of women's foreign employment could have a profound impact on their family's development and future opportunities. Finally, it explores some of the policy implications of the findings and suggests some recommendations in maximizing the positive effects and minimizing the negative effects of women's migration on families and children.

Methodology

In this study both qualitative and quantitative data will be used to analyze the research problem.it provides the ability for in-depth descriptions of the social and economic impact of female labour migration in Sri Lanka. By employing a literature-based research method, data will be collected by analyzing a wide variety of secondary data sources. The secondary data will be collected through governmental documents; international labour organization annual reports, Sri Lanka bureau of foreign employment reports etc. also research reports, publications on websites of particular institutions as well as other scholarly writings. The sources are selected based on their quality and accuracy for this study.

Literature Review

International labour migration in Sri Lanka too has grown and become more important over the past few decades. Females heading to the Middle East as domestic workers are an important component of labour migrants from Sri Lanka. There is a plethora of literature dealing with the social and economic impact of female labour migration and this Literature review is presented under the broad themes. Such as labour migration, Female labour migrants as domestic workers, affect left behind families and children. Literature on migration is rich in both theoretical and empirical literature.

According to Rafis Abazov (2013), "Migration has been part of the human experience since time immemorial, and international migration has been a significant dimension of that phenomenon since the advent of modern transportation significantly reduced the physical and economic barriers to human mobility by sea and air." Most international migration is fueled by the huge differences in human development across countries because, for many people in developing countries, moving away from their hometown or village can be the best option to improve their life chances. In recent decades, a migration stream has received considerable attention in the rise of large-scale labor migration of domestic workers in developing countries.

As a developing country, International labour migration from Sri Lanka has been on the increase during the last three decades, especially with the opening

of temporary employment opportunities in the Gulf. International labour organization's recent estimates suggest that over a million migrants work abroad while the annual reported outflows are about 200,000 persons. Over the years, foreign employment has generated substantial inflows of remittances and acted as a safety valve for local unemployment and has opened up overseas employment opportunities for many women who may not have been active in the local labour force, though in low paid occupations such as domestic work (ILO, n.d.).

According to Siriwardhane et al., "Within the last three decades international labour migration in Sri Lanka has been changing substantially. The migration flow to the Middle East was dominated by female workers. As a result, still a larger share of the migration stock (currently 62 percent) is represented by females" (Siriwardhane et al, 2014).

Project report submitted by the South Asia Network of Economic Research institute points out, "the remittances from Sri Lankan migrant workers have several positive and favorable outcomes. Worker remittances constitute the second largest source of foreign exchange to the country; they help in reducing the unemployment rates and contribution towards alleviating poverty in migrant households. These worker remittances also show several advantages when compared to other sources of foreign exchange. However, the adverse socio-economic impacts of such migrations also cannot be ignored" (Arunatilake et al, 2010). Several studies have focused on the consequences of women's migration on families and children behind left. According to UNFPA, millions of women working millions of dollars in remittance funds back to their homes and communities. These funds go to fill hungry bellies, clothes and education of children, provide health care and generally improve the living standard of loved ones left behind. Leaving one's family in order to sustain takes a huge psychological and emotional toll. These women provide love and affection to their employer's children in exchange for earnings that can improve the quality of their own children whom they sometimes never see for many years (UNFPA, 2016).

Female labour migration can have positive and negative impact on the well-being of the children left behind. However, Parrenas highlights the negative impact of mother's migration as shown in the following quotes, "the pain of

family separation as a result of mother's migration creates various feelings including loneliness, helplessness, regret and guilt of mother, vulnerability and insecurity for children among others" (Parrenas, 2001).

In the previous studies, Nirasha Perera and Madhubhashini R. Rathnayake (2013) point out, maternal migration is an attractive short-term solution and potential economic boon for an impoverished family. However, for all its economic benefits it has serious deleterious effects on the well-being of children in Sri Lanka. Children are at a disadvantage at all levels and all aspects of their existence (Perera & Rathanayake, 2013). According to Bakker, his evidence shows that children affected by migration face several challenges in terms of education and health care as well as various psychosocial problems. Many children left behind suffer from depressions, low self – esteem which can lead to behavioral problems and at increased risk of poor academic performance as well as interruption of schooling. Additionally, migrant children and children left behind are at a higher risk and more vulnerable to abuse and exploitation, including sexual abuse as well as child labour and trafficking (Bakker et al, 2009).

According to the save the children (2006) highlights children with migrant mothers have poorer attendance and performance at the school also the gravity of the lack of proper childcare is reflected in Children dropping out of school, drug addiction and in some cases being physically abused by relatives, including fathers. It can also create several problems at migrant's home such as family disruptions, changes in the behaviors of children, discontinuation of children's education, drug addiction and alcoholism by the husbands of migrants etc. (Ukwaththa, 2010). Also Ukwaththa points out, positive impact of the female labour migration. The most direct benefit from migration is the household income.

The literature discussed above indicates that migration of females can have both positive and negative impacts on their children and families (social and economic impacts). Such as household income, education, behavioral changes, protection of children etc. negative impacts are higher than the positive impacts.

Data Presentation and Analysis

This study has examined how the families and children left behind have been impacted economically and socially by the female labour migration in Sri Lanka. This study presents the qualitative findings from previous literature. The findings show gravity of labour migrations, push and pull factors of female labour migration, economic and social impacts (negative and positive) of female labour migration in Sri Lanka.

Foreign employment of Sri Lankans has helped the economic situation back at home immensely as mentioned earlier. This is mainly due to the worker remittances that have played a major part in the income revenue of the government in the mode of foreign exchange earnings. The remittances are made mainly through the Sri Lankan workers employed in the middle, low skilled and housemaid categories abroad. It is a kind of economic impact of female labour migration in Sri Lanka. Therefore, in recent decades, the flow of labour migration in Sri Lanka has changed to migratory feminization.

Fugure 01: Major sources of foreign exchange earning in Sri Lanka
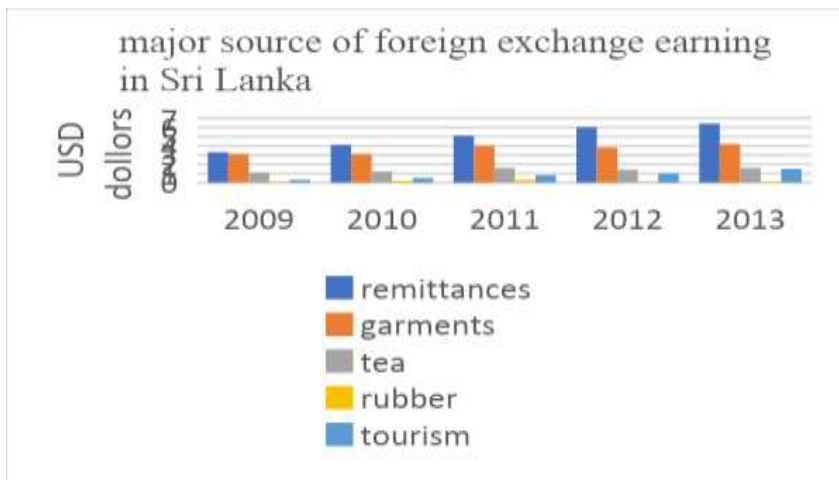
Source: Central Bank of Sri Lanka Annual Report, 2013

The reason for female migration is clearly the economic support of the family. It includes poverty, lack of permanent job for their husbands, drug and alcohol

addiction of their husbands, lack of education, and limited employment opportunities in Sri Lanka, repayment of debts, building a house and family obligations, economic environment in the country. Female migration has both positive and negative impacts. The economy of Sri Lanka mostly depends on labour migration. Without remittances, the economy of Sri Lanka would have been much more problematic (Central Bank, 2013). At the macro level, it is expected that migration, through remittances could contribute to poverty alleviation in the migrant sending countries. In Sri Lanka over the many years' poverty has declined significantly.

Other positive social and economic impacts include both monetary and social remittances. Monetary remittances increase the household income of migrant families, savings, and income and improve the living condition of families. Social remittances affect the ideology, skills, attitudes, life styles, food patterns etc.

Table 01: Poverty alleviation in Sri Lanka

Year	Population below poverty line (%)	Poverty gap index
1990/91	26.1	5.6
1995/96	28.8	6.6
2002	22.7	5.1
2006/07	15.2	3.1
2012/13	6.7	1.2

Source: Department of Census and Statistics, 2015

Female labour migration creates several negative impacts. Such as family disruptions, changes in the behaviors of the children, health issues of the children discontinuation of children's education, drug addiction of children and husbands and alcoholism by the husbands of migrants' etc. data analysis of this study indicates most of the children did not regularly attend school. According to the study findings, the main reason for irregular attendance of these children was that the older children had to care for younger siblings in

the family. In addition, the female children are compelled to marry for a protection purpose by the women's parents due to migration abroad for work. Therefore, female labour migration is the reason for child marriages. The absence of mothers is often identified as a main cause for sexual abuse and incest. After women migrated abroad for work, most of their husbands have extra marital relationships or sexual partners. At the same time, some of them turn to their daughters to satisfy their sexual needs. In a 2002 study of 22 reported incest cases, in 11 cases (50% of all cases) the mother was away in middle east, pointing to the significance of mother migration as a contributory factor to trends in incest in Sri Lanka (Perera and Rathnayake, 2013)

By the time these mothers return, the families are often subjected to irreparable damage. Another more prominent impact is made by the sudden increase of income in the family. The workers who go abroad send their money back with the hope of it being properly utilized. The sudden surge of income has increased extravagant spending without much attention paid to the necessities and priorities of the family. The remittances sent by the women, left behind fathers and husbands enjoy new social privileges. Some find their husbands turned into alcoholics who have wasted the hard-earned money, while some experience family breakups due to straying husbands. Most of the time, these women return to find shattered families that are in far worse conditions than the ones they left behind. Many times, these women opt to go abroad again hoping to rescue their families from far worse destitution than before. However, the impact of migration depends on several factors. Including social status, future expectation, and duration the migrant women working abroad.

Data analysis of this study indicates that migrant women have financial difficulties, and they are aware of the social cost of migration. Since these women believe that there is no other way to earn money. The purpose of migration is providing economic support to the family. Therefore, Sri Lankan government should have key responsibilities to protect the rights of children of the migrant workers who are in their territory and subject to their jurisdiction and the specific rights to education, health, and freedom from child labor and abuse. Therefore, the country needs effective policies that can maximize the positive effects of women's foreign employment and minimize

the negative effects on their children. Policy makers should pay more attention and give more priority to minimize the negative impact of female labour migration.

Conclusion

This study has provided a deep overview of the social and economic impact of female labour migration in Sri Lanka. It clearly documents that remittances have been playing an increasingly significant role in National income and the negative and positive impact of female labour migration (social and economic) using secondary data. The findings show that pre-migration socio-economic situation, economic difficulties and chances of gaining higher income can be considered as the major push and pull factors for female labour migration and in this situation, lack of employment opportunities, poverty, poor education and lack of livelihood support influence to take decision to migrate abroad for work. Remittances generate a strong economic impact for the country. However, female labour migration creates various social and economic impacts. It has become a center of discussion in the Sri Lankan context during the last decade. A large majority of Sri Lankan female labour migrants are with minimal educational qualifications and exposure. Hence, these migrants as well as their households face many negative consequences.

According to this study, it can conclude under recommendations. Such as, Implement and regulate the existing strictures on maternal migration and monitoring mechanism Enforce the existing strictures on migration. Further, relevant authorities such as Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment, Children's Secretariat of Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs and the National Child Protection Authority should take action to monitor the care plans of children of migrant mothers and coordinate efforts to support families of migrant mothers.

 A specific effort should be made to identify and address the negative impact of female labour migration within national development frameworks. This will help to improve nature, level and quality of services provided to families in difficulties. This will increase awareness and will help families make informed decisions that prioritize children's welfare when preparing to migrate to work abroad. Building the capacities of caregivers, a significant

proportion of children left behind suffer from emotional problems due to lack of sensitivity, knowledge and capacity on the part of their caregivers. Projects should be developed to empower and support caregivers, as they deal with their own specific problems. Specific attention should be paid to grandparents who have their own specific needs.

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US-China Trade War and its Impact on Developing Countries (With Special Reference to Sri Lanka)

A. S. Martin[1]

Abstract

On July 2018, President Donald Trump announced that US has declared tariffs on particular Chinese products. This was the beginning of the trade war between China and US and both countries had the fair share of increasing taxes to each other's products. The global trade has decreased immensely as a result of this trade war. Almost all the countries are adversely effected. Mostly effected countries are the developing countries. This article will provide an in-depth analysis about the adverse effects of the trade war. It will discuss how the developing countries could work out a strategy to overcome the adverse effects of the trade war. The country which has gained the most from this trade war is Vietnam. The article will discuss in length how Vietnam was able capture the attention of the companies, which are finding a replacement to relocate from China. The paper concludes on methods, which Sri Lanka could use to attract the foreign investors who are relocating because Vietnam is not the only destination, which the companies are having in mind. The methods Sri Lanka needs to develop in order to build an investor friendly environment would be analyzed.

Keywords: *US-China Trade War, Developing Countries, Sri Lanka, Relocation of Investments*

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Introduction

China and USA are the countries with the highest GDP in the world. China recorded a 14200 billion USA Dollars as their GDP at the end of the year 2019 while USA had 21200 billion US Dollars in the same year. These two countries can be concluded as the major economic players of the world.

Trade is the basic economic component, which involves in buying and selling of goods and services. Trade normally takes place between a buyer and a seller. International trade is the exchange of goods and services with two or more countries with imports and exports. This allows the countries to expand their markets from going beyond their national markets. As a result of the international trade, the market becomes more competitive and quality products will be available for the consumers.

International trade involves a concept named as comparative advantage which is the key component used today in terms of trade, along with free trade, which determines the price of the goods. Due to this theory, countries today are devoid from the nature of self-sufficiency and are moving towards international trade to gain a higher advantage in respect of their economy.

A trade war is a battle between two or more countries, which involves in the addition of taxes and tariffs to each other's goods. The result of this is that the economies of both the countries would start to contract and will have a negative impact on international trade. This is totally opposie to the concept of free trade in the world. A trade war will not only have negative effects on the countries which are participating but also the by standing countries.

The basis for the ongoing trade war with China and USA is the policy adopted by China in 2015 with the main slogan of 'Made in China 2025' with the aim of reducing the imported technology used by the country. In that plan, there were ten focus areas, which needed to be improved to close the gap between the technology used in the Western countries and China.

On July 6, 2018, the US President, Donald Trump announced tariffs on the Chinese products worth US\$34 billion, which did not have an immediate response from Beijing. The announcement came after months of speculation in which the US President on various occasions had threatened to impose

tariffs on China if the trade imbalance was not addressed. These tariffs, according to the White House, are the first round in tariff imposition, which could be increased to a third of the Chinese goods coming into the US.

The US will be faced with many difficulties in its bid to resolve the bilateral trade deficit with China. This is mainly because most of the US corporations have outsourced their production units offshore to mainland China, as labour-intensive production is less cost-intensive in China. Furthermore, China has removed many of the import barriers it had in place previously leading to a decrease in the deficit between the two countries. The current US administration mantra of 'bringing back the outsourced industries to the American shores,' through trade protectionist policies will be faced with difficulties, due to the complex workings of international trading networks. There is a complementary relationship that exists between the economies of both, which derives globally 40% GDP, 25% total exports and 25% Foreign Direct Investments (FDI).

The current trade conflict clearly has an uneven impact on the region and the world. In sum, the analysis in this study shows that under a worse case scenario, where all documented threats and retaliations are carried out, GDP in the China would fall by over 1% and GDP for the US would decline by 0.2% over a period of 2–3 years. In developing Asia, the effects from the trade conflict are mildly positive, as the region benefits from trade redirection in electronics and textiles. The inclusion of tariffs on autos and auto parts is more damaging for advanced economies (such as the EU and Japan) than in developing Asia.

The trade war has drastic effects on developing countries in Africa such as South Africa. The countries consist of companies, which are on the list of major exporters required to pay 10% tariff on certain steel exports to the United States. When considering Rwanda, the trade benefits have been suspended by United States due to the refusal to import used clothes from them. China is the largest trading partner of African countries and the tariffs on Chinese goods will adversely affect the African economy due to the depreciation of local currencies and fall down of the Stock market. According to the African Development Bank, the US-China trade war could cause a 2.5%

reduction of GDP in resource intensive African countries and a 1.9% reduction for oil exporters by 2021.

Similar to Africa, Sri Lanka as a developing country could be adversely effected by the trade war because the main importer of Sri Lanka is China and the major exports of Sri Lanka is headed to United States. the main objective of this study is to identify how Sri Lanka could benefit from this ongoing trade war.

The theoretical framework of the article will be based on comparative advantage theory cited in International Trade. The theory refers to the ability to produce goods and services at the lowest opportunity cost than the other countries which are producing the same goods or services. The opportunity cost is the potential benefit that someone loses when selecting a particular option over another. In comparative advantage, the opportunity cost of one company is lower than the other. The company with the lowest opportunity cost (the one that has the minimum amount to lose) holds the advantage. Therefore if Sri Lanka can achieve a comparative advantage over the products with the other competing countries, it could strive to make the most out of the situation.

Methodology

This article consist of secondary data collection. Secondary data will be collected through books, website, published reports, journals, newspaper articles and scholarly articles. The study utilizes qualititative data approach.

Literature Review

When combing through the literature, many academics have given definitions to a trade war. Surender Mor (2018) in his research paper, US-China trade war: Learning by Doing, gives the basic definition how free trade has been converted to a trade war in the modern phenomenon with the onset of the second World War. The research paper goes on to discuss the previous trade wars which existed in the world and how the causes and results could be successfully inferred to the current trade war. The impacts of the current trade war could be learnt from the results of the past trade war and it should be noted that there has been a potential loss of growth of trade in the whole world

with the innocent by-standing countries who are effected by the trade wars. The current trade war will result in the same outcomes if it is not contained.

Sardana (2019) has highlighted the possibilities available for China to retaliate to the trade war. The paper discuss in depth how India would be affected by this trade war. It also gives the ultimatums or exit routes available for China in the long term and short term with economic, trade and geopolitical fronts.

Terrance Tia-leung, (2019) discuss how China is on the more losing side when compared with USA. It is estimated that China will lose 1.1% of employment and 1% of GDP during the year 2019. As per the estimates of the International Monetary Fund, in 2018, the loss of GDP of USA and China will be 0.9% and 0.6% respectively. The stock market of China (as per Shanghai Securities Composite Index) has decreased by 22% within the last 6 months of 2018.

Bouet (2018), makes remarks how the protectionist theory of USA would be a potentially negative impact for the developing countries, mainly the allies of USA. The trade wars can damage the emerging countries and will not bring a positive effect to USA. If there were a war potential trade war with Mexico same as with that of China, then there would be a drastically negative effect to the world economy at large. There is no much gain for USA to the extent they are alleging. There could be minor domestic improvements of employment and other categories but when it is compared with the detriment, the gain is negligible.

Abiad (2018) discuss about the major impacts on the trade war within the developing countries of South Asia through the data analysis of Asian Development Bank Multiregional Input-Output Table. The South Asian countries could gain a fraction of their GDP values through the rise in demand of the electronic sector (0.13%-0.4percentage gain in the GDP). The countries which would gain from this trade war will be Malaysia, Vietnam and Thailand because they could produce goods to compete the market which are effected by tariffs. Some of the developing countries in South Asia such as Bangladesh, Sri Lanka and Pakistan would gain in exports from 1.3%- 3.4% due to the dependent on the garment sector.

Ndzendze, (2019) emphasis on the impact of the trade war on African countries.Tariffs have been imposed to African countries as well by USA due

to the fact that China is Africa's largest trading partner. The repercussions of these tariffs are precipitated drops in commodity prices, depreciation of local currencies, and downfall of major stock exchanges. The African Development Bank has predicted a 2.5% reduction of GDP in African countries and 1.9% reduction of oil exports by the end of 2021.

Zhou (2019) emphasis the fact that Sri Lanka could gain from exports if the Chinese manufacturers use Sri Lanka as the production country and export the products to USA and Europe. This could be done by foreign direct investments from China. Sri Lanka also has a Free Trade Agreement with India, which would help the Chinese manufacturers to export their products to India, which has a larger market. By acting on this way, there could be a mutual benefit for both China and Sri Lanka.

Wettasingha (2018) states that the garment industry could stand a chance to win from this trade war. The US garment importers have been looking for importer outside China and Sri Lanka will manage to grab that opportunity to export garments to US. The limitation here is that Sri Lanka will not be able to compete with a high demand in production due to economies of scale and therefore Bangladesh and Pakistan will get the lion's share of the exports. However, Sri Lanka could compete, as it is known for the quality of the products in the region.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The trade war between US and China is an ongoing conflict, which has shown no signs of coming to an end or break. One can understand that the trade war will certainly continue in the next decade. This trade war has adversely effected the global trade and mostly the developing countries. The countries need to come up with some sort of strategies in order to mitigate their unfavorable nature. Sri Lanka could turn this trade conflict to their advantage if the country works strategically.

Sri Lanka is said to have a comparative advantage in the apparel and textile industry. This is because it has been exporting the above products to various countries across the globe for decades. According to the Annual Report of Central Bank of Sri Lanka, in 2019, the country has earned a recorded income of 53 billion USD from apparel and textile exports. Therefore, the key

discussion area of this article will be the apparel and textile industry. The factors taken into discussion are how the international agreements are to be taken into consideration and the areas which the reforms that the Sri Lankan government has to adopt regarding their fiscal policies.

Sri Lanka has signed a free trade agreement with India on 28 March 1998 and it has come into force from 1 March 2000, which is termed as the Indo-Sri Lanka Free Trade Agreement (ISLFA). The free trade agreement enables about 4000 product lines to be imported to Indian market without duties.

Sri Lanka has also signed another free trade agreement with Pakistan, which is known as the Pakistan-Sri Lanka Free Trade agreement (PSFTA) which came into force on 12 June 2005. This free trade agreement facilitates over 4500 products to be exported to Pakistan duty free. There have also been bilateral discussions about a third free trade agreement with Singapore but it had not been successful still.

GSP + (Generalized System of Preferences) is a quota given to Sri Lanka by the European Union on 19th March 2017 (after it was abandoned earlier due to the alleged human rights violations of Sri Lanka) and it is given to support the businesses and to promote job opportunities while protecting human rights in Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka was the EU's 62nd largest trading partner in 2016 and the dominated exports from Sri Lanka are textiles and clothing.

Sri Lanka also has a GSP with United States that came into force on 23 March 2018 and the US president has extended its term until 31 December 2020. This allows about 3500 different products to be exported to USA on a duty free basis. These includes selected products such as textile, clothing, jewelry, carpets, agricultural and fishery products, chemicals, minerals and marble. US economy is the largest single export destination for Sri Lanka, which accounts to more than 27.5% of Sri Lanka's exports.

A free trade zone is an area within a country where some normal trade barriers such as tariffs and quotas are eliminated and bureaucratic requirements are lowered in hope of attracting new businesses and foreign investments. There are three main free trade zones in Sri Lanka namely- Katunakaye, Biyagama and Koggala. There are also other mini export processing zones located in

Mirigama, Malwate and Wathupitiwala, Mawathagama, Seethawaka, Horana, Mirijjawila.

There are many foreign companies registered in Sri Lanka. According to the Companies Registration Board over 160 companies with foreign origin (Mother Company in another state) has registered in Sri Lanka and are currently engage in trade activities. Out of them about 80% are located in the free trade zones.

Therefore, Sri Lanka, if they act strategically can invite foreign investments from the two rivalry countries- both China and US. Sri Lanka can provide a platform for the businesses of each country to export. This is because most of the US businesses have left China due to their domestic policies. Sri Lanka need to attract them towards the country by giving tax benefits and accesses to the free trade zones to continue their trade.

If Sri Lanka is able to attract the investors of the apparel and textile sector which Sri Lanka has a comparative advantage over the other countries, the exports will be increased and eventually the GDP will increase. This will have a positive effect on the trade balance of the country because currently Sri Lanka is having a negative trade balance due to higher number of imports than exports. If the GDP increases, Sri Lanka would have a higher chance of reducing the future debts because there is enough income to cater the government expenditure. On the other hand, the unemployment will be reduced and will amount to an increase in the living conditions of the citizens. Another positive outcome would be that the increase of foreign currency would reduce the devaluation of the Sri Lankan currency and therefore the country will have to pay less in the repayment of loans.

Majority of the US companies which left China were attracted by the South East Asian countries such as Indonesia, Vietnam and Philippine. In the below section of the article, the discussion will focus on the methods that Sri Lanka need to adopt in order to attract the foreign investment companies of both US and China to gain the maximum from the trade rivalry. The country, which benefit most in the recent years is Vietnam. Apart from Vietnam, the African countries has also put forward a working plan to attract the companies.

Ethiopia has taken the lead by establishing a dozen of industrial zones to attract foreign investment. According to the official domestic statistics

provided by the Vietnamese government, they have recorded a 6.7% economic growth outreaching China, which recorded 6.2% in 2019. The foreign direct investment had a surge of 26% when compared to 2018. It was recorded as the best market pickup reported in South East Asia. This was due to the relocation of the US companies in Vietnam. The companies that have already relocated in Vietnam are Chico's, Sentient Technologies, auto parts supplier Genuine Parts Company, and industrial machinery maker Ingersoll-Rand, Dell, Apple, Nintendo.

When finding out what Vietnam did right to capture the attention of the companies, which are leaving China, education and tax concessions played a major role. They introduced a skill based economic system in order to produce skilled labour. Another advantage that Vietnam has is their political structure. The executive and the judiciary of the country is below the legislature. It is a country with a single party system that is similar to China. Therefore, when a project is cleared by the legislature, there will be no other barriers afterwards. The problem with the South Asian countries is that they have been unable to cater the needs of the companies who are countries is that they lack a specific mechanism involving in making investment friendly legislature. There are various issues related to customs clearances, taxes, investment approval, and skilled labour and labour efficiency coming out of China. The common problems pertaining to almost all the countries is that they lack a specific mechanism involving in making investment friendly legislature. There are various issues of related to custom clearances, taxes, investment approval, and skilled labour and labour efficiency.

Graph 01: Per worker labour productivity level
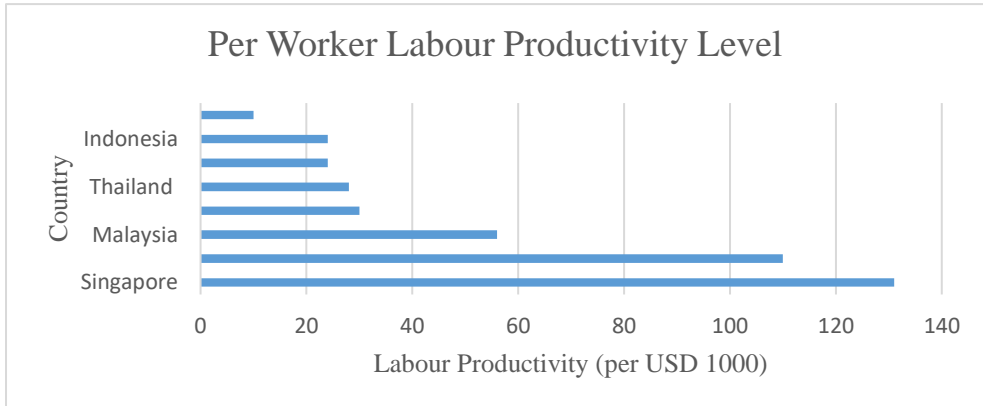
Source: APO Productivity database, 2018

Graph 02: Labour productivity level

Source: Statista, 2019

When analyzing the above graphs, one can infer that the problem does not lie in the productivity category. This is because some economies that are much larger than Sri Lanka such as Thailand, China and Indonesia are way below the productivity line when compared with Sri Lanka. Vietnam who has gained the maximum out of the trade war also has the lowest labour productivity rate within the countries analyzed above as shown in the first graph.

The second graph gives a complete analysis about the difference of labour productivity of Vietnam and Sri Lanka. This shows that Sri Lanka has a much higher labour productivity rate than Vietnam. However, one should

acknowledge that the labour force in Vietnam is over 57 million and in Sri Lanka is about 10 million. Therefore, it is evident that the labour productivity does not play a major part in attracting foreign investments.

The advantage that Sri Lanka has is that not all the investments will be taken up by the South East Asian countries. This is because they are unable to match the labour force created by China. Therefore, many countries including Sri Lanka would have a fair chance in fighting for their fair share. The advantage that Sri Lanka has over other countries is the free trade agreements with India and Pakistan and the GSP with Europe and US.

If the foreign investments are established in Sri Lanka, the Chinese companies, which do not currently have a reach to India, will be able to reach the Indian market. The Indian market is a huge one, which is only second to China due to its population. This is an opportunity, which the other countries lack. Pakistan also has a huge market and it is only second to India in South Asia. Although China has investments in Pakistan, they will not have a reach, which is similar to that of Sri Lanka due to the free trade agreement.

Companies originated in China is under heavy taxes and are potentially worthless if they export to United States. This is because those products will lack the comparative advantage since they cannot compete with other products, which are imported to US with less tariffs. Due to the GSP facility granted by US, Sri Lanka has access to the market with subsidiary tax rates. This could be an excellent opportunity for the Chinese manufactures and Sri Lanka needs to work towards attracting them. Although there is no trade war with Europe, Chinese could utilize the opportunity to have trade access to the European market with minimum taxation.

Conclusion

There is an ongoing trade war between China and US, which does not reflect that it is ending in the near future. Therefore, the entire world has to adjust to the new future where they need to restructure their economy to cater the needs arising because of the trade war. Many countries are adversely effected by this trade war, specially the developing countries. The global trade has been decreased as a result of this trade war and both USA and China has suffered immensely. The key factors that have been analysed in the article are the ways

in which Sri Lanka can prosper by increasing the exports in the apparel and textile industry and how the fiscal policies of the country should be adopted in order to attract the investors of different countries. Some countries have been strategic enough to gain from this trade war. The best example is Vietnam. They have found out a method to successfully invite the companies, which are relocating due to the increase of taxes. These companies have chosen Vietnam for various political and economic reasons. Sri Lanka is also a developing country and a potential target of the relocating companies. However, the country has still not been able to attract the relocating companies. The country needs to develop its education and trade policies in order to attract them. The opportunity is greater for Sri Lanka due to the free trade agreements and GSP concessions. Therefore, they need to bring those reforms immediately as the relocation of companies from China would not happen throughout the future, as it is a onetime opportunity. If these reforms and adjustments are done in Sri Lanka, it would have a positive impact on the economy in the long run and the country would be able to minimize the debts that needed to be taken up in the future and therefore eventually the living standards of the people would increase.

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Economic Revival of China after 1978: Special Reference to Deng Xiaoping

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Abstract

China set foot on economic miracle after 1978 as a result of redesigning a precise development approach by the Chinese pathfinder Deng Xiaoping. Before the revival, China was known as an underdeveloped, poor country that suffered from the grip of chaos and terror of the Cultural Revolution in 1970s. With the implementation of new economic reforms poverty plummeted, income skyrocketed and the economy turned outward. After the reforms, China experienced the fastest economic growth with the averaging GDP growth annually around 10% and leading to gain second largest economy in the world. Further, this study addresses the consequences of the economic reforms for the previous social arrangements in the country, which were tied to individual work units: agriculture communes, collective firms and state-owned enterprises. As China is a Socialist country it followed a capitalist economic policy and the study discuss how it revolve into capitalist economic system. In addition, they claimed this new path as "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics". This Article is a qualitative case study based on journals, research papers, books, documents and websites. The main objective of the study is to examine the economic impact of the economic reforms by Deng Xiaoping.

Keywords: *Economic Revival, Economic Reforms, Deng Xiaoping*

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Introduction

China was known to be an underdeveloped, inefficient country when Deng Xiaoping came into the power. It is the point that Chinese people took a hard look at the future of their country and state leaders began to redesign development strategies, policies and plans. China's rise from a poor developing country to a major economic power in about four decades has been spectacular. Prior to the initiation of economic reforms and trade liberalization, nearly 40 years ago, China maintained policies that kept the economy stagnant, inefficient, and relatively isolated from the global economy. However, China turned this situation upside down with the economic reforms in 1978. This economic transformation is impressive to study and has been addressed through this article.

The development of China laid on socialism with Chinese characteristics. As government always encourage citizens to get rich first, their goal is clear to create a good life for everyone. Achievements of China should contribute to its open economy policies. In 1978, The Communist Party of China (CPC) realized that a modern economy is the key to national salvation, improving people's lives, building a strong national defense and preventing from foreign interventions. China, thus, opened to foreign trade and investments through implementation of free market reforms. This is also known as "Second revolution of China". Specially, the government decided to start modernization in four fields; Agriculture, Industry, National defense, Science and technology.

China has become the owner of world's largest economy, manufacturer, merchandise trader and holder of foreign exchange reserves by following a linked path through opening up economy, Flowing of Foreign Direct Investments, Industrialization, Development of tourism industry, Increasing Employment level and Reduction of poverty in the state. Now rise of China is an emerging great power and directly challenging to US, which already having a strong impact across the world. China is the first socialist country, which achieved success through economic reforms. Therefore, this paper analyzes how China became a global powerhouse by centering to the leadership of Deng Xiaoping.

Methodology

When considering about the type of data that has been used in the study, secondary data have been used as its sources. Data collected through different sources including books, journals, magazines, newspapers, annual reports, web sites and researches conducted by various international scholars and institutions. Mainly descriptive analysis is the main analyzing method that has used to examine the above-mentioned objective.

Literature Review

This Literature review seeks to develop understanding on the economic transformation in China under Deng Xiaoping after 1978 and how he laid the foundation to a rapid developing economy and these literatures have touched many aspects of Chinese economy.

China achieved a tremendous growth in economic field since 1978. According to the Lawrence J. Lau (2015) published "The sources of Chinese economic growth since 1978" identifies the four sources for this enormous economic development as realization of surplus potential output from the initial economic slack, the growth of tangible capital and labor inputs, technical progress and effects of economies of scale. Sai Ding and John Knights (2009) in department of Economics in University of Oxford published an article on Economic development of China with the title "Why has China grown so fast, the role of structural charge." The authors explored indirect determinants for the growth of economy of China special referencing to openers, institutional change and sectorial change based on cross-province dataset. Further, all the three forms of structural change; relative expansion of the trade sector, private sector and non-agricultural sector has been represented. The article include that those improvements are the key features of remarkable growth rate in Chinese economy. Since 1978 were the years, in which China moved from being a poor and backward country to achieving living standards above the world average. Over these four decades, it moved from near economic isolation to be the world's largest trading economy.

Cai Fang, Ross Garnaut and Ligang Song (2018) provide general interpretations for the reforms that deeply experienced and analyze,

interpreting and explaining the Chinese experience of reform for all of its forty years in "40 years of China's reform and development: How reform captured China's demographic dividend." China's reform, opening-up and resultant economic growth in the past forty years provide a new constellation of experience we can study to understand the nature of modern economic growth. It describes the process of reform and opening-up of the economy and its nexus to accelerated economic growth. It describes and provides some data on the experience of trade and growth over the past years and sketches some of the main elements of reform, changes in incentives that have driven economic growth, changes in economic structure that have followed and the rising role of China in the global economy.

According to the journal articles by Chow (2004), a professor of economics at Princeton University explored the features of the Chinese model of economic planning in terms of the interrelationships among individual consumers, enterprises and the government in the market and the roles they played. Chow stated that the market forces would be by far in "The major means used by the Chinese government to achieve its planning objectives." Dernberger (1988) also hold the same opinion in the journal article "The program of economic reforms being pursued by the current leaders in China is a modification, not a replacement, of the traditional Soviet— & type economy." He further stated, "the economic results of the economic reforms introduced thus far are so impressive that the leadership will be convinced of the economic benefits‖ to continue the economic reforms even including systemic reform. By contrast, Chow was more optimistic about the future of economic growth in China from the fact that the Chinese economy was able to grow from 1952 to 1979.

Deng Xiaoping is the paramount leader of China who was from the first generation of Chinese Communist party. Zheng Huang (2018) highlighted how Deng lifted China out of backwardness with Economic reforms and his major institutional reforms that certify series of successful attempts and how he mastered China's reforms by opening up to the world in the article "Xi Jingping could now rule China for life-Just what Deng Xiaoping tried to prevent." Joseph Yu-Shek Cheng and Franklin Wankun Zhang (2008) addressed the China's foreign relations in past half-century in "Chinese

Foreign Relation Strategies under Mao and Deng: A Systematic and Comparative Analysis" including the way Deng Xiaoping made significant impact on the evolution of China. It gave a systematic and comparative study on strategies of both Mao and Deng to give a clear understanding about the impacts for transforming economy of China.

Abraham Denmark (2018) showed how communist party of China brought China to end of Mao's mismanagement and harmful campaigns and how "Reform and Opening" successful under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping by the article " 40 Years ago, Deng Xiaoping changed China-and the world" to "The Washington post". David Shambaugh (1995) described the effects of Deng's comprehensive and authoritative leadership on China by dealing with his role in Foreign policy, Politics, Social and economic reforms, relations with military in "Deng Xiaoping: portrait of a Chinese statesman". Honggen Xiao (2005) has broaden his view up to the tourism industry in China by Deng Xiaoping through his article "The discourse of power Deng Xiaoping and tourism development in China." He discussed the six dimensions followed by Deng. Namely, Conservation and environmental protection, Education/training/human resources, Infrastructure and tourism facilities, Management/operation entrepreneurship, Marketing and promotion/ policy/planning/administration that supports to central theme of developing tourism for economic development.

Ezra Vogel (2014) in Harvard University elaborated how Deng successfully overcome the challenges of stepping back from command economies that is essential for growth in "Deng Xiaoping and the transformation of China." However, it is a challenge as it loses control of the state. In addition, he highlighted how Deng lifted people out of poverty than any leader in history. Barry Naughton (2009) published "Deng Xiaoping: The Economist", brings transformation of Economic Reforms is the only thing that succeeded and benefited in Deng's period. Moreover, he wrote more about the period of exclusive economic growth, which brought country out of isolation and into the modern world economy.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Economic Reform and Open Economy

Deng Xiaoping's leadership guided China into global powerhouse, naming his period as "Period of Reform and Opening". He recognized the advantages for China through opening. In 1978, 18-year-old villager, Yan Hongchang started and developed "Household contract" system with twenty village leaders by signing an agreement to divide communally owned farmland into individual sections called as "Household contracts". Reforms initiated with this system. Early stages limited to earning money through selling products at local markets and doing works at home like repairing pots, mending clothes or opening small businesses. (Dandan, 2018) This became the first quantum leap in economic reform as it won the support of Deng and roll-out across the nation by winning popularity and supported by farmers as in late 1970s they saw commune system as an obstacle to improving agricultural production and their lives as well as they were frustrated with it but opposed by few deep-dyed Maoist ideologues. Marking a milestone for economic and social development policies, In December 1978 at the third plenary session of the 11th central committee, Deng's reforms were successfully accepted with the support of CCP (Chinese Communist Party). Deng's agenda included the economic construction and opening up, securing global and regional security, national reunification and the establishment of a new political and economic order. CCP members view approaches of Deng Xiaoping as radical and the new system called as "Second Revolution". With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Deng had to press harder for a market style changes. New agenda consists with three steps. Namely, double the GDP from 1981 to 1990, ensure enough food and shelter for people, double GDP gain in 1990s, and make sure people have a prosperous life, achieve modernization by 2050 by raising incomes to the levels of medium size developed countries.

Socialist market economy is a mechanism that is based on rules and policies about ownership, administration through the production and distribution and allocation. Socialist described modern-day capitalism as an inhuman practice that based on secure supply of the key elements that requires for industry-land, machinery, and labor. Fading of socialist system accelerated public ownership. In October 1992 at the Fourteenth Congress of the Chinese

Communist Party, marked a milestone on the path to capitalism. Communist regime in China understood that it was disadvantaged to keep China's economy traditionally that stuck with socialist ideologies from the rest of the world. Therefore, they claimed a new path of "Socialism with Chinese Characteristics", that one of official ideology. The new policies allow entrepreneurs and investors to take profits but within the controls of the state. Around 2004, the government began to allow a person's right to private property.

Chinese economy has three engines: The central government, Local governments, Enterprises. Enterprises and factories were allow keeping profits and using merit pay and offer bonuses and other encouragements that greatly boosted productivity. Strategic planning and ensuring political, economic stability are done through the central government. Enterprises compete with each by taxation, policies to create business-friendly environment and land policies and through enterprises that are pushing the economy. These three engines play a very important part of Chinese economy and called as "Three-in-one model".

However, there are main three reasons to move away the economy of China from Marxism. 1) Competitive markets: Most good are free from government controls. About 95% of consumer goods' prices are market determined. China leads the profitable key sectors as telecommunications, energy and utilities in the world. That means they have come a long way since the early 1990s, SOEs still doing a great deal of the social costs related to the transition to a market economy. Before 1990s a large share of SOE's were not turning a profit due to inefficiency but because they bore the brunt of tax burdens state enterprises were subjected to price control. However, due to the competitive markets all around the world, China had to move fast with others. 2) Social class structure: In the last 10 years, Chinese social structure has not changed from semi-agrarian society. The Chinese Social Survey Data of 2008 revealed that the peasantry number is about 42.8% of China's population, compared with 34.7% of urban blue collars and 22.5% of urban white collars. After all, the terms "blue collar" and "white collar" are occupational classifications that distinguish workers who perform manual labor from those who have "professional jobs". However, that does not mean necessarily that white

collars are middle-class workers; many are low-paid "professionals" employed in the service sector. This shows the level of capitalist development in a country. In the end of 2010, the Chinese population of migrant workers had risen to approximately 260 million. 3) Social control of investment: China is famous for its above average rates of gross capital formation. China's double-digit growth for the last 30 years has been spurred by investment. It became the backbone of the economy. As a result, investment in China is too high, for the counterpart of high investment rates is a permanent suppression of private household consumption, which would more closely correspond to people's life conditions than GDP per capita (Coase and Wang, 2013). In 1980-1984 SEZ (Special Economic Zones) were established. Namely, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou and Xiamen. Through this SEZs China able to increase external trade and gain foreign exchange, attract foreign investments including the benefits from renting lands, Increase the employment opportunities and encourage to forming a new social economic structure.

The current economic structure of China is characterized as a market-oriented structure; known as socialist market economy, despite its socialist political outlook. In terms of the economic structure, the major reforms happened with Deng Xiaoping's larger reforms. Still Chinese government controls major aspects of the economy. As the biggest hole of classical communism is the fact that every square inch of land in the country still belongs to the government and this article analyze how the reforms weaved this hole well. Gradually China transitioned from a "socialist economy" to a "capitalist market economy". However, with the economic reforms China opened to the outside world, foreign investments poured in and it caused poverty reduction, decrease in unemployment rates and rapid growth rate.

This graph depicts the turning points of Chinese Economic Growth Rate. Economic reforms by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, reopening of Shanghai stock market in 1990 and China's membership in the WTO marked special milestones for the growth of the economy in country. In the future, Chinese investments and saving rates will remain high in comparing to the other countries. They are continuing the market-oriented reforms, the key is to promote the marketization of production factors, which encompasses the reforms in the land system, interest rate determination, development of capital

markets, and the integration of urban-rural markets and the economic size of China after ten or twenty years from now will be the new super power in the world (Lau, 2015).

Graph 01: Growth of GDP per capita (1952-2012)

Real GDP per Capita (1990 int. $)

China joins the WTO

1978: Economic reforms introduced by Deng Xiaoping

Dec 1990: Shanghai stockmarket reopens for the first time since 1949
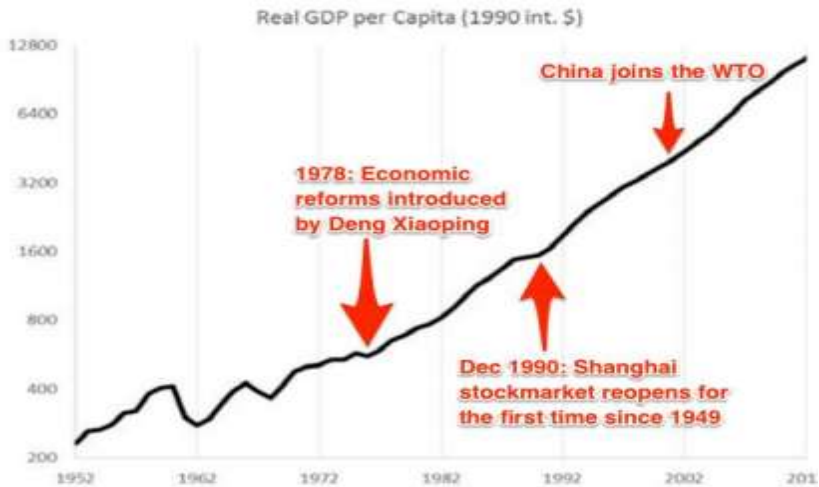
Source: Hirst Tomas, 2015

Foreign Direct Investment

Foreign Direct Investments started to flow to the China after economic liberalization in 1978. This has been a most significant feature of Chinese economic reforms as the leadership identified FDI as an effective way to obtain advances technology from other countries with minimal cost. China became the largest FDI recipient by attracting a total of US$1.35 trillion in the end of 2016. As it is a clear risk that allowing FDI into the country may cause to bring capitalistic in to the country, Deng identified that this will be a better way to make use of China's resources and providing valuable experience of modern management skills. FDI flowing cause significant impact on the Chinese economic growth like capital formation, Employment creation, Export expansion and technology transfer and impacts on structural changes. In the second session of the fifth National People's Congress in July

1979, the Law on Joint Ventures Using Chinese and Foreign Investment was passed, granting FDI legal status in China.

Graph 02: Growth rate of FDI after 1978 to 2017 in US$
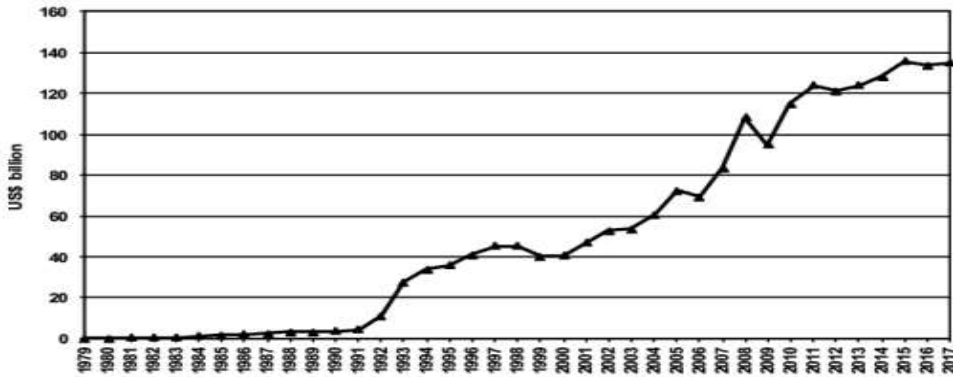
Source: UNCTAD, 2018

This figure shows the growth rate of FDI inflows into China after economic reforms in 1978 to 2017. There are three phases as 1979–91, 1992–2001 and 2002–17. In the second phase, FDI flow accelerated and in third phase, it kept growing.

As an impact of FDI on economic development of China, it causes Economic growth and productivity spillovers. First FDI accelerated the adoption of technologies in host countries. Second, FDI fill with new technologies in the host countries that shift the productions into next level. Third, FDI generates creates positive knowledge spillovers to boost the economic growth of host country. FDI improves export promotions, income distribution, urbanization and also the productivity and efficiency through demonstration effects, research and development, human resource movement, training, vertical industrial linkages, technical assistance and exposure to fierce competition. In general, this process has proved relatively successful, which has been reflected in the quality of the evolving foreign investment environment and the rapid growth of FDI inflows into China.

Industrialization

Since 1987, the major driver of China's economic growth is the industrialization. Economic reforms lead the path for industrialization that consists with three major phases. First phase is from 1978-1988 names as proto industrialization. Millions of rural enterprises that acted as the core of national economic growth during the first ten years of economic reforms were developed in this phase. Farmers benefited in this phase and China able to end their shortage economy and food scarcity in 1980s as village firms increased more than 1.5 million to 18.9 million while industrial gross output in villages increased from 14 % to 46%. Second phase started in 1988. China owned the largest producer and exporter of textiles, cotton, furniture and toys and village industrial output grew by 28% per year and doubled in every three years in 1978 to 2000. Third phase is from 1988 to present and called as "Second industrial revolution". Machinery, transportation, chemical fibers, coal, steel rapidly expanded during this phase.

With open-up, China transformed from traditional agricultural state to industrialized state. Industries in China can be divided in to three sectors. Namely, Primary Industry based on Agriculture, Secondary industry based on constructions and manufacturing and Tertiary industry based on the service sector. As per the official 2013 data, secondary industry (manufacturing) accounted for 43.89 percent of the total GDP (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2013). It proves that secondary Industry based on manufacturing sectors made a great contribution to China for its growth and it clearly depicts on the chart below.

Graph 03: Growth of 03 industrial sectors after 1978 to 2011 in billion USD
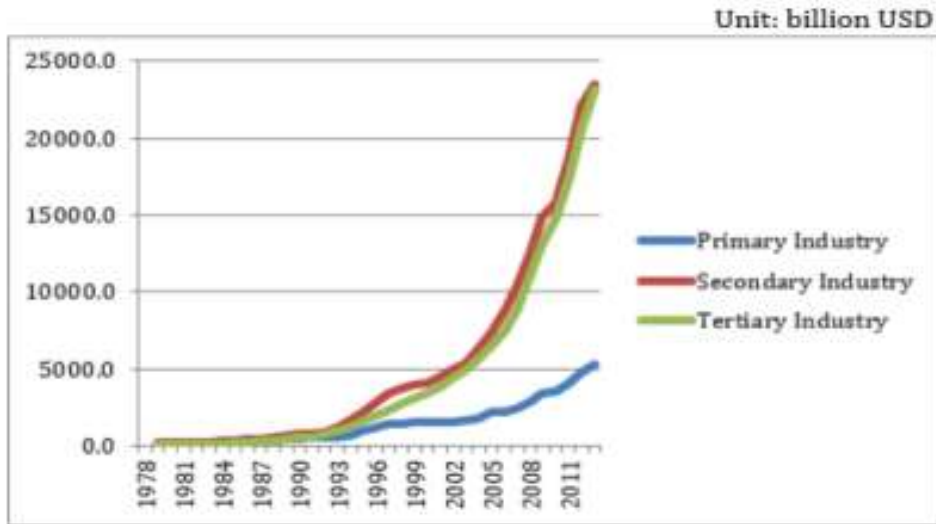
Source: Investopedia, 2012

China make their industrial system completely independent, large scale and technology concentrated after the economic revival. In 2010, China became the top manufacturing nation in the world by defeating U.S by naming with "World's factory".

Tourism Industry

After the reforms, China witnessed development on tourism industry with a huge impact on their economy and solution to unemployment. Inbound and Outbound tourism in China played a significant role in promoting the national tourism system and making the international image. Number of inbound tourists recorded 139.48 million in 2017 with 69.5 billion U.S dollars of income (China Tourism Academy and China's National Bureau of Statistics, 2017). Following chart shows the inbound and outbound tourism industry growth in China from 1992-2017.

Graph 04: Outbound and Inbound tourists rise in China after 1992 to 2017
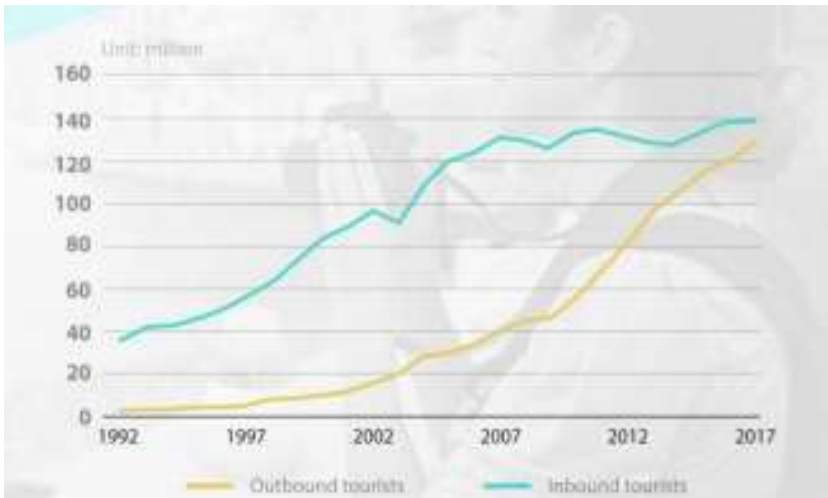
Source: Jingwei, 2016

From 1992 outbound tourists started to grow gradually and the CTA reports indicates that outbound tourists spent more than 115.29 billion U.S Dollars in their trips in 2017. Hotel expanded from 137 hotels in 1978 to 14,000 in 2008. As well as 37,000 tourism employees in 1981 to 3 billion and foreign exchange earnings rise from 2.7% in 1978 to 7.2 % in 1999. China became the most visited country in Asia and the fourth visited country in the world. The policies became more flexible and tourism-friendly for the future tourism market. As a result, 72- hour visa-free transit policy adopted in Chinese cities to attract more foreign visitors. Through the Economic reforms and open-door policy in 1978, travel permission extended to all foreigners not just for the invited guests or selected tourists.

Employment

Due to the fast-economic growth after economic reforms, total employment has kept increasing. Net increase of the total employment from 1997 to 2007 was 78 million. Total urban employment was 95.1 million in 1978 and reached 231.5 million by the end of last century to reach 93.5 million in 2007. It is 41% higher than in 1997(Fang, Yang, Meiyan, 2009). Looking ahead, unemployment rate is projected to be 3.8% in December 2021. China take advantage of its large human resources and unlike other countries, China

keeps its manufacturing at a stable level. According to the data published by National Bureau, both surveyed unemployment rates and registered unemployment rates are shown in the table below. It shows the gradual reduction of the unemployment rate from 1990 – 2007 compared to economically active population in the country.

Table 01: Unemployment rates 1990-2007

Year	Economically active population (in million)	Total employment (in million)
1990	653.2	647.5
1991	660.9	654.9
1992	667.8	661.5
1993	674.7	668.1
1994	681.4	674.6
1995	688.6	680.7
1996	697.7	689.5
1997	708.0	698.2
1998	720.9	706.4
1999	727.9	713.9
2000	739.0	720.9
2001	744.3	730.3
2002	753.6	737.4
2003	760.8	744.3
2004	768.2	752.0
2005	778.8	758.3

| 2006 | 782.4 | 764.0 |
| 2007 | 786.5 | 769.9 |

Source: Fang & Yang, 2009

The rapid economic growth begins from economic reforms in 1978. It is on average 9.5% per year up to 2005. Due to growth of tangible capital and labor inputs, technical progress and the efforts of economies scale of Chinese economic growth rapidly increased.

Poverty Reduction

With the implementation of new economic reforms China could be able to improve its human capital, opened up to foreign trade and investments, better investment climate in private sector. Chinese economy has been in the take off stage since 1978. Average growth rate of GDP was 8.1%. Rural poverty population dropped from 250 million in 1978 to 28 million in 2002 (Lau, 2015). World Bank estimated that number of people living below the international poverty line in China dropped from 542million to 375million in the 1980s.

Graph 05: Size and proportion of absolute poverty population in China, 1978-2004
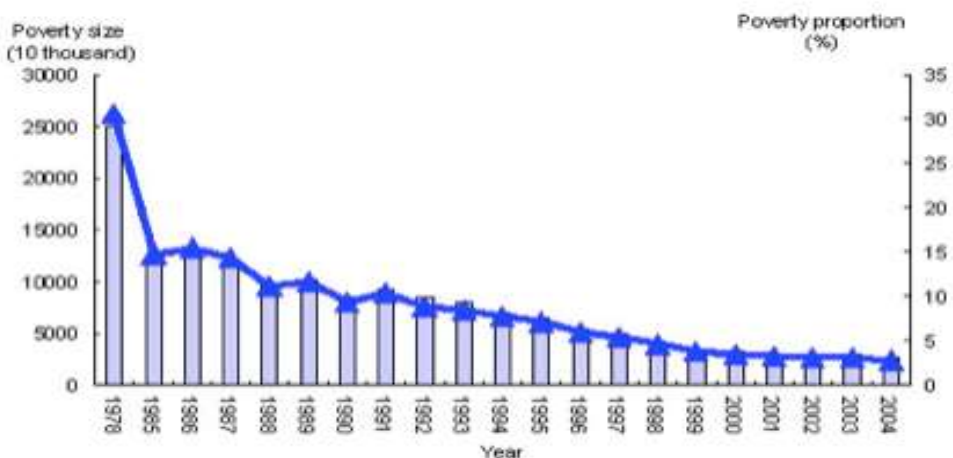
Source: National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2005

According to the statement of World Bank, more than 850 million people lifted out of poverty and the country is on track to eliminate absolutely poverty in 2020. Now China is the number one export partner with 31 countries like Australia, Brazil, and South Korea etc. In addition, the development projects such as OBOR are aimed for poverty reduction. These factors show China is not a poor country like before 1978.

Today, China is the world's leading export nation. There has been never a country, which could be able to raise many citizens out of poverty in such a short time as in the past decades. In this period, the number of poor people in China fell from 878 million to less than ten million. It is believed that political and economic model of China is balanced between capitalism and socialism. However, success of China clearly depicts the Capitalism. Still the state plays a main role in the Chinese economy. However, the growth of private ownership in China lead to incensement of the small-scale enterprises through starting new business that allowed to work maximum seven people.

In 1994, Deng introduced the national poverty reduction plan. Chinese government successfully lifted more than 400 million poor people from poverty though this effort. He laid the foundation for a greater China and connected China with the world through his own policies. However, the economic reforms implemented by Deng Xiaoping, China experienced the fastest sustained expansion by a major economy in history. Averaging GDP growth of nearly 10 % a year, China became the second largest economy in the world. Between 1958 and 1962, 45 million people starved to death in China as the result of the largest socialist experiment in history.

Conclusion

Economic revival well resonates with the development of China from poor, centrally controlled, inefficient country to be the next powerhouse in the globe. Since the economic and social reforms initiated by Deng Xiaoping in 1978, China has shown a rapid development. With Deng Xiaoping's economic reforms main three economic parameters started to improve over the decades: poverty reduction, decrease in unemployment rates and rapid growth rate. Mentioned statistics in the article clearly highlights how China's poverty rates have reduced over time and achieved economic growth. On the

other hand, due to the fast-economic growth after economic reforms, total employment has kept increasing and China's GDP has considerably increased. Deng's agenda constituted the economic construction and opening to the outside world and the establishment of a new economic order. Economic Zones, flow of FDIs and other successful efforts put China to the right direction for a global power. Once Deng Xiaoping said, ".... Aim to do something BIG." In addition, he proved this statement well through transforming China to the global powerhouse. Deng is an open-minded leader that gave a clear and straight path for success that China never imagined. China was in a pathetic condition that millions of people suffered from poverty and starvation. Deng raised the country from the weakest. Still China is growing under the great reforms in the Great Deng Era. Economy of China has skyrocketed after Deng Xiaoping initiated the reform and open door policy.

China's reforms preceded systematic beginning in the rural areas, extending to urban areas to capture the whole economy. Without the reforms, it seems likely that China would have been stuck in a political and economic rut after 1977. Allocation system or food stamps no longer wanted after implementing reforms. People could get what they willing to pay. The peaceful working environment replaced with the hard working and more competitive with the goal of making more money. The economic revolution of China has not only benefited the Chinese people but also global benefits. They have pushed up the global economic growth and contributed to global economic and political stability of the world. China made new global economic center. Moreover, these causes for many countries to less depend on western countries. China became more dependent in international trade and expanded their domestic market in a successful way. These facts prove that China save Asia from economic crisis through their development. In conclusion, this paper has tried to explore the development of China after the economic reforms in 1978 under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping. In addition, the perspective of the citizens changed from "wait-and-see attitude" to "work-and-do attitude" with the leadership of their great leader, Deng Xiaoping. Finally, the sleeping dragon truly woke up when Deng Xiaoping redesign the economic policies.

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United States' Involvement in South China Sea

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Abstract

United States has often got involved in many Conflicts around the world. South China Sea is another conflicting area which has not found a suitable solution to resolve the dispute. As the rebalancing of U.S control towards the Asia-pacific happens, the potential for struggle has expanded in the South China Sea because of China's self-assuredness. Accordingly, the US has made its expectation obvious about it objectives in the area. As an emerging partner, the Vietnam is the most resistant petitioner in the regional debate and has effectively tried to reinforce its military and security partnership as a counter balance to overwhelming Chinese military predominance. Therefore, the main objective of this study is to examine the game among core players of this dispute and their policies and strategies in this issue. This study also aims to study on provocations and challenges which emerge in this dispute. The finding of this study manifest that the relationship of USA with East-Asian countries has caused China to instigate a provocative role in the region as long as US maintains close connections with these countries. This study takes up a qualitative approach on secondary data. The secondary data were collected through books, research articles, and journal articles. According to this analysis, countries and find available option especially US to avoid the security threats in the region and thereby this study recommend available options to resolve this dispute immediately and establish and security in the region.

Keywords: *South China Sea, United States, Vietnam Region, China*

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Introduction

In international politics, states are the main actors in the international system. Contemporary international system is consisting of superpowers and great powers. United States can be considered as the superpower country due to their greatest military power, strongest economy, dominate international affairs and superior military capacity. On the other hand, China can be considered as one of the great power countries. According to China's capacity to maintain their own security, strong economy, regional and global interest it is now considers as the next emerging superpower.

When looking at the world map, it is easy to identify the most controversial regions in the world. Many parts of our world are claimed by numerous countries and many of those boarders are just rough approximations. For example, Antarctica, Kashmir, Western Sahara, Somaliland, Kosovo, Korea, Israel and South China Sea are the hottest topics in today's world.

In world politics, China contributes to world economic growth and process of poverty elimination. As a global actor, China plays a role of mediation in many conflicts to resolve them. China plays an active role in determining international rules. China's active participation in setting international rules and its contributions to improving international political and economic stability will serve to substantiate and promote its proclaimed commitment to peaceful development and cooperation in building a harmonious world (wang, 2009).

America on the other hand continued global leadership in world politics. America's mission in international politics should more clearly extent beyond preventing war in Europe to include stabilizing other strategic regions that affect our well-being. In addition, China, Russia and other countries should understand that there is a larger place for them at the decision making table, provided they are constructive and respect the interest of other nations. (Hadley, 2017).

United States always cares of its power position. It wishes to grow their military and economic power over the entire world. The United States involvement in South China Sea is the best example for the growing military and economic power of USA.

The South China Sea is one of the busy international waterways and it has become a global hotspot now. The South China Sea is a key route for international trade and it is very significant for world's trade shipping. It is also an important economic and strategic sub-region of the Indo-Pacific. It is also the site of several complex territorial disputes that have been the cause of conflict and tension within the region and throughout the Indo-Pacific.

Geographically, South China Sea plays a significant role in the geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific. The South China Sea is bordered by the 10 countries Brunei, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand and Vietnam. Their recent economic growth has contributed to a large share of the world's commercial merchant shipping passing these waters. South China Sea can largely be grouped into two island chains, the Paracel Island[1] are grouped in the northeast corner of the sea and the Spartly islands[2] in the southeast corner of the sea. Recently the South China Sea has received much attention from the world due to the intensifying territorial dispute in the region. The South China Sea has great potential reserve in natural resources such as oil and natural gas. It has great strategically significance according to its geographical location. These two characteristics have made a conflicting situation in South China Sea not only among its neighboring states, such as some of the ASEAN states and China, and captured the attention from the external powers like U.S.

Now six nations are competing for territory. China, Vietnam, Taiwan, The Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei all makes claims. Number of flashpoints in have occurred recent decades mainly between China and Vietnam. However, the present dispute of South China Sea began in 2013 when Philippines raised the issue with Permanent Court of Arbitration claiming that China has violated its sovereign rights under the 1982 UNCLOS (United Nations Convention on the Law of Sea). Tensions spread in 2014 when China installed exploratory oil rigs in the area. Tensions between China and both the Philippines and Vietnam have recently cooled, even as China increased its military activity in

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[1] The Paracel Islands are surrounded by productive fishing grounds and by potential oil and gas reserves.
[2] The Spratly Islands are a disputed group of islands, islets and cays and more than 100 reefs, sometimes grouped in submerged old atolls, in the South China Sea.

the South China Sea by conducting a series of naval exercises. Meanwhile, China continues to construct military and industrial bases on artificial islands it has built in disputed waters.

For 70 years, the United States has dominated Southeast Asia with both hard and soft power the capability to use economic or cultural influence to shape the preferences of others. Soft power underpins and makes possible robust hard power relationships. Indeed, despite U.S. enticement and pressure, U.S. allies Australia, Japan, and the Philippines have so far declined U.S. requests to join its freedom of navigation operations in the South China Sea against China's claims. Indonesia has expressed disapproval over such U.S. "power projection" in the area. U.S. relations with Thailand have not been close since the military coup there in 2014 and Bangkok seems to be leaning toward China (Valencia, 2018). The South China Sea is a conflicting area between China, Southeast Asian nations, and the United States. China and five other nations claim parts of the South China Sea, which has strategic significance and potentially sizable petroleum deposits. Last year, the United States publicly warned Beijing that free passage, and a resolution to claims accepted by all parties, was a U.S. "national interest." The United States has treaty allies in the region, sends ships through the South China Sea regularly, and views the waters as critically strategic. This position, however, infuriated China (Kurlantzick, 2011). This situation has made a distrust between among states in the region and it may affected to the regional integration of South East Asia. Therefore, it is clear that South China Sea dispute has become a serious security problem when after the U.S. involved in this issue.

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

This literature review explores China's struggle for rights in the South China Sea as well as in other countries. As the Interpreter Magazine mention geographically, the South China Sea plays an important role in the geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific. The South China Sea is bordered by Borneo, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand and Vietnam. Their recent economic growth has enabled a large portion of the world's merchant ships to cross these waters. Japan and South Korea rely heavily on the South China Sea as a source of their fuel and raw materials and exports. However, the existence of diversified sea-lanes across the South China Sea gives non-literal states some flexibility in this regard. The South China Sea also contains wealthy, unregulated and highly exploited fishing grounds, with significant reserves of oil and gas uncovered. The main island and reef formation of the South China Sea are the Spratly Islands, Paracel Islands, Pratas, Natuna Islands and the Scarborough Shoal (Interpreter, 2020).

According to Xander Vagg, in his article, when discussing the natural resources of the South China Sea, it can be identified as a region surrounded by natural resources. Accordingly, natural oil, hydrocarbons, natural gas, rare earth metals, fish resources are the main resources of the South China Sea. The oil reserves of this region are found in abundance. Experts say it amounts to 80 percent of the Arabian oil reserve. The natural gas reserves are about 266 trillion cubic feet, or 70-60 percent of the region's hydrocarbon resources. As defined by the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry, the rare earth metals, lanthanide, scandium and yttrium, are now found in the region. These metals are important because they provide critical components of the next generation of technology (Vagg, 2012).

Fravel examines China's behavior in the South China Sea dispute through the lens of its rights management strategy. Since the mid-1990s, China has been adopting a dispute-delay strategy. The purpose of this strategy is to prevent states other than China from asserting maritime rights or their rights, including these water and special development projects. Since the mid-2000s, diplomatic, administrative and military measures have intensified efforts to assert Chinese rights and disrupt others. China's strategy seeks to assert its rights, but it is inherently destabilizing and threatening the controversial weak

states. In contrast, the delay strategy involves efforts to prevent tensions from escalating (Fravel, 2011).

The 21st century is the globalization and economic interdependence of the century, and the conditions of power are measured by its economic growth. In the Pacific, China, with its maritime policies, challenges US hegemony through military modernization and economic growth. The US is seeking to strengthen its military and economic ties with the border states around China. The main conflict area of the Pacific Ocean is the South China Sea. There, China reinforces its claim to territorial sovereignty. As observed by Hussain & Tabbasum, in their study, the complexities of the US-China relationship in the East Asian region are illustrated by tensions over the sea and maritime borders and jurisdiction. The South China Sea has become a major trading and transportation hub, and the world economy depends on the free flow of trade across the sea. (Hussain & Tabbasum, 2014)

However, Vietnam has a different attitude towards China. They are worried about China's operations. According to Just Staff Writers Sukasa Hadano and Tomoya Onishi's report, Vietnam has been conducting a formal protest since China announced the establishment of two administrative units on the islands of the Hanoi-South China Sea. The establishment of the so-called Sansha city and its associated activities is a serious violation of the sovereignty of Vietnam," Foreign Ministry spokesperson Li Thi Hang said in a statement on Sunday. "Vietnam is demanding that China respect the sovereignty of Vietnam and undo its wrong decisions. Thus, Vietnam appears to be pursuing an anti-China policy. Thus, Vietnam appears to be pursuing a policy of anti-Chinese activities. (Onishi & Hadano 2020)

According to the South China Sea territorial disputes presented at the 2010 Asia Summit, the South China Sea will remain indefinite, even if the maritime conflicts are largely irrational. This issue is extremely difficult to solve legally. This issue will remain a problem between China and the United States. The American "pivot to Asia" as an opportunity to test Sino-American relations has given the South China Sea a new significance. The Stable and Peaceful South China Sea China's approach appears to have impacted domestic politics, but it could also affect ASEAN cooperation and the regional presence of external powers such as the US Sovereignty over the Conflict of

the South China Sea is essential to ensuring maritime security, as it affects the overall stability of the region and may affect future relations with China. For example, if there are significant underground resources found in the South China Sea, there may be conflicts about the development of those resources. In such a case, it will not only affect the region but also Sino-American relations. (Based on "Security Environment of the Seas in East Asia" International Conference by Ueno Hideshi)

The study of international relations takes a wide range of theoretical approaches. Theories are formulated to explain, predict and understand a phenomenon in the field of study. In here, important theories in international relations formulated to clearly identify the South China Sea dispute. Today, maritime security is one of the latest hot topics in international politics. Most of countries in world including small countries such as Sri Lanka interest their Maritime Security. When looking at the world map it seems that many maritime security issues emerges as a global problem. South China Sea is a better example for such kind of situation. Maritime inter-state dispute, maritime terrorism, piracy, trafficking or narcotics, people and illicit goods arms proliferation, illegal fishing, environmental crimes or maritime accident and disasters caused to maritime security issues. The absence of these threats should be defined as the maritime security (Bugger, 2014).

Clearly, the US and China understand a completely different sense of the South China Sea issue. This cognitive gap is acute and at least formally stated between the two countries with more fundamental national security interests in the South China Sea. Recent developments in Southeast Asia underscore the real threat to regional integration. However, constantly, China tries to expand its power in the region. China is seeking greater economic and military intervention. The main issue with regard to China's involvement in the South China Sea is the process of achieving China's economic and military objectives in the region. Therefore, it is important to discuss China's influence in the region .

Balance of power is an important principle of Realist thought in International Politics. In realist theory, balance of power is crucial in maintaining international peace and stability. International Politics is characterized by anarchy and self- help systems. According to classical Realist thinkers, the

international system reflects a Hobbsian 'state of nature', where states cannot trust each other for their security. Given this disturb and anarchical structure of the international system, states have to make their own efforts ensure their security and survival through a self-help system. However, when each states builds its own security apparatus, it poses a threat to the security of other states and gives rise to a phenomenon called 'security dilemma'. Security dilemma is a situation where a state's quest for security becomes another state's source of insecurity. (Raju, 2012, pp.15)

Future, Rumki Basu's book of 'International Politics Concept, Theory and Issues' emphasized that the theory of balance of power is an integral part of the game of power politics and a fundamental principle of statecraft. States seek to increase their power by balancing the relative power of one against that of other. South China Sea dispute is the best example for the game of power politics and it also a better example for the situation of security dilemma.

According to above literature on this research study, it seems that U.S involvement in South China Sea has a wide area to discuss. Many research studies have done by many scholars and different article were written by many authors about US involvement in this South China Sea. According to those articles, books and other research studies they focused on many areas of U.S. involvement of this sea. However, this study got an opportunity to study on U.S. economic and military interests of the region with the help of above literature, which studies to make this study success.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Political, Economic and Military Environment of the South China Sea

Strategic significance of South China Sea can be divided into two categories, economic and military. When looking at China's economic and military perception on the South China Sea, China makes every possible efforts to control a large proportion of the South China Sea. Because, by controlling a large proportion of South China Sea will be able to achieve the economic and military benefits from this sea.

The 21st century is the globalization and economic interdependence of the century, and the conditions of power are measured by its economic growth. In the Pacific, China, with its maritime policies, challenges US hegemony through military modernization and economic growth. The US is seeking to strengthen its military and economic ties with the border states around China. The main conflict area of the Pacific Ocean is the South China Sea. There, China reinforces its claim to territorial sovereignty. As observed by Hussain & Tabbasum, in their study, the complexities of the US-China relationship in the East Asian region are illustrated by tensions over the sea and maritime borders and jurisdiction. The South China Sea has become a major trading and transportation hub, and the world economy depends on the free flow of trade across the sea (Hussain & Tabbasum, 2014).

Differences between the US and China continue to persist and have developed into a 'security dilemma' over time. In the main part, the divergences flow from competing interpretations of geo-politics and international laws. China and the United States, it seems, have a fundamentally divergent appreciation of the principles governing these areas. American leaders believe that to be a strong power in the world, a country must have a powerful navy. Alfred Thayer Mahan, the well-known US maritime theorist, argued that the history of sea and ocean was a history of competition, intimidation and war fighting. According to Mahan, the prosperity and development gained through maritime trade could only be protected through the efficient use of military power. The United Nation control over the seas is a condition for hegemonic power projection. The United Nation Navy seeks to achieve this through the setting up of offensive task forces. Through its use, the United Nation Navy carries out global freedom of navigation. The awakening of China's maritime consciousness, meanwhile, has been a recent phenomenon. It was only in November 2012, during the 18th CPC (Community party of China) national congress in Beijing, that President Hu Jintao announced China's maritime power aspirations. The aim, he declared, was to enhance capacity for exploiting maritime resources, resolutely safeguard maritime rights and interests, and build China into a maritime power." (China Daily, 2012)

In a Defense White Paper in 2015, Chinese officials brought out the importance of the seas for enduring peace, lasting stability and sustainable

development of China. The traditional mentality that land outweighs sea must be abandoned, and great importance has to be attached to managing the seas and oceans and protecting maritime rights and interests. China's President Xi Jinping has repeatedly pointed out that his country has the right to safeguard its sovereignty and maritime interests. Even though China is committed to maintain peace and stability in the South China Sea, it will not be at the cost of its territorial interests. China would like to privilege negotiation, consultation, and peaceful means to manage the differences and dispute. It would be respectful of freedom of navigation and over-flight under the international laws. However, it would not let its interests be undermined. China's political leaders hold that the construction in the Spratly Islands is not targeted at other countries and not detrimental to their interests. While undertaking not to militaries the islands, China hopes to adopt constructive approach to addressing towards the relevant issues.

The arms modernization programs of the various rival claimants in the South China Sea have been seen by many analysts as evidence of a trend by Southeast Asian states to beef up their military in an attempt to increase their security in an area made jittery by the apparent withdrawal of American commitments to the region and the presence of an expansionist neighbor. The ASEAN states are, however, merely attempting to secure a minimum level of control over their adjacent seas. While the above list of military hardware stockpiles and acquisitions seems impressive, the Southeast Asians suffer many problems in providing effective maintenance and logistical support similar to the Chinese. It appears that ASEAN states are not developing an adequate "maintenance culture" to ensure the effective operation of these assets in times of crisis. As the most recent purchases have involved buying off-the-shelf, sophisticated, high-technology weapons and weapon systems, there is a great deal of uncertainty as to how these will be integrated into the existing military systems.

None of the claimants are, therefore, likely to attempt a military occupation of the entire Spratly group. Any military conflict that does occur will likely be restricted to sporadic, low-intensity conflict. While this limited military capability has not prevented armed clashes in the past, the claimants have tended to act with some self-restraint. Each claimant has sought to

demonstrate its sovereign control over the disputed areas and this, at times, has led to an increase in tensions.

Moreover, the claimants have tended to act with some self-restraint. While the Vietnamese and Chinese have been the most belligerent in their activities, especially with respect to oil exploration, they have recognized the danger of military confrontation and have looked to diplomacy to downplay the crises. In light of these activities, the commonly held image of China as a regional bully bent on hegemonic domination of the region appears to be difficult to justify. While the Chinese have been active in pursuing their sovereignty claim, so have most of the others. With the sole exception of Brunei, all the claimants have deployed military troops to various features and have taken steps that not only increase their own claim to sovereignty over the Spratlys but ipso facto, impinge on the claims of the others.

Economically China tries to increase the economic growth by using natural resources in South China Sea such as oil, natural gas and energy reserves. Furthermore, South China Sea is significant for China's policy of food security. Because, the South China Sea accounts for a very significant proportion of China's annual fishing requirements.

On the military side, gaining control of the region will allow China to create military barrier from which it can challenge any future threat. It will also allow China to establish and develop military bases against any regional and external rivals such as the US. South China Sea also important for the world superpower country USA.

Since the distribution of the nine-run line, the area has become progressively worried by China's apparent plans on the South China Sea. In 2012, Beijing substantiated a portion of these worries when it grabbed Scarborough Shoal away from the Philippines. The two states had fought about charges of unlawful poaching by Chinese anglers. Following a two-month stalemate, the gatherings consented to each pull back from the Shoal. Manila did. Beijing did not. From that point forward, China has barred Philippine pontoons from the Shoal's waters.

In response to this escalatory move, Manila filed an arbitration case against China on January 22, 2013, under the auspices of the U.N. Convention on the

Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). The Philippine claims center on maritime law issues, although China asserts that they cannot be resolved without deciding territorial issues first. For that reason, Beijing has largely refused to participate in the proceedings, although it has drafted and publicly released a position paper opposing the tribunal's jurisdiction. The Philippines has submitted its memorial as well as a response to China's position paper, and both nations are currently awaiting a decision from the tribunal as to its own jurisdiction (Sean Mirski, 2015).

As the case continues out of sight, China has embraced an inexorably confident stance in the locale. Toward the beginning of May 2014, a Chinese state-possessed oil organization moved one of its apparatuses into waters asserted by Vietnam south of the Paracel Islands. This incitement ignited showdowns among Vietnamese and Chinese vessels around the apparatus, just as revolting against unfamiliar claimed organizations in parts of Vietnam. Confronted with this pushback, China pulled back the apparatus in mid-July, a month in front of timetable.

Moreover, in the course of the most recent year, Beijing has propelled a quickening land recovery crusade over the South China Sea. In any event, seven areas, Chinese vessels have poured huge amounts of sand to grow the size of highlights involved by China. Beijing has likewise started development of foundation on a lot of this recovered land, including an airstrip equipped for accepting military airplane. Albeit different petitioners have recovered land previously, China has recovered 2,000 sections of land of new land, more than "all different inquirers consolidated over the historical backdrop of their cases," as indicated by the U.S. Division of Defense.

The Current Situation of the Dispute

The South China Sea (SCS) conflict has once again become the epicenter of the East Asian security debate. Today the SCS is not only the most critical flashpoint in the East Asian region, it is also a litmus test of China's relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its member states, being a conflict embedded in, and a manifestation of, the overarching relations. Not only is it the situation most likely to escalate into major armed conflict between China and its Southeast Asian neighbors, but also there is a

risk that it will be the cause of a military confrontation between China and the United States. This is because during recent years a more aggressive Chinese posturing has coincided with a US

By the end of 2007, the South China Sea remained stable until Beijing adopted the new standard legislating to establish its jurisdiction by creating Sansha and the provincial level cities of Hainan were created to control the Paracel and Spratly Islands. Since then the SCS situation has deteriorated, especially in China and Between Vietnam and China and the Philippines, China is making a comeback It began to pursue a more permanent pretense, increase its military access, and more.

The South China Sea remained stable until late 2007 Beijing passed new legislation to consolidate its jurisdictional claims by creating Sansha, a county-level city in Hainan, to govern the Paracel and Spratly Islands. (Mikael Weissmann, 2015) Since then the South China Sea situation has deteriorated, in particular between China and Vietnam and between China and the Philippines, as China has been reverting to more assertive posturing, increasing its military reach, and pursuing a hardline policy to undermine the claims made by other states. The more assertive stance can also be seen in China's increased naval patrols, pressure on foreign oil companies, and imposition of unilateral fishing bans. The Chinese policy change can at least partially be attributed to an increasing dependence on energy imports, technological advances that have made deep drilling more feasible, and the need to ensure safe sea lanes for its energy imports through the South China Sea. Another major driver of the new assertiveness is China's increased capabilities and enhanced confidence, together with unabated nationalism and a growing frustration with what is perceived as outside interference. In 2009–2010 the South China Sea conflict escalated further. China began to more actively assert its claim; this included imposing unilateral fishing bans, harassing US ships intruding beyond the 12-mile territorial limit, and seizing Vietnamese fishing boats and equipment. The situation was made worse as the United States at the same time was changing its foreign policy by making its strategic pivot to the Asia-Pacific. This included a redeployment, positioning 60 percent of the US fleet in the Pacific Ocean, and increased cooperation with Singapore, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Needless to say,

China was outraged and felt a need to react to what it perceived as a new containment strategy. In the last six years there have been mixed signals coming from China

In 2013, Attempts were made to regain lost confidence and increase cooperation. The United States officially addressed the South China Sea dispute for the first time in 1995, when its statement focused on the peaceful resolution of disputes, peace and stability, freedom of navigation, neutrality over the question of sovereignty and respect of maritime norms. The 1995 statement did not name any states by their names.

The 1995 policy was changed in 2010, when the administration of the President Obama felt that even though the United States cannot take sides in the dispute, it still has to make a statement that it is not passively accepting the assertive actions taken in the region. (Mikael Weissmann, 2015) At the July 2010 Association of Southeast Asian Nations Regional Forum meeting in Hanoi, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton gave a speech on resolving the disputes in the region without coercion and unequivocally stating that the South China Sea was a matter of U.S. national interest. Her comments were countered by China's Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi as "in effect an attack on China," who warned the United States against making the South China Sea an international issue or multilateral issue.

In 2012, the PRC as an assertive state in the region and communicated the United States worries about the developments in the area. Tensions between China and the Philippines and Vietnam have recently cooled, and China continues to build military and industrial outposts despite increasing its military operations in the South China Sea by conducting a series of naval maneuvers and exercises in March and April 2018. The United States has accelerated its military operations and naval operations in the region in recent years, including the Freedom of Naval Operations (FONOPs) in January and March 2018.

Possible Outcomes and Challenges of South China Sea Dispute

Currently, it is not a secret that the South China Sea dispute has become a global issue. That is not any other reason but because of involvement of world superpower country in the dispute. On the other hand, China considers as the

next emerging superpower. Accordingly, the South China Sea dispute is a hot topic among world political leaders, political specialists, scholars and people in many countries. All countries that are involved in this dispute expect to benefit economically from the abundant in the South China Sea.

As the external superpower, the United States involvement in the South East Asian region created a provocative situation among the countries, which are involved in the issue. Although, the United States tried to keep friendly relations with China and tried to find a resolution for the burning problem of the South China Sea the U.S. activities in the sea are massive challenges for the Chinese domain. The United States surveillance activities and FONOPs has infuriated China and it causes to creating a conflicting situation in the region. China obstructs the U.S. operations because it wants to prevent U.S. intelligence gathering and counter the improving military capabilities of U.S.in the South China Sea. However, it does not seem that there is a possibility of a war between these two nations regarding the South China Sea dispute.

On the other hand, due to the South China Sea dispute there is a risk of armed conflict in the region. In order to response the China's growing military power, other regional countries are also looking to increase their military power. In the period of 2010-2014, military spending increased dramatically across Asia, increasing over 28% in the four years and total dollar amount increase of over $344 billion. For example, Vietnam

Consider on improving their naval capability by purchasing submarines and reconnaissance aircraft. Military expenditure decide the security concerns of a nation. Countries in the South East region make possible efforts to potentially operate the South China Sea by increasing the amount of military equipment and thereby increase the risk of tactical miscalculation that could have strategic consequences (Brits, 2015 p.82).

There is another possible outcome that a threat to the stability of the region. All the nations is South East Asian Region and the external superpower the United States operate the South China Sea military and it make a threat of miscalculation that leads to conflict. In addition, there is a thereby, there is a competition among nations over the resources and the territories in the South

China Sea. Close relationship of USA with Vietnam and Philippines increase the miscalculation between China and these Countries. Therefore, it is a serious threat to regional stability.

The U.S. involvement and their interest in the region increased recent provocations with China because U.S. works together with ASEAN countries to achieve their interests, objectives and counter the China's domination. In this research, China is the adversarial force and the United Stated involved as a savior it also works on their interests in the South China Sea such FNOPs. Accordingly, challenges and provocations emerged and increased over the U.S. activities in the South China Sea.

Conclusion

As discussed in the preceding chapter, the United States is involved in the South China Sea dispute as a savior. Although, the United States showed their interest to resolve the dispute and its primary objective is to counter the rise of China. The other countries, such as Vietnam, the Philippines, Singapore and Indonesia etc. also need to see the end to this conflict. The second part of the study gives a comprehensive knowledge of the South China Sea conflict. Accordingly, this research study focused primarily on the economic and military needs of the United States as an external superpower.

 The U.S. alliance has also discussed Vietnam and the Philippines, providing a better answer to the question of why the United States is making friends in the South China Sea. United relations with Vietnam and the Philippines have led to a reduction in China's maritime influence in southern China. According to the United States, the sea is active. The United States has benefited not only from Vietnam and the Philippines, but also from these relationships. They had the opportunity to develop their diplomatic relations and thereby enhance their military capabilities. This relationship also led to a reduction in China's maritime influence. It is clear, therefore, that the diplomatic relations of these nations are another successful step towards achieving the objectives of the South China Sea dispute. Termination of the COC is beneficial to all and helps to establish a rule-based order within the region. For China and ASEAN member states, deepening maritime cooperation will not only help build trust, but also address common maritime threats. It takes considerable time and diplomatic effort, but it is worth it. By supporting major agreements such as

the COC, non-regional activists such as the European Union have a real opportunity to build lasting and profitable peace in the South China Sea. Regional collective efforts are needed to maintain peace and stability in the long run.

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How COVID-19 Threatens the Human Security around the World

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Abstract

In late December 2019, Chinese health authorities reported an outbreak of pneumonia of unknown. Since its discovery, which now has turned into a global pandemic, causing thousands of deaths having an enormous impact on our health system and economies. It is growing at an accelerated pace, infecting 2 million people around the world. Countries all over the world have implemented some sort of lockdown to slow down its infection and mitigate it. With staggering number of victims, is now being compared to a war. We do not yet have an effective vaccine or proven treatment, and the development of a vaccine may take a year or longer. This pandemic is not only a health crisis, it is a human security crisis, depriving people's freedom from fear, freedom from want and freedom to live with dignity. Global security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas. Including Health, economic, political, Educational, Environment, Food, Personal, Community security. The COVID-19 outbreak affects all segments of the population and is particularly detrimental to most vulnerable situations, continues to affect populations, including people living in poverty situation. People without access to running water, refugees, migrants, or displaced persons also stand to suffer disproportionately both from the pandemic and its aftermath whether due to limited movement, fewer employment opportunities, increased xenophobia. This paper considers scopes of global human security and how COVID-19 threat to human security

Keywords: *COVID-19, Coronavirus, Pandemic, Human Security, Healthcare*

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Introduction

COVID-19 Pandemic, also known as Corona virus Pandemic is an ongoing global Pandemic of Corona virus disease 2019, caused by severe acute respiratory syndrome Coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2). The outbreak was first identified in Wuhan, China, in December 2019. The World Health Organization declared the outbreak a Public Health Emergency of International concern on 30 January 2020 and a Pandemic on 11 March. As of 24 July, more than 15,526,057 cases of COVID-19 have been reported in more than 188 countries and territories, resulting in more than 633,656 deaths, more than 8,873,385 million people have recovered. (WHO, 2020)

The pandemic has caused global social and economic disruption, including the largest global famines affecting 265 million people. It has led to the postponement or cancellation of sporting, religious, political and cultural events, widespread supply shortages exacerbated by panic buying, and decreased emissions of pollutants and greenhouse gases. Schools, universities and colleges have been closed either on a nationwide or local basis in 172 countries, approximately 98.5 percent of the world's student population. Many of governments have restricted or advised against all non-essential travel to and from areas affected by the outbreak. The virus has already spread within communities in large parts of the world, with many not knowing where or how they were infected.

This Pandemic directly threat to the human security around the world. The catastrophe triggered by COVID-19 has spread fear like no other event in recent memory. It has put the spotlight on indecisive leadership, bumbling governments, and misguided priorities. Right now, the daunting task is to stop the spread of the virus, and helping the sick and the needy.

However, few occurrences offer more potent ground for a rethinking of what is human security. That security lies in reducing poverty, providing growth, and opportunity, access to education, affordable health care, a cleaner environment, and human rights. The crisis offers a chance to fashion human security in the lives of the people and not in the weapons that states have. In short, improved conditions for the human family.

More and more, the shattering events over the year – infection, death, lock-downs, hunger, and economic meltdown – have tested the traditional concept of national security. That people are secure when states have military, political, and economic power. Yet despite the worldwide disruption, the cost of the pandemic in human and material terms will be nowhere near the ravages of wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria. Looking back at it, the uncontrolled defense spending and unbridled militarism have been a criminal extravagance. The trillions spent on national security have not made people safer. Expensive and lethal weapon systems lie idle while hospitals grapple with a lack of ventilators, doctors, and masks. Both major arms sellers and buyers are paying a big price for their unpreparedness for a pandemic. It is a fact that even the wealth of rich countries have not come to good use either. Like never before, global economic inequalities are evident laying bare the hollow claims of economic progress. In all nations, millions of the most vulnerable are suffering from the economic impact of the crisis. In addition, the health crisis will sink multi-million more people into poverty as growth rates plummet exposing the basic weaknesses of the least ready countries.

There is an instant need for a social safety net for people impoverished and marginalized by sudden and severe health and economic crises. The longer-term remedial measures are re-starting the economy by supporting businesses, employment, and incomes, protecting workers in workplaces, and finding solutions between government, workers, and employers. Additionally, poverty reduction, checking the excesses of capitalism, and conflict resolution can play a role in offsetting the inequalities of globalization and reduction in the human costs of violent conflicts.

Methodology

This research is based on qualitative research approach. This research is based on secondary data collecting. Data will be collected through Reports, books, online magazine, news and journal articles. In this research looks into how COVID-19 threat to human security.

Literature Review

The research article "COVID-19 Human Security crisis & the Responsibility to protect" by Muema Wambua, which was published in September 3, 2020. According to this article, A review & updating of the R2p framework would be necessary in order to prescribe provisions that would elicit timely intervention by the UNSC during global health crisis. This is with a view to protecting vulnerable population from atrocities that may be committed during pandemic.

According Nurhasanah's research article "COVID-19 as non-traditional threat to human security" (2020), excellent healthcare system enables to detect the virus & prevent the effect of the virus on other life aspect such as social & economic. Artificial Intelligence to identify, control & suppress the spread of the virus. The research article of "COVID-19 as a security threat" by Prof. H Solomon, which was published by 2020. According to this article, COVID-19 has probably impressed upon decision makers how a previously peripheral threat perception rapidly became pivotal in global & national security debates & forced leaders to introduce responses beyond normal politics in order to deal with an existential threat to all societies.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Human security means safety for people from both violent and non-violent threats. It is the condition or state of being characterized by freedom from pervasive threats to people's rights, their safety, or even their lives. Human security is a logical extension of recent approaches to international peace and security. (United Nations Human Development Report, 2003)

Human security is concerned with safeguarding and expanding people's vital freedoms. It requires both protecting people from critical and pervasive threats and empowering people to take charge of their own lives.

Mahbuh ul Haq first drew global attention to the concept of human security in the United Nations Development Programme's 1994 Human Development Report and sought to influence the UN's 1995 World Summit on social Development in Copenhagen. The UNDP's 1994 Human Development

Report's definition of human security argues that the scope of global security should be expanded to include threats in seven areas.

Health security: Health security aims to guarantee a minimum protection from diseases and unhealthy lifestyles. In developing countries, the major causes of death traditionally were infectious and parasitic diseases, whereas in industrialized countries, the major killers were diseases of the circulatory system. Today lifestyle-related chronic diseases are leading killers worldwide, with 80 percent of deaths from chronic diseases occurring in low- and middle-income countries. According to the United Nations, in both developing and industrial countries, threats to health security are usually greater for poor people in rural areas, particularly children. This is due to malnutrition and insufficient access to health services, clean water and other basic necessities.

Economic security: Economic security requires an assured basic income for individuals, usually from productive and remunerative work or as a last resort, from a publicly financed safety net. In this sense, only about a quarter of the world's people are presently economically secure. While the economic security problem may be more serious in developing countries, concern also arises in developed countries as well. Unemployment problems constitute an important factor underlying political tensions and ethnic violence.

Food security: Food security requires that all people at all times have both physical and economic access to basic food. According to United Nations, the overall availability of food is not a problem; rather the problem often is the poor distribution of food and lack of purchasing power. In the past, food security problems have been dealt with at both national and global levels. However, their impacts are limited. According to UN, the key is to tackle the problems relating to access to assets, work and assured income.

Environment security. Environment security aims to protect people from the short-and long term ravages of nature, manmade threats in nature, man made threats in nature, and deterioration of the natural environment. In developing countries, lack of access to clean water resources is one of the greatest environmental threats. In industrial countries, one of the major threats is air pollution. Global warming, caused by the emission of greenhouse gases, is another environmental security issue.

Personal security: Personal security aims to protect people from physical violence, whether from the state or external states, from violent individuals and sub-state actors, from domestic abuse, or from predatory adults. For many people, the greatest source of anxiety is crime, particularly violent crime.

Community security: Community security aims to protect people from the loss of traditional relationships and values and from sectarian and ethnic violence. Traditional communities, particularly minority ethnic groups are often threatened. About half of the world's states have experienced some inter-ethnic strife. The United Nations declared 1993 the year of Indigenous People to highlight the continuing vulnerability of the 300 million aboriginal people in 70 countries as they face a widening spiral of violence.

Political security: Political security is concerned with whether people live in a society that honors their basic human rights. According to a survey conducted by Amnesty International, Political repression, systematic torture, ill treatment or disappearance was still practiced in 110 countries. Human rights violations are most frequent during periods of political unrest. Along with repressing individuals and groups, governments may try to exercise control over ideas and information.

The coronavirus pandemic sheds light on the importance of the human security majorly in health, political, economic, personal and food security. In terms of medical care the lack of medical care is what makes COVID-19's inexorable march into conflict zones so terrifying: It's a dramatic threat to life in places where people are often seen as nameless, faceless others. For an instance, countries like Libya are suffering from the collapse of healthcare system. Limited hospitals, limited testing, shortage of medicine and healthcare system. As well as, privatization of the health sector has limited all the infected patients' access to health services. On the other hand, significant change has occurred in many countries economic, political security risks in April 2020, indicates country risk ratings platform World Risk Review (WRR). This likely reflects COVID-19's global impact so far on countries, businesses and people.

In April 2020, 129 countries experienced a month-over month increase in their WRR country economic risk rating, 42 countries saw the risk increase by 0.3

or more. The US saw the largest single change, its score increasing by 0.9 from 2.9 to 3.8 in March 21-27; the US posted seasonally adjusted unemployment claims of 6.6 million, ten times the previous single week record posted in 1982. The unemployment rate could rise above 10% and economic activity is likely to drop significantly in the short term. The US economy is expected to contract by 2.8% in 2020. (World Risk Review, 2020)

Currency inconvertibility and transfer risk increased for 138 countries. Financial markets are becoming more risk averse, and countries with structural economic weaknesses such as those posting twin fiscal and current account deficits are particularly exposed to capital movements and experiencing currency sell offs. Emerging market currencies in Mexico, Brazil, Russia, and India are experiencing pressure. Central banks are likely to continue drawing down on foreign reserves in the coming weeks to stem declines. The recent collapse in oil prices, a result of reduced demand and the Saudi Arabia Russia dispute, is particularly elevating currency risk among oil exporters, as access to hard currency is reduced. An OPEC+ agreement to cut oil production by 9.7 million barrels per day will come into effect on May 1, 2020, immediately deescalating the price dispute. However, the move is unlikely to prevent price weaknesses in the coming months (World Risk Review, 2020).

 In terms of food security, majority of people are at higher risk of losing their access to adequate food, food insecurity and food sovereignty. Panic buying in the context of lockdowns has led to shortages of food in supermarkets. Further, online food retail platforms and the increased use of electronic payment programs have undermined local markets and excluded large parts of population who do not have access to this technology.

The COVID-19 pandemic has affected educational systems worldwide. Most governments around the world have temporarily closed educational institutions in an attempt to contain the spread of COVID-19, leading to the near total closures of schools, universities, colleges and tuition classes. As June 2020, approximately 1.725 billion learners are currently affected due to school closures in response to the Pandemic. (Simon & Henrik, 2020)

School closures affect not only students, teachers and families. However, have far-reaching economic and social consequences. School closures in response to the pandemic have shed light on various social and economic issues, including student debt, digital learning, food security and homelessness, as well as access to childcare, healthcare, housing, internet and disability services. The impact was more severe for disadvantaged children and their families, causing interrupted learning, compromised nutrition, childcare problems, and consequent economic cost to families who could not work.

The Pandemic has affected religion in various ways, including the cancellation of the worship services of various faiths, the closure of Sunday Schools, as well as the cancellation of pilgrimages surrounding observances and festivals. Many churches, synagogues, mosques, and temples have offered worship though livestream amidst the pandemic. Relief wings of religious organization have dispatched medical supplies and other aid to affected areas.

Low-income individuals are more likely to contract the coronavirus and to die from it. In both New York City and Barcelona, low-income neighborhoods are disproportionately hit by coronavirus cases. Hypotheses for why this is the case include that poor families are more likely to live in crowded housing and work in the low skill jobs, such as supermarkets and elder care, which are deemed essential during the crisis. In the United States, millions of low-income people may lack access to health care due to being uninsured or underinsured. Millions of Americans lost their health insurance after losing their jobs. Many low-income workers in service jobs have become unemployed. (Abby Vesoulis, 2020)

In addition, this pandemic have Psychological impact. On 18 March 2020, the World Health Organization issued a report related to mental health and psychosocial issues by addressing instructions and some social considerations during the COVID-19 outbreak.

Due to doubts if pets or other livestock may pass on coronavirus to humans, many people were reluctant to keep their pets fearing transmission, for instance in the Arab World, celebrities were urging people to keep and protect their pets. Meanwhile, people in the U.K tended to acquire more pets during

the coronavirus lockdown. The coronavirus pandemic has been followed by a concern for a potential spike in suicides, exacerbated by social isolation due to quarantine and social distancing guidelines, fear, and unemployment and financial factors (World Health Organization, 2020).

Challenges and Defects

1. The pandemic is tipping the world into a dangerously volatile new phase.
2. A lack of international cooperation in the response to the crisis is exacerbating the situation.
3. Here are courses of action global leaders should take to head off these emerging security threats.

The world is entering a volatile and unstable new phase. Scientist are increasingly confident that the COVID-19 pandemic threat will persist, possibly for years. The global economy is headed for an economic nosedive that could rival, even exceed, the Great Depression. With supply chains fragmenting, food supplies coming under strain, and prices rising, the lights are flashing red. Not only will this translate into rising unemployment and food insecurity, but also it could quickly escalate into political unrest, violence, and conflict.

While some forms of crime have decreased, tensions are already flaring around the world, and not just in war zones. Protest, many of them violent, have broken out from Brazil and India to Kosovo, Malawi and South Africa. Police repression is also increasing from Kenya to Philippines. Signs of fragility are not confined to poorer countries or even to marginalized communities in wealthier cities. The yellow vests movement has taken to the streets of Paris, while armed protesters have marched on state assemblies in the US denouncing the lock-down. (BBC, 2020)

The lack of international cooperation to tackle a global pandemic is not helping. The UN Secretary-General has called for a global ceasefire, reduction in sexual and domestic violence, and proposed a plan to tackle the devastating consequences of the crisis. However, major powers have been slow to rally in support. The Security Council did not meet to discuss COVID-19 until the 100th day of the Pandemic, and then it failed to come up with any meaningful

way out of its crippling paralysis. The G20 and G7 have yet to set out a comprehensive plan toward response and recovery. Calls for debt relief and cash injections for lower-income countries from the World Bank and IMF are critical, but need to be rapidly scaled-up.

COVID-19 is putting hard security threats between nations back into the spotlight. The geopolitical rivalry between the great powers is likely to worsen as the American and Chinese economies become less interdependent. The next tier of major powers poses risks as well. The virus has hit Europe hard, once again fraying ties between the Eurozone's stronger and weaker economies.

At the same time, the fragility agenda that got underway during the 1990s and 2000s is going global. In the past few years, the World Bank and United Nations have converged on an analysis where violent conflict is driven by a combination of failing government institutions and the grievances that fester when groups feel excluded and neglected. As the pandemic and ensuing economic crisis unfold, these conditions will increasingly be found in many, if not most, countries in the world. This is not an agenda limited to poor countries at war, but is much broader and more insidious.

At the very least, the risks of violence will rise in the most vulnerable countries and cities. Keen not to let a good crisis go to waste, armed groups, terrorists and organized criminals are already exploiting the pandemic. They will find further opportunities including in cyberspace- once bailout packages begin to flow. Violence against women and human rights abuses have already spiked- both of which are harbingers of other forms of violence. This is set to intensify as at least 1.5 billion children and young people are sent home from their schools and universities. Many will be angry as they lose opportunities and a minority will convert this anger toward more dangerous purposes (World Economic Forum, 2020).

Table 01: Joblessness to surpass financial crisis rates in some countries

Joblessness to surpass financial crisis rates in some countries
Unemployment rates

— Greece — Italy — United Kingdom
— Ireland — Norway — United States

Source: International Monetary Fund, Eurostat
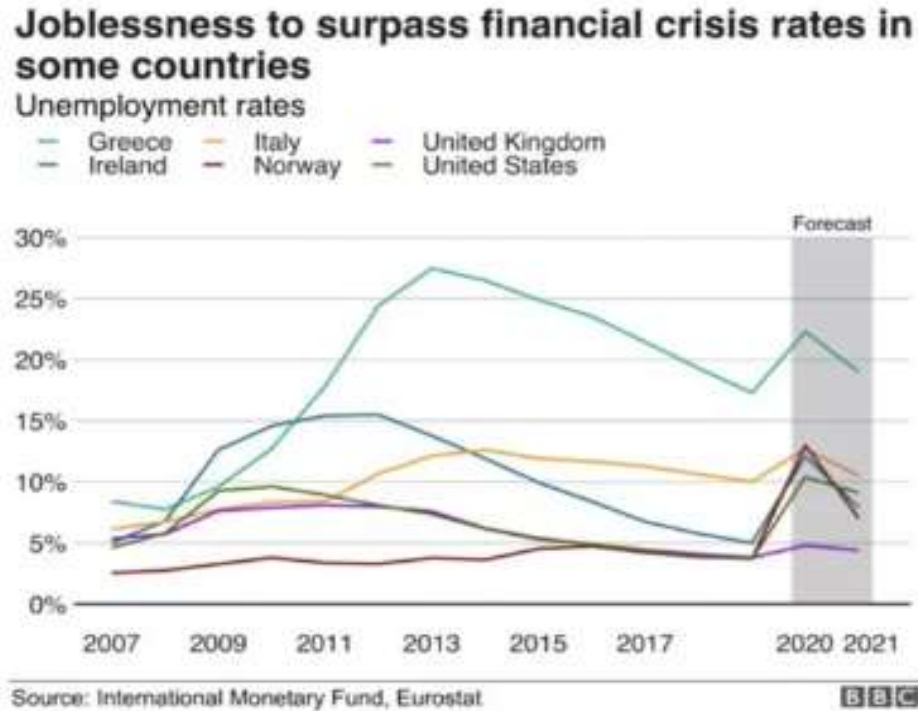
Source: BBC, 2020

The risk of an upsurge in violence is both obvious and highly destructive.

Lives will be lost, futures ruined. Governments- already playing an exhausting game of whack-a –mole will be further undermined if security is in short supply. Spiraling insecurity and conflict will also undermine the collective willingness to work together to tackle shared challenges. When people feel isolated and afraid, they can become defensive. While the many expressions of solidarity are to be welcomed, when in "fight or flight", mode people are more likely to support populist and nationalist responses. With less competent leaders in charge, millions of people could die unnecessarily. In the wake of more protectionism and decaying supply chains, the global depression will be longer and more painful.

The past weeks have seen the world waking up to the scale of the coming economic crisis. Global banks and investment firms are bracing themselves.

The real economy is also under unprecedented strain with massive numbers of small and medium- sized businesses closing down. In the process, joblessness is rising to record levels – in the hundreds of millions and trillions of dollars of growth are being shaved off the global economy. A similar awakening is now needed to the seriousness of emerging security threats, accompanied by a willingness to take action that is as bold as the huge cash injections being made available in loans, grants and debt forgiveness by the G20, IMF and World Bank.

A Five-Step Plan

First, an urgent and clear signal is needed from global institution and major powers that security and safety are key priorities. The UN Security Council must do everything it can to de-escalate tensions between the US and China. The current batch of non-permanent members and those that will be elected in June bear a heavy responsibility, given deep divisions among the P5. The G20, G7 and NATO – along with the African Union, the EU, BRICS and other regional bodies- must also contribute to deescalating geopolitical tensions and set out strategies to ensure peace and security on the ground. The Security Council rally to support the Secretary General's call for a global ceasefire.

Second, there must be levels of international solidarity and coordination that are on par with the Second World War. The crisis underlines the importance of ensuring redistribution and especially supports for the most vulnerable – not least the unemployed, underemployed and working poor. At the very least, this is about enlightened self-interest. Often these very same groups deliver essential health services, maintain food supplies, and keep utilities operating. A global fund for social protection that supports the poorest of countries and a concerted focus on tackling inequality is essential. This is not just a matter of need. Billions of people that are facing joblessness are not going to sit idly by while elites who ignored the warning signs of this crisis carry on.

Third, the international system needs a global insecurity monitoring system to track grievances and signal unrest before they escalate into violence. A shared platform for analyzing conflict risk has long been promised but not delivered. The World Bank and UN have agreed in principle to undertake shared analysis of conflict risks. It is now time for them to draw on external expertise to gain

access to the real-time mapping, remote sensing and digital data they need to deliver a comprehensive assessment tool. The monitor can then feed other early warning systems, especially those for food insecurity and hunger, so that they become more sensitive to triggers such as spiraling unemployment, rising mistrust of government, unrest in prisons and more.

Fourth, mayors and other subnational leaders must step up, as they have done for climate change. Local government is both the front and last line of violence prevention, and mayors have increasing access to high quality evidence of what works. Parts of cities were already bearing a vastly disproportionate burden of the world's violence, while being marginalized, starved of opportunities and denied access to quality public services. These neighborhoods are now suffering the worst from COVID-19 Targeted action is needed to scale up testing and treatment in the hardest hit areas, channel subsides and safety net support, and implement evidence based violence prevention programs. Community leaders, criminal justice actors, social services and local business coalitions all have an essential role to play in this urgent task.

Fifth- the world needs to commit to massively ramping up programs to prevent and respond to violence against women and children. The UN Secretary General has called for urgent action to protect women and children during the pandemic. The evidence for how to respond to this call is compelling. Indeed, WHO, UNICEF, UN women, the World Bank and others are already united behind a common set of strategies and are working with governments on their implementation. The spotlight Initiative to eliminate violence against women and the Global Partnership to End Violence against Children provide a "Shovel ready" route for accelerated action.

The COVID-19 pandemic is revealing the fault lines in every country, not just those already struggling with conflict, violence and fragility. Through the Sustainable Development Goals, every country in the world promised its people that they would live free from fear and that they would deliver significant reductions in all forms of violence. We now all fear for our futures but must take the choice to use this decade to put humanity back on a peaceful, healthy and sustainable path.

Conclusion

The catastrophe by COVID-19 has spread fear like no other even in recent memory. It has put the spotlight on indecisive leadership, bumbling governments, and misguided priorities. However, few occurrences offer more potent ground for a rethinking of what is human security. That security lies in reducing poverty. Providing growth, and opportunity, access to education, affordable health care, a cleaner environment, and human rights. The crisis offers a chance to fashion human security in the lives of the people and not in the weapons that states have. In short, improved conditions for the human family. More and more, the shattering events over the last few weeks' infection, death, lock-downs, hunger, and economic meltdown have tested the traditional concept of national security.

The coronavirus disease continues to spread across the world following a trajectory that is difficult to predict. The health, humanitarian and socio-economic policies adopted by countries will determine the speed and strength of the recovery. Policy framework presented in this brief provides guidance not only for countries as they progress through the various phases of the crisis, but also for the international community as a whole. There must be a global human centered response, which is grounded in solidarity.

International Labour Standards contain guidance for ensuring decent work that is applicable even in the unparalleled context of the COVID-19 crisis. In particular, the Employment and Decent Work for Peace and Resilience Recommendation, emphasizes that crisis responses need to "ensure respect for all human rights and the rule of law, including respect for fundamental principles and rights at work and for international labour standards". The standards dealing with safety and health at work, social security, employment, non-discrimination, working arrangements and the protection of specific categories of workers provide guidance on the design of rapid responses that can facilitate a stronger recovery from the crisis.

 A coordinated global effort is required to support countries that currently do not have sufficient fiscal space to finance social policy, in particular universal social protection systems. Debt sustainability should be prioritized in this endeavor. Without long-term structural changes, the deep-rooted inequalities

exposed by the crisis will merely intensify. As well as tackling the immediate effects of the crisis, the international community now has a unique opportunity to adopt policies aimed at achieving social justice and a human centered future of work.

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Sri Lanka's Strategic Location and Indian Ocean Hegemony: Special Reference to the New Maritime Silk Road

H. Y. Kavindi Kawshalya[1]

Abstract

In the present world, China is spreading its influence over the globe through its Belt and road initiative. Accordingly, Sri Lanka has become a major partner in BRI, especially under the 21st century Maritime Silk Route due to its strategic location in the Indian Ocean. China is keen about the Indian Ocean because of its Sea lines of communication and energy security. However, Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean region as well as in South Asia is a matter of concern to India. India is more concerned about Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean, because they fear that China will use Sri Lankan Harbors especially the Hambantota port as a naval base. It is said that, a Chinese funded naval base in Sri Lanka, is like a dagger pointed at India. Moreover, Chinese presence in Sri Lanka is a threat to Indian hegemony in the Indian Ocean region. Whereas, if China make their own space in the Indian ocean Region with the support of Sri Lankan strategic location, India will lose its power status as a regional power. As a result, India is trying their best to reduce Chinese influence in littorals of Indian Ocean region with counter programs to MSR.

Keywords: *BRI, Maritime Silk Road, Strategic Location, Indian Ocean*

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Introduction

India and China are two powerhouses of the Asian region. Whereas, China's rise in the international system has become a threat to the existing world order. Furthermore, China has entered into the Indian Ocean creating security concerns for India. This had created a competition in the Indian Ocean Region between these two states. Moreover, new maritime Silk Road, which comes under Belt and Road initiative (BRI), also had created skepticisms for India about Chinese military expansions in the region. To that end, these doubts are heightened with China's closer ties with Sri Lanka. India, China and Sri Lanka relations now had come to a different level with the Chinese BRI projects. Accordingly, as a small littoral state of Indian Ocean region Sri Lanka has trapped between the 'Big brother of South Asia and the Dragon of Asia'. As a result, Sri Lanka has to maintain a balanced relation with both of these powers.

Sri Lanka is a South Asian nation, with a strategically important location in the Indian Ocean. Whereas, Sri Lanka is located at the center of the international sea routes and has a geopolitical importance in the world. As a result, many Western countries keep an eye on Sri Lankan affairs. History is an evident, which portrays the significance of Sri Lankan strategic location. During colonialism, the British used Sri Lanka as a military base during Second World War period and British had several defense and maritime agreements with Sri Lanka at that time. This location of Sri Lanka is important to the Indian Ocean region. As a result, India is interested in enhancing their economic, political, military as well as cultural relations with Sri Lanka. Whereas, control of the India Ocean is a main element of their security concerns related to Indian hegemony in the South Asian Region.

Sri Lanka shares closer cultural, economic as well as political relations with India, due to its close proximity. This relation dates back to centuries. Accordingly, India is one of the largest investors in Sri Lanka while Sri Lanka is one of the largest trading partners of India among the members of SAARC. Sri Lanka is very much important for India, mainly because of its strategic location in the Indian Ocean. India supported Sri Lanka during the civil war, which lasted for 30 years. They even sent their Peace Keeping forces to

combat against LTTE. Nevertheless, Indo-Sri Lanka relation was somewhat affected with Indian involvement in internal affairs of Sri Lanka such as, violation of Sri Lankan air space in 1987 during the civil war and India voting against Sri Lanka several times in the UN, supporting UN-sponsored UNHCR resolution regarding Human rights violations. However, in these two occasions China had supported Sri Lanka.

The Indian Ocean is the third largest ocean in the world, which covers 19.8% of the water on the Earth's surface. This ocean is located at the crossroads of global trade, which connects the international economies of the Northern Atlantic and Asia-Pacific regions. These routes facilitate the trade of the Indian Ocean region. In addition to that, the sea lines in the Indian Ocean are identified as the most strategically important sea routes in the world. The Strait of Hormuz and the Strait of Malacca in the Indian Ocean are the world's most important strategic chokepoints by volume of oil transit (World oil transit chokepoints, 2017). The U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA), define oil 'chokepoints' as "narrow channels along widely used global sea routes, some so narrow that restrictions are placed on the size of the vessel that can navigate through them. Chokepoints are a critical part of global energy security because of the high volume of petroleum and other liquids transported through their narrow straits." Accordingly, 80% of global seaborne trade oil transits through the Indian Ocean (Weber, 2019). Moreover, 40% of the world's offshore oil production takes place in the Indian Ocean basin (Jaishankar, 2016).

New Maritime Silk Road and Silk Road economic Belt together is known as the Belt and Road Initiative, which is a development strategy launched by China in 2013. The initiative covers a vast geographical area involving a large sum of Investments. This concept was proposed to improve connectivity and cooperation on a transcontinental scale. As a result, through BRI projects China entered into the Indian Ocean Region by enhancing economic cooperation with the littoral states of the region. However, the strategic importance as well as economic and security benefits gained by the Indian Ocean become the reasons for the development of Chinese interests in the Indian Ocean region. Consequently, China began to develop ports in the region, which are important for the progress of New Maritime Silk road.

Considering about the Chinese infrastructure projects in the region, China have several on-going port projects in the Indian Ocean such as, Gwadar port in Pakistan, Bangladesh Chittagong port and the ports of Colombo and Hambantota in Sri Lanka(Len,2015). Furthermore, Len in his study has presented that those investments take more on strategic interests than on commercial interests in which China is trying to ensure their energy security and SLOC access.As a result, many Indian and western scholars try to emphasise that China is having hidden intentions behind the commercial interersts, in which China will use those ports for dual- purposes.

Among the Indian Ocean Region nations, Sri Lanka is a very important destination for the 21st century maritime Silk Road. Especially the Hambantota port of Sri Lanka, which was given to China for 99-year lease recently, will become a strategically important harbor in the New Maritime Silk Road. India is not interested in this BRI; as a result, India has not yet become a formal partner of the Belt and Road initiative. To that end, India feels insecure in the region with Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean. India argues that Sri Lanka has become a victim of Chinese 'debt trap diplomacy (Wignaraja, Panditaratne, Kannangara, and Hundlani, 2020.) In addition to that, India is concerned about Chinese naval presence in Sri Lankan harbors (Colombo and Hambantota). To that point, India is trying to counter Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean region, which affects the hegemony of India in the Indian Ocean.

In the present context, India and China is in a competition for gaining the hegemony of the Indian Ocean. This competition reflects a power struggle between the 'elephant' and the 'dragon' of Asia. Accordingly, the study will focus on the competition of India and China for the hegemony in the Indian Ocean, centering the concerns over Chinese military presence in Sri Lanka due to the strategic location.

Methodology

The study uses a qualitative approach using secondary data collection method. Accordingly, reliable data are collected through secondary sources such as, scholarly articles, journal articles, reports, newspapers, online magazines and

books published by local and international authors. Furthermore, the data collected are analyzed using relevant theories and concepts such as, 'national interest' and 'Balance of power'.

Literature Review

New Maritime Silk Road

China refers to the New Maritime Silk Road initiative and the Road Economic Belt initiative as 'One Belt One Road '.The ancient maritime silk route refers to the historical maritime trade and cultural route ran between China and other parts of Asia, Europe, East Africa and the Middle East. Road Economic Belt initiative is the overland connectivity between China and Central Asia into Europe. Chinese president Xi JinPing announced the New Maritime Silk Road in 2013. Accordingly, through this Maritime Silk road initiative Xi wanted to regain the maritime prestige and influence China had at the earlier times as a maritime super power. However, according to Len these two initiatives aim to promote bilateral and multilateral cooperation across Asia consolidating the leadership of China in the region. (Len, 2015)

According to Blanchard and Flint(2017), Maritime silk road initiative (MSRI) and Silk Road economic belt (SREB are contemporary connectivity projects including vast infrastructure developments, which has created heated discussion over the Chinese potentials in transforming the global geopolitical landscape.

China in the Indian Ocean and Security Implications for India

According to Len (2015) in terms of strategy, MSR is a way to increase Chinese access to SLOCs (Sea Lines of Communication) through development of maritime facilities in the Indian and Western Pacific Oceans. To that end, this MSR was stretched out towards the South Asian region in 2014, as president Xi become successful in securing the support of Sri Lanka and the Maldives. China has several ongoing port projects in the Indian Ocean such as, Gwadar port in Pakistan, Bangladesh Chittagong port and the ports of Colombo and Hambantota in Sri Lanka. In addition to that, Len has further stated that those investments take more on strategic interests than on

commercial interests in which China is trying to ensure their energy security and SLOC access.

Indian Ocean is very much important to China, because of their energy security. Whereas most of the important sea lines (energy transports) of China is found across the Indian Ocean. Especially the Strait of Hormuz and Straits of Malacca. Accordingly, 82% of China's oil imports transit through the Straits of Malacca, while 40% transits through the Strait of Hormuz. (Kaya and Kılıç, 2017)

The control over the Indian Ocean is strategically important for both India and China. Whereas much of the world's energy transit through the East -West Sea lanes over the Indian Ocean, which are highly exposed for interdictions. As a result, it provides a strategic intention for both countries to control the chokepoints and restricting rival access to key ports (Brewster, 2015).

As Singh stated in 'Sino-Indian Dynamics in Littoral Asia – The View from New Delhi. Strategic Analysis' (2019) Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean, particularly the presence of the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) has become a deep concern for India. Whereas it is believed, that Chinese naval disposition in the Indian Ocean has shrunk India's 'traditional sphere of influence'.

According to Chakma (2019), Indian government had opposed to BRI, as they suspect that the 'initiative is not what it claims to be'. Furthermore, he has stated that the connectivity and infrastructure projects under BRI in the region (the smaller South Asian countries and the Indian Ocean littoral states) will enhance Chinese stature while undermining the Indian influence in the region. To that end, these projects initiated in India's neighborhood will trigger new round of Sino-Indian rivalry in the Indian Ocean region as well as in the South Asian region. To that end, India see the establishment of a Chinese military base in Djibouti and the grasp of Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka by China with suspicion.

Sri Lanka and New Maritime Silk Road

Considering about the strategic location of Sri Lanka, Waidyatilake (2018) in his article has presented that Sri Lanka's location had gained the attention of

great powers since 11th century. Accordingly, Sri Lanka's location at the center of the Indian Ocean has grabbed the attention of great powers. To that point, he further portrays that since the "Chola empire in the 11th century to the Portuguese, Dutch and British empires from 16th to 20th century, Sri Lanka has been a site of strategic contestation in the shifting geopolitical dynamic of the Indian ocean." As a result of the strategic interest of both India and China in the Indian Ocean region, Sri Lanka has become an element in this geopolitical dynamic.

Sri Lanka is known as the 'Pearl of the Indian ocean', which is strategically located within the East- West International shipping passage. Sri Lanka is important for the New Maritime Silk Road as a focal transit point at the Southern tip of India. Furthermore, Mendis (2012) had introduced Sri Lanka as the "Crown Jewel" of China's naval strategy.

Kaya and Kılıç (2017) present that Sri Lanka has become a significant state for China's South Asia policy and China considers Sri Lanka as a main partner in the BRI as well as they regard Sri Lanka as a shipping center in the Indian Ocean.

China financially assist Sri Lanka through grants and loans for development projects. Accordingly, following are several major projects initiated in Sri Lanka with the assistance of China. They are the Hambantota port, the Colombo Katunayake expressway, the Mattala international airport, the Narocholai coal power plant, Colombo Port city (Colombo International financial city) and etc…Among these projects, the Hambantota port and the Colombo Port city (Colombo International financial city) can be identified as projects which come under the Belt and Road Initiative (Asirwatham, 2018).

According to Kostecka (2011), on a map, a Chinese-funded naval base in Sri Lanka looks like a dagger pointed directly at India". To that end there are some skepticisms regarding the Chinese presence in the Hambantota port. Many security experts feel that China will use Hambantota port for both commercial and security purposes. Whereas, they argue that there is a possibility to use Hambantota port by Chinese navy due to its closeness to the sea-lanes. To that end, Indian analysts view that China is strategically containing India through their initiatives in Sri Lanka.

Accordingly, India is concerned that the Hambantota port development project will enhance Chinese influence in the Indian Ocean Region. To that end, India fears that with Chinese presence in Hambantota port will make possibilities for China in close monitoring of both military and non- military ships that transits between East and West coasts of India (Kumar, 2017). With the visits of Chinese Submarines to Sri Lankan ports in 2014 heightened the skepticism of Chinese military presence in Sri Lanka (Brewster, 2015).

Data Presentation and Analysis

Sri Lanka amidst the Sino-Indian Maritime Competition in the Indian Ocean

"Whoever controls the Indian Ocean dominates Asia. This ocean is the key to the seven seas in the 21st century, the destiny of the world will be decided in these waters" (Iman, 2013). These are the words of Alfred Thayer Mahan, a 20th century US naval officer, historian and a strategic thinker. His words portray that the Indian Ocean holds a strategic importance in the world. As a result, many powerful states such as USA and China are keen to spread its influence in the region. Consequently, the interests of these powers in the Indian Ocean had created a competition in achieving the sea power. To that point, in realist view this competition among powerhouses can be seen as a 'power struggle'.

However, when considering the Asian region, the India Ocean is very much important for India as a regional power and China as an emerging super power. To that end, as two fastest growing economies of the current world, India and China are heavily dependent on energy resources that are transported through the sea-lanes in the Indian Ocean. As a result, the Indian Ocean plays a vital role in the future of both India and China. (Daily FT, 2017)

Accordingly, when analyzing the importance of Indian Ocean for the International system, it seems to be that the Indian Ocean is vital for energy security and economic security of the states, especially for the powerful nations. This energy and the economic security of nations is important for the global economic developments. As mentioned earlier Indian Ocean is the third largest body of water in the world, covering one-fifth of world is total Ocean Area. Furthermore, it has the vital trade routes that connect "West Asia,

Africa, and South Asia with the broader Asian continent to the East and Europe to the West" (ibid). In addition to that, strategic chokepoints such as Straits of Hormuz and Malacca are found in the Indian Ocean region.

As a result, India and China tries to dominate Indian Ocean under the label of national interests. According to Vernon Von Dyke, "National Interest is, that which states seek to protect or achieve in relation to each other. It means desires on the part of sovereign states." Considering this, it can be said that in the present context what India and China do is the protection of their national interests in the Indian Ocean. To that end, when considering about China's interests in the Indian Ocean, it is mostly based on the energy security and maritime trade. Whereas, "strategists like Zhou Bo say that China has 'only two purposes in the Indian Ocean: economic gains and the security of SLOC's" (Suri, 2017).

The term Sea Lines of Communication (SLOCs) describes the key maritime routes between ports, which are used for trade, logistics and naval forces. Moreover, it has become a vital strategic interest of all the nations to protect those Sea lines in order to have uninterrupted and efficient sea-lanes to expand international trade (Daily FT, 2019).

As discussed above China's interests on Indian Ocean mainly relies on the security of Sea lines of Communications (SLOCs) found across the Indian Ocean. "The most important of these SLOCs extends from the Strait of Hormuz at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, around the Indian subcontinent into the Bay of Bengal and through the Straits of Malacca. Other SLOCs extend across the Indian Ocean from Suez and from Southern Africa" (Brewster, 2015). Furthermore, Brewster in his article had presented that "China is probably most vulnerable in the Malacca Strait, through which around 82% of China's oil imports pass." As a result, China is concerned about the possibilities of threats over their SLOCs from both state and non- state actors. This security dilemma of China had forced them to take several actions to safeguard the SLOCs and energy security. Consequently, China use People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) to achieve Chinese maritime interests. To that, point China presented PLAN as the backbone of Chinese maritime security operations through the white paper, The Diversified Employment of China's Armed Force published in 2013. Accoding to the paper, "with the

gradual integration of China's economy. Security issues are increasingly prominent, involving overseas energy and resources, strategic sea lines of communication (SLOCs), and Chinese nationals and legal persons overseas. Vessel protection at sea, evacuation of Chinese national's overseas, and emergency rescue have become important ways and means for the PLA to safeguard national interests and fulfill China's international obligations." (The Diversified Employment of China's Armed Force, 2013.)

Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) was introduced in 2013 as a program, which could improve the cooperation and connectivity in a transcontinental scale. Accordingly, this Initiative is a combination of two routes, which runs through land as well as the water namely Silk Road economic belt and maritime Silk Road respectively. Chinese president Xi Jinping announced about this Initiative in 2013 during his official visits to Kazakhstan and Indonesia. By now over 60 countries are involved in this vast project. Accordingly, under the name of BRI China is investing and granting loans for infrastructure development projects in various countries including the development of High ways, power plants, railways, as well as Harbours. By now it has estimated that China had spent over $200 billion for this Initiative (Chatzky and McBride, 2020).

Between the two initiatives of BRI, New Maritime Silk road (MSR) or the 21st century maritime Silk Road has gained more attention in the world. Hence, through this Maritime Silk road, China is trying to dominate the sea trade and maritime security. As it is seen in the below map 1, blue line presents the MSR and it is vivid that this road connects the Asian continent with African and the European continent through the Indian Ocean. New maritime Silk Road of China focuses on developing infrastructure access and maritime connectivity across Indian Ocean region. However, according to Len (2019), MSR has an unclear agenda, which lacks details. This implies that China is having hidden agendas related to MSR projects in the Indian Ocean region. That can be associated with China's national interests, which is more strategic than mere commercial cooperation across the globe.

Therefore, it can be said that this project has strategic intentions than enhancing the cooperation as China claims it to be. Whereas, according to Len in his study "21st Century Maritime Silk Road Initiative, Energy Security and

SLOC Access "these two initiatives are meant to promote bilateral and multilateral partnership across Asia with the aim of consolidating the leadership status of China in the Asian region supporting the efforts of China to become a "Comprehensive Power". This portrays that China is using BRI to enhance its status as a global super power.

Thomas W. Robinson had classified national interests into six categories, as primary interests, secondary interests, permanent interests, variable interests, general interests and specific interests (National Interest - International Politics & Relations, n.d.). Accordingly, here China is trying to achieve their primary interests and permanent interests. Primary interests are the vital interests of a state, which includes the protection of "physical, political and cultural identity of state against possible encroachments from outside powers", while permanent interests are "constant and long-term interests of the state" (ibid).

To that end, the facts and points discussed above emphasizes that China is trying to achieve a 'permanent interest' of becoming a world hegemony which is underpin with the protection and achievement of vital interests (economic and political survival) of China through the Belt and road Initiative. Accordingly, protection of SLOCs and energy security can be categorized as the vital interests of China.

India's interests are similar to China's interests in the Indian Ocean. Whereas, Indian Ocean is vital for India's energy security. To that point, 70% of oil are import to meet the energy consumption of India through the Indian Ocean and it is expected to reach 85% by 2020 (Kaya and Kılıç, 2017). Furthermore, India is heavily dependent on the seaborne energy trade, which is carried across the Indian Ocean through the international sea routes. In addition to that, nearly 80% of Indian crude oil requirement is imported by sea, across the Indian Ocean (ibid). This is a vital interest of India. Nevertheless, India has to protect its sea lines for their economic survival; consequently, it has caused a competition in the Indian Ocean between the two giants of Asia, India and China.

Scott in his study had stated that Indian Ocean is the "backyard of power and preeminence "of India (Scott, 2006). As a result, India is not ready to

compromise with their national security by losing their hegemonic sphere in the Indian Ocean. To that point, India sees PLAN presence in the Indian Ocean as a threat to their maritime security. To that point, Singh has stated in his study, 'Sino-Indian Dynamics in Littoral Asia – The View from New Delhi. Strategic Analysis' (2019), the rapid expansion of China's naval presence in the Indian Ocean over the past few years has created discomfort in India, where many analysts believe "China's naval forays have eroded New Delhi's traditional sphere of influence" implying that Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean has shrunk the Indian influence in the region. These lines imply that India is feeling insecure regarding its leadership status in the Indian Ocean region. Whereas, as mentioned before Indian Ocean is important in energy transport as well as maritime trade. Moreover, Indian Ocean has the chokepoints of Energy transits. Therefore, Indian Ocean is much important for both India and China. As a result, China and India is in a competition to secure their presence in the Indian Ocean.

Accordingly, the above-discussed points emphasize that, Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean is a threat to Indian hegemony in the region and as a result, the national interests of the two powers collide. However, according to realist view States does not depend much on other states regarding their national security due to the mistrust build among the nations because of the competition in achieving national interests. In the end, countries try to ensure their own security in the international system, which lead other states for 'security dilemmas'. John Herz define this concept as "a structural notion in which the self-help attempts of states to look after their security needs tend, regardless of intention, to lead to rising insecurity for others as each interprets its own measures as defensive and measures of others as potentially threatening" (Bjork, 2015).

Taking this into consideration it can be said that, at the present context India is in a security dilemma, with the increasing PLAN presence in the Indian Ocean.

Accordingly, as mentioned before China is providing loans for the development of Ports in the Indian Ocean littorals, who are a part of the MSR. This port development project of China is view as 'String of Pearls' strategy by the West. To that end, India view it as a plan to encircle India (Narlika,

2019). Among the port developments happen under MSR India is more concerned about Chinese presence in Gwadar port in Pakistan, and the Hamabantota port in Sri Lanka. Brewster (2015), in his study he had stated that "over the last decade or so, Chinese companies have been involved in the funding and construction of commercial port facilities at Gwadar (in Pakistan) and Hambantota (in Sri Lanka) … It is sometimes claimed that China has negotiated secret rights to allow the PLAN to develop a permanent presence in these ports when needed." In addition to that Narlika (ibid) in her study had stated that the takeover of Hambantota port by China had created more concerns for India. As a result, India has decided not to participate in the BRI as a defensive strategy.

Here, the 'balance of power' concept can be applied, because the two Asian giants are in a power struggle regarding the Indian Ocean. Whereas, Morgenthau had argued that balance of power is a result of a power struggle "where every state must aim for superiority" (Andersen, 2018). Buffer state is a method used in "Balance of Power". Buffer states can be small states who are trying to protect itself from great power rivalries, in other hand they can be neutralized (Efremova, 2019).

Location of Sri Lanka is strategic and holds a geopolitical importance in the Indian Ocean. Whereas, Sri Lanka is known as the "pearl of Indian ocean". When considering the strategic location of Sri Lanka it locates in the center of international sea route and the world's busiest Sea Lines of Communication (East- West International shipping route). In addition to that, Sri Lanka possess the strategic ports including the world's fifth largest natural harbor in Trincomalee. Sri Lanka is a part of this Maritime Silk Road. Accordingly, the Colombo Port city and the Hambantota port development projects are the major projects done under MSR. Nevertheless, India view this Chinese influence in the Indian Ocean as a threat to its maritime security and its hegemony in the South Asian region.

As mentioned in the article of Singh (2019), "Indian analysts worry about China's 'dual-use' South Asian projects, capable of advancing both business interests and military operations." This implies that India is concerned that China will use the ports especially Gwadar port of Pakistan and the

Hambantota port in Sri Lanka for both commercial as well as military purposes.

India is concerned about China's closer relations with Sri Lanka, as Sri Lanka is an essential factor for Indian security as discussed earlier. Accordingly, India is more concerned about the possibilities of Chinese presence in Sri Lanka, especially in the two major ports of Sri Lanka (Colombo and Hambantota). To that point Kostecka in Places and Bases: The Chinese Navy's Emerging Support Network in the Indian Ocean (2011), has stated that "on a map, a Chinese-funded naval base in Sri Lanka looks like a dagger pointed directly at India." This implies that if China creates a naval base in Sri Lanka it would become a security threat to the Indian National security. As relations between India and China are not much friendly due to their land boarder issues, Chinese military presence in Sri Lanka can create more threats to them.

Considering the location of Hambantota port, it has a strategic value, which is beneficial to China. Hambantota Port (officially Magampura Port) will be roughly 16 to 18 meters deep and just 6 nautical miles or 40 minutes from the main east-west international shipping route (Samaranayake, 2011). Accordingly, Singh in his article "China's Strategic Ambitions Seen in the Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka" has stated that Hambantota's maritime significance for Beijing has never been in doubt. The port's location at the southern extremity of Sri Lanka, overlooking South Asia's vital sea lanes, makes it an important commercial asset for China." These words imply that Hambantota port is a vital destination in the MSR as well as it is important for China to spread its influence in the Indian Ocean region.

In addition to that Madanayake (n.d) in her study had stated, "For China, Hambantota will not only be an important transit for general cargo and oil but a presence in Hambantota also enhances China's monitoring and intelligence gathering capabilities vis-à-vis India". Furthermore, in "China's Strategic Engagement with Sri Lanka: Implications for India." Kumar had presented India's concern over the Hambantota port development project. In which he had portrayed that China would be able to dominate the Indian Ocean through its presence in Hambantota port in Sri Lanka. Because there are possibilities for China for close monitoring of both, military and non- military ships that

transit between East and West coasts of India. As a result, Chinese presence in Sri Lanka had created skepticisms that China will make Hambantota a naval base, by deploying PLAN forces.

These uncertainties heightened with the takeover of Hambantota port by China for 99-year lease. Accordingly, in 2017, China took Hambantota port for 99-year lease, from which 70% stake of Hambantota port was taken by China Merchant Port Holdings (China's state-run company). This Chinese grasp of the Port had made India to concern over their Security and also India claims that Sri Lanka has fallen in to a debt trap laid by China. However, Asirwatham (2018), in his article had stated Sri Lankan government had emphasized that China would use the port only for commercial purposes in response to the allegation of Chines Military presence in Hambantota port.

In addition to the Hambantota port situation, arrival of Chinese submarines to Sri Lanka also grab much of Indian attention. Whereas, in 2014 a Chinese submarine and a warship docked in Colombo harbor. Nevertheless, India foreshadows future Chinese military presence in Sri Lanka through this incident. To that end as a response to Indian concern a spokesperson from Sri Lankan navy had stated "they were here for refueling and crew refreshments, and there is nothing unusual because since 2010, 230 warships have called at Colombo port from various countries on goodwill visits and for refueling and crew refreshment." (Diplomat, 2015)

To that end, above-mentioned points elaborate that, Sri Lanka is acting as a buffer state in the power rivalry between India and China in the Indian Ocean. Accordingly, Sri Lanka is trying to maintain a balanced relation with both of these powers, hence align to one power may cause disadvantages to the country economically as well as politically.

Map 01: The map of One Belt and One Road initiative

Source: McKinsey Company, 2018

Conclusion

China's Belt and Road Initiative is the umbrella of Chinese activities beyond their territory. Under this China has initiated many infrastructure development projects, such as development of railways, highways, airports and harbors. Furthermore, China is giving economic aids as well as loans without any condition to BRI collaborating countries. BRI projects are conducted in both land and water. Accordingly, the New Maritime Silk road (MSR) connects Eastern China through Southeast Asia, South Asia and East Africa with Europe. However, the West view this Maritime Silk Road as a part of Chinese 'string of pearls strategy' in which China is trying to dominate international maritime trade routes and security. Through this maritime route China had entered to the Indian Ocean region, which has a strategically importance for Chinese interests. As a result, China has started to build strong and closer ties with littoral states in the Indian Ocean region (IOR). China is investing in infrastructure development projects in the region including development of harbors and highways, under MSR projects among the IOR nations.

Sri Lanka is a very important destination for the 21st century maritime Silk Road. Especially the Hambantota port of Sri Lanka, which recently given to China for 99-year lease, will become a strategically important harbor in the

New Maritime Silk Road. India is not interested in this BRI; as a result, India has not yet become a formal partner of the Belt and Road initiative. To that end, India feels insecure in the region with Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean. India argues that Sri Lanka has become a victim of Chinese 'debt trap diplomacy'. In addition to that, India is concerned about Chinese naval presence in Sri Lankan harbors (Colombo and Hambantota). To that point, India is trying to counter Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean region, which affects the hegemony of India in the Indian Ocean.

Coming to the end, considering the facts and points discussed above it seems to be that China is using BRI to achieve its national interests, which are mainly, comes under primary and permanent interests of China. Moreover, through the MSR, China tries to enhance its leadership as the regional power of Asia. Nevertheless, India is against this wish of China hence India will lose its leadership status in the Indian Ocean region. To that point, as discussed earlier India is in a security dilemma with the Chinese presence in the Indian Ocean region. The power struggle has resulted a balance of power in the International system in which, Sri Lanka acts as a buffer state. Whereas, amidst the interests of these two power houses of Asia, Sri Lanka is in a dilemma because of its strategic location in the Indian Ocean. As discussed earlier both India and China are trying to build friendlier relations with Sri Lanka. However, India is concern about the Chinese military presence in Sri Lanka especially in ports, as it can become a threat to their national security as well as energy and SLOCSs security. Nevertheless, Sri Lankan authorities point out that, Sri Lanka will never allow foreign military actions in the island, especially in ports and airports, emphasizing a neutral behavior against the power struggle in the Indian Ocean.

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The End of the American Hegemony: Power Transition from West to East

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Abstract

Since the end of the Second World War, the United States has been maintaining its position as the superpower of the world. Its influential role as the protector of democracy, freedom, peace and, security can be seen throughout the time. However, there are enough signs, which point out that the United States has been struggling to maintain its hegemonic power during the last few decades. Although it is still considered as the superpower in the world, the rise of China, along with other Asian countries that have potential economic growth, has threatened the USA's position in the world order. Therefore, this study focuses on the American decline, the rise of China and other Asian countries and, how it symbolizes the potential power transition from West to East. The findings highlight the reasons for the decline of the USA's economy and the increase in the economies in Asia, particularly, China and the predictions of the economies of Asian countries.

Keywords: *USA, China, Asia, Emerging Powers*

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Introduction

During the 17th and 18th centuries, European nations such as Great Britain, Spain, Dutch, Portugal and, France had their colonies spread around the world. Among them, Great Britain predominated the colonialization process. Due to its powerful naval power, Great Britain was able to conquer many lands to the East as well as to the West, eventually creating a "British Empire". By the end of the 19th century, during its peak, the UK had its colonies spread around in every corner of the world, becoming "The Empire on which the sun never sets"[1] which explains the expanse of the British Empire. Because of the colonies, Britain gained great economic and political power, which paved the way for Britain to rise as the most powerful nation in the world. It had a GDP of one third greater than the GDP per person in the United States and 70% more than both France and Germany (Crafts, 1998). Therefore, most scholars regarded the 19th Century as the "Britain Era."

When the Second World War started, the whole of Europe was entangled in it. Almost all the countries in the continent involved in it. In the end, this paved the way for the economic depression in Europe. The countries which had their colonies around the world had to give them up as they had no power to maintain them. Britain, which was the powerful nation in the world before the war, was struggling hard to recover its fallen economy at that time. These economic crises caused Britain to give up their colonies, marking the end of the Britain Era.

With the collapse of Great Britain as the hegemonic power in the world, the United States swiftly rose to the occasion to fill up the void left by Britain. During this period, the United States had a more stable economic, political, and social situation in the country. Before they engaged in the Second World War, in 1941, the USA was recovering from the Great Depression.[2] However, the United States involvement in the Second World War made a positive impact on the country's economy. The unemployment rate, which was about

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[1] The phrase was first made by Fray Francisco de Ugalde, Spanish, to King Charles 1. The phrase was later used when Britain acquired other territories. In 1852, Alexander Campbell used the phrase to express the dominion of Britain and America.
[2] Worldwide economic fallout that took place between 1929 and 1939. It was the longest and hardest economic depression experienced by Western industrialized countries.

25% at that time, decreased to 10% after the country, entered into the war (Iowa PBS, 2006). The factories were opened and the production of weapons and other war materials became the main income for the USA during the period of war. Its real GDP was risen by 72% between 1940 and 1945 due to the mass production of military goods (Fishback, 2019). Therefore, some Americans considered the Second World War as a fiscal stimulus that pulled America out of the Great Depression. The United States, being a member of the Allied side in the Second World War and sphere heading the formation of the United Nations, with its strong and developed economic background made it a major power in the world.

The Soviet Union, during this period, also arose as a major power. During the Cold War period, these two countries competed with each other to become the hegemonic power in the world order. However, with the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States stood as the lone superpower in the world. Hence, it began to broaden their influence throughout the world economically as well as politically, marking the beginning of an "American Era" or "American Century" during the 20th century.

The United States of America is considered as the superpower in the world. With its developed economy, advanced military power, and nuclear power, it holds a position where it can influence and intervene on matters regarding international politics. There is also no other country that has the ability to challenge or compete against the USA's hegemonic power. However, there are signs of other emerging powers recently in the present context. Especially with the economic success of Japan in the 1980s, the rise of the "Four Asian Tigers" which are Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan in the 1990s and the big ones like China and India in the 2000s created the path for the discussion of the beginning of an "Asian Century". Recently the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or ASEAN[1] has also included in the list. With the potential economic growth of these Asian countries and the seemingly decline of American hegemony, there has been an open discussion on whether global power is shifting from west to east.

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[1] Regional intergovernmental organization comprising 10 Southeast Asian nations which promotes regional cooperation and integration. The members are Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, Brunei, Vietnam, Myanmar, Cambodia and Laos

Methodology

This research is based on a Qualitative research approach. Due to the limitation of this study, the data will be collected through secondary data. Scholars and researchers who have carried out studies in the relevant field previously will mainly collect the data through journal articles and research reports, which have been written. This study will also include data from online magazines, newspapers, bank reports and books that contain the most recent data regarding the area of the study. The documentary videos and interviews of scholars, economists and politicians regarding the American decline will also be referred.

Literature Review

Since the end of the Cold War in 1991, the United States of America remained as the only superpower in the international order. As the country with the largest economy and preeminent military, the USA believes that its role is to be the spearhead in the world's peace and order. In his article, Dr. Neta C. Crawford has quoted William Kirstol, the editor of the conservative *Weekly Standard*, on what he said on Fox News in spring 2003 that American internationalism reflects the country's values and national interests and it aims to help make this world, not just safe but better (Crawford, 2004). After the 9/11 attack, the USA's policies and behaviour in the world context changed. Dr. Crawford said that afterwards Americans believed the United States is and should be a great imperial power, upholding the banner of moral virtue and righteous purpose through military force if necessary. She also has used Thomas Hobbes's mythical concept of "Leviathan" which is a metaphor for the role of the state in an anarchic context, to describe the role of the USA in the current world order. It is described as the great power to overawe all others and create the peace necessary for the development of an ordered civil society.

The role of the USA, in the international arena, can be categorized into four key elements (Congressional Research Service, 2020). They are global leadership; defense and promotion of the liberal international order; defense and promotion of freedom, democracy, and human rights; and prevention of emergence of regional hegemons in Eurasia. Since the end of the Second World War, the USA has assumed the role of global leadership and tends to

be the first country to identify international issues, addressing them, acting regarding those issues, and setting an example for other countries to follow. This is because the United States was the only country after the war, which had the capacity and willingness to create new international order as well as to maintain peace and security. According to the Congressional Research Service report, whenever there is a political crisis in the world, the USA would step up to protect freedom, democracy, and human rights.

It is true that the USA-led European countries coalition remains as the anchor of the liberal international order and global protector of the fundamental human rights (Schwarzer, 2017). However, according to Schwarzer's survey report, she predicts that the economic, political, and military power is shifting from West to East, most notably Asia. In her report, she thoroughly examines the economic, military, and the labour force decline that has already taken place in North America and Europe. She points out that in 2016, Europe had a 16.8% share of GDP (in PPP term), the USA had 15.6% and Asia had 31.8%, comparing to data from 20 years earlier where Europe had 24.3%, the USA had 20.8%, while Asia only had 15.8% share of GDP. From these statistics, it is clear that the USA and Europe had lost its relative economic share on global scale to the emerging economies in Asia. On the other hand, Asia has the largest population in the world along with China, India, and Bangladesh, which have the highest population rate. Schwarzer uses this fact to point out how Asia would grab the opportunity of having a large labour force, a large market, and a large middle class. She has used the UN World Population Report in 2015 to indicate that the population in North America and Europe will continue to shrink and age while those in Asia and Africa will rise and getting younger and healthier.

Price Waterhouse Coppers (PwC) predicts that by 2050 the USA's and the European Union's share of world GDP in term of PPP will decline to 25%. To be precise, the USA's 16% of the share of world GDP in 2016 will decline to 12% in 2050 (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2015). IMF predicts that Asian countries' GDP will rise from 30% in 2014 to 41% in 2023.

When observing the above figures, we can see signs of power transition that would take place in the near future. The term "power transition" was first introduced in Kenneth Organski's classic work "World Politics" in 1967.

There he refers this term mainly in two aspects. The first one is the increase in the national power of a big nation due to its rapid economic growth. The second one is the impact of this growing power on the international system, especially towards the hegemonic position of the dominant power of the world (Lai, 2011).

Since the 16th century, the hegemonic power has taken on to the global scale with the rise of European empires such as the Portuguese Empire, the Spanish Empire, the German Empire, the Russian Empire, the Dutch Empire, and the British Empire which had their colonies spread around the world. David Lai points out in his research, that the rise and fall of these empires changed the international order back then and he regards the decline of the British Empire and Japan as the textbook examples for the "tragedy of great power struggle".

Data Presentation and Analysis

The Decline of the United States of America

With the beginning of the 21st century, the USA's power is seemingly declining. This is known as the "American Decline" which means the diminishing power of the United States geopolitically, militarily, financially, economically, socially, and in the health and the environment (Lachmann, 2011). Some say the 9/11 attack and the rise of China caused this situation (The Washington Post; Forbes, 2017). However, when focusing on the annual budget of the USA, mainly three factors can be identified as the reasons for the economic reduction. They are; 1) Military expenditures; 2) Foreign debt and 3) Foreign aid and funds.

Military Expenditures

The United States of America is known for spending more money on the military than any other country in the world. In 2018, its military expenditure was estimated as $649 billion, which was 3.16% of GDP. China was ranked in second place with $250 billion military expenses, which cover only 1.9% of its GDP (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 2019).

In 2015, the US military spending was 54% of all federal spending. The Trump administration's projected defense spending for 2020 is over 15% of all federal government spending and about 3.2% of GDP. During the Cold

War period, the national defense spending was averaged 5% - 10% of GDP. According to these facts, even excluding the military expenses in Afghanistan and Iraq, the U.S military budget exceeds the Cold War average in real-dollar term (O'Hanlon, 2019). While this amount is extremely high, the majority of the Americans believe that it is necessary to be the number one military power in the world (Piven, 2019).

However, the U.S national defense budget does not cover the necessary area of the government activities, which do influence American security. It covers neither diplomacy, nor foreign assistance, nor the Department of Homeland Security operations, nor the Department of Veteran Affairs. Therefore, it is clear that the USA does not need to spend so much on their defense when there is no imminent threat to their security but maintains this high-level expenditure because of the status quo and to protect their image as the superpower in the world.

Foreign Debt

There are two categories of the U.S federal government debt. They are intragovernmental holdings, which are the debts owned by federal agencies and debt held by the public, which includes foreign governments and investors. The US debt is the sum of all outstanding debt owed by the federal government. The U.S Treasury Department declared that sum as $24.1 trillion as of April 2020 and by May it was calculated as $25.1 trillion. Foreign governments hold about a third of public debt and it is approximately 30% of it (Sebastian, 2020). Among these foreign governments, as of May 2020, Japan owns the largest part of the external debt, it is recorded as $1.26 trillion, and China ranks in second place with $1.08 trillion. The United Kingdom, Ireland, and Brazil hold $373.8 billion, $323.5 billion, and $264.4 billion of the USA public debt respectively (Amadeo, 2020). The national debt hold by the public is projected to increase in the next decade from 81% of GDP in 2020 to 98% of GDP in 2030, which will be $31.4 trillion. It also projects that it will reach to 180% of GDP by 2050, recording the highest in the United States history (Congressional Budget Office, 2020).

Foreign Aid and Funds

The U.S. State Department and USAID, which is the leading U.S. government manager of most foreign assistance programs, are the key players in foreign aid programs. The United States funds democracy, human rights, and governance programs across the globe under foreign assistance. Afghanistan has been the main recipient of foreign aid ($5.7 billion in 2017) in recent years. Other recipients include Iraq ($3.7 billion), Israel ($3.2 billion), Jordan and Egypt ($1.5 billion each), Ethiopia, and Kenya ($1.1 billion each) (Wiginton. K, 2019). Every year the Congress allocates a share from the budget for foreign aid and funds to developing countries, the UNO, and other humanitarian organizations. In 2017, $49.87 billion was allocated to foreign assistance and in 2018; it was $55.9 billion (Congressional Research Service, 2019). Although the aid remains a small percentage of the overall U.S budget, some politicians and economists have criticized the spending as ineffective.

According to the above facts, it is clear that American decline is happening. With every year passing, the USA will try harder and harder to maintain its position as the global power and the protector of democracy. If things happen in the future as it same now, the collapse of the US economy will be inevitable. While the United States struggles to maintain its hegemonic power, China, on the other hand, is swiftly rising to the occasion with its rapidly developing economy. It is already predicted that China will become the next major power in the world around 2030 (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2015). One of the main features of the rise of China as a major power is that it mostly uses soft powers to do so. Unlike the USA which mostly uses its political capability in order to intervene in world politics.

Rise of Asian Economies

During the last decade, China has shown rapid development in its economy becoming the second-highest in the world. In 2010, its GDP was estimated as $6.09 trillion, in 2015, it was $11.02 trillion and in 2019, it was $14.14 trillion. Although China ranked in second place based on nominal GDP, its GDP based on purchasing power parity (PPP) exceeds the USA's, making it the highest in the world (Statistics Times, n.d.).

According to World Bank data, China's GDP at PPP in 2018 was $ 21.42 trillion and in 2019, it was estimated as $27.31 trillion, while the USA's was $20.58 trillion and $21.44 trillion in respective years. Since 2017, China has been in the first place. Therefore, China has the highest GDP at PPP in the world right now and it will continue to grow. It is already predicted that China will maintain its position until 2050, which will be estimated as $61.079 trillion, by then. It is also predicted that China's share of the global GDP based on PPP will increase by up to 20% while the USA's will decrease to 12% by 2050, while India's GDP will rise to 15% from 7% by 2050 (PricewaterhouseCoopers, 2015).

The military expenditure in China is estimated as the second highest in the world since 2008. The strength of the military is still considered as a main element of power in the present world context. Therefore, China's military capacity is appraised as a valuable measure when it is considered as a major power. China's military expenses have been increased annually. In 2018, it was calculated as $253.49, which was 1.87% of its GDP, and in 2019, it was $261.08 billion, 1.9% of GDP (Duffin, 2020). It is clear that, with its rapid economic growth, China is increasing its spending on its defence budget.

When examining the shift of power from west to east, the emergence of other Asian countries is also should be considered. Asia is a continent with countries that have potential economic growth. In 2015, Asia as a whole claimed $21 trillion of the economy including China as the second-largest and Japan as the third-largest economies at that time. The ten ASEAN countries also generated a GDP of $2.3 trillion at that time (Plecher, 2020). While China is emerging as a major power, other Asian countries also seek to become powerful regional powers. Countries like India and Indonesia already show signs of such developments. India, since 2010, shows rapid growth in its economy. In 2020, its GDP is estimated as $3.2 trillion (IMF Data, n.d.). Its GDP based on PPP is estimated as $12.36 trillion in 2020, ranking it in third place in the world ranking. It is predicted that by 2050, India will become the second-highest GDP at PPP with $42.21 trillion, overtaking the USA. India's share of the world GDP based on PPP will be 15% in 2050, which is also higher than the USA's share of 12%. It also seeks a permanent seat at the UN Security

Council. If it success, India will have more opportunities to expand its influence at the global level.

Figure 01: The world in 2050

Emerging markets will dominate the world's top 10 economies in 2050 (GDP at PPPs)

	2016	2050	
China	1	1	China
US	2	2	India
India	3	3	US
Japan	4	4	Indonesia
Germany	5	5	Brazil
Russia	6	6	Russia
Brazil	7	7	Mexico
Indonesia	8	8	Japan
UK	9	9	Germany
France	10	10	UK

☐ E7 economies   ☐ G7 economies

Sources: IMF for 2016 estimates, PwC analysis for projections to 2050

Source: PwC, 2020

Indonesia is also emerging as a regional power. In 2020, its GDP at PPP is estimated as $4.0 trillion and it remains in the seventh place in the world ranking which was in ninth place in 2014. Indonesia is predicted to rise to fifth place by 2030 and to fourth place by 2050 with GDP at PPP of $12.21 trillion. Indonesia is a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). It includes ten Southeast Asian countries, which are Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Myanmar, Laos, Brunei, Vietnam, and Cambodia. This association as a whole had approximately $9.34 trillion of GDP at PPP in 2019. Its economy of $3 trillion is ranked in fifth place in the world and third place in Asia in 2018. It is predicted that it will become the fourth-largest economy in the world by 2030 (Deutsche Bank, 2019).

Conclusion

After the Second World War, The United States emerged as a major power in the world. In 1991, with the collapse of the Soviet Union, it became the world's only superpower. Throughout these years, the USA was able to expand its influence, mainly politically, across the globe. It has the biggest economy and the most advanced military in the world today. However, over the past few decades, there have been signs of a decline in the hegemonic power of the USA. The United States always tries its best to maintain its image as the global power regardless of the consequences. Most of Americans believe that the USA should be the leading country in the world. The countries exceeding military expenditures, ineffective foreign aid, and increasing external debt are the main examples to prove that the USA is trying hard to maintain its status quo no matter what. With its economy declining, it seems that the leaders of this nation are still not ready to accept the current situation of the country.

On the other hand, Asia, with China in the lead, is climbing up the ladder of the status quo bit by bit. Asia is full of developing countries that have potential economic growth. China, the leading nation in the world and the main challenger of the USA, already has the world market under its influence. While the USA focuses on expanding its influence through hard power, China uses soft power for its benefit. The data presented in this article indicates that China and other emerging Asian countries have already expanded their economy at the global level, making Asia open for many opportunities. With the USA's economy struggling, Asia now has the opportunity to become the stronghold for the next major power in the world, marking the era of an "Asian Century".

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Relations between USA and United Nations during the Donald Trump Administration and Its Effects to the USA's Role of Global Governance

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Abstract

The 59th United States Presidential election was held on 20th of November 2020. This election was one of the competitive President elections ever had in United States of America. After the days of vote counting, Democratic candidate Joe Biden was elected as the 46th President of USA. President Donald Trump became one of the few "one term presidents". During the Donald Trump's Presidential term, he implemented controversial policies in different areas. Among these policies, President Trump's "America Frist" foreign policy made huge controversies all over the world. Since 2017, President Trump's impact on the US foreign policy has been huge mainly due to the adoption of a different foreign policy than his predecessors. Hence with establishment of UN, USA have had close relations leading it to be the main contributor of the organization. Thus, this research aims to discuss about the "US-UN relations during the Donald Trump administration and its impact on the USA's role of global governance" and will be a qualitative case study based on secondary data. Based on the findings, the research will identify that the political ideology of President Donald Trump on the American foreign policy and its consequences dismantling the US-UN relations paving way towards the deterioration of USA as a super power.

Keywords: *Donald Trump, America First, United Nations*

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Introduction

Second World War is a remarkable event in world history and it completely changed the shape of world after 1945. The most significant change was United States of America being unveiled as the super power in the world order. They were economically strong since 17th century but USA continuously followed an isolation policy in the world arena. This situation changed after the Second World War and USA started to play a significant role in the international sphere. After the fall of USSR in 1991, USA became the one and only super power in a unipolar world.

Another important incident in 1945 was the establishment of United Nations, which is currently, the largest intergovernmental organization in the world. The main rationale of establishing the UN is to maintain the peace and security in the world preventing another World War. To achieve that UN maintained a balance between the socio-economic, cultural and security aspects in the global arena. It can be observed that USA has been involved with the UN since its formation, which started from signing the Atlantic Treaty in 1945. Since the formation of United Nations, USA and UN have had a very close relationship. USA became the main funder of the organization. Sometimes this relation led to the critiques that the UN is one of the propaganda institutions of the USA. However, the UN and USA have had a very strong bridge with each other for many years.

Mr. Donald Trump became the 45th president of the USA on 17 January 2017 by defeating his opponent Democratic candidate Mrs. Hillary Clinton. During his presidential election campaign, Donald Trump's slogan was to "make America great again". It indicates his nationalist political view. In addition, he emphasized that USA should follow a different policy in international affairs. After he became the President in USA, trumps foreign policy took a different approach and he named that foreign policy as an "America first" policy.

Methodology

This article is a qualitative case study based on secondary data. As this research refers to an ongoing situation, the secondary data information used for analysis were extracted from books, public speeches by public figures,

online news articles, e-books, scholarly articles and journal articles. This research has been analyzed using the content analysis method in order to construe the arguments of this study.

Literature Review

According to Bruce W. Jentleson, "America first" foreign policy coined in 1930. An isolationist groups seeking to keep the USA out of the Europe war used it. However, Trump's version was not the same. It was an assertive nationalism approach that imposed the cost and burdens on others such as through the 45% surcharge on Chinese imports, wall against Mexico, and ban on entering Muslims and refugees to USA (Jentleson, 2017).

David Zultz also explain about Trump's foreign policy, "There is no debate he buys in to American core principle economic and military superiority, but it is far more question how much he is committed to furthering liberal democratic values" (Schultz, 2019). According to Georg Löfflmann, "Trump's strategic focus was, on balance, anti-globalist rather than isolationist. In supposedly prioritizing the economic interests of the American people, attacking the failures of the foreign-policy establishment, and planting a Manichaean distinction between his America First approach and the 'false song of globalism', Trump charted a foreign-policy course that directly linked populism and nationalism" (Löfflmann, 2019). Thomas Weisssay, the establishment of the United Nations after the San Francisco Conference on International Organization and the creation of the UN system were not peripheral but rather central to U.S. decision-making and calculations about the best way to pursue vital interests (Weiss, 2018). According to Elite Cohen named Trumps foreign policy as a misguided one, "The President has outlined a deeply misguided foreign policy vision that is distrustful of U.S. allies, scornful of international institution, and indifferent, if not downright hostile, to the liberal international order that the united states has sustained for nearly eight decades" (Cohn, 2019).

According to Thomas G Weiss USA's anti-multilateralism policy advantage for other major powers. "Such visceral anti-multilateralism has played directly into the hands of China and Russia. Both have long sought to divide the West. Beijing and Moscow no longer have to pursue policies to drive

wedges between western countries; the Trump Administration does that for them. Moreover, Beijing and Moscow already have sought to take advantage of Washington's UN cost-cutting momentum to pursue their own agendas. These two counties have proposed reducing the human rights aspects of peace operations as a way to cut costs" (Weiss, 2018).

Trumps presidency so far has been a controversial term due to his own style of administration over national interests. This study is a term review of Trumps administration on the foreign policy and its repercussions over global governance resulting it to be a significant one as it takes a contemporary approach of addressing the issues USA might face in the years to come.

Data Presentation and Analysis
Political Influence to Relations with United Nations

"America first" is not a new foreign policy to American people. Mr. Woodrow Wilson, who was the USA's president during the First World War period, initially used this term. He used this term to define that special isolation policy USA followed at the time (Rauchway, 2016). After that, many republican and democratic candidates used this policy for their campaigns. Most recent individual to use that was the current American president Donald Trump.

While he was a Republican presidential candidate, Mr. Donald Trump conducted his first foreign policy speech on 27 April 2016 in Washington DC. In this speech, he spoke about how his foreign policy would be in his presidential term. Most importantly he talked about "America first" foreign policy in detail. "My foreign policy will always put the interests of the American people and American security above all else. It has to be first. Has to be. That will be the foundation of every single decision that I will make. America first will be the major and overriding theme of my administration" (Beckwith, 2016). He also criticized USA's multilateralism policy as follows: "We're rebuilding other countries while weakening our own…. Our allies are not paying their fair share, and I have been talking about this recently a lot. Our allies must contribute toward their financial, political, and human costs; have to do it, of our tremendous security burden. But many of them are simply not doing so" (Beckwith, 2016).

Before he ended up his speech he emphasized how "America first" policy is important to the world. "The world is most peaceful and most prosperous when America is strongest." "We have to and we will make America great again. And if we do that — and if we do that, perhaps this century can be the most peaceful and prosperous the world has ever, ever known" (Beckwith, 2016). When studying Trump's speech one can identify main objectives of Trump's "America First" foreign policy. One is to achieve political, economic, security and cultural interest of USA in the global arena. Secondly, through that to increase American influence all over the world and establish American supremacy in the world.

Trumps Administration towards United Nations

After Trump became the 45th president of USA, his victory gave him political and legitimate power to implement his "America first" foreign policy. After his victory, president Trump tweeted, "The United Nations has such great potential but right now it is just a club for people to get together, talk and have a good time. So sad!" (Trump, 2016).

From this statement it can be identified that president Trump's initial thought about the United Nations and here onwards, this research would focus on how Trump' approach towards UN made twists throughout his four years of presidency.

Reduction of Monitory Assistance

USA is the largest contributor to the United Nations. However, since 2017, the Trump Administration has proposed significant overall decreases in U.S. funding to UN. Mainly because the decision took by Trump administration to prioritizes funding for organizations whose missions "substantially advance U.S. foreign policy interests" and reduces funding for those whose "results are unclear" and "work does not directly affect US National security interests."

On 17[th]July 2020 the United Nations made its largest ever fundraising call Making an appeal for $10.3 billion (£8.2 billion) to help fight the coronavirus pandemic. UN also stated, "If they do not, the UN warns, the world faces a series of crises, with millions pushed into starvation" (BBC, 2020). When

United Nations facing this kind of financial issues Trump administration proposed to reduce U. N peacekeeping funding by 29.2% from $1.52 billion in FY2020 to $1.07 billion in FY2021.Decreasing U.N. regular budget and specialized agency funding by 34%, and eliminating funding to some U.N. funds and programs form their Fiscal Year 2021 budget (Blanchfield, 2020). This will badly affect to the United Nations and their specialized agencies to continue their missions all over the world also it is the biggest issue United Nations is going to face in their coming years and COVID-19 situation makes it even worse.

Conflicts with Specialized Agencies

As mentioned earlier United States and United Nations are having a very strong and a long relationship since its establishment. This firm relationship also shows up in the UN specialized agencies as well. The United States actively engaged with the activities of UN specialized agencies. However, after 2017, this relationship started to be deteriorated and in this time period one of the main two incidents are US withdrawals from UNHRC and WHO.

First incident is USA's withdrawal from United Nations human right council. This decision shocked human rights protection movements and democratic activists. UNHRC is the most prominent human right protection body in the world. This intergovernmental body mandated to promote and protect human rights globally. In June 2018, U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Nikki Haley announced that U.S. was leaving the U.N. Human Rights Council. The United States is the first nation to ever withdraw from the council and one of only four nations in the world that does not participate in its proceedings (Finoh, 2018).

Most recent case for this decision is in May 2018, council decided to start investigation against Israel, for killing of Palestinian protesters by the Israeli army in Gaza Strip. Prior to this decision, The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein stated, since March 2018, Israeli forces have deliberately killed 106 Palestinians, including 15 children. More than 12,000 have been wounded, at least 3,500 by live ammunition, during the protest of Gaza strip. However, on the Israeli side a stone (Al Jazeera, 2018) reportedly wounded one soldier, slightly. This

decision was back by 29-member countries in UNHRC and only USA and Australia voted against the decision (Al Jazeera, 2018).

After this decision Trump administration claim that human right council allows countries with poor human rights records to serve as members and working as "anti-Israel bias" way. In addition, they withdraw from council (Weber, 2018). In the Announcement of this decision, Ambassador Niki Haley stated, "We take this step because our commitment does not allow us to remain a part of a hypocritical and self-serving organization that makes a mockery of human rights" (Al Jazeera, 2018).

Also, she added, "Earlier this year, as it has in previous years, the Human Rights Council passed five resolutions against Israel — more than the number passed against North Korea, Iran and Syria combined" (Harris, 2018). Most of the human right activists and humanitarian organization expressed their disappointment towards this decision.

Zeid Ra'ad al-Hussein, the UN high commissioner for human rights said, "Disappointing, if not really surprising, news. Given the state of #HumanRights in today's world, the US should be stepping up, not stepping back" (al-Hussein, 2018). Ken Roth of Human Rights Watch said that the US was attempting to discredit the council because of its regular criticism of Israel's treatment of Palestinians (Al-Jazeera, 2018).

In addition, this decision made negative end results towards USA and its liberalist image. USA's withdrawal from WHO is the most recent incident that happened between Trump administration and UN. On 29th of May 2020, President Donald Trump announced USA terminate their membership from world health organization (WHO). World health organization is the most prominent health institution in the world. Over the past 72 years, the WHO has done a tremendous job to prevent different kind of diseases from the society and to ensure human security all over the world. Most embarrassing side of this decision is, Trump administration decide to leave the WHO in the middle of COVID-19 pandemic situation.

Last 72 year of the WHO's history, USA assist to the WHO with technically and monetary funds.the U.S. contributed $893 million—15% of the entire budget and more than twice as much as any other country. USA continued it

as a norm for decades and put the U.S. at the center of the world's most important public-health tool (Wolfson, 2020). Nevertheless, it gives rise to the doubt as to what lead the way for USA to leave the WHO.

When studying in depth one could observe this decision is a final result of a series of controversies took place between Trump administration and United Nations. On April 2020, COVID-19 virus spread all over the USA like a wild fire. After that president Trump started to blame over WHO for the spread of virus. "I am instructing my Administration to halt funding of the World Health Organization while a review is conducted to assess the World Health Organization's role in severely mismanaging and covering up the spread of the coronavirus," (Wolfson, 2020).

On May 18, president Trump send letter to the WHO Director General Dr. Tedros Adhanom, making a number of allegations—many false or misleading—about the organization's efforts in the early days of the pandemic. Trump concluded that if the WHO did not commit to "major substantive improvements within the next 30 days," he would make the temporary freeze of U.S. funding to WHO permanent, and "reconsider" membership in the organization. Eventually on May 29, he decides to leave the WHO (Wolfson, 2020).

Many parties in all over the world exposed their embarrassment over this decision. Including the US politicians, Senator Robert Menendez, the leading Democrat on the Foreign Relations Committee, also wrote on Twitter, "It leaves Americans sick and America alone" (Huang, 2020). In a statement, the American Medical Association said, "The Trump administration's official withdrawal from the World Health Organization (WHO) puts the health of our country at grave risk. "This incident makes black mark to UN's humanitarian picture (Huang, 2020).

These two incidents are the most recent controversial incidents happened between Trump administrations. When we study these incidents, we can see how Trumps "America first" policy effected to the UN and its specialized agencies. In most of the cases, Trump administration pointed out two main reasons to leave these agencies. One is USA did not get any advantages out of these institutions and secondly in some cases UN working in the "anti-

Israel bias" way. All of these actions reflects how Trump administration implement their "America first" policy in United Nations.

How Relations between Trump and United Nations Affects to USA's Role of Global Governance

After the 1991, with the collapse of USSR, USA become the one and only super power in the world. With that, the USA gains power to influence many parts of the world. It gave power to USA to govern the world according to their own interest as the one and only hegemony in the world. The USA's global governing ability challenged in the world order with the rise of China in 21st century. Still United States of America is influencing many parts of the world in many ways.

A firm Relationship with United Nations is important to USA, to continue their hegemonic power and to increase their global governing capabilities. Over the last 72 years USA had that kind of relationship with UN but since 2017, this firm relationship started to fall apart cause to the decision, which are, took by Trump administration. In most occasions, Trump administration claimed that most of these decisions were taken to protect US interest and betterment of US citizens but one can see that matters have backfired to them at the same time.

For example, in 2018, UN Security Council rejects US draft resolution on Gaza strip violations. Most important fact is USA only received their own vote and most importantly USA's close allies did not support in this occasion. This reminds Trump administration to re think about their foreign policy (Jazeera, 2018).

Graph 01: America's global image

America's international image in 2018

| Confidence in Trump | Views of the U.S. | U.S. respects the personal freedoms of its people | U.S. takes into account the interests of other countries | U.S. is doing ___ to help address major global problems |
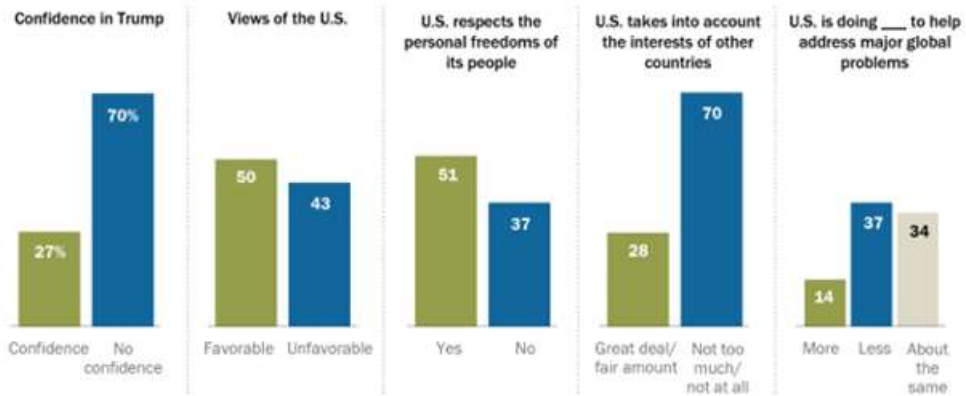
Note: Percentages are medians based on 25 countries.
Source: Spring 2018 Global Attitudes Survey. Q17a, Q30b, Q35a, Q38 & Q39.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Source: Pew Research, 2018

In 2018, after one year of Donald Trump's presidency, the PEW Research Center conducted a research survey using 25 countries in the world. This survey's objective was to find about how America's international image in the world arena. According to this survey, 70% say the U.S. does not take the interests of other countries into account when making foreign policy decisions. In addition, a global median of 37% believe the U.S. is doing less to help address major global problems than it used to (Bialik, 2018). These examples are reflecting the president Trump's "America first" foreign policy affected to the reputation and credibility of USA to exist as a great super power.

Conclusion

In this research, the main objective was to study how President Donald Trump's "America first" foreign policy effected the relations between USA and UN and how that relations effected the USA's role of global governance.

The ruling era of President Trump has now to come to an end. Since the presidential campaign, Trump's dream foreign policy frame was "America

first" foreign policy. From this foreign policy, Trump aimed to increase power of American hegemony in the world order, which is declining at the time due to the great economic power of China and other major powers. Even If Trump's aim was to "Make America Great Again" one can see "America first" foreign policy has failed to achieve these targets.

According to the way the Trump administration dealt with United Nations, it can be observed that President Trump's "America first" foreign policy ignored the importance of globalism in 21st century. As showed in the data analyzed section, Trump's actions weakened the United Nations and its sub organs, by reduction of monetary assistance to the organization and withdrawal from the specialized agencies. Those actions made an impact on the deterioration of relations between USA and UN, and created negative outcomes for USA and its hegemonic power. Deteriorated relations with UN will not end the USA's total hegemonic power but it will make significant impact on it because in the 21st century no one can be isolated and make an existence in the global arena.

Another most important fact is the Chinese influence in the world order. With their economic power, China is rising as a major power in world order. Along their trade, agreements and loan assistances China have been gaining huge power and influence in the global arena. Most of all, the actions of Trump administration keep making positive opportunities towards China to rise as a super and to improve their global governance role in the world. It can be seen Trump administration did not consider these facts when they constitute their foreign policy.

When analyzing this whole study, we can come to our conclusion that Trump's "America first" foreign policy has made a negative effect to the relations with United Nations while weakening the organization. That controversial relationship made a negative impact to USA's role of global governance making it impossible to achieve the main objective of the "America first" policy, which is to establish the American supremacy in the world order. Hence, the only hope for America now is that the incoming president Joe Biden would consider these facts and would implement a foreign policy that familiarizers with the global actors specially to rebuild ties with

UN and which would ultimately lead to maintain their hegemonic position in the world order.

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Historical Analysis of Crude Oil through COVID-19 Era to the Path Ahead

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Abstract

Currently, we are living in COVID-19 era. It is a virus disease, which is suspected to have originated in Wuhan, China before spreading throughout the whole world. As of present, there are almost 13 million confirmed cases with 565,138 deaths. COVID-19 pandemic affected massively not only to the human lives but also to every possible field regarding them. Crude oil industry is one of the most important field among many others. Due to COVID-19, countries took many steps to ensure the safety of their people, imposing bans, initiating lockdowns and etc. pandemic showed that, because of all the mistreatments done to environment, time for humans are running out. As important as it is, oil is responsible for major environmental damages and for major carbon-dioxide emissions. As of now, COVID-19 has become a part of our lives, in which oil has started to decline right under our noses. This paper consider to launch a historical revelation of crude oil, status of oil during COVID-19 pandemic and what lies in the path ahead for oil industry.

Keywords: *COVID-19 Era, Crude Oil Industry, Mistreatment, Historical Revelation, Path Ahead*

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Introduction

Crude oil is also known as petroleum and fossil fuel. Crude oil is a result of organic matter transforming into hydrocarbons over millions of years, which is a raw natural resource, mainly found in and extracted from underground. Therefore, crude oil is a non-renewable energy source and has been known to man since ancient times. Ever since the foundation of crude oil, it has been the most important and driving product in the global market. It also varies in the color, composition and consistency. Crude oil generally categorizes as light or heavy and sweet or sour based on its sulfur content. At first, it was used as a sealing material in construction and for medical purposes. 19th century was a period of great change and rapid industrialization and the discovery of oil provided a new mean for the growth of industry while making it speed-up. Thus, in the middle of the 19th century, consumption of oil exploded making demand for oil expand. The discovery of the spindle top geyser in 1901 soon became a blessing to the oil industry. After a year, there were more than 1,500 oil companies licensed to drill oil. In the 20th century, oil became the governing material of the century (EKT Interactive, 2016).

Modern Oil Era

Due to the industrialization, North America and Europe, the giants of industrial revolution, had day-by-day increasing energy needs, which are satisfied mainly by coal. Since coal is a non-renewable energy, interest in coal intensified throughout the world making oil take over its place. Soon it replaced the whale oil in lamps. Between the years of 1820 and 1860, the US witnessed the extraordinary transformation to urbanization and rapid territorial expansion. Due to this urbanization, they were in need of new railroads and massive industries, which paved the way to the second industrial revolution. Since oil offers a better calorific value and it is easier to transport than gas, it was increasingly used as an alternative from the 1860s onwards. This created a rush of black gold in US and made it the largest oil producer in the world by 1875. Thus, oil demand increases in early 20th century particularly in transportation field along with the development of automobiles, reconvention of ship engines and aviation during the Great War (Mcleroy, 2019).

Petroleum Refining

In a refinery, where the temperature runs 20°C, liquefied petroleum gas, otherwise known as LPG are harvested for the use of lighters and kitchen among others. In different temperatures between 30°C and 425°C many products are created such as naphtha in order to form plastic, synthetic textiles, drugs, cosmetics and kerosene for aviation, diesel for cars, heating oil for domestic purposes and heavy fuel oil made for ships, road construction and roofing. In early 1860s, USA discovered its own oil fields, which was located in Pennsylvania and there was no way to store the oil pumped from those oil fields. Therefore, they stored it any kind of vessel they could lay their hands on, which made it difficult to judge the quantity (History.com, 2018).The idea of storing oil in barrels came as an inspiration from whiskey industry. Then it started to transport, measured in barrels of a standard size of 42 US gallons/158,987 liters, and became the unit setting oil prices. (Brooks, 2012).

New Discoveries and Nationalism

Venezuela discovered a vast oil deposit within the country, making them the second biggest global oil producer. Demand for oil escalated during the World War 2, along with its price. Thus, resources became a major concern worldwide. As a result, US signed an agreement with Saudi Arabia, privileged access to oil for security provided by US, at the end of the war. Dominating oil markets by western companies led to the rise of nationalist movements in the oil producing countries. Therefore, Saudi Arabia signed an agreement, which made the country to secure 50% of benefits from oil industry and in Iran, negotiations with Anglo-Persian oil company (APOC) failed, which ended with the Iranian prime minister nationalizing the country's oil. USSR hit a jackpot by discovering oil fields in western Siberia and began to invest in oil. Low price of oil and its abundance, paved the way for oil to become the primary source overthrowing coal. At this moment, price of a barrel of oil remains below $3. In this time, five major countries united to acquire more benefits from oil industry by forming OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) in 1960. Aims for creating an organization of their own was to counter the western dominance in the region, to increase oil prices in the way that benefits them and to have a common policy. By 1972, US reached

peak production and was forced to import oil to meet its day-by-day increasing needs (History.com, 2018).

The Oil Crisis

After Yom Kippur war, which took place in 1973 between Israel and Syria, Egypt and Jordan, OPEC used its oil as a political weapon. US was proclaimed with an oil embargo by Saudi Arabia, for supporting Israel instead of them. The result was shown by the escalation of price from $3 a barrel to $12 by the march of 1974, causing an oil crisis. This turned out to be a deadly attack to the oil producing countries, who was now depending on black gold. Eventually countries tried to reduce their oil consumption and started to invest in hydropower and coal as alternatives to oil. However, oil companies continued their search on searching for new oil resources. Thus, they discovered offshore sites in North Sea and started to exploit it. During this time, Soviet Union became the biggest oil producer in the world (Kettell, 2020).

Middle East Instability

In 1979, Iranian revolution took place in which, the Shah regime overthrown by Islamic republic who set up an anti-western policy regarding oil. Therefore, the oil production of the country began to fall, paving the way to the second oil crisis. Border disputes between Iraq and Iran led to 8 years of war in 1980. On the global platform, non-OPEC production (70%) exceeded the OPEC production (30%). Afterwards, supply and demand was powerful enough to set a price for a barrel rather than OPEC. Iran and Iraq had their mind set on oil facilities in the Persian Gulf, where hundreds of western military vessels step in, to ensure the supply of oil. Iraq was weakened and was indebted to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. However, Iraq had the most powerful army in the region due to the military equipment received in large amount. Taking advantage of this, Iraq invades Kuwait due to the border dispute and US intervene to counterbalance Iraq in 1991 (Gross, 2019).

US Intervention

To neutralize Iraqi army, US established strong presence in the region by installing military bases and by signing defense agreements with gulf

autocracies. Considering rogue states, US proclaimed embargos against Iraq and Iran. Saudi Arabia on the other wanted to secure a high position among oil producing countries. In addition, they have the largest known oil reserve in the world. However, oil companies were facing difficulties because of low oil price and unprofitable offshore oil production. Therefore, in 1998, they joined and combined forces, in which six giant oil companies were born to become the richest and powerful in the world. Those giants are Chevron, ExxonMobil, Conoco Philips from USA and BP from UK, Shell form the Netherlands and Total S.A. from France (cfr.org, 2000).

Increase in Consumption

Almost all of the terrorists of 9/11 attack were Saudis, which was vitally concerning to US. Therefore, they began to look for new resources to reduce oil dependency on Saudi Arabia. Africa too entered into the industry with offshore oil fields of gulf of guinea. Iran on the other hand, opened its market for emerging Asian powers such as China and India. At that moment, there was an abundance supply of oil and free traders started to push the prices of black gold upward. The financial crisis of 2008 caused a fall on prices. After few years, Venezuela entered into the industry, discovering that they holds the largest oil reserve in the world, which put them ahead of Saudi Arabia (CFR, 2000).

New Discoveries

Prices rise again due to increasing demand for oil. The exploitation of petroleum became profitable even though it was difficult to pump. Thus, oil companies of Canada and Venezuela depends on the exploitation of huge oil sand deposits. On the other hands, oil companies were trying to exploit deposits buried deeper in Gulf of Mexico and tried to make the deepest borehole in the world, causing world's worst oil spills. However, due to US improved technology such as fracking, it could be done easily than before (Patreon.com, 2019, McLeroy, 2019).

Saudi Arabia's ally feeling uneasy about the fact that world's biggest consumer becoming the world's biggest producer who was the US. Saudi Arabia wanted to make the production of oil unprofitable by dropping prices. They even persuaded OPEC to do that. Thus, price of an oil barrel started to

drop making oil production unprofitable and US resisted this and kept on increasing its production. Having cheap and abundance of oil demand for oil kept on rising and reached one hundred million barrels per day. Oil used for transportation industry and heavy fuel used by ships, emit sulfur and carbon dioxide, which is the reason for severe air pollution. Not only that, there were also many oil spills which caused major environmental damage whereas Niger delta, being the most infected region, with 60 years of oil spills largely ignored(Patreon.com, 2019, McLeroy, 2019).

Methodology

This is a subjective case study research on world's energy sector referring to crude oil. It focus on past, present and future of crude, considering the current pandemic situation. Data collected mainly from journals, websites and annual reports.

Literature Review

International Energy Agency states in its report that oil supply has overgrown oil demand by 0.9 mb/d in the first half of the 2019 (Global Energy Review, April 2020). However, chief economist of Japan oil, gas and metals national cooperation, Takayuki Nogami stated "global demand for oil is likely to grow for at least the next ten years" (nsenergy.com, 2018).But these were stated before the arrival of COVID-19 pandemic. As of current situation, crude oil, which was so important to the human life, surprisingly ran out of value due to corona virus. Thus, price of a crude oil barrel hit records by giving lowest price for a barrel of oil. Oil producing countries were faced with surplus of oil due to travel bans, lockdowns initiated by governments to protect people and to avoid spreading the virus.

Lord John Browne, Former CEO of BP PLC also stated that there is "too much supply and too little demand and what's left over to infiltrate and space for inventory is highly limited, therefore it will fell off completely very soon"(cnbc.com, 2020). Current global situation proves Lord Browne's statement. What matters now is human lives not oil. People are unable to create demand for oil because they are living in a tight spot under the pandemic. He also says that, when Saudi Arabia was put in a corner, its

production was cut and then it decided to open attempt. It demonstrated that supply was never a problem but demand is. As a result, all prices stayed low for 17 years or so. According to Lord Browne, the era of declining oil has begun (cnbc.com, 2020).

Chief executive officer of Europe's largest oil company, which is the Royal Dutch Shell PLC, Ben Van Beurden states "pandemic may change oil business forever." There will be changes; therefore, we have to be ready for that. He also added that we do not expect a recovery of oil prices or demand for our products in the medium term. We live in a crisis of uncertainty now; we do not know what is on the other side. More to that, he said that, the pandemic will result in lasting changes to the world's energy consumption and it's hard to say if oil demand will ever return to levels seen in 2019 (Edwards & Hurst, 2020).

Data Presentation and Analysis

Historical Analysis of Crude Oil and Price

Two main grading mainly decide the price of crude, which is sulfur content and the location of extraction. Due to quality and creation of less problems related to transportation, light or sweet crude is priced higher than heavy, sour crude. In addition, if the crude is extracted near coast, it is easy to transport globally but if it is extracted further in inland, it has to transport via pipelines to refineries making it more costly. Oil benchmarks are used to determine the price of crude oil. Most common oil benchmarks are West Texas Intermediate (WTI) and Brent. Other than sulfur content and the location of extraction, there are more causes, which decides the price of an oil barrel (EKT interactive.com, 2016).

Crude oil demand and price saw fluctuations due to many reasons. From 1862 to 1865, US civil war drove the prices of oil high due to increasing use for lamps because, oil became cheaper regarding to whale oil, which used more often for lamps, and medical purposes. From 1865 to 1890, demand for oil again went high with US discovering new oil fields within their territory and taking part in the oil drilling process. However, in 1890, the prices went down due to the recession and American and Russian strong oil production, which brought oil prices down up to 1894. By 1895, oil prices spiked up with

Pennsylvanian oil fields starting to decline, Azerbaijan cut their oil production due to cholera epidemic, which also contributed to 1895 spike. In 1920, oil demand started to increase because of the rapid adoption of automobile, which lead to west coast gasoline famine. Prices hit record low in 1931 due to great depression. Post-war, automotive boom created oil shortage in the states making prices go up. From 1956 to 1957, Suez crisis took place, taking 10% of world's oil off the market, making prices increase once again. In 1970, oil price remained as $2.96 a barrel. In the following table, it is simply evident that, this is the first time oil industry became unprofitable (EKT interactive.com, 2016).

Figure 1: Oil prices by year: average oil prices and events

Year	Cause	Price per barrel
1974	End of the OPEC oil embargo	From $9.56 to $13.06
1975	Stagflation	From $12.77 to $15.04
1979	Iran-Iraq war	From $15.50 to $28.91
1990	Gulf war	From $15.15 to $32.88
2001	9/11 attack	From $15.95 to $24.97
2002	Afghanistan war	From $17.04 to $27.14
2007	Great recession	From $49.57 to $85.53
2008	Great recession	From $35.59 to $127.77
2009	Great recession	From $36.84 to $74.40
2012	Iran's threat for strait of Hormuz	From $92.18 to $108.54
2014	US dollar rising from 15%	From $57.36 to $100.26
2017	OPEC decided to cut supply	From $44.03 to $57.44
2018	Demand and supply setting price	From $49.57to $65.42
2020	COVID-19 pandemic	From $63.27 to $-37.63

Source: U.S Energy Information Administration, 2020

Figure 2: Some significant events in oil market

Source: CME group, 2017

Present Situation of Oil

Currently, there is a pandemic going on all over the world, reducing oil demand and prices hit record low. Almost all the countries imposed travel bans and initiated lockdowns, which made oil invaluable. Prior to COVID-19, people were faced with problems of global warming and air pollution. Petroleum is one of major air polluter in transportation field. Due to such causes, crude oil have been declining. Thus, that is why there is too much supply and too little demand for oil. Corona virus originated in China and with the time spread through the whole world. Pandemic affected human beings directly and indirectly. The effects on crude oil came as an indirectly affected field. By sixth of January of 2020, oil prices were shown as $70.87 according to OPEC basket, $68.91 according to Brent and $63.27 according to WTI index. By 20th April, price for a barrel of oil were shown as $14.19 according to OPEC basket, $25.57 (OPEC, 2020) according to Brent and $-37.63 (MSN, 2020) according to WTI index (Business Insider, 2020). Along with these prices, it hit records marking the 1st time that oil price reached minus value throughout the history. Even the recession of 1890/91 brought oil price down only to 56 cents a barrel by 1892.

Despite all the issues regarding crude oil, it approached the 10.99 million barrels per day in 2018, 12.23 million barrels per day in 2019 and in 2020, oil production went down to 11.63 million barrels per day. Two-thirds oil production, used for transportation industry, which is the main emitter of carbon dioxide. In the maritime sector, heavy fuel used by ships emits 3500 more sulfur than diesel fuel, which is the main reason for severe air pollution. On the other hand, oil spills causes major environmental damages. BP's Deepwater Horizon oil spill (2010), the Atlantic Empress oil spill (1979), the Amoco Cadiz oil spill (1978) are some of the worst oil spills which caused major environmental damages along with waste of black gold and putting lives of workers at risk (Lozada, 2019). On the contrary, it could be said that novel corona virus originated due to mistreatments done by humans to environment.

The Path Ahead

However, era of oil is starting to decline because people are concerned about their mistreatment toward the environment especially because of the novel corona virus pandemic. Now electrics cars and solar power are more popular more than diesel cars. It can be said that, it is the time of renewable energy. It is what the pandemic pointed out. Due to the heavy consumption of oil since its discovery, now there is a resource scarcity. "Before COVID-19 came along, the market was already nervous in anticipation of a supply overhang of 1 mb/d in the first half of 2020 due to continued expansion in the US, Brazil, Canada, and Norway" (IEA, 2020). In addition, IEA states, "For the first time since 2009, demand is expected to fall year-on-year, by 90 kb/d" (IEA, 2020).

UK's oil giant, BP also states the fact about resource scarcity. According to them, world's proven oil reserves will last in less than 50 years more. It is clear that, now is the dawn of renewable energy. However, IEA says that it is still too early to move from oil to renewable energy. However, Stone Age did not end because it lack stones thus, oil era will soon end just like Stone Age did.

Conclusion

Soon after its discovery, it reached peak production turning itself into "the black gold". In the peak of oil production, USA, Russia and Middle East oil producing countries were the stars. Modern oil era began, around in 1846 and it reached peak during the end of 1800s and the beginning of 1900s. However, for quite some time now, demand for oil has been dropping, supply has overgrown demand, causing fall of prices. In my perspective, oil industry, in accordance with a business cycle, now is in the recession phase. The pandemic is the best example for it. For the first time in history, there's no space left for inventories and oil prices reached minus value, which means that companies have to pay buyers to buy oil.

Now, the popular trend is electric cars, which originates from renewable energy. People prefer renewable energy more than ever because they are concerned about global warming and CO_2 emissions. Throughout the history of oil COVID-19 pandemic has secured itself rather, an important position in determining rapid fall of demand, making it almost invaluable. Though the use of crude oil has not completely ended yet, with the energy transition, it is something to expect eventually.

In the paper, it focused on energy, in reference to oil. To analyze future of crude, it is important have a detailed information about the past and present situation of oil. Therefore, it analyses history of crude, which dates back to US civil war, to understand the present and to predict what lies ahead in the path for crude.

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BREXIT and Its Impact on United Kingdom with Special Reference to Immigration and Trade

E. A. N. C Edirisingha[1]

Abstract

The BREXIT was the historical event that led the United Kingdom to leave the European Union and it can be taken as the climax of the decline of regional integration in the European Union and the rise of contemporary populist movements in Europe. BREXIT facilitates the freedom of connecting Britain and other leading states besides Europe with coordinating policies of various governments, signing financial integration treaties, etc. The main purpose of this study is to explore the impact of the BREXIT on the United Kingdom's Immigration and Trade. To achieve the aforesaid objectives qualitative approach has been adopted and secondary data is the main type of data obtained from various such as books, journal articles, newspapers, government records, and other relevant documents available in both printed and electronic versions. Lastly, the article concludes the changes that happen in the Immigration and trade systems in the UK after leaving the EU for the UK from this referendum. In the Literature review, both theoretical and Empirical reviews have been used to understand the main research question in document analysis documents are interpreted to give meaning and collect available data related to the study and interprets them to find out specific issues.

Keywords: *Referendum, Brexit, Immigration, Trade, United Kingdom, European Union*

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Introduction

BREXIT is BRITISH EXIT, which refers to the UK leaving the European Union. A public vote known as a referendum was held in June 2016, when 17.4 million people voted for BREXIT. In which 51.9% voted to leave, while 48.1% voted to Remain (BBC, 2020). The UK formally left the EU on 31 January 2020, but there is still a lot to talk about and months of negotiation to come (ibid, 2020). While the UK has agreed on the terms of its EU departure, both sides still need to decide what their future relationship will look like (ibid, 2020). This needs to be worked out during the transition period (some prefer to call it as the implementation period), which began immediately after BREXIT day and is due to end on 31 December 2020. During these 11 months, the UK will continue to follow all of the EU's rules, and its trading relationship will remain the same.

The split between the UK and the EU shocked the world, but it was a long time coming. UK becomes a member of the EEC in 1973. Thus, just two years after joining, in 1975, the UK held its 1st ever national referendum to decide whether it should turn around and leave the EEC, but 64.5 percent turnout, more than two-thirds of voters opted to stay in (History Extra,2019). That was the first experience of a referendum. The two World Wars had brought unprecedented deaths and destruction to the continent. With that, a simple theory gained traction; if countries form stronger economic ties, they will be much less likely to fight each other. Thus, in 1957 Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, and West Germany signed the Treaty of Rome forming the European Economic Community called 'EEC'. Nevertheless, the UK was not a part of it. The UK tried to join in 1963 and 1967 but was blocked by French President Charles De Gaulle. A few years later, once Charles de Gaulle was out of power, the United Kingdom became a member of the EEC in 1973. In 1993, the EEC members expanded the power of their governing bodies, folding various European Communities into the newly formed European Union. EU has 27-member states with an estimated total population of about 447 million. The EU has developed an indoor single market through a uniform system of laws that apply to all member states in which members have agreed to act together. EU policies aim to make sure the free movement of individuals, goods, services, and capital within the interior market, enact

legislation in justice and residential affairs and maintain common policies on trade, agriculture, fisheries, and regional development.

As the EU has become more and more integrated, its members chose to give more of their sovereignty. By the way, the UK kept negotiating ways to stay independent from key aspects of the union. It did not open the boarders as the rest of the EU did in 1995 to create free movements within the union. Other than that, it chose to keep the British pound as its currency instead of adopting Euro. However, the event that made the UK's eventual exit possibly was the adoption of the Lisbon Treaty in 2009. Not only did it make the EU's central institutions more efficient and more powerful, but also for the 1st time-it gave its members an official mechanism to leave called Article 50. At around the same time, the Great Depression hit the world. Because of this Great Depression, there was a sovereign debt crisis in Europe. Greece, whose debt was far beyond most other EU members, was worse off. Its fellow union members forced it to implement severs spending cutbacks in exchange for the money it needed to stabilize its economy.

Other than that, in 2015, there was an immigration crisis. Millions of refugees-mostly Syrians fled war-torn countries across the Middle East and North Africa. As immigration rates rose across Europe, the preferred destination was Germany, the UK, or France. Europe's leaders came under heavy pressure to stop because there was a fear about this flow. Therefore, fences and walls were built in the east, patrols were intensified along the Mediterranean coast, camps were set up along borders and deportations rose. Leave voters particularly felt that immigration was a key issue and that they did feel it was harming the UK labor market. Terrorism is another factor that pushed Britain toward the exit. A string of attacks, some carried out by immigrants, had hit Europe, including the devastating November 2015 violence in Paris that killed or injured nearly 500 people. These conditions finally bring British people to the decision that shocked the world. Therefore, this article analyses how this BREXIT affects to Immigration and Trade in the United Kingdom. The first section includes the introduction. The second and third sections describe literature review and methodology. Fourth section is about data analysis and presentation. The final section concludes the article.

Methodology

This study has used qualitative approach to examine the above-mentioned objectives. When considering the type of data that has used in the study, secondary data have been used as its sources. Secondary data analysis will be done from journal articles, videos, various documents of government, books, newspaper articles, magazine articles, and various websites of internet have been extensively used to determine the objective of the article. According to this secondary data, article provides an overall view of the situation of the pro BREXIT period in United Kingdom with special reference of Immigration and Trade.

Literature Review

Deutsch (1957) in his publication, Political Community and the North Atlantic Area: International Organization in the Light of Historical Experience defined integration as the attainment, within a territory, of a 'sense of community' and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure, for a 'long' time, dependable expectations of 'peaceful change' among its population.

When combing through the literature, many academics have given definitions to BREXIT. 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, the author found out how Cultural Backlash, Economic Insecurity, Loss of status boost populist ideas in Great Britain and how it leads to Brexit. However, that particular article did not cover up how exactly those populist ideas effect to the Fall of European Union.

According to Baldinia, Bressanellib, and Stella (2019) published 'Taking Back Control? Brexit, sovereignism, and populism in Westminster', which contained on what are claims for national sovereignty made in the British Conservative and Labour parties. The result of the paper was about to find out the Main dynamics of British sovereignty.

Writing in the Guardian ahead of the referendum, the UK's European Commissioner, Hill (2018) argued that membership of the single market was

in Britain's best interests: "On two points I am clear. There is no alternative for UK financial services that is as good as its current membership in the single-market. And there would be no quick, simple, painless deal on offer from the rest of Europe after we left."

According to Mundell (1957) Economic Review: International Trade and Factor: Standard economic reasoning suggests that immigration, like trade, creates a surplus that in principle can be redistributed so all natives are better off.

Data Analysis and Presentation

BREXIT Impact on Immigration

Graph 01: Arriving and leaving in the UK in 2017

Source: ONS. Figures for year ending September 2017   BBC
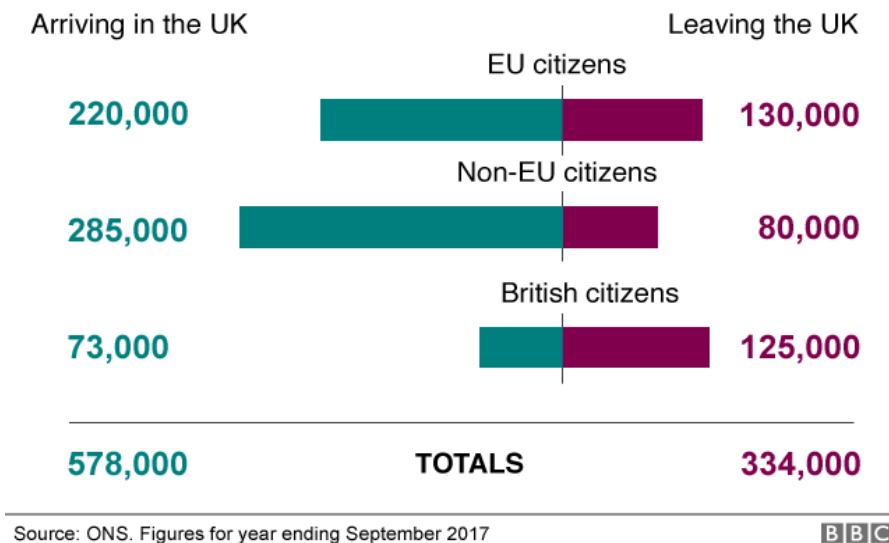
Source: BBC, 2017

For many people, Immigration was the one of the main issues for the Brexit Referendum. An estimated 3.6 million EU-born migrants lived in the UK in 2019, making up 5.5% of the UK population (Silva and Walsh, 2020). Since the Brexit, net migration from the European Union to the United Kingdom

has fallen to its lowest level. From 2012 to March 2018 an extra 90,000 people came to the UK from the EU (Robinson, 2018). That is out of a total net migration to the UK of 270,000 (ibid, 2018). In the period of Theresa May, she has vowed to cut that number to below 100,000. Meaning of the 'Net Migration' is, the difference between the numbers of people arriving in the UK versus the number leaving, for at least 12 months. This is what the government means once they mention reducing net migration to the tens of thousands. Although net migration is at its lowest point since early 2014, it still stands at 244,000 (BBC, 2018). Migrants form up an even bigger proportion of the United Kingdom population now than they did in 2000. While non-EU nationals have remained a stable percentage of the population as a whole, EU nationals are making up an increased proportion. This is because of the liberty of movement rules between EU member states. EU citizens are liberated to live and add any of the bloc's 28 member states - set to fall to 27 when the United Kingdom leaves - without the need for a visa (ibid, 2018). This is referred to as the free movement of labor, one among the EU's four freedoms besides capital, goods, and services.

For EU Nationals currently living within the UK, the right to freedom of movement within the EU will remain unchanged a minimum of until the United Kingdom officially leaves the European Union. The time between the formal notification to go away and therefore the official exit is estimated to last two years. This timeframe, however, generally depends on the agreement the United Kingdom and the EU will decide on, it so can vary. During this period, the current status of EU nationals residing in the UK will not be affected.

After the initial negotiation period and when the exit from the EU is official, it is anticipated that the United Kingdom government will provide arrangements for the transition of EU nationals already within the UK. Presently, the particular arrangements have not been confirmed and it is unclear on who will have the benefit of the arrangements. In other words, whether EU nationals would need to prove that they were within the UK before the date of referendum or not remain undefined. Therefore, individuals residing in the UK are advised to consolidate their UK immigration status as soon as possible, as follows (United Kingdom, 2016):

a) Individuals who have been living in the UK for at least six years should consider applying for UK citizenship;

b) Individuals who have been living in the UK for at least five years should obtain documents confirming their permanent resident status in the UK; and

c) Individuals who have been living in the UK for fewer than five years should apply for a Registration Certificate which is a document proving an EU national's right to reside in the UK.

For EU nationals who aren't currently within the UK but decide to move within the near future, implications of Brexit won't affect short term relocation plans to the United Kingdom, however, future relocation would require some planning. Once the United Kingdom officially leaves the European Union, EU nationals are going to be required to satisfy Britain's immigration laws to be allowed to measure and work in the United Kingdom. The immigration laws will entirely depend upon the agreements made with the EU. For non-Europeans within the UK, both presently and in the future, the implications of Brexit vary.

In finally, both EU and non-EU nationals who are progressing to reside in the UK within the future must take the potential implications of Brexit on UK immigration into consideration. EU nationals currently in the UK should take the required steps to solidify their UK status with urgency. Although the consensus is that the official exit from the EU will take a minimum of two years, nobody can predict what the longer term holds and individuals must act to guard themselves and their families. High net worth individuals of non-European descent often look to get UK passports as a way to the proper to freedom of travel across member EU countries. Even if the future is full of uncertainty, UK citizens will still enjoy free travel across many European countries. The proper to live, work, and study in other EU countries can also remain. Again, only the terms of agreements reached between the United Kingdom and the EU will determine the result.
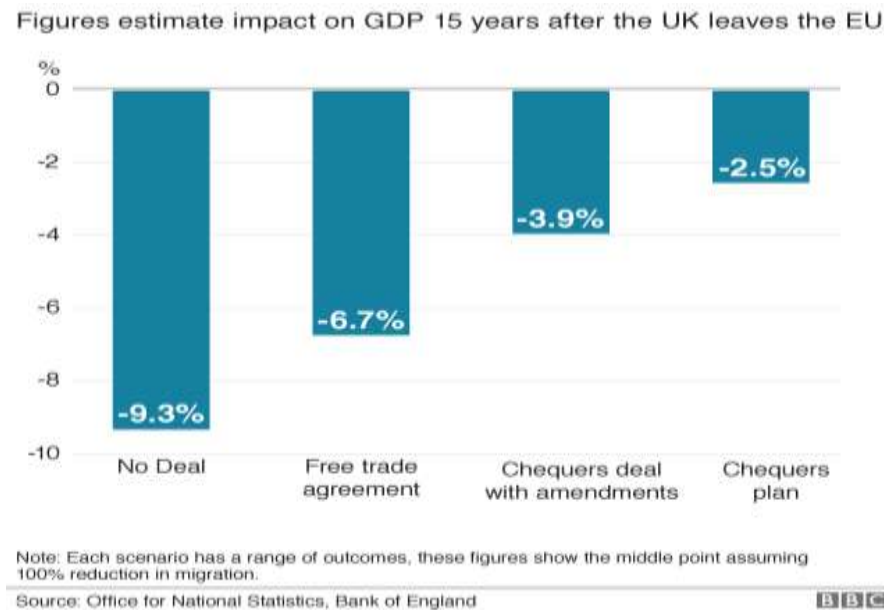
BREXIT Impact on Trade

Many scholars believe that Brexit would damage British trade. Because the UK's economy is deeply integrated with the rest of the EU, the consequences

of trade barriers may be substantial. Consistent with one study, for each 1% reduction in UK exports to the EU, there would be a 0.5% loss within the British GDP (Chen, 2017). Another report by the Institute for Fiscal Studies claimed that reduced trade activity and therefore the resulting economic stagnation would cost the United Kingdom around £70 billion, quite the £8 billion savings in EU membership fees (ibid, 2017). New trade deals would not be expected to form up the difference. Even with a weaker pound, increased costs of production would outweigh more competitive prices of finished goods.

The UK agriculture industry would be affected the foremost by Brexit because the most important portion of the EU budget is devoted to subsidies for farmers. In recent years, 60%–65% of the UK's agricultural exports and 70% of its agricultural imports were with the EU (Berkm & Jongeneel, 2016). These numbers indicate the UK's strong integration into the EU's agricultural markets. With Brexit, farmers would lose subsidies from the EU, increasing the price of food production and price index in the United Kingdom.

Graph 02: How BREXIT will affect the UK growth

Figures estimate impact on GDP 15 years after the UK leaves the EU

Note: Each scenario has a range of outcomes, these figures show the middle point assuming 100% reduction in migration.

Source: Office for National Statistics, Bank of England

Source: BBC, 2017

The financial and professional services industry like banks, accountants, corporate lawyers, and investments would even be greatly impacted by Brexit. London is the heart for the financial sector in Europe. After Brexit, much of that business might be illegal unless banks satisfy the proclivities of regulators within the 27 EU member states. Banks are already going to move jobs to cities elsewhere within the EU to make sure that they might be ready to execute all trades. For example, the EU is recently confirmed that they planned to move many jobs out of London to offices in Frankfurt and Paris (Market Media, 2020).

The EU has negotiated some treaties and international agreements with some countries. These agreements range from customs procedures and agricultural quotas to the landing rights of planes to even trade on sheep meat and goat meat with Iceland. The United Kingdom would also get to discovered new regulatory agencies and choose which EU regulations, on issues like environmental, health, and safety standards, it wants to stay. The UK could prefer to renegotiate trade deals with all these countries once it leaves the EU, but this could be a time-consuming and expensive process. Experience shows that free trade agreements take between five to 10 years to negotiate and will have to be compelled to be ratified by national, and even regional, parliaments. Some countries would be willing to replicate the EU's free trade agreements but some would not. As such, it is unlikely that a comprehensive new agreement would be in place on the day the United Kingdom officially leaves the EU, leaving Britain's exporters facing higher barriers to trade and uncertainty over future market access.

Conclusion

The European region has given birth to world-famous characters, great creations, and new concepts that had contributed to making changes in the world. In addition to that, even after facing two world wars, Europe rose again as a strong region. The article had focused on presenting the emergence of Brexit with the gradual downfall of Regional integration in Europe. Considering the facts and points discussed in the article, it seems the European Union is at its weakest moment in history. Before Brexit, it was widely believed the process of European integration, both deepening and widening

could not be reversed. Brexit sent a wake-up call to the world that the opposite is true.

The data shows that the UK benefits far more from free trade within the European Single Market than other alternative trade agreements. Besides, the terms of the Brexit withdrawal agreement itself would also likely have a huge negative effect on the British economy. Other than that, we cannot be precise about the size of the losses from restricting immigration following Brexit. Buy the way we will confidently say that the empirical evidence shows that EU immigration has not had significant negative effects on the average employment, wages, inequality, or public services at the local level for the UK-born. Any adverse experiences of UK-born workers concerning jobs and wages are more closely associated with the biggest economic crash for more than 80 years. At the national level, falls in EU immigration are likely to steer to lower living standards for the UK-born. This is partly because immigrants help to cut back the deficit: they are more likely to figure and pay tax and fewer likely to use public services, as they are younger and better educated than the UK-born. It is also partly because of the positive effects of EU immigrants on productivity.

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Rise of China from a Geopolitical Perspective: with special Reference to the Sea Power Theory of Alfred Mahan

P. H. S. K. Wijethilake[1]

Abstract

Today China has become one of the most powerful country in the world. Given its economic strength, population, size and military capabilities China in the present world plays a significant role in shaping the future of international relations. One major reason that has made China to play this significant role is its geopolitical background. Its geopolitical size as well as the location have permitted the country through play a vital role in the international system. One of the major theories of geopolitics is the sea power theory unveiled by Alfred Mahan. In this theory, he explains the importance of processing stronger naval strength in order to fulfill the national interests of states. Against this backdrop this paper attempts to explain the Rise of China through Alfred Mahan's Sea Power theory, special reference to the six elements he has brought out with regards to determine the strength of a country. They are Geopolitical position, Physical conformation, Extent of territory, Number of populations, National character, Character and policy of government. This research is a qualitative case study research based on secondary data. The main sources of data collection include journal articles, reviews, annual reports, websites etc. As far as the finding of the studying are concern it is evidence that China process most of the key aspects Mahan has brought out in his theory.

Keywords: *Rise of China, Sea Power Theory, International Trade, International Maritime Domain*

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Introduction

Geopolitics is always at play within international relations, geopolitics, it is the focus of political phenomena and studying aspects geography of these phenomena and geopolitics is a separate branch of strategic analysis. Geopolitics is the focus of political phenomena (Kriston, 1960). Today, the People's Republic of China plays a major part in international relations. As the world's largest trading nation, China is responsible for nearly 10 per cent of the global trade in goods. Most of these goods are transported by ship, and as a result of that, China is a major destination and starting point of international shipping routes. Seven out of the ten busiest and main container ports in the world are located in China, with the port of Shanghai being the world's largest (Ren, 2019). Against this background, it is not surprising that China plays an active part in international shipping. Furthermore, three Chinese shipping companies are among the twelve largest container transporters (Scerra, 2020). China is the third-largest ship-owning nation, and the largest shipbuilding nation in the world. (ibid). Although it has coastal line only from one side of the country, China used it in a proper way. China's initiative for a so-called '21st Century Maritime Silk Road' is aimed at port development and gain the power in South-East Asia, around the Indian Ocean and in the eastern Mediterranean region.

In 1890, Mahan published, "the Influence of sea power upon history, (1660-1783) a revolutionary analysis of the importance of naval power as a factor in the rise of the British Empire. This article discusses China's potential of becoming a naval power within Mahan's framework and analyses the opportunities, strengths, weaknesses, and threats China possess in its roadmap to a strong naval power. And also, the article findings conclude that China's growing influence in Central Asia and whole world with the Sea power theory, in which Mahan came to the conclusion that, "the one who owns the sea, possesses all" (Mahan,1890). This research article examines about the location of China, China's geopolitical Imperatives, sea power theory, naval activities of China, current situation of China. This research article explains the rise of China through Mahan's theory.

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, through books, research articles, and journal articles. This study has used some principal methodologies to examine the abovementioned objectives and those objectives of the study will be achieved in the light of several information taken by secondary sources.

Literature Review

Literature review deals with previously written and published information regarding the rise of China from a geopolitical perspective. This study is carried out to identify the China's growing influence in Central Asia and whole world with the Sea power theory. As the world's largest trading nation, China plays a main role in international system.

According to the Qiyu (2015), he tells that, sea power has actually played a deeply significant part in history but that this does not mean that sea power "determines" history. It has performed within the context of given periods of historical development and has never been in a category of its own. He highlights sea power from the perspective of an up-and-coming major power its strategic choices and geopolitical restrictions, its ability by means of comprehensive national power to support sea-power development.

Zicheng and Xinhai (2005) argued that a state having naval forces alone is incapable of becoming a major sea power; traditional Western concepts of sea power are not adaptable to the current development of China's sea power. Zicheng (2005) showed that Chinese sea power should be defined as the nation's capacity and influence with respect to researching, developing, using, and to a certain extent controlling the sea. It needs to address in a detailed way the question of how to "walk the road of developing sea power with Chinese characteristics. According to 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 revealed that, China's national

power and how sea power straightly effect for the China's GDP growth. 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. 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.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Sea Power Theory

Sea power theory is that the concept is directly related with a country's navy and Mahan historian, in his book "The Influence of Sea Power upon History", published in 1890, first introduced control of the sea power theory.

1. Geographic position

Geographic position is useful not only if the country has access to the main ocean roads or has the long coastline, however has harbors appropriate for building reliable ports. The best condition for the geographic location may be the presence of scattered island territories, but for this purpose, it is necessary to steer state finances and forces constantly to keep them.

2. Physical conformation including natural productivity and climate

The main thing that determines the success of the physical structure of the country is the coastline. It is not easy to access the border to another countries, the safer the country has, and the less the encroachment on it will be on the part of others.

3. Size of the territory

The final factor is a natural not a human precondition for the development of naval power. Neither the quantity of sq. kilometers, however the length of the coastline and the nature of the harbor confirm the safety and security of the country.

4. Population size

Mahan argued that the influence of the population ought to be considered in the proportion of population that is known within the navy to the population

as a whole and he considered numbers of population; it was more specifically the number following the sea, or engaged in maritime economy.

5.   National character

According to Mahan, the national character of people should prevail in the pursuit of a maritime commercial activity. After all, naval power is a result of the good possession of sea routes, which in turn is the result of constant trade relations.

6.   The nature of the government including national institutions

Only that policy of the government is concerned effective, when it is counted with the natural inclination of citizens. Mahan showed that such a policy is predicated on democratic principles. At the same time, democracy will become disastrous, because it entails the activation of the role of the population in mass movements.

Geographical Position and Size of China

Map 01: Geography of China

Source: Travel Guide, 2020

Geopolitics, it is the main focus of political phenomena and studying aspects geography of these phenomena and Geopolitics is a separate branch of strategic analysis. China commonly uses geopolitics under the guise of "friendship hand" to gain their long-term strategic plan of "China Imperialism" and invade towards Indian Ocean rim countries. China has also targeted to reach dominant role within the whole world by using many ways, for that they use sea power theory also.

According to the geographical respect, China located in East Asia along the coastline of the Pacific Ocean and China is the world's third largest country, after Russia and Canada. With an area of 9.6 million square kilometers and a coastline of 18,000 kilometers, its shape on the map is like a rooster. Although it is not surrounded by water (which borders only its eastern flank), China is bordered by terrain that is difficult to traverse in virtually any direction. There are some areas that can be traversed, but to understand China we must begin by visualizing the mountains, jungles and wastelands that enclose it. This outer shell both contains and protects China and China's distinctive geographical position gives it a geopolitical strength.

Chinese Activities at Sea

China's own coastline is adjacent to the Yellow Sea, South China Sea, the East China Sea, and the Pacific Ocean and to the South, close to the Indian Ocean. Besides constructing and operating ports, China also set out many activities at sea, both commercial and military.

Number of Ports and Quality of Ports

Although China has coastal line only from one side of their country, they used it for their success. China has nearly 34 major ports and more than 2000 minor ports. They have very small, small, medium, large-scale ports and it is a rare chance to China. Today, China's ports are an important part of the country's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), a $1 trillion project to redesign global trade. The Port of Shanghai is the busiest port in the world with approximately 42 million TEU passing through it every year. The Port of Shenzhen is the second busiest port in China and third in the world with a TEU traffic of 27.7 million. The Port of Ningbo-Zhoushan is the third busiest port in China and fourth in the world, with volumes of 26.3 million TEU a year (Port technology, 2020).

Map 02: Ports of China

Source: ShipHub, 2020

China's Commercial Activities

China is a huge, major player in several commercial maritime sectors. As was mentioned in the introduction, it leads in shipbuilding: in 2013 China built 41 per cent of the world's new, large ships, followed by Japan as well as Korea. It mostly builds dry bulk ships (57 per cent of tonnage delivered), oil tankers (19 per cent) and container ships (14 per cent). These include high-tech ships such as liquefied natural gas (LNG) ships, very large gas carrier (VLGC) ships, super-huge container ships, duplex stainless-steel chemical vessels, marine law enforcement vessels, public service vessels and ocean fishing vessels. The number of modern ships orders in China amounted to more than 47 per cent of the total new orders worldwide. Two prominent shipbuilders are both subsidiaries of COSCO: COSCO Shipyard Group Company and

COSCO Shipbuilding Industry Company (COSIC). COSCO Shipyard Group is specialized in huge vessel building, but also marine engineering construction, and provides ship-repairing services. COSIC is a large enterprise that has a strong and powerful focus on shipbuilding and ship equipment.

China plays a very active and major role in shipping, both in the container and the bulk cargo market. It is the third-largest ship-owning country in the world and the biggest in terms of numbers, with 5,312 ocean-going merchant ships (Meijinders, 2015). China has three major container carriers: COSCO; China Shipping Container Lines (CSCL); and Orient Overseas Container Lines (OOCL), which are listed as the fifth, seventh and twelfth largest container-line companies respectively. Concerning bulk shipping, COSCO has the world's largest dry bulk shipping cargo fleet, with an annual volume of more than 200 million tons of cargo. They pool together on the route from Asia to Europe (and vice versa). OOCL is part of the G6 Alliance, together with APL (Singapore), Hapag-Lloyd AG (Germany), Hyundai Merchant Marine (South Korea), Mitsui OSK Lines (Japan), and Nippon Yusen Kaisha (Japan). The G6 Alliance was formed in late 2011 and began to operate and manage in March 2012 in Asia–Europe and Mediterranean trade.

Table 01: Leading container shipping companies worldwide in 2020

Shipping Companies	Number of ships
APM-Maersk	683
Mediterranean Shg. Co	574
CMA CGM Group	536
COSCO Group	490
Hapag-Lloyd	233
ONE (Ocean Network Express)	212
Evergreen Line	199
Zhonggu logistics Corp	115
Antong Holdings (QASC)	110
PIL (Pacific Int.Line)	107

Source: Statistica, 2020

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Population of China

The current population of China is 1,440,585,659 (UN, 2020).According to the Mahan he considered numbers of population who engaged in maritime activities. China always tries to fulfill and increase their maritime economy and supremacy. 1.2 billion people of China, close to 60% live in 12 coastal provinces like Hebei, Fujian, Hainan, Guangdong, Shandong, Zhejiang, along the Yangtze River valley, and in two coastal municipalities Shanghai and Tianjin.

China's Naval Activities

In Asia the largest navy is The Chinese People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) in terms of ships, with some 77 principal surface combatants, one aircraft carrier, more than 60 submarines, 55 medium and large amphibious ships, , and roughly 85 missile-equipped small combatants. The Chinese Navy is currently replacing its older ships with fewer but more capable ships, but its operational focus remains largely limited to the western Pacific, in particular the Yellow, East China, and South China Seas. Although, the role of the PLAN is evolving, as the navy is increasingly deployed beyond these nearby seas to respond to nontraditional security threats and as a diplomatic tool. The most valuable example of this long-distance engagement is the

ongoing Chinese counter-piracy mission in the Gulf of Aden under the authority of the United Nations (UN), which exists alongside similar missions by many other navies. As a result, China has maintained a continuous naval presence, consisting of two warships and a supply vessel, in the Gulf of Aden since early 2009. The PLAN has been able to protect Chinese and foreign commercial ships against attacks by Somali pirates. The mission also serves several extra purposes that are suitable in the context of the Maritime Silk Road.

First, this factor lasting presence on a rotational basis off the Horn of Africa has opened the possibility for China to expand the role of its navy to other tasks, like humanitarian relief or emergency removal in the Indian Ocean or the Mediterranean. In 2011 during the previously mentioned evacuation of Chinese nationals from Libya, China moved a frigate from the Gulf of Aden to the Mediterranean to escort the chartered passenger ships that were used for the evacuation.

Second, new diplomatic opportunities provided by the counter- piracy mission to China. Thanks to its naval arrangement, China has been able to join multilateral platforms that have been established to facilitate communication and coordination among the various countries that engage in naval counter-piracy activities in the Gulf of Aden. Moreover, China has made superior use of its naval presence in the Gulf of Aden to 'show its flag' not just in ports around the Indian Ocean, but also in the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea and the Atlantic-including ports in Bulgaria, Egypt, France, Greece, Germany, Israel, Italy, Ukraine, Romania, the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and. After fulfilling their rotation, PLAN ships often make a series of port calls. According to Russell Hsiao, he points out that 'it is not simply a demonstration of "showing the flag", conducting port visits is a useful tool that extends China's naval presence and exhibits the country's soft power'. PLAN officers tell the purpose of these visits as 'extending a friendly hand, showing goodwill, demonstrating an independent foreign policy of peace, showing a desire to work with each other countries and navies, and demonstrating the achievements in China's opening outside the world and economic development'.

However, the Chinese Navy has a continuous presence in the Gulf of Aden. It does not have bases in the region or anywhere else outside China. For replenishment, it makes use of commercial ports around the, and along the route from and to China. COSCO is the Chinese Navy's major partner with regard to providing logistical help for Chinese Navy ships in commercial ports in the Indian Ocean region. Although these may not be substitutes for warships when it comes to protecting supply lines during peacetime and during wartime, they may be quite effective. Furthermore, the absence of overseas military bases and a large-scale naval deployment in the Indian Ocean or the Mediterranean Sea limit the chances of China becoming involved in a major war.

Surrounding Environment of China's Maritime Power Strategy

The South China Ocean is not only the largest and most important waters over that China has sovereign rights, but a strategic base whereas China is utilizing its sea power in offshore waters to exert influence on far seas. In addition, unlike the Taiwan Issue, the international community has not broadly supported China's policies on the South China Sea. During these days, Chinese scholars and officials are still questioned on several international occasions relating to the exact definition of the nine-dotted line in the South China Sea. Disputes during this region involve "five countries or six parties" and are critical to China's sovereignty over islands in the South China Sea and its relationship with Southeast Asian countries. In 2009, the U.S. Asia-Pacific Rebalance Strategy and the drastic escalation of disputes in the South China Sea transformed the all environment for China to build itself as a sea power. As a result, powers outside this region took advantage of this case to implement "Divide and Conquer" Policy to China and its neighboring countries.

The Strategic Design for China's Maritime Power in Asia-Pacific

The perspective of geo-strategy, the Korean Peninsula and the IndoChina must be incorporated into China's offshore security zone if China needs to make itself up as a maritime power. If the neighboring countries of those two peninsulas are allied with countries that are hostile to China or with powers outside the region, then the protection of China's offshore waters will be

deteriorated. It means the capital in the North and ports for foreign trade in the South will be directly exposed to and threatened by outside powers. Through development of diplomatic, economic, and political relations, the relations between China and countries in these two areas will be strengthened, which will support to put a basic land geostrategic foundation for China to build itself up as a sea power., China will be able to become a maritime power only with such a land geo-strategic foundation within the future.

China's Geopolitical Imperatives

    i.   Maintain internal unity in the Han Chinese regions
    ii.   Maintain control of the buffer regions
    iii.   Protect the coast from foreign encroachment

Maintaining Internal Unity

China is a perfect county and it is more enclosed than other super powers. The size of its population, as well as its secure frontiers and relative abundance of resources, permit it to develop with minimal intercourse with the rest of the world, if it chooses. During the Maoist period, as an example, China became an insular nation, driven primarily by internal interests and considerations, indifferent or hostile to the rest of the world. It was secure and, except for its involvement within the Korean War and its efforts to pacify restless buffer regions, was relatively peaceful. Internally, however, China underwent periodic, self-generated chaos. For China to prosper, it has to interact in trade, exporting silk, silver and industrial products. Historically, land trade has not posed a problem for China.

As trade between China and the world intensified, the Chinese who were engaged in trading increased their wealth dramatically. Those in the coastal provinces of China, the region most concerned and involved in trading, became relatively wealthy while the Chinese in the interior (not the buffer regions, which were always poor, however the non-coastal provinces of Han China) remained poor, subsistence farmers. The central government was balanced between the divergent interests of coastal China and the interior. The worst geopolitical nightmare of China came true. China fragmented, breaking

into regions, some increasingly under the control of foreigners, particularly foreign commercial interests. Beijing lost control over the country. It should be identified that this was the context in which Japan invaded China, which made Japan's failure to defeat China all the more extraordinary. Mao's goal was threefold, Marxism aside.

Controlling the Buffer Regions

Prior to Mao's rise, with the central government weakened and Han China engaged at the same time in war with Japan and regionalism, the center was not holding. While Manchuria was under Chinese control, Outer Mongolia was under Soviet control and extending its influence (Soviet power more than Marxist ideology) into Inner Mongolia, and Tibet and Xinjiang were abandoned. At the same time, that Mao was laying the groundwork for power and taking control of the buffer regions. His first moves were planned to block Soviet interests in these regions. Mao get step to consolidate Chinese communist control over Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, effectively leveraging the Soviets out. Xinjiang had been under the control of a regional warlord, Yang Zeng Xin. Mao moved to force him out and take over Xinjiang after the end of the civil war. Finally, in 1950 Mao took an action against Tibet, which he secured in 1951.

Protecting the Coast

With the buffer regions under control, the coast is China's most vulnerable point, but its vulnerability is not to attack. Given the Japanese example, nobody has forces to try to invade mainland China, supply an army there and hope to win. Invasion is not a purposeful threat. The coastal threat to China is economic, though most would not call it a threat. As we know, the British intrusion into China culminated in the destabilization of the country, the virtual collapse of the central government and civil war. It was all caused by prosperity. Mao had solved the matter by sealing the coast of China off to any real development and liquidating the class that had collaborated with foreign business.

One Belt, One Road Initiative

The Maritime Silk Road, as proposed by China, will greatly increase connections between the Western Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, between South Asia and East Africa, and between East Asia and Europe. This is just the maritime dimension of a broader strategic framework that China refers to as One Belt, One Road. Another main point in this framework is the Silk Road Economic Belt, which contain primarily of infrastructure that facilitates East–West trade over land, like railways, roads and pipelines.

This main Eurasian corridor is to be complemented by many smaller North–South corridors. The Bangladesh, China, India, Myanmar (BCIM) Economic Corridor is aimed at increasing transportation links between Yunnan Province in South-West China and major port cities along the Bay of Bengal, together with Kolkata and Chittagong. China also has plans to increase its national rail system to Nepal (via Tibet) and several South-East Asian countries, including Thailand and Singapore (via Yunnan). Further West, the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor must improve road, pipeline and rail links between China's Northwest and the port of Gwadar in Pakistan. Among the advantages for China of infrastructure projects in South and South-East Asia is that they may contribute to faster and more secure transportation of oil from the Middle East to China, by shorter routes and avoiding the Strait of Malacca and South China Sea. Moreover, north of the Silk Road Economic Belt run several always that combine China and Europe via Kazakhstan, Russia and Belarus, which are progressively used for transporting goods, mainly from China to the EU. China's involvement in ports and other maritime infrastructure (the Maritime Silk Road initiative) should be seen in the context of its broader infrastructure activities under the One Belt, One Road program. This program could increase China's international influence in numerous ways.

While the One Belt, One Road program could give the Chinese government with a lot of influence in international affairs, it must be noted that China is building commercial rather than naval port installations. The focus of this program is not on military dominance. The Chinese Navy, whose supply lines west of the Strait of Malacca are highly vulnerable, plays a major role in the Maritime Silk Road, but only by strengthening China's diplomatic influence

and its ability to address non-traditional security issues. Achieving sea power, including the ability to secure or disrupt supply lines by military means, or to attack land targets from the sea, is what China aims for in its near seas, but not in the Indian Ocean or the Mediterranean Sea. In the long term, it is possible that this will change: China's diplomatic–commercial approach might turn out to be only a stage in a trajectory that eventually involves also the expansion of strategic–military influence. However, for now it seems that China may be able to secure many of its foreign policy objectives by non-military means.

China's Current Position in the International System

From a political and military viewpoint, China has achieved many strategic goals. The buffer regions are intact and China faces no threat in Eurasia. It sees a Western plan to force China out of Tibet as an attempt to undermine Chinese national security. For China, however, Tibet is a minor irritant; China has no possible intention of leaving Tibet, the Tibetans cannot rise up and win, and no one is about to invade the region. Similarly, the Uighur Muslims represent an irritant in Xinjiang and not a direct threat. The Russians have no interest in or capability of invading China and the Korean Peninsula does not represent a direct threat to the Chinese, certainly not one they could not handle. The greatest military threat to China comes from the United States Navy. The Chinese have become highly dependent on seaborne trade and the United States Navy is in a position to blockade China's ports if it wished. Should the United States do that, it would cripple China. Therefore, China's primary military interest is to make such a blockade impossible (Meijinders, 2015).

It would take several generations for China to build a surface navy able to compete with the U.S. Navy. Simply training naval aviators to conduct carrier-based operations effectively would take decades-at least until these trainees became admirals and captains. In addition, this does not take into account the time it would take to build an aircraft carrier and carrier-capable aircraft and master the intricacies of carrier operations. For China, the primary mission is to raise the price of a blockade so high that the Americans would not attempt it. The means for that would be land- and submarine-based anti-ship missiles. The strategic solution is for China to construct a missile force

sufficiently dispersed that it cannot be suppressed by the United States and with sufficient range to engage the United States at substantial distance, as far as the central Pacific.

China is being modestly expansionist-Central Asia and particularly Kazakhstan in one area. Traditionally a route for trading silk, Kazakhstan is now an area that can produce energy, badly needed by China's industry. The Chinese have been active in developing commercial relations with Kazakhstan and in developing roads into Kazakhstan. These roads are opening a trading route that allows oil to flow in one-direction and industrial goods in another. However, these are only theoretical possibilities. The threat of an American blockade on China's coast, of using Taiwan to isolate northern China, of conflict over Kazakhstan-all are possibilities that the Chinese must take into account as they plan for the worst. In fact, the United States does not have an interest in blockading China and the Chinese and Russians are not going to escalate competition over Kazakhstan.

China does not have a military-based geopolitical problem. It is in its traditional strong position, physically secure as it holds its buffer regions. It has achieved its three strategic imperatives. What is most vulnerable at this point is its first imperative: the unity of Han China. That is not threatened militarily. Rather than, the threat to it is economic.

Using the Sea Power for Success

China is one of largest country in the world. China's land is huge and China territory includes several large islands. China always trying to use their naval power and economic power to expand their territory. For example, State of China given funds for any developing countries without conditions. Based on that reason, they trying to success their goals (Expansion of territory). For example, Chinese people are working on infrastructure projects at Hambanthota Airport and the Port of Hambanthota in Sri Lanka.

Then it is clear that they use their sea powers as a trick for expansion of territory (exports & imports). Sea is the main way to export and import all goods, and then China uses their ports, ships and use their own sea power. China always ready to investing, because if they use that strategy, they can involve economic section of that states. If some states cannot pay debt, that

states given their small islands or industries to China. As an example, Port City in Sri Lanka.

Pakistan shares a border with China and is an important economic partner that provides a geographic access to more countries in the Middle East and Asia. They buildup relations with other states, especially based on sea power because, they can easily expand their territory of country. China has invested in many countries. There are Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Afghanistan, India, etc. China has relations with countries based on various projects, through which it connects to the economies of each country. It is also strategy that China uses to expand its territory.

There are various reasons for the rise of China. Number of the population and the availability of people engaged or interested in naval activities. Mahan argued that the influence of the population should be considered in the ratio of population, which is understood in the navy to the population as a whole. In addition, mainly China has an enormous population and enormous naval power. Therefore, they can develop their sea power. China has lot of populations. Therefore, their increase naval activities, navy and harbor. The state can be increase this via what is geo-economics encouraging through policy or investment the emergence of a large shipping industry. Chinese authority also thought about their country's success by using maritime strategies. For example, Xi Jinping's concept of "true maritime power."

When we talk about trade policy – Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is very important. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a global development strategy adopted by the Chinese government involving infrastructure development and investments in 152 countries and international organizations in Asia, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and the Americas. "Belt" refers to the overland routes for road and rail transportation, called "the Silk Road Economic Belt" whereas "road" refers to the sea routes, or the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. Not only that, China always encouraging economy investments, Ex: China Ocean Shipping Company, China Merchant Group. Moreover, the involvement of "South China Sea Dispute" is one of turning point of China's aim. The main countries are the ones geographically close to the disputed waterway. China, Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, Taiwan and

Vietnam all have overlapping claims on the South China Sea. China claims almost the entire stretch.

As the world's largest trading nation, China is responsible for approximately 10 per cent of the global trade in goods. Most of these goods are transported by ship, and consequently China is a major destination and starting point of international shipping routes. Seven out of the ten busiest container ports in the world are located in China, with the port of Shanghai being the world's largest. Against this background, it is not surprising that China plays an active part in international shipping. Three Chinese shipping companies are among the twelve largest container transporters. China is the third-largest ship-owning nation, and the largest shipbuilding nation in the world. Moreover, Chinese ambitions in the international maritime domain go beyond shipping. Increasingly, Chinese firms are active in the construction and management of ports throughout the world. What is particularly relevant from a European perspective is that the Chinese government is currently developing an ambitious programmer of maritime infrastructure construction along the main Asia–Europe shipping route. China's initiative for a so-called '21st Century Maritime Silk Road' is aimed at port development in South-East Asia, around the Indian Ocean and in the eastern Mediterranean region.

In 2018, President Xi Jinping suggested that "the task of building a powerful navy has never been as urgent as it is today." This statement proves that China use Sea Power Theory for their victory, and they use many strategies like,

    i.   Effort to modernizing their naval Power
    ii.   The Expansion of the PLAN
    iii.   Expanding Shipbuilding Capability
    iv.   New Ships for a New Surface Fleet. China has number of ports like Port of Shanghai, Port of Shenzhen, Port of Hong Kong, Port of Guangzhou. China use these ports in a proper way, its build a path to their success

Conclusion

Geopolitics is based on geography and politics and politics is built on two foundations. Those are, military and economic. The two interact and support

each other but are ultimately distinct. For China, securing its buffer regions generally eliminates military problems. What problems are left for China are long-term issues concerning Northeastern Manchuria and the balance of power in the Pacific. It is clear that China it is stable, peaceful, prosperous country in the Asia-Pacific region is essential to the health and well-being of global economy. China clearly wants to be a player on the world stage as shown by the fact that "China is now the fastest-growing investor in Africa" -Not only China experienced a rapid growth economically it is also rapidly modernizing its military. "Debt-trap diplomacy" is mainly affected for the success of China.

When it comes to present world, it is clear that there are many super powers in international system. Among them China acts a major role. In this article, it is clear that the implications of China's rise for how we approach cultural geography, in particular, in the 21st century. China has many ports and they use them in a proper way. It helps to build a path for their success. China has an enormous population and enormous naval power. Therefore, they can develop their sea power. Therefore, their increase naval activities, navy and harbor. Chinese authority also thought about their country's success by using maritime strategies. Ex: Xi Jinping's concept of "true maritime power". The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a global development strategy adopted by the Chinese government involving infrastructure development and investments in 152 countries and international organizations in Asia, Europe, Africa, the Middle East, and the Americas. Those things help to prove that "China use sea power for their betterment. Finally, we can make some predictions also like, China's journey towards becoming the second largest economy in the world, the decline of the US influence in China, China's growth will lay the basis for a new bipolar world, China's grand plan will be a reality, 'Made in China 2025 - Released in 2015 is the government's ten years plan. According to this article we can identified the way that China achieve their goals and which geopolitical theories help to them. China is becoming and will soon become the strongest country in the world. It is clear that Alfred Mahan Sea power theory can be used to explain the Rise of China.

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Unresolved Conflict of Indo-Pakistan & the Impact on Regional Integration of South Asia

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Abstract

India and Pakistan have stuck in an unresolved dispute since 1947. From then India and Pakistan have fought several wars and there were four major wars in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999. Indo-Pakistan rivalry has become a major military issue in south Asian region in order to function regional integration among the eight states of South Asia. The research question is based on how Indo-Pakistan rivalry has affected to the integration of south Asian region. The study have divided in main themes. The objectives of this study is to determine, is there any possibility of ending Indo-Pak rivalry, how the failure of SAARC will impact to the regionalism of South Asia & how the third party involvement in South Asia impact to the regionalism of South Asia and impact to the future. The methodological approach of this study is a qualitative study approach and used secondary data for gather data for this study. The findings clearly shows that there is no sign that Indo-Pakistan rivalry will over in near future, there is no future in SAARC until this conflict over and there is more possibility that China will take advantage of internal matters of south Asian region and will become part of SAARC. As well as the major power, involvement will drag this conflict to another stage to survive as a powerful state in international system. The all results shows that the regional integration of South Asia is in a very vulnerable condition.

Keywords: *Indo-Pakistan Conflict, South Asia, Regional Integration, SAARC, China, USA*

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Introduction

Since 1947, India and Pakistan have been locked in a unresolved conflict over the ownership of Kashmir. Kashmir is one of very important territory with 86,000 square miles. The territory is claimed by both India and Pakistan. When we go to the roots of this problem, it is going back to the colonial past. Even before the Second World War period, India had a civil war between India's Hindu majority and Muslim minority. Muslim league began to demanding a separate nation for Muslims but Congress party refused to give separate nation to them. Because of that ruler, Sir Mount Batten decided to partition, them based on religion. "It is high time that the British Government applied their mind definitely to the division of India and the establishment of Pakistan and Hindustan, which means freedom for both," Jinnah said in 1945. (Blakemore, 2019)

On 14th august 1947, the independent Muslim majority Pakistan was formed and India became Hindu majority independent nation. Under the partition plan provided by Indian independence act Kashmir was free to decide which country they would join. Because Kashmir was Muslim majority state, most wanted to join Pakistan. However, the Hindu ruler of Kashmir, Maharaja Hari Singh wanted to keep the state independent. Kashmir people were not happy with this decision and they began a revolution. To avert the pressure of join to a new nation, Maharaja signed an agreement with Pakistan that allow citizens to do trade with new country. However Pakistan continuously pressure Kashmir to join them. In September 1947, some Pashtun tribesmen who lived in Afghanistan border streamed over border from Pakistan into Kashmir. Because of that, Hari Singh asked for help from India. However, India responded that in order to gain military assistance, Kashmir would have to accede to India without becoming a part of Pakistan. Maharaja agreed and signed the instrument of accession that align Kashmir as a dominion of India in 1947. Maharaja's decision of aligned Kashmir with India ushered a huge unresolvable conflict between India and Pakistan. There were four major wars fought by India and Pakistan since 1947.

The first India Pakistan war, which name as first Kashmir war was fought by India and Pakistan from October 1947 to December 1948. This conflict began as a result of and entering of Pashtun tribesman into Kashmir and the decision

of Hari Singh, acceding Kashmir as India's part. The forces of the princely state and tribal militants from Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and federal tribal areas initially fought this war. UN Security council involved in this matter with a ceasefire resolution. UN Security council achieved the ceasefire and successfully terminated the first Kashmir war. When the ceasefire was finally established in January 1949, India had control of Jammu, Ladakh and Kashmir valley & Pakistan had control of Azas Kashmir & Gligit-Baltistan.

The Second war of India and Pakistan was fought from April 8 to September 23, 1965. In 1956 India regained control over the Rann of Kutch region of Gujarat and in 1965 Pakistan sent military troops to patrol Gujarat thinking that the people wants to come out from Indian control. With the high tension, Pakistan began to invade Jammu & Kashmir launching operation Gibraltar. India also responded to the attack by launching a full-scale military attack on West Pakistan. However, at the end this war caused to the thousands of deaths. The Jan Sangh, predecessor organization of the present BJP, had arranged to greet Shastri at Palam airport with black flags opposing the Tashkent agreement (Davar, 2020). So the second Kashmir war was terminated by Tashkent declaration. It was brought through the mediator Soviet Union and ceasefire the conflict. However, this was just a temporary compromise by both countries. Because of this Tashkent declaration, Soviet Union could exceed their influence over the South Asian region.

The third Indo-Pakistan war was fought in 1971. The main cause of this war was establishment of Bangladesh. At that time, Pakistan divided as East and West Pakistan. India was placed middle of these two regions. Due to the political unrest between two regions, West Pakistan attacked to East Pakistan with military force. Then East Pakistan began to divide as an Independent state as Bangladesh. Therefore, this third Indo-Pakistani war is called as Bangladesh Independence war. Due to this situation of violence like rape, murder and terror, many refugees came to India from East Pakistan (Bangladesh). Indian prime minister decided to support East Pakistan to stand as Bangladesh by intervening the Bangladesh independence war. As a respond, on 30th November 1971, general Yahya Khan decided to attack India with pre-emptive air strike and on December 3, 1971, Pakistan launched an air attack in the western sector of 11 of the Indian airfields. However, Indian

air force quickly achieved the air superiority. As mentioned in the article of business standards, December 16 is a significant day for India and its neighbours Bangladesh and Pakistan. In 1971, India won the war against Pakistan that resulted in the birth of Bangladesh (then East Pakistan). On this day 47 years ago, Pakistan lost half its country, its forces in the East, and had to publicly surrender to India. It was also the largest military surrender after World War II. The war ended after the chief of the Pakistani forces, General Amir Abdullah Khan Niazi, along with 93,000 troops, surrendered to the joint forces of Indian Army and Bangladesh's Mukti Bahini (Team, n.d.).

The Kargil war fought by India and Pakistan between 3rd May to 26th July 1999 in Jammu & Kashmir's Kargil district. The war began when Pakistan sent Pakistani troops and terrorists into Indian territory of Kargil across the line of control (LOC). Pakistani troops wanted to join with rebels of Kashmir. The conflict represented the first open fighting between India and Pakistan as declared nuclear weapons. This operation was basically about flushing out Pakistani troops from Indian territory of Kargil. In this conflict Indian army with Indian air force recaptured majority of Kargil from Pakistani troops and militants. As a result of international diplomatic opposition Pakistan withdraw their forces from Indian positions along the LOC and finally India successfully got victory against Pakistan in Kargil war.

When it comes to this journal article, we can understand the contemporary relation of India and Pakistan as well as the impact on the regionalism of South Asia from this unresolved dispute indo-Pakistan war. This conflict has effected to the integration of south Asian states. As well as it has effected to the future of South Asian Association for the Regional Cooperation (SAARC). As a result of the indo-Pakistan war, it has failed to get much benefit from India to other south Asian countries. As a result of that third parties such as China and USA have interfered in south Asian region. There are advantage of third party involvement as well as disadvantages. Basically from this article, I would like to focus on the Unresolved Conflict of Indo-Pakistan & the future Impact on Regionalism of South Asia.

Methodology

The methodological approach of this study is a qualitative study approach. The research question is based on how the Indo-Pakistan war has affected to the regional integration of South Asia. The data collection method of this study is gathering secondary data. The secondary data was collected from books, articles, journals, reports and some e-notes available on internet regarding the discussed topic. As well as the data is arranged to a thematic analysis using the objectives of the study as the themes.

Literature Review

Since 1947 to present Indo-Pakistan, war is active. This is also called as Kashmir war. The war began for the ownership of Kashmir state where Muslim majority lives and under Hindu ruler. However, Maharaja Hari Singh wanted to keep Kashmir as an independent state. This is the major conflict of south Asian region. There were four main wars since 1947 fought by India and Pakistan and there were several other attacks from Pakistan to India as well as from India to Pakistan. The conflict has led the regional integration of South Asia in a threat. There are several literature available based on Indo-Pakistan conflict and the impact.

Bhatnagar says Regional cooperation offers several benefits, for instance greater economic integration, frequent and easier people-to-people contact, sustainable peace and development at the regional level (Bhatnagar, 2008). Regional cooperation in South Asia, initiated under the platform of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in 1985, has however been faced with numerous challenges. One of the greatest barriers for the SAARC has been recurring inter-state conflicts between member states, which have posed significant challenges, as the mandate of the SAARC excludes discussion on bilateral issues.

Regarding to the indo-Pakistan rivalry there are SAARC have challenge in order to hold their annual summits. As Naveen Ahamed says in his article of "Rest in Peace SAARC", (Ahmad, 2016) when Interior Minister Chaudhry Nisar Ali Khan was receiving his counterparts as the chair of South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation's (SAARC) meeting. The Indian Home

Minister Rajnath Singh did not even properly shake hands with his host. For both nuclear-armed rivals and neighbors, the 19th SAARC ministerial meeting became a pretext to vent their anger. The summit fell prey to India's desire to brand Kashmir's freedom struggle as terrorism while alleging Pakistan to be a terror sponsor. Due to mistrust between India and Pakistan, from 2016 there were no summits held in SAARC.

Stephan Philip Cohen (Cohen, 2003) have mentioned in his journal article titled "India Pakistan and Kashmir" about outside allies seeking. As we know, seeking outside allies against each other has been India's and Pakistan's most consistent policies for over fifty years, and one of the most important ways in which they have constructed their relationship. Sometimes these allies have been willing, usually they have been reluctant. Pakistan has enlisted several Arab states, Iran, China, and North Korea in its attempt to balance Indian power. As well as India also seeking outside allies. USA is India's most favorable outside ally in Kashmir war.

Sebastian Roblin (Roblin, 2919) has mentioned in his article about the deep alliances between United States and India. He have mentioned some results of defense cooperation between USA and India. "The promise of U.S.-India technology transfers and arms sales via a Defence Technology and Trade Initiative (DTTI) has failed to deliver major deals despite much talk to the contrary. In the last decade, India has purchased 18 P-8 Poseidon maritime patrol planes, 22 AH-64E Apache Guardian attack helicopters (which may increase to 39), fifteen CH-47F heavy transport helicopters, eleven C-17 Globemaster transport jets, and twelve C-130J cargo planes for use by Special Forces. While significant, these purchases don't extend to core equipment of the Indian armed forces like jet fighters or armored vehicles."

Mehraj Uddin Gojree (Gojree, 2015) in his research paper entitled the situation after September 11 and the Indo-U.S. strategic cooperation have changed the relationship pattern between the U.S. and South Asia. Present involvement of the U.S. in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Indo-Pak rivalry, concerns about the proliferation of nuclear weapons, combating terrorism, and growing presence of Chinese influence in the region has significantly increased the strategic importance of South Asia in the U.S. policymaking circles.

There are many literature available regarding indo-Pakistan war and how India and Pakistan seeking for allies. This study is based on discussing about how indo-Pakistan rivalry has affected to the regional integration of south Asian region.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Current Relation between India & Pakistan

When it comes to the contemporary situation of relation between India and Pakistan, they have very aggressive relation most of the time. After both countries got nuclear power after 1990s, they are in a relation of nuclear arm race. However, when we talk about the current situation there are some positive initiatives taken by both countries as well as lot of sore issues between two countries.

Graph 01: The number of security forces killed in line of control and international border from 2009 to 2016
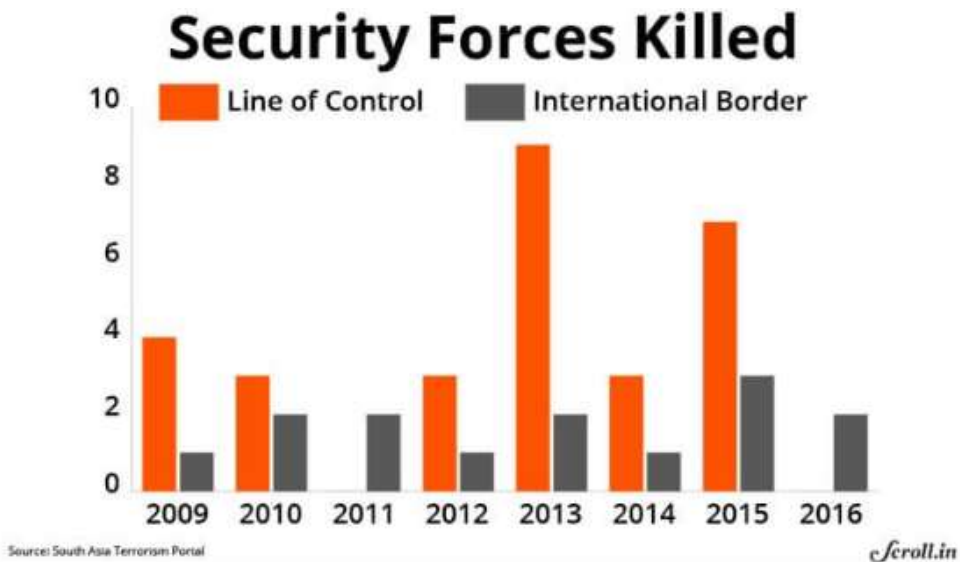
Source: South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2017

India has followed a very strict policy towards Pakistan after the new regime change in India. However current PM Narendra Modi's Foreign policy is "neighbourhood first" which targets to keep good relations in the south Asian

region states. There were some positive points such as inviting the PM of Pakistan to attend the swearing in ceremony of new PM of India & visit to Lahore by Indian PM in 2015. However, after the attack on Indian Air Force Base in 2016 January, the situation got worst again between India Pakistan. The attack was just after the Indian PM visited the Pakistani counterpart. Terrorist attack on Uri Army Base Camp in September 2016 and the kidnaping case of Kulbushan Jadhav have grew up lot of tension between India and Pakistan. When it comes to the latest fight between India and Pakistan it was happened in 2019 February in Pulwama district of India. This was a vehicle-borne suicide bomb attack by Adil Ahamad Dar, a militant from Jammu and Kashmir and he is a member of Jaish-e-Mohommed. Over 40 Indian central reserve police force have been killed in this attack. As a response to this attack, on 26th February 2019 the Indian Air Force conducted airstrikes at Balakot in Pakistan. Even though India complains Pakistan for this attack, India conducted this airstrike as a non-military attack targeting a Jaish-e-Mohammed facility within Pakistan. However, Indian government stated that the airstrike was a retaliation to the Pulwama attack. Especially this airstrike was the first time since the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971 that aerial attacks had been carried out across the Line of Control (LoC). When it comes to today scenario, India and Pakistan are not in a good relation rather than a competitive military relation.

Indo-Pakistan War Impact on Regionalism of South Asia

a) Failure of SAARC

When we talk about regional integration of south Asia, we have to go through the South Asian association of regional cooperation (SAARC). Regional cooperation promotes peace within the region. EU & ASEAN are such a good example to better regional cooperation. However, south Asian region contain a very poor regional cooperation comparison to EU & ASEAN. Today SAARC have faced many challenges in order to achieve the goals of SAARC & continue the integration of south Asian states. Among them internal disputes are the main reason for the failure of SAARC.

The tension between the two leading powers of South Asia have caused a huge damage to SAARC. As a result of Indo-Pakistan war from 1947 to now

SAARC have lost their integration between the countries. As an example, 19th SAARC Summit was scheduled to be in Islamabad of Pakistan on 15th to 16th November 2016. However, India boycott to attend the summit by justifying it as regarding to security issues they boycotted the summit. The main reason for boycott the 19th SAARC summit was 2016 Uri Terror Attack. As well as Bangladesh, Bhutan, Afghanistan also boycott the 19th SAARC summit. It was the first time that four countries boycotted a SAARC summit. Since it was formed in 1985, the functioning of SAARC has been marred by acrimony between members such as India Pakistan and various SAARC summit have been affected by such conflicts. It was the last SAARC summit held in 2016. Since then SAARC could not function any summit due to contradiction behavior of India and Pakistan.

The lack of trust between member states of south Asian region is another issue, which became a challenge in order to tie regionalism. There are several trust issues among the states but Indo-Pakistan war is the main cause of affecting the failure of SAARC. There were plenty of initiatives taken by the SAARC but they could not implement them due to the rejection by one state. Ex: Tariff reduction of SAFTA.

Even though the seven countries have signed the agreement of implementation of Tariff reduction of SAFTA from July 1, 2006, India and Pakistan have not agreed with each other to be facilitated under this agreement. Later India accused on Pakistan for backing away from their commitment under the multilateral SAFTA agreement. This is not then only one example for the confrontational behavior of both India and Pakistan. There are several times which they act against each other.

Above-mentioned details prove that how the main body of regionalism of south Asia, the south Asian association of regional cooperation (SAARC) have affected by Indo-Pakistan war and how the trust issues and security issues have become a reason to the failure of SAARC.

b) Third party involvement on South Asian Region

China's involvement

When it comes to the regionalism of South Asia, China's policies on the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan affect regional stabilization and crisis management efforts in South Asia. As a third party, China have involved in South Asia in order to contain India's power. Third party involvement in South Asia have directly affected to the regional integration process. China Concerns about the dispute of Indo-Pakistan and China follows a strong pro-Pakistani policy on Kashmir dispute rather a balance policy towards India and Pakistan. Therefore, China and Pakistan share close military relations. China supplies a range of modern Armaments to the Pakistani defence forces. As well as China supports Pakistan's stance on Kashmir while Pakistan support China in Tibet and Taiwan matter. China's main objective of supporting Pakistan is contain the power of India in south Asian region. China uses Indo-Pakistan conflict as a weapon against India.

Another involvement of China in South Asia as a third party is involvement in south Asian association of regional cooperation (SAARC). China became a SAARC observer member at the Dhaka summit in 2005. Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh have supported to take China as observer member while India, Bhutan, Afghanistan and Maldives opposing it. China's main purpose is containing the power of India by making strong relation with south Asian states. However as India is not supportive to the neighboring countries as a regional power, China's involvement rapidly grows in the south Asian region. China's role in SAARC have contained due to the observer member state, but China will fix their position in SAARC in no long future with the support of south Asian states. As well as China has good bilateral relation with SAARC countries as China is supporting to achieving economic and development goals of SAARC countries. The support of China to South Asian countries reducing the India's role. As well as in UN also as a veto power China is playing a huge role in protecting Pakistan from Indian allegation against Pakistan. Indian authorities have appealed past three times to the UN to have Pakistan declared a terrorist state. However, every time they were blocked by China by using their veto power. However, China's involvement in Kashmir

dispute and other internal Matters of South Asian region has grew up and it has affected to regional stabilization of South Asia.

USA involvement

Considering the US involvement in south Asian region, India is the main state where US has strong relationship. As well as US involvement in Indo-Pak revelry has led to more tension in the south Asian region. There are several reasons to US for concern about south Asian region. Among them strategic important of South Asia is a major point. Not only that but also USA try to involve in South Asia in order to contain the power of China. China's power expansion in South Asia has become a threat to USA. USA sees in India a regional heavyweight that may counterbalance China's rising power.

Nuclear non-proliferation has been a cornerstone of the U.S Foreign Policy. When it comes to the military aspect in South Asia main concern goes to the conflict between India and Pakistan. The issue of nuclear proliferation in South Asia is where Pakistan try to achieve the equalizer against India. India is one of World's largest democracy made it easier for US India alliances to grow with bipartisan support. Recently US India have signed some agreements such as 2016 military base sharing agreement, transfers of defence technologies and routine cooperation in military exercises. The US supports India in the rivalry of Indo-Pakistan. However, the Indo-Pakistan conflict has become an unresolvable dispute due to the involvement of major powers like USA and China. Third party involvement in south Asian region has become a challenge as well as a threat in order to keep regional stabilization among the South Asian states.

Conclusion

As we already mentioned above, India and Pakistan have stuck in an unresolved conflict over Kashmir from decades. As a result of indo-Pakistan war South Asian region have faced many challenges. Among them failure of SAARC and third parties like US China involvement in the South Asian region have directly affected to the regional integration of South Asia.

However as we already discussed the contemporary relation between India and Pakistan, there is no any sign that indo-Pakistan conflict will over in near

future. If the rivalry of indo-Pakistan will not settle then there is no future in south Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC). As well as If India won't follow a neighborhood friendly policy then China will take the advantage of that and China will take membership of SAARC in near future as China is always supportive to the development of South Asian states while achieving the national interest of China.

When it comes to the US involvement in South Asia, it will rapidly grow in future if China started to establish their position in South Asia. As we already mentioned in current situation China and USA is very concern on South Asian region due to the strategic importance. As a result of that China and USA tries to involve in South Asian region throughout the indo Pakistan rivalry. China follows a pro-Pakistani policy while USA follows pro-India policy. The involvement of major powers will drag the internal matter of indo-Pakistan to a huge world war in near future to achieve the power and continue the hegemony of the world. It will directly affect to the regional integration of South Asia and as well as to the all-world.

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The Peace Building and Reconciliation Process of Democracy in the Post-Conflict in Sri Lanka

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Abstract

The Sri Lanka civil war was a process that had a profound effect on Sri Lanka. In this research, the process of peace building and reconciliation in Sri Lanka during the post-war period was studied. This research aims to evaluate the background to Sri Lanka's national peace during the post-war and the reconciliation of democracy in Sri Lanka. In addition, it attempts to understand the successful outcomes of national peace building and reconciliation in Sri Lanka's post-war context. The research objective is to study the background of Sri Lanka's national peace during the civil war and the reconciliation of democracy in Sri Lanka. It is a study of whether the peace building and reconciliation process in Sri Lanka is practically qualitative and the successful outcomes of national peace building and reconciliation in Sri Lanka's post-war context. Research methods are qualitative research based on Literature review, and mainly carried out by the reference of secondary sources such as statutes, international treaties, academic writings, journal articles, and sources. According to the research at the present, there is a successful outcome of building national peace and reconciliation. There is a religious influence in building peace and promoting reconciliation in Sri Lanka. Tt seems that Buddhist religious organizations are mainly involved in this. It focuses on promoting human rights in post-war Sri Lanka and the reconciliation of democracy and human rights promotion in the wake of the governance regimen presidents of 2009 and 2015. The obstacles to reconciliation and the positive and negative aspects of Sri Lanka's human rights were confirmed.

Keywords: *Peace Building, Reconciliation Process, Democracy, Post War Sri Lanka*

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Introduction

Policymakers, practitioners, and academics alike broadly consider reconciliation as a process centrally needed in societies emerging from violent conflicts. John Paul Lederach, a key very important scholar in the field of peace studies, speaks of conflict transformation as a holistic and multi-faceted approach to managing violent conflict in all its phases. (Vatican City: Caritas Internationalist, (2002) The term signifies an ongoing process of transformation from negative to positive relations, behaviour, attitudes, and structures. This approach to peace building not only tries to find solutions to the issues underlying the conflict, but also works to alter the structural elements that underlie the conflict as well as the adversary's relationships, which is what reconciliation is about. Reconciliation is complex as well as an in-depth process. Maintaining peace and building reconciliation can be seen primarily in a democratic state. Research and studies on post-war peace building and reconciliation in Sri Lanka are rare. Unilateral as well as multilateral interventions can be seen as a growing trend in maintaining peace, conflict resolution, and reconciliation in the aftermath of the civil war in Sri Lanka.

The quality roles of maintaining peace and reconciliation that came to power in Sri Lanka in 2009/2015 and 2015/2019 stand out. "Effective reconciliation is the best guarantee that the violence of the past will not return" (Bloomfield & Barnes, 2003). The link between reconciliation and democratization processes is largely acknowledged in the literature and is considered a mutually reinforcing relationship. Democracy enables greater societal reconciliation to take place via many routes, including increased civic engagement, rule of law, equality legislation, and the recognition of both the collective rights of minorities and the individual rights of citizens. However, although democracy building in war-torn societies is often correlated with peace and reconciliation processes, neither non-violent management of societal conflicts nor inter-communal coexistence can be achieved by simply 'launching' democracy. It has to be an ongoing process, especially in countries where oppression has been deep and lasting.

The trouble in Sri Lanka is coming forth in the basic agreement about reconciliation; its process and implementation are being challenged for lasting

peace. In Sri Lanka, on the one hand, reconciliation is seen as a social process, which seeks the co-existence of ethnic groups and the willingness to accept a shared future. On the other hand, reconciliation is an attempt by the government to transform institutional and constitutional means into greater status quo. However, such attempts seek how the people-to-people approach may have an impact on ethnic and religious harmony, responsible for multilingualism, social justice in societal levels have been clearly problematic. Initially, this research aims to evaluate the background of Sri Lanka's national peace during the post-war and the reconciliation of democracy in Sri Lanka. What are the successful outcomes of national peace building and reconciliation in Sri Lanka's post-war context and how did religious influence intervene to build peace and promote reconciliation in Sri Lanka? How did the 2009/2019 regimes work to promote human rights, peace, and reconciliation in Sri Lanka?

This study sheds light on a decisive debate on how reconciling justice becomes an essential topic, and when justice is executed as a pre-requisite to many focuses the problematic issues in peace building are eliminated. It expands its reach by examining various arguments related to national (state) and local approaches to peace building to implement justice in the reconciliation process in Sri Lanka. It is inconceivable to cover the rate of success of an actual reconciliation process without reviewing the wider issues at hand and studying them for potential consequences. It opens a critical debate to understand how the process of reconciliation in Sri Lanka, especially after the 2009 war, contributed to justice leading to positive peace. The main objectives of this research are to study the post war (2009-2019) national peace in Sri Lanka and Sri Lanka's democracy on reconciliation and to examine the quality of the peace building and reconciliation process in Sri Lanka. In addition, it studies the successful outcomes of nationally important national peace building and reconciliation, to study the factors that contributed to the building of reconciliation and peace in the post-war context of Sri Lanka and to promote peace building and reconciliation in Sri Lanka under the religious influence.

Methodology

As the research methodology, qualitative research methodologies were used, and a variety of data gathering apparatus (viz, direct observation, and documents) was used to accumulate data.

When we evaluate this study, it has used some fundamental methodologies to achieve the objectives of the study. The study has used qualitative secondary data retrieved from e-books, websites, books, journals, and magazines, research articles, and Academic articles to gather in-depth understandings. This study has used documentary analysis and conceptual analysis methods. The documentary analysis defines a form of qualitative research in which documents are interpreted by the study to give a fertility study. In the documentary analysis, it collects available documents and data which are related to the particular important study and interpret them to find out the specific main issue. The sources of data secondary in nature. The conceptual analysis is often based on a review of the design documentation. This can be further illustrated, such as a survey process that explores concepts for their level of development as revealed by their internal structure, usage, representativeness, and relation to other concepts. In addition, the use of direct citations in the study allows the researcher to accurately describe what is being evaluated. According to the research methodology, the design of the research with the broad questions formulated based on the data is based on the research survey. However, according to the methodology, it clearly explains the data collection method and analyses it for the research answer according to the questions (Ranjit, K., 1999). However, it will help to identify areas related to its cross-boundaries that will help answer the questions formulated according to the particular research. Semiotic studies were used to analyze the data.

Literature Review

Reconciliation: Conceptual Framework

Reconciliation means different things to different people. Its significance varies from culture to culture. It consolidates peace, breaks the cycle of violence, and strengthens newly established or reintroduced democratic

institutions. It is not an event, but a process and as such usually a difficult, long, and unpredictable one, involving various steps and stages.

There are three stages of reconciliation (International IDEA, 2003).

1. Replacing Fear by Nonviolent Coexistence - Without a minimum of physical security, there is no prospect of any progress along the path to reconciliation.

2. When Fear No Longer Rules: Building Confidence and Trust - The process requires that each party, both the victim and the offender, gain renewed confidence in himself or herself and each other.
3. Towards Empathy - Empathy comes with the victims' willingness to listen to the reasons for the hatred of those who caused their pain and with the offenders' understanding of the anger and bitterness of those who suffered.

Reconciliation is a complex term, and there is little agreement on its definition. Reconciliation is a parallel process that redesigns the relationship between us. "Effective reconciliation is the best guarantee that the violence of the past will not return" (Bloomfield & Barnes, 2003). It is not only a process: unfortunately, it is a long-term process. There is no quick fix to reconciliation. It takes time. In addition, it takes its own time: its pace cannot be dictated. It is also a deep process: it involves coming to terms with an imperfect reality which demands changes in our attitudes, our aspirations, our emotions, and feelings, perhaps even our beliefs. Such a profound change is a vast and often painful challenge, and cannot be rushed or imposed. Reconciliation is also a very broad process. It applies to everyone. It is not just a process for those who suffered directly and those who inflicted the suffering, central though those people are. The attitudes and beliefs that underpin violent conflict spread much more generally through a community and must be addressed at that broad level.

The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines reconciliation as 'The action of reconciling persons, or the result of this; the fact of being reconciled' (David Tombs). Seeking accuracy about the past is a vital step in the reconciliation process. Truth and justice are not separate from reconciliation: they are key parts of it (Bloomfield & Barnes, 2003). Daniel Bar-Tal, professor of

psychology at Tel Aviv University, Israel, defines reconciliation as "a psychological process for the formation of lasting peace" (Brounéus, 2003).

In this process, past rivals come to mutual recognition and acceptance, have invested interests and goals in developing peaceful relations, feel mutual trust, positive attitudes, as well as sensitivity and consideration of the other party's needs and interests. 31This transformation of beliefs, attitudes, and emotions regarding one's group, the others and the relationship between them, may take decades. Priscilla Hayner writes that "[re] conciliation implies building or re-building relationships today that is not haunted by the conflicts and hatreds of yesterday." A leading scholar and practitioner of conflict resolution, John Paul Lederach, defines reconciliation as being constituted by both "a focus and a locus". The focus of reconciliation is upon building new and better relationships between former enemies. Relationships are both the root cause and the long-term solution of the conflict according to Lederach. William J. Long, a professor at Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology suggests another definition of reconciliation. In his "forgiveness model", Long proposes that reconciliation is "mutually conciliatory accommodation between former antagonists" and part of the process of forgiveness. In a recent doctoral dissertation, Maria Ericson draws together current ideas of reconciliation among peace researchers and theologians and arrives at defining reconciliation as "the establishment of a positive and sustainable peace between people involved in armed conflict." IDEA defines reconciliation as "a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future".

Reconciliation is here seen as a problem-solving mechanism, an emotional process the mind has evolved, and adapting to the fact that conflict is part of human relations. It is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behavior into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace. Promoting justice and reconciliation are parts of post-conflict peacebuilding. Respect to the specific historical and cultural context of a conflict and a domestic reconciliation process is essential. Reconciliation is now clearly seen as a crucial dimension of conflict prevention.

At the same time, cultural heritage plays a key role in reconciliation. In post-conflict situations, cultural heritage often becomes a strong symbol and a tool for the rebuilding of communities, helping them actively to break the cycle of violence. The rebuilding of the Old Mostar Bridge, as well as the reconstruction of the Old Town of Warsaw, and the inscription of these two properties on the World Heritage List are symbolic creative acts of reconciliation and a way to come to terms with collective trauma (Preis and Mustea, 2003). As an ongoing process of political, economic, and cultural negotiation, peace requires constant engineering, vigilance, and active participation. It implies commitment and a long-term vision, and this entails a blend of traditional and contemporary ways of understanding the roots of conflicts, ways of mitigating violence, and paths towards reconciliation and healing.

Many countries have experienced the reconciliation process. We can briefly identify those processes in some countries. In Ireland, the government introduces the program that "Education for Reconciliation" (International IDEA, 2003). It is an educational framework designed to assist in the recovery of post-conflict societies. Since every conflict arises in a unique context, programs need to be devised - or adapted - to meet the specific psychological, political, social, and cultural circumstances in which the conflict, and therefore the recovery process, occurs (Brounéus, 2003). In South Africa, the program sees the church as one of the key actors for a process of reconciliation as it can provide both meeting places and spiritual rituals. Dealing with traumas in survivors and offenders and practical steps to change the many injustices caused by apartheid, are also seen as important components for reconciliation. The program aims inter Ali to assist important civil society actors in influencing political, traditional, and religious leaders to promote reconciliation in their communities, establish trust and communication between previously antagonistic groups through conflict resolution workshops, and bring the police and communities to work together.

Evolution of Reconciliation Framework in the Sri Lankan Context

Today in Sri Lanka, in the name of reconciliation, an escalation of ethnic polarization is unfolding, as the state strives to impose a Sinhala Buddhist hegemony over the Tamil areas (Rajamanoharan, 2012). Many initiatives for

reconciliation are happening through various branches of government. Apart from socio-economic and political initiatives, reconciliation requires the encouragement of pluralism and multi-culturalism. In Sri Lanka, reconciliation between the Sinhalese and Tamils is seen as one of all people adopting a 'Sri Lankan' identity. In principle, this need not be problematic as an inclusive identity of equal fosters mutual tolerance and a celebration of differences.

The Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) were a commission of inquiry appointed by Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksha in May 2010 after the 26-year-long civil war in Sri Lanka. The report provides a detailed analysis of the oral and written representations made to the commission. The last government was far too slow about this, though it is glad that they finally appointed a Disappearances Commission. However, the mandate of that Commission must be expanded and strengthened so that it can swiftly implement a process of restorative justice (Wijesinha, 2015).

Figure 01: Peace building and reconciliation framework in Sri Lanka

Source: Created by author, 2020

It is futile to talk about reconciliation without first examining the state of relationships needing reconciliation in the country. It is almost impossible to deal with the range of contradictory relationships in Sri Lanka. Any attempts to do so will be subjective, incomplete, and inconclusive. In this paper, it is only possible to outline a few relationships divides. The relationship between the majority Sinhala and minority Tamil communities have been affected by disputed historical grievances (claims of entitlements to the polity by the Sinhalese – 'Sinhadipa, Dhammadipa' concepts – and counterclaims of entitlements to traditional homelands by the Tamils), discriminatory legal and regulatory acts (citizenship, language, land settlement, and educational policies), sporadic and systematic violence (the ethnic pogrom of 1983), and periods of an open violent confrontation between the Liberation of Tamil Tigers of Eelam (LTTE) and the Government of Sri Lanka (GoSL).

Those communities (predominantly Tamil and Muslim) living in the North and East of the country have faced the brunt of open warfare, (death, injury, displacement, and severe underdevelopment), while those communities living in other parts of the country (majority Sinhala, but also Tamil and Muslim) have known the conflict through terrorist attacks, the loss of male kin enlisted in the armed forces and stalled economic development. The Muslim/Tamil and Muslim/Sinhala relationships have also been affected by the armed conflict, by acts of targeted violence against Muslims in the North and East, and by a growing alienation of the Muslim community in the most recent peace process. The fault lines between the three major communities are non-linear (they periodically exacerbate and ameliorate) and are fashioned by other factors such as geographic proximity, religion, gender, age, lived memory9, and of course individual and group experience. Quite apart from the inter-group relations, there are intragroup relations worthy of note. The Tamil community has deep fissures, the deepest among those groups that sanction or reject the means and/or the ends of the liberation struggle. Similarly, the Sinhala community stands divided, predominantly along with deep-seated party-political affinities. As with inter-ethnic relations, intra-ethnic relations are also fashioned by issues of religion, class, caste, gender, and language. There are a few other dynamics worthy of note in the context of this paper. First, the conflict narrative, as well as its lived memory, often refers back to the 'old days'; frequently to a pre-1956 era when the two main

communities co-existed in relative harmony. The younger generations (particularly the post-1983 generations that have only known the 'other' through the armed conflict) do not have a lived memory of positive co-existence and inter alia show higher potential for deep (ER) rooted animosities. Second, relational analysis in Sri Lanka leans less on the rhetoric of historical and deep-rooted ethnic differences and more on the systematic failure of the political elite to deliver a resolution to the problem. To that end, the interpersonal relationships between the different groups are largely conciliatory and turn antagonistic only when they intersect with the political. Some of the relationships have a greater opportunity for interaction (by democratic practices such as elections, the Parliament, etc.), While others have little or no space for the same.

The aforementioned relationship divides and dynamics lead to several conclusions. First, although the armed conflict is primarily between two groups, its resolution and reconciliation involve much more. Second, intragroup relationships may well be as fragmented as inter-group relations may. Third, political relationships impact group relations and political reconciliation hold the potential for facilitating a narrative of positive co-existence. Third, when strategizing for rebuilding relationships, it is important to acknowledge those existing spaces for dialogue and interaction (that must be capitalized on) and those that do not exist at present (that must be created). Fourth, protracted violence combined with a continued no resolution of core issues will deepen the interpersonal divide and in time transform the conflict into deep-seated animosities (the so-called 'Palestinization' of relationships). The challenge of rebuilding relationships in Sri Lanka will only grow more difficult with time.

Data Presentation and Analysis

The Peacekeeping Process (2002-2006)

The LTTE began to declare their readiness to consider measures for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. One of the reasons for this action may have been the fear of international pressure and the direct support of the US from the Sri Lankan government in the "war on terrorism". As well, the covert operations of the Sri Lankan Army's Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol (LRRP) have

had a profound impact on the Tiger command structure. During this period, Vaithilingam Sornalingam aka Shankar, considered the right-hand man of the LTTE leader Prabhakaran, and several other high-ranking leaders were pursued and killed by LRRP units.

In the South, the government is increasingly criticized for its "war for peace" strategy, peace out of sight and the crumbling economy. Following the loss of a vote of non-confidence, President Kumaratunga was forced to dissolve Parliament and call for new elections. The elections, held on 5 December 2001, were marked by a resounding victory for the United National Front, led by Ranil Wickremasinghe, who campaigned for peace and committed to finding a negotiated settlement to the conflict.

On December 19, amidst Norway's efforts to bring the government and the Tamil Tigers to the negotiation table, the LTTE announced a ceasefire. The 30-day fire with the Sri Lankan government and the commitment to halt all attacks against government forces. The new government welcomed this decision and responded two days later, announcing a one-month cease-fire and agreeing to lift a longstanding economic embargo on rebel-held territory. The ceasefire was very unacceptable to everybody. The Buddhist monks began to burn the Norwegian flags and agitated against the ceasefire and ultimately formed a political party, Jathika Hela Urumaya, with extremist views. The signature of the MoU.

Table 01: Sri Lankan Government to LTTE Peace Negotiations

Session	Period	Location
1	16-18 of September 2002	Sat Tahip Naval Base, Phuket, Thailand
2	October 31, 2002 to November 3, 2002	Hotel Rose Garden, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand
3	2-5 of December 2002	Radisson SAS Square Hotel, Oslo, Norway
4	January6-9, 2003	Hôtel Rose Garden, Nakhon Pathom, Thailand

5	7-8February 2003	Ambassador of Norway, Berlin, Germany
6	18-21March 2003	Halcyon Prince Hotel, Kanagawa, Tokyo

Source: Humanitarian Operation – Factual Analysis, (July 2006 – May 2009); Ministry of Defence (Sri Lanka)

The two parties formalized a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on 22 February 2002 and signed a Permanent Ceasefire Agreement (FAC). Norway was appointed mediator, and it was decided that they, together with the other Nordic countries, would monitor the ceasefire through a committee of experts called the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission. In August, the government agreed to remove the LTTE ban and paved the way for the resumption of direct negotiations with the LTTE.

LTTE Sea Tiger Patrols through Peace

Following the signing of the ceasefire agreement, commercial air flights to Jaffna began and the LTTE opened the key A9 highway, which linked the government-controlled area in the south with Jaffna and ran through LTTE territory, allowing civilian traffic through the Vanni region for the first time in many years (but only after paying a tax to the LTTE). Many foreign countries have also provided substantial financial support if peace is achieved and optimism has increased at the end of decades of conflict is in sight.

The long-awaited peace talks started in Phuket, Thailand, followed by more rounds in Thailand, Norway, Germany and Japan. During the talks, both sides accepted the principle of a federal solution and the Tigers abandoned their longstanding claim for a separate state. It was a major compromise by the LTTE, which had always advocated an independent Tamil state. It also represented a compromise on the part of the government, which rarely accepted more than a minimum amount of devolution. Both sides also traded POW's for the first time.

Sri Lanka and the UN Refugee Agency

The Sri Lankan activist community, of which I am a part, remains heavily invested in human rights discourse and international human rights instruments and engaged in international processes designed to hold governments accountable for their commitments under UN Conventions. I would say that this investment is not because we do not know there are gaps in the process, but rather because these limited processes still offer the strategic opportunity to make changes.

However, regardless of these successes, it is worth considering whether too much effort is being devoted to these processes, to the detriment of other possible strategies. On 1 October 2015, during the 40th session of the UN Human Rights Council (UNHCR), UNHCR adopted resolution 30 (1), co-sponsored by the governments of the US and Sri Lanka. In that resolution, the Sri Lankan government committed itself to four mechanisms for reconciliation. These mechanisms include "a commission for truth, justice, reconciliation and non-recurrence, an office of missing persons and an office for reparations," and "a judicial mechanism with a special advocate to investigate allegations of infringements and abuses of human rights and infringements of international humanitarian law."

Resolution 30 (1) was drafted following the euphoric change following the January 2015 presidential elections in Sri Lanka, where President Maithripala Sirisena defeated Mahinda Rajapaksa. It is an election, which many citizens of Sri Lanka believe to have influenced. Civil society activists and members of various Muslim communities across the country believe that it was their activism and engagement that led to change. In that first year of euphoric elections, anything seemed possible. When Resolution 30 (1) was drafted, it was as if the maximalist vision of human rights activists on reconciliation, and the search for the truth was also endorsed by the newly elected political elites of the country.

The state's public consultations, both with respect to the UNHCR mediated transitional justice process and the constitutional reform processes, were also welcomed as steps in the right direction towards greater democracy, It was the promise of the new regime. These consultation processes were included in

what was agreed in Resolution 30/1. Both processes were masterfully led by civil society militants recruited for this purpose. These were transformative experiences for those involved, but they also threatened their legitimacy within the communities they worked with. In those days, the risk seemed to be valid. At the grassroots level, the participating public has recognized and appreciated the government's unprecedented commitment to consultation.

The Sri Lankan Reconciliation Process

The process of reconciliation in Sri Lanka demands an analysis with a solid understanding of all the destruction caused by the civil war and the circumstances that caused the civil war to spread for about thirty years. The number of direct and indirect war-related causes, deaths, property losses, remaining refugees, LTTE veterans, and overall psychological and economic losses becomes an important issue for critical consideration. These are directly or indirectly the reasons for injustices in society. Based on statistics published by the Government Census and Statistics Service (2012), it is estimated that 6,858 people died between January and May 2009, the first five months of 2009. According to the Uppsala Conflict Data Program, the death toll in Sri Lanka peaked in 2009. According to the United Nations Office for Humanitarian Coordination, between 80,000 and 100,000 people died during the years 1983-2009 (United Nations, 2012). Over the same period, thousands of people have been displaced within the country. The economic consequences enunciated by Saman Kelagama (1999) show how the war had caused the country a "tremendous economic cost" in terms of investment and cost of production, not to mention the psychological damage caused by the incalculable war (as reported in Rotberg 1999).

However, with post-war recoveries in Sri Lanka, important economic, social and political progress has been made. These rehabilitation and reintegration programs from 2009 to 2011 played a significant role in the peacebuilding process. Reintegration programs have shown different approaches to national peace employed in the country. These rehabilitation programs focused on war victims, captured combatants and the perpetrators of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (hereinafter called the LTTE) during the Third World War Elam and the Fourth World War Elam. In these programs, the total number of rehabilitated individuals was 12,167 in 2013, while the total number of

reintegrating individuals was 11,002 (Office of the Commissioner General for Rehabilitation, Sri Lanka, 2014). In addition, the total number of relocations of communities of conflict in the northern and eastern provinces was 232,828 families and 796,342 individuals at the end of May 2015 (Ministry of Resettlement, 2015).

While these reconciliation programs have resulted in a significant number of rehabilitations and relocations, in 2011, the Lessons Learned and Reconciliation Commission (hereinafter referred to as the LLRC) had recommended a legal and political solution for an enduring peace. To implement these decisions, the government established a National Action Plan (NAP) in 2012 to carry out the mission. In addition, the 2012 National Reconciliation Policy proposed a multi-ethnic, multiparty and local solution. In addition, the National Policy Framework for Social Integration of Sri Lanka seeks ethnic coexistence and the necessary social commitments among the three (03) main ethnic groups of the island. More importantly, the Paranagama Commission created in August 2013 and the Paranagama Report produced in 2015 called for an independent judicial inquiry into war crimes. This Commission reinstated the concerns of the LLRC regarding the state's actions in the matter of crime and missing persons, and the government created a special commission known as the Presidential Commission to Investigate Missing Persons Complaints. In addition, state institutions and political institutions since 2015 are numerous to answer the question left behind on reconciliation. Among some of the key institutions, i.e., National Unity and Reconciliation Bureau (ONUR) in 2016 and draft National Reconciliation Policy and departmental portfolios such as the Department of National Integration and Reconciliation and the Department of National Dialogue on Coexistence and National Languages. The Secretariat for the Coordination of the Reconciliation Mechanism attached to the Office of the Prime Minister has taken on the oversight of the Office of Missing Persons, the Truth, Justice, Reconciliation and Reconstruction, The Legal Mechanism and the Office of Reparations.

The problem in Sri Lanka is apparent in the basic agreement on how difficult justice issues relevant to the reconciliation process contribute less to structural changes for positive peace. Although structural changes mean the

establishment of a wide variety of social justice, the removal of cultural barriers and the encounter with human rights, the question of successful reconciliation in Sri Lanka remains largely overlooked. These crucial issues lead the country into a trapped position, as the authors point out. The trap is the lack of distribution of social and economic resources, the unique unsupervised problems of war crimes, missing persons, truth and healing processes, and aspects related to reparation and transition justice. Moreover, the trap will be stuffier due to bad political orientations. The problem was compounded when reconciliation, in other words, National and grassroots as a whole contributes less towards generating a common consensus over a type of Sri Lankan reconciliation process. These questions, therefore, about people's lives (aggressor and victim both inclusively) and at the community level expand the problem. In addition, the twofold model of reconciliation in Sri Lanka, i.e., a social process that seeks coexistence among ethnic groups and the will to accept a common future, and reconciliation as an attempt by the government to transform institutional and constitutional means for a greater status- What we have is the addition of several means to local debates. However, such attempts attempt to depict how a people-to-people approach may have an impact on ethnic and religious harmony, responsible for plurilingualism, social harmony, equality of rights and equity in broader social choices become blurred. This covers a broad range of social inequities. The corresponding unequal choices and limited resources to achieve appropriate justice at the individual and societal levels hamper positive peace. Alternatively, the number of policies, institutional, institutions and related national consultation processes is less collective for better allocation of resources and implementation of decisions through a workforce-- related to national objectives.

Post War Reconciliation in Sri Lanka

End of the war, there was an expectation that reconciliation would cause amongst the communities and political settlement in Sri Lanka. By the end of the war, Sri Lanka became divided into two regimes. The former is the regime of Mahinda Rajapaksha; the latter is the regime of Maithripala Sirisena.

Reconciliation in the System of Mahinda Rajapaksa

After the victory over the LTTE in 2009 in a famous speech following the Sri Lankan armed forces, Ex. President Mahinda Rajapaksa issued the following statement: "We removed the word "minorities" from our vocabulary 3 years ago. It is no longer Tamil, Muslim, Burghers, Malaysians and other minorities. There are just two people in the country. First of all, the people who love this country. The other includes small groups who dislike the land of their birth" (Bune, 2013). He made high expectations of the local population and of the international communities as Ex. The chair would make reconciliation in Sri Lanka. However, President Mahinda Rajapaksa jumped for reconciliation by putting more emphasis on infrastructure development.

Sri Lanka's government has made significant investments in improving connectivity. All the main roads are restored. These include primary roads, provincial roads and rural roads. The total investment in the highway sector amounts to Rs. 75,071 mg. Three important bridges were destroyed by the LTTE throughout the war. For instance, the Mannar Bridge, the Sangupitty Bridge and the Aruvi Aru Bridge have been rebuilt thanks to massive government investments. Rehabilitation of the northern railway system began with a US$650 million loan from the Indian government (Ministry of Defence 2013). In addition, it has tried to develop the national economy with megaprojects such as the international airport Mahinda Rajapaksa, Expand of the port of Colombo, port of Hambanthota. Some places are also identified as a strong economy area.

The international community demanded a non-partisan Truth and Reconciliation Commission (T&R) to investigate human rights violations at the end of the war. To relax the pressure of the international community; ex. the Lessons Learnt Reconciliation Commission (LLRC), was established to advance reconciliation in Sri Lanka (The Guradian, 2015). It investigated violations committed during the war, in particular from 2002 to 2009. Though that Ex. The government did not want to act on the recommendation in that report. As such, the government has faced a number of political, economic and diplomatic challenges from the international community. There is a large military presence in the North and East, especially in comparison with other parts of the country (Satkunanathan, 2013). The military is influenced in all

civilian activities and individuals are threatened. They have no independent function.

The main obstacle to reconciliation in post-war Sri Lanka is the emergence of Sinhala Buddhist hegemony groups like Bodu Bala Sena, Ravana Balaya, and Sihala Urumaya. They targeted minority communities in particular, Muslims. We can see certain incidents such as Aluthgama violence, hijab issues, halal issues and attacks against mosques in previous regimes (Farook, 2014). The government was responsible for controlling those groups, except the Ex. The government had no intention of controlling them. The result was another ethnic conflict between Muslims and Sinhalese in Sri Lanka. The Sri Lankan people, particularly minorities, were fed up with the government and the relationship between north and south were not a good deal. In the regime of Mahinda Rajapaksa, the efforts that can bring about reconciliation between societies in Sri Lanka have not been sufficient. Because those efforts were made by the majority or the party in power without support from the minorities.

Reconciliation in the System of Maithiripala Sirisena

At the start of 2015, through the victory of the presidential election, Maithiripala Sirisena was sworn in as President of Sri Lanka on 9 January 2015. It also helps to bring about reconciliation. In the presidential election, TNA backed Maithripala Sirisena. TNA leader R. Sampanthan has been appointed opposition leader in Parliament. Sampanthan is the second Tamil politician since A. Amirthalingam will be appointed as opposition leader in Sri Lanka. It is an essential symbol of reconciliation in Sri Lanka during the regime of President Maithiripala Sirisena. As a result, the government's relationship with the NAT is peaceful (Ada Derana, 2015). Moreover, the theme of this regime is that Good Governance, the national hymn was sung in both Sinhala and Tamil languages the 68th Independence Day and investigation of the Missing Persons Commission, FCID is an honorable symbol of the regime for establishing peace and reconciliation in Sri Lanka.

President Maithiripala Sirisena awaits a political resolution through the new constitution. Through the new constitution, it waits for the sharing of power in the unitary method. Shortly after coming to power, President Maithiripala

Sirisena took further action to implement reconciliation among the communities of Sri Lanka. Compared to former President Mahinda Rajapaksa's reconciliation process, President Maithiripala Sirisena's reconciliation process includes some measure in a good way. Although it must make more processes to be implemented in constructive reconciliation in Sri Lanka.

Challenges for Reconciliation in Sri Lanka

Reconciliation is defined by the Hebrew root word 'Tikun Olam' which means a three-part process of Healing, Mending, and Transforming. To HEAL the impact of tribal or ethnic division, civil war and violence, a process of recognizing the wrongs committed is essential. History has shown that ignored grievances will ultimately destroy the potential of sustainable peace. Authentic reconciliation and healing are impossible without fairness and equality. It is an essential requirement of reconciliation (Lederach, 2003). To repair the structures, it is necessary to ensure that these wounds will not recur in today's society and that there is resistance to structural violence. Transformation consists in creating a national identity and a sense of belonging for everyone. An environment where no one is placed in a position where he or she feels "second-class citizen" because of his or her ethnic origin, religion, sex or socio-economic status. It is not an easy job.

According to the ICG Asian Report (2011), reconciliation in Sri Lanka faces many challenges. The task of reconciling ethnic communities in Sri Lanka is daunting. The policies of the last government since the end of the war have only compounded the situation. It will take years for Sinhalese, Tamils and Muslims to fully understand one another's experiences and concerns. What is essential in the short term is to prevent further damage to relations and to create the conditions upon which reconciliation can be based. The challenges of reconciliation in Sri Lanka are many. We still have a gap between the north and the south of Sri Lanka. The government seldom tries to amend the bill.

In this context, when the national anthem is sung in the Tamil language, it came as a shock to the people of Hambantota, and likely elsewhere, and is considered another anti-national initiative to placate the international community. Former President Mahinda Rajapaksa criticized the decision to

sing in Tamil, saying the anthem should be sung in just one language. Such attitude and mentality within the national people are the great barrier to reconciliation (Perera, 2016).

In spite of the overwhelming resistance of the Sinhalese community, Sri Lankan Tamils are demanding the (international) investigation. In the meantime, for the past six years, Tamils have shown no interest in reconciliation. Their political leaders did not take any meaningful steps to promote reconciliation. So why would they support an international investigation? They see it as an opportunity to punish members of the military, and decision-makers who participated in the final phase of the war. They would not be interested in the inquiry if they believed that the proposed process would promote reconciliation. (Keethaponcalan, 2015). Most Tamil minorities have, hopefully not under the previous government and the current government.

The weakening of local capacity in the North and East (first by the LTTE and now by the government) severely reduces the chances of reconciliation. Unless control of day-to-day activities – from holding meetings to buying vegetables to attending university – is restored to the population and civilian leaders, communities will continue to be fearful and divided. Development, especially, must be done with the help of the local population and without military intervention. That should be the focus of donors. Sometimes northerners and easterners feel that they are living under military rule.

Some statistics on violence against children in conflict zones. According to a 2002 UN report, since 1990, more than two million children have been killed due to armed conflict in the previous decade and more than six million have been disabled. Research shows that violence is increasingly the cause of death among young people. It is the largest cause of death among young people in the world. Investing in youth to resist extremist ideas, make more judicious and non-violent choices, and invest their energy in peace and reconciliation is vital to change. If young people are not helped to direct their attention to positive ends, they will also end up being the prey of extremist groups that seek to use them for their violent ends (Philpott, 2006). In the Sri Lankan history of reconciliation, youth has rarely been involved in the process. Youth

discrimination in reconciliation should be eliminated with a view to improving reconciliation.

Sri Lanka has been plagued by a lack of responsibility for decades. Accountability efforts will undermine national justice capacities or operate in the hands of nationalists (ICG-Asia Report, 2011). Sinhalese nationalists or majorities still oppose international involvement in human rights violations in the final phase of the war. As a result, minorities believe that they cannot obtain positive solutions from the national survey. They put the emphasis on international investigations.

International partners can significantly affect the country's trajectory after the war. Both the West and the East have an important role to play in supporting Sri Lanka's progress towards reconciliation. They are focused on human rights protection. Sometimes they do not like helping Sri Lanka when they are not very concerned about the protection of human rights. The EU decided on the GSP+ for Sri Lanka for the period in question until it improved somewhat.

Ethnic warfare in Sri Lanka ended through military means in 2009. The West is part of the conflict and the peace process. Most western states tacitly endorsed the war efforts or remained silent. They opted for an end to the rebels. In their view, such an approach would facilitate the resolution of the ethnic conflict and would help them remain relevant to Sri Lanka. Both did not occur because the Rajapaksa government refused to address the political concerns of the Tamils and moved strongly towards a bloc consisting of China, Russia and Iran (Keethaponcalan, 2015). For this reason, the Western world is acting against Sri Lanka within the UNCHR. It leads to greater fragmentation of Sri Lankan societies and a wrong direction in the reconciliation process.

Therefore, sponsored by some of the leading western states, a series of resolutions have been adopted by the UN Human Rights Council (UNHCR) since 2012. The resolutions required a credible, preferably international, investigation into allegations of violations of international human rights and humanitarian law. Western states that supported these resolutions maintain that a mechanism for investigating suspected violations has been recommended, solely to promote "reconciliation and accountability" in Sri

Lanka. (Keethaponcalan, 2015). Although Sri Lanka has named the LLRC, not all of the recommendations in that report are properly implemented. The government wants more time in terms of implementation.

Therefore, any meaningful reconciliation project in Sri Lanka should focus on the socio-political issues that led to the conflict. Truth commissions and investigations should be introduced as additional mechanisms because they alone will not promote reconciliation, not just in Sri Lanka, but elsewhere in the world (Keethaponcalan, 2015).

Conclusion

Current research indicates that the construction of national peace and reconciliation is bearing fruit. Religious influence exists in the building of peace and the promotion of reconciliation in Sri Lanka. In addition, it seems that Buddhist religious organizations are primarily involved in this. However, the military security process in the northern Tamil regions is perceived as the maintenance of reconciliation and peace and the maintenance of a strategic process to resolve the Sinhalese-Tamil ethnic conflict and resolve the conflict. At the same time, the reconciliation process appears to have made an important contribution to the international impact of human rights during the 2009-2015 regime and to the elimination of this challenge. This shows that the dual regimes that came to power after the war played an important role in maintaining peace and reconciliation in the country. Accordingly, one can identify some of the key mechanism that led to the building and maintenance of peace and reconciliation in Sri Lanka during the periods of 2009/2015 and 2015/2019. Amendment to the constitution in the building of community trust, human rights, and democratization have promoted reconciliation, peaceful elections and the use of social media to promote peace and reconciliation. In a more constructive manner, the media, in particular initiatives aimed at peace and peace building, are called to support the change of attitude, to contribute to changing the perception of 'others' and to facilitate reconciliation among divided groups. To that end, media professionals can be encouraged to further cover peace building and conflict resolution efforts, including reconciliation and inspiring stories of personal transformation. Moreover, research indicates that the media and influential religious groups play an important role in the construction of peace and reconciliation.

Reconciliation, Responsibility and International Human Rights in Sri Lanka After 2015, Sri Lanka actively and broadly engaged in transitional justice, with international actors. This international engagement, however, has not been accompanied by national progress and extensive public engagement on reconciliation and accountability issues. Both government and civil society have invested too much in 'international' engagement to the detriment of 'local' engagement, thereby losing an opportunity to build lasting confidence, accountability and institutional reform. It emphasizes the promotion of human rights in post-war Sri Lanka and the reconciliation of democracy and the promotion of human rights in the wake of the 2009 and 2015 presidents' governance regime. Moreover, the challenges of reconciliation and the positive and negative aspects of human rights in Sri Lanka have been confirmed.

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The Use and Progress of Human Rights Based Abandonment Approach to Abolish FGM Practices in Africa

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Abstract

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is the practice of total or partial removal of female genital organs for non-medical purposes. It violates the Human Rights of girls and women. Compared to other regions, the prevalence of FGM in Africa remains high. Eradicating efforts in Africa have generally been difficult due to religious beliefs, social pressure and low rates of education and poverty. Therefore, the African region has been chosen as the scheme of study for this research. The central focus of this study is diverted to understand the human rights violations occurred through the practice of FGM. Many abolishment approaches have been used to eradicate FGM from Africa. The Health approach, legal approach, human rights approach, alternative rites approach and community-based approaches are some of them. The Human Rights and community-based approaches proved more productive when they were used collaboratively. Many scholars have stated this idea but the studies on the most effective bridging methods were not given any proper attention. Therefore, this research focuses on understanding the most successful bridging methods, to connect human rights and community-based approaches for the elimination of FGM from Africa. This research is a qualitative case study. Secondary data has been used to prove the hypothesis of the study. Literature regarding the topic was found through desk research and the objectives were acquired through putting the relevant data in the most applicable data first basis, by subjecting them into rigorous reading and analysis.

Keywords: *Female Genital Mutilation, Human Rights, Abandonment Approaches, Human Rights Approach, Africa*

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Introduction

World Health Organization came up with a universal definition for FGM in 2008. According to WHO, "Female genital mutilation (FGM) involves the partial or total removal of external female genitalia or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons." There are three types of FGM methods found in the world. All of these methods are proven as medical risks. (UNICEF, 2016). The type I of FMG which is known as Clitoridectomy, Type 2 known as Excision, Type 3 or infibulation (WHO. 2008) are those types. All types of FGM is equally harmful and would result in immediate and long-term complications. The absence of the antiseptic and anesthetic methods are the reasons behind these complications. Most of the times these operations are performed by traditional circumcisers who lacks the practice and hygiene in the process.

FGM still has a steady prevalence rate across the world, approximately 125 million girls from 29 countries all across the world, still undergo FGM each year. (Koski and Haymann, 2017). FGM is legally banned in most of European countries, but there are occasions where the migrant communities secretly perform FGM undercover. WHO has reported that, 30 million girls are at risk of becoming victims of FGM in the next decade starting from 2017 (African Impact, 2018). When comparing to other regions African region has a concerning prevalence rates in FGM. Eight African countries have an FGM/C incidence of more than 80%. Among them Somalia has the highest incidence of 98%, followed by, Djibouti, and Egypt with an incidence of more than 90% and Eritrea, Mali, Sierra Leone and Sudan with an incidence of more than 80% (Obiora. Maree and Mafutha, 2020). Some African countries like Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Nigeria and Senegal maintain incidence rates under 50%, but no country in the African region have been successful in complete abolishment of FGM up to the date. Comparing to other parts of the world, the total eradication of FGM is hard in Africa, the underdeveloped and mediocre nature of the most African countries support the continuation of this practice. Therefore, this paper will be majorly focusing on African region as its scheme of analysis when it comes to the progress of eradicating FGM.

FGM is undoubtedly recognized as a harmful practice and it definitely violates many human rights of girls and women. In many occasions, this practice

results in death and violates the right to life above all the human right violations. FGM is recognized as a painful surgery and this alone violates the right to freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment. The standard and the quality of life immediately degrades when women are victimized to FGM. "Many of the United Nations human rights treaty monitoring bodies have addressed female genital mutilation in their concluding observations on how States are meeting their treaty obligations." (UNISEF, 2020). This paper will provide a moderate analysis on how FGM violates the aforementioned human rights.

Finally, this paper will be narrowed down to explain the use of Abandonment approach as a method of eliminating FGM from Africa. When it comes to Africa, different abolishment approaches have been used for the prevention of FGM time to time. Abandonment approaches such as; Human rights approach, legal approach, alternative rites approach and comprehensive social development approach, have been used in the process of the eradication of FGM from Africa. Among these approaches, human rights-based abolishment approach has achieved a great significance in the process of eliminating this practice from Africa. This study will provide an in-depth analysis about the effectiveness of human rights based abandonment approach when it is used in Africa as an FGM prevention mechanism.

Methodology

The study, which has been brought out in this paper, is predominantly based on qualitative methodology. The data and information that has been used to bring out the hypothesis were secondary data, retrieved mostly through desktop research. Online Journals, News Paper articles, books and video-based documentary was used as the main sources of Information. The secondary data that has been used in the paper were available on the Internet. The data was analysed according to the standard secondary data analysing methods. First through primary reading, the research question was determined and the hypothesis of the study was constructed. As the next step, the located data was filtered through rigorous reading, and the relevant and necessary data was recognized. As the final step, the retrieved data was placed into an order as most relevant data first basis and those data was carefully analysed for the assessment of the hypothesis of the study.

Literature Review

Literature and findings about the topic of Female Genital mutilation was only available after it gained the attention of the western world in the middle of 20th century. FGM considered as a tabooed topic among the people who practice it. The topic of FGM obtained attention when it was transited to western countries. People who have migrated to western countries from the countries of Africa and Middle East where there is a high prevalence rate of FGM started to secretly infibulate their daughters. When authorities and law discovered the gravity of this inhumane and brutal tradition, they started to take immediate steps to abolish this practice from their nations. This inaugurated a universal conversation. As Western governments have become more aware of FGM/C among some immigrant communities, legislation has been implemented as the main intervention tool (Leye et al., 2007). Many International Organizations including the United Nations started to openly address this issue. The literature and researches based on the topic of FGM can be mostly found after the interventions of international and regional organizations and activists.

Using the term "mutilation" for this practice has caused a controversial situation. According to Shell Duncan and (Duncan, 2008) the term "mutilation" was firstly introduced by the initial activists who started the conversation regarding the practice. They believed this would be more accurate as a term since the practice involves definitive and irremediable removal of a healthy organs and it was the exact definition of the term "mutilation". However, an oppression emerged from the African community itself for the use of this word. Duncan believed this controversy about terms would not help in the efforts of eradicating this practice from Africa. Hence, Shell Duncan encourages using a less contentious term, 'cutting' which also emphasize the weight of the practice the same time. She also mentioned the use of human right tools as an effective method for the eradication of FGM. Most of the papers written in the field of FGM had its very essence from Duncan's findings.

Many sources of literature can be found on the abandonment approaches of FGM. Most of the scholars have analyzed the effectiveness and progress of each approach. (Mutesh J and Sass J, 2006) have conducted a study on

abandonment approaches and their effectiveness. They have chosen eight abandonment approaches to analyze and measure their effectiveness. According to these scholars among all the approaches, human rights and social development approaches have showed results that are more successful. They have stated that approaches aimed at training and converting circumcisers have not been successful. Laws criminalizing FGM are not unlikely to change the traditions, legal approaches more likely encourages the underground methods of FGM. According to them, the cultural roots and enduring nature of the practice require using more than one approach for the abolishment of FGM. This may include using several different approaches simultaneously. (Rigmor C and Berg , 2012), have done a similar study as the aforementioned one and it also have concluded the idea of the combined use of abandonment approaches and the effectiveness of Human right approach. However, both these studies have not mentioned about a method or a system that combines the approaches or how they should be connected to obtain the most effective results.

Writers and researches who have been working on the studies of FGM synchronously believe that FGM is an immense human right violation. (Beth D. Williams-Breault, 2018) have written about the rights that are subjected to violation through FGM. These writers have described how FGM could be systematically eradicated through educating the community about human rights violations. These scholars have stressed the importance of human rights-based programs to foster the empowerment of women. However, these writings do not specifically mention a method on how the knowledge of human rights could be utilized to abolish FGM from Africa. It is clear that, human right based approach cannot stand alone without the help of other abolishment approaches. Therefore, other abolishment approaches should be used in sync with human right approach to get the planned results. As a method of getting people more effectively involved in the process of eradicating FGM, they should be educated on the schemes of their human right privileges.

Data Presentation and Analysis

Female Genital Mutilation can be recognized as a harmful practice that violates many women and child based human rights. It generally results in

dire consequences because of its violent nature. The process of FGM can be identified as a traditional norm or a custom that has been passed down over the generations. In most occasions, FGM is performed by a traditional practitioner, by an elderly woman in the tribe or a barber. In some occasions, authorized medics are performing FGM. This is known as "medicalization of FGM/C". In this scenario, any type of a healthcare provider conducts FGM in a public or private facility. However, UNFPA have thoroughly warned there is no absolute safe way of performing FGM (UNICEF, 2016) Basically, FGM involves slicing off or removing all or part of a woman's clitoris and labia as part of a ceremony that is often conducted around the time that the woman reaches puberty. This practice has no age limits. The practice is mostly performed on girls between the ages of 0 and 15 years (Yagoub, Satii and Elhakim, 2017). According to many recent statistics, most women have undergone FGM before reaching 15 years old or within their teenage years (Duncan, 2008). In several countries, more than 50 percent of women have experienced FGM before the age of five. According to a report presented by Ekenze et al. (2007), in most regions of Africa, the average age of conferring to FGM was 3.5 years.

As many reports prove, socioeconomic factors play a major role when deciding the prevalence rates of FGM in Africa. According to them, factors such as education level, residence area, wealth quintile directly affects the prevalence rates. This can be proved from the statistics of Kenya (Yagoub, Satii and Elhakim, 2017), where, 58% person of less educated women undergo FGM while 9% of well-educated women become victims of FGM. By residence, women in rural areas are more likely to undergo FGM than women in urban areas. In Egypt 90% of the rural women experience FGM when only 77% of the urban women go through FGM (Khazan, 2015). Economic gap is another important fact that decides the prevalence ratio of FGM. Normally women from rich household backgrounds less likely to go through FGM comparing to the women who are from poor economic backgrounds.

It is estimated that around 130 million women in the world have undergone FGM (Dunn, 2018). With the interventions and numerous prevention actions that has been taken by organizations and activists, the number of victims is

being stagnated. Even under that condition, about 3 million girls and women are still under the risk of being victims of FGM. The practice of FGM is more commonly used in Africa, Middle East and some areas of Asia. Comparing to these regions, the prevalence rates in Africa surprisingly remains high. Even in Africa, the prevalence of FGM widely differs by the regions and varieties of ethnic groups. FGM is most commonly performed in the countries located near Atlantic coast to horn of Africa, these countries include, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria, Sudan, Kenya, Burkina Faso, Mali, Tanzania, Guinea, Somalia, Kenya, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Uganda and Central African Republic. The prevalence rates varies from 98% in Somalia as the highest rate to 1% in Uganda as the lowest rate (Yagoub, Satii and Elhakim, 2017).

It is important to identify why FGM still happens in Africa and reasons for its continuation. Mainly religious beliefs, individual or personal beliefs, and social beliefs contributes for the prevalence and continuation of FGM in the African region. A common misconception is that, FGM is supported from the religions such as Islam or Christianity. FGM is not mandated or encouraged in any of the holy books of these religions. According to the statistics of many researches, 60% of women in Eritrea, 30% in Guinea, 19% in Mali, and 29% in Mauritania reported FGM to be required by religion. (Khazan, 2015). These beliefs strictly hinder the abolishment efforts of FGM.

Most of the African women personally believes and justifies FGM as an act done to maintain the cleanliness and purity of women. According to the statistics, 17% of women in Guinea, 21% of women in Mali, and 13% of women who had heard of FGM in Eritrea and Mauritania is believing that getting into FGM would help them to stay clean and hygiene. (Tandawuya, 2018) Another belief among African women about FGM is that FGM would make their genital organs more beautiful, most of the African women follow these false beliefs and willingly undergo through the process of FGM (Shmoker, 2015). FGM mostly happens to girls who are getting into the age of adolescence. According to most of the traditional norms of African societies, FGM considers as a symbol of adulthood. They believe that through circumcision the virginity of young girls would be protected until they get married. Social beliefs can be identified as another reason for the continuation and prevalence of FGM in Africa. Many African women believes that FGM

is customary or that it passes down from a generation to another generation as a tradition (Obiyora, Maree and Mafutha, 2016). Many researchers who has done researches in the field of FGM has identified these aforementioned factors as motivating factors of FGM.

The practice of FGM violates many human rights. The right to life, survival and development, right of not getting subjected in to any type of torture, rights of freedom from all types of gender discriminations, rights to health, life and to physical integrity, rights of child and woman and right to be heard and the issue of consent are some of the rights that gets violated through the practice of FGM. Above all the other human rights, the right to life and survival is so profusely violated through the practice. FGM may violate a women's right to life at the time of the procedure or because of complications later in life. FGM would also increase the chance of neo-natal or newborn deaths among the children of women who have been subjected to the practice. Entitlement of this right is recognized in many HR conventions including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Apart from that, the right to life and survival in the practice of FGM is recognized in the articles of Convention on the Rights of the Child and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child as well. (McCauly and Borek, 2019). The right of not getting discriminated has been enshrined in many HR instruments including, Universal Declaration of Human Right, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights.

The practice of FGM represents an act of gender discrimination by controlling the sexuality of women and restraining them from equal enjoyment of rights. FGM can be recognized as a massive gender discrimination in Africa because men don't undergo a similar procedure, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women and Convention on the Rights of the Child also have recognized the equal rights of people without any sexual discrimination. The act of FGM violates the right of freedom from all types of gender discrimination that has been protected from all the aforementioned HR instruments.

Many regional and international human right instruments emphasizes the fact that children should have all the opportunities to develop physically in a healthy way, receive adequate medical attention and be protected from

all forms of violence, injury or abuse. Many instruments including the Convention on the Rights of the Child stresses that "traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children" must be abolished. (McCauly, Borek, 2019). FGM can be recognized as a traditional practice that is mostly done to children under the age of 18. FGM mostly happen without the consent of the victim, therefor it also violates the right to be heard and the issue of consent. Generally, the practice of FGM challenges many HR instruments dedicated in protecting the aforementioned human rights. Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Convention on the Rights of the Child can be recognized among those instruments. The United Nations Population Fund has recently predicted that about 68 million girls would be subjected into FGM by the year of 2030 (UNFPA, 2019). This caught the attention of most of the world leaders and as a result, they overwhelmingly backed the elimination of FGM by 2030 as one of the UN.'s Sustainable Development Goals.

Multiple abandonment approaches were used in Africa for the elimination of FGM, the initial abandonment efforts can be traced back to 20th century. Missionaries and colonial authorities instigated these efforts in countries like Kenya. They took steps to abolish this practice under imperialistic western influence. FGM was a traditional and a deep-rooted practice in Africa. Hence, the western biased abandonment approaches faced a huge resistance from the native African community. Africans believed that this practice is what remade girls in to women. After the ban brought by the missionaries, African women started to run away and cut themselves. When initial abolishment approaches became ineffective, different abandonment approaches were introduced and applied in Africa.

One of the oldest abandonment approaches of FGM was the health risk approach. This approach was targeted for individuals through medical professionals such as Doctors, Nurses and Midwives. The main aim of this approach was to educate the mass community about the health risks and complications of FGM. This approach was widely used in Somalia and Egypt

and that was proved not that effective. Native Africans were willing to take the medical risk to protect their tradition. In addition, as an aftereffect of using health risk approach the medicalization of FGM was encouraged and resulted in a growth of FGM. Legal approach was another abolishment method applied in Africa for the eradication of FGM. This is also known as one of the most controversial abolishment approaches in the history. Twenty countries from twenty-nine countries of Africa have criminalized the practice of FGM (African Impact, 2018). The legal approach was proved not that effective when it was implemented alone. The criminalization of FGM has introduced the new trend of underground FGM, and most of the FGM acts and cases of deaths were remained unreported because of the fear of penalties.

The most effective abolishment approaches so far are the Human Rights and Comprehensive social development approaches. Human Right approach was based on the prevention of violating human rights such as right to life, gender equality, the right to highest attainable standard of health and few more. As described earlier, the human rights approach focused on communicating on how FGM violates the human rights. It is primarily based on educating the community about human rights and how they can protect the human rights through spreading social awareness. However, introducing the concept of human rights into public discussions were difficult. However, Human rights approach was less effective when it was applied alone but it showed surprising results when it was used combined with the community-based approach (Ekenze et al. 2007)   Community based approach was focused about bringing social change through guided processes that involve learning and consensus building. Community based approach made sure to use the community and its people as stakeholders of the practice rather than using them as just objectives to measure the success of the efforts. The use of combined methods of these approaches according to the situations are highly encouraged and proved successful.

Conclusion

This paper was majorly focused on explaining the nature and human rights violations related to FGM. When all the abolishment approaches were thoroughly examined, the human rights approach and the Community based approach proved more effective and successful. Just like other approaches, the human right approach did not show expected results when it was applied in central and isolated focus of discussions. Instead, some research programs such as Tostan, CARE and PATH, experimented in using human rights approach with other approaches such as the legal approach and comprehensive social development approach. The rights-based approach was criticized for being very distant from the local communities, they refused to learn or get educated on human rights in order to protect their own rights. Therefore, a method of using community-based approach alongside the rights approach was introduced to fill this gap. However, the researches were unable to implement a solid, long running method or a permanent instrument to bridge the two different approaches, nevertheless the Tostan method of engaging the community from grass root levels was proved effective. However, there was no method to continue it for a long term to gain better results with the consequences.

This method was also very expensive to continue for long hauls. There were no stable funding methods. Rights based approaches were successful when they are focused on obligation, participation, empowerment, and human dignity. Through this, all the members in the community were expected to effectively engage in understanding their rights and protecting them. Funding and sponsoring methods for such combined approaches should be discovered and other related challenges should be managed for sustainable and better results. The human rights approach and the community-based approaches should be bridged using components such as Education and Health. The African community should be addressed in their own familiar ways. The ideas of Human Rights should be planted in norms and traditions of their culture. As an example, their Traditional stories and songs could be used as a medium of awareness. Identifying less expensive but effective bridging methods would be effective when using Human Rights and Community based approaches together in the efforts of eradicating FGM from Africa.

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Post Conflict Era Land Rights in Sri Lanka: A Case Study on Sampur Region in Eastern Province of Sri Lanka

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Abstract

Land Rights are the rights to use, control and transfer a parcel of land or the inalienable ability of people to obtain and use the land without disturbing others' rights. Land is a main factor to the human survival as it provides access to food, shelter, security and economic activities. Even though, they are not much discussed under human rights documents, it is a basic human need and a burning issue in the society especially in post conflict eras. Sri Lankan ended a three-decade war more than a decade ago, but issues regarding the land rights of people in North and East regions still persist. Displaced community seeks justice for the military and state occupation of their lands and they are still hope to return their homes even after more than a decade. According to the observations, most of the land issues were not solved and the lands of displaced people were occupied and used for the security and development purposes. Sampur is a memorable issue regarding the land rights of post conflict Sri Lanka and the issue has been partially solved, but not yet completely. This is a qualitative study based on secondary data and this study will specially highlight the issue in Sampur region among numerous land matters in the North and East regions of Sri Lanka. Moreover, this paper hopes to stress the need of a long-term real solution for the land issues of displaced community and will further explain the importance of land rights for the human survival and its suitability to consider as a human right.

Keywords: *Land Rights, Human rights, Post Conflict Era, Sri Lanka, Sampur*

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Introduction

Land rights must be known as a human right as land is directly linked with the life style and the commercial activities of people. Although they were less discussed under basic human rights documents, importance of land rights for the human survival, especially within a post conflict era is highlighted through this paper. Most of the human rights documents as well as constitutions of countries hesitate to recognize the right to land as a human right. Therefore, it is easy to violate land rights and occupation of lands. Especially, at the end of a war within a country, the rights on land came in to the discussion as a burning issue.

Three decades of bitter civil war in Sri Lanka came in to a brutal end in 2009 and during the war, numerous lives ended as well as many more remained displaced. The end of the war brought up new hopes for those displaced people on returning their homes. During the war, under emergency regulations within the country, most of the lands of North and East regions were under the power of military. Even after the end of the war, military occupation of thousands of hectares of land never ended. Former residents of those lands were remained in welfare camps while the government and military used their lands for security, development and commercial purposes (HRW, 2018).

The most prominent fact within a post-conflict era is the Reconciliation and Resettlement. However, the attention of Sri Lankan government on resettlement is regarded as very slow. Although it has passed more than ten years for the victory of Sri Lankan military over the Eelam war, not all the displaced people of those regions were resettled, some are still live in welfare camps seeking a justice to safeguard their land rights.

Sampur in Trincomalee district is a major controversial region regarding the post conflict era land rights in Sri Lanka. As a vast hit era from the war, Sampur residents faced many challenges within the war and even after the war (Fonseka and Raheem, 2015). As a result of the military occupation of land and the coal power plant project, the land rights of Sampur residents were violated and time to time, the government partially released their land and let them to resettle. However, the matters regarding land rights were not yet fully recovered. This paper will pay attention on the post conflict era land rights in

Sri Lanka with a special relevance to the Sampur region. It will depict the background of land rights as a human right and the Sri Lankan aspect on it. Furthermore, the paper will comparatively study the land rights in post conflict Sri Lanka with the pro and con factors regarding the land rights of Sampur People.

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to analyze the importance of Land rights as a human right especially in the post conflict era- Sri Lanka and further analyze it with reference to the Sampur region. To achieve the objective, qualitative research methodology has been used. Therefore, this is a study based on qualitative secondary data retrieved from online sources. They include online scholarly journals, research papers, newspaper articles, e-books, constitutions, declarations and other web-based publications.

Literature Review

This Literature review seeks to develop an understanding on Land rights and its background in the post conflict era Sri Lanka. It will further identify the appropriation of land rights as human right and the legal background of them. Moreover, this section reviews the details of land grabs and land releases during the post conflict Sri Lanka and the situation of Sampur residents and their lands.

According to D.N. Adi (2009), Land rights refer to the inalienable ability of individuals to freely obtain, use, and possess land at their discretion, as long as their activities on the land do not impede on other individual's rights (pp. 1-38). Land is essential for the human survival as mentioned by Wickeri and Kalhan (2010), land ownership can be a critical source of capital, financial security, food, water, shelter and resources. Moreover, rural landlessness is defined as a strong predictor of poverty and hunger by UN Global Land Tool Network (2010). Land rights play a catalytic role in economic growth, social development, and poverty alleviation. (International Land Coalition, 2003) The access to Land and the importance of land rights for the human survival is depicted with different scholarly articles.

Gilbert (2018) in his research on "Land Rights as Human Rights; the case for a Specific Right to Land", reviews how land rights have been approached from five different angles under International human rights law; as an issue of property right, as a specifically important right for indigenous people, as an ingredient for gender equality, and as a slogan against unequal access to food and housing. Through that, he proposes land rights as a human right and examine why they were not included in International Human Rights Instruments and jurisprudence.

The role of land rights become more significant in the post war eras as mentioned by Leckie (2008), access, redistribution, and guarantees of land rights are also crucial issues in post conflict situations. Almost fifty percent of the world's rural population do not enjoy secure property rights in land and up to one quarter of the world's population is estimated to be landless, making insecurity of land title and lack of access to land clear ingredients of poverty (United Nations Human Settlements Program, 2008).

When considering the Land rights in Sri Lankan post conflict era, the research study by the Organization of Human Rights Watch (2018) deeply highlighted the land occupations, land grabs, land releases and resettlement during the post conflict era after 2009. Nearly a decade after the war, the Sri Lankan army, navy and air force, as well as the police, continue to occupy private land that is owned and was used by civilians, and state land intended for non-military purposes. Military occupation of land is among the primary contributors to continuing displacement; according to the government, as of 2017, nearly 40,000 people remained internally displaced in the country, a majority from Jaffna. (HRW, 2018)

The role of military and the government regarding the post conflict era land rights were described as; the military has been slow to return land to civilians, or to even acknowledge just how much territory it still occupies. It is symptomatic of wider post-conflict fissures across the country; rights groups say Sri Lanka's government has not taken significant steps to address rampant war-era abuses (Khan, 2018). The government's role regarding the restitution and reparation was concluded by Wimalagunrathne and Hettiarachchi (2019) as, "The Sri Lankan government has a huge responsibility with regard to

releasing lands which has been occupied by the military and police. Land occupation includes both states and private land occupation in the North and East. The reparations bill passed on 10 October 2018 and restitution via land releases is one of the key areas of focus under reparations. The right to receive reparations is one of the human rights".

Sampur issue of land rights has subjected to many researches. For the people of Sampur the benefits of peace are yet to be fully realized. Community members speak about living in a no man's land between war and peace, where their lives are governed by military rule. While other parts of the country are able to enjoy peace dividends, including security and opportunities for economic growth, in Sampur there has been little progress over the last few years (Fonseka and Raheem, 2015).

Data Presentation and Analysis

Land Rights

Land is a prominent asset for all the people around the world. Land rights can be defined as the inalienable ability of individuals to freely obtain, use, and possesses land at their discretion, as long as their activities on the land do not impede on other individuals' rights. The right to use, control and transfer a parcel of land can be included under the Land rights. They categorized under the rights to; occupy, enjoy and use land and resources, restrict or exclude other from land, transfer, sell, purchase, grant or loan, inherit and bequeath, develop or improve, rent or sublet, and benefit from improved land values or rental income. (Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, 2002)

When defining the Land rights, it was specifically defined regarding the indigenous land rights. They are rights of indigenous people to land, individually or collectively. They were recognized under the international law as well as legal systems of countries. However, Land rights are very rarely discussed under the Human rights and human right law. Land is the base to food, housing, employment and economic stability. Therefore, the rights on land should be considered under human rights. However, we cannot observe any international treaty or declaration, which considers land rights as a human

right under the international law. Although there were several discussions to consider land rights under the international human rights law, any human right treaty did not considered land rights as a basic human right yet.

Despite these issues on land rights, the right to property has been recognized as a basic human right under several declarations and constitutions. The word Property means the ownership over a thing and it is often related with the idea of property in land. Property rights were mainly considered as a basic human right since the history. In 18th century, US Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man gave a high priority to the rights on property (Waldron, 1988).Moreover, the most important human right document in the contemporary world; Universal Declaration of Human Rights too indicated the right to property as a basic human right.

Article 17 of the UDHR (1948);

    I.   Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

    II.   No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

However, the UDHR is not a legally binding document and the two legally binding covenants, which were adopted in 1966; The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights did not include the right to property. It has been a controversial issue.

Moreover, in the context of non-discrimination, property rights has been accepted under the International Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Racial Discrimination (1965) and the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979).

> "State parties should eliminate racial discrimination and to guarantee the right to own property alone as well as in association with others" (ICERD, 1965, Article 5, v).

> "States should ensure the same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment

and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for a valuable consideration" (CEDAW, 1979, Article 16).

Behalf of them, the property rights as well as land rights were not strongly mentioned under International human rights conventions. As land is mainly connected with the lives and the freedom of human, Land rights should gain much more attention in the International human rights arena.

Land Rights and Sri Lanka

The Constitution of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka has not recognized Land Rights as a human right. Although it is not mentioned separately as an article on the constitution, under the article 12, which describes the right to equality, it is possible to represent land rights in an acquisition of land by the State on the ground of arbitrary action postulated by the concept of the Rule of Law (Rev.edition, 2015). Therefore, neglecting land rights can be considered as a negative fact of Sri Lankan constitution.

When considering the legal background of the land rights in Sri Lanka, some relevant statutes for land can be mentioned as below.

1. The Land Grants (Special Provisions) Act No.43 of 1979
2. The State Lands Ordinance No. 8 of 1947 (as amended)
3. The Land Resumption Ordinance No. 4 of 1887 (as amended)
4. The Land Acquisition Act No. 9 of 1950 (as amended)
5. The State Lands (Recovery of Possession) Act No.7 of 1979
6. The State Lands Encroachments Ordinance No. 12 of 1840
7. The Prescription Ordinance No. 22 of 1871
8. The Land Development Ordinance No. 19 of 1935
9. The State Land Marks Ordinance No.9 of 1909
10. The Definition of Boundaries Ordinance No. 1 of 1844 (as amended)
11. The State Lands (Claims) Ordinance No. 21 of 1931
12. The Land Settlement Ordinance No. 20 of 1931 (as amended)

Although Sri Lankan Constitution did not recognize Land Rights as a human right, there are some legal reliefs to safeguard the right on land. However, it

is a controversial topic as there is a burning issue on the rehabilitation and the acquisition of land regarding the post-conflict Sri Lanka.

Post Conflict Era Land Rights in Sri Lanka

The three decades civil war between Sri Lankan government and the LTTE has ended in May 2009 with the loss of several hundred thousands of lives as well as huge property. More than half a million were displaced and lost their land and property especially in the North and East regions in the country. The major challenge to the country at the end of the war was the reconstruction, rehabilitation and restitution of the destructive lives of people.

Because of the war, thousands of acres became depopulated in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Those lands were under the military control and people lived in rehabilitation camps under the military guidance. Although now, it has become more than a decade for the military victory, restitution of land for the civilian resettlement had not yet completed. Displaced people are still lives on those camps and they are asking the justice to safeguard their land rights.

It is a huge responsibility of Sri Lankan governments to release lands occupied by military and police. Some areas led by LTTE in Kilinochchi and Mullativu which were controlled by the military were released to the people by then government of President Mahinda Rajapaksa**.** However, they did not pay a clear attention on the ownership of lands to the original settlers and preventing the military access to land (HRW, 2018). Military forces occupied a large area of land in the war-affected areas and expanded their functions. There are numerous displaced people still remains in the welfare centers, unable to return their homes and rebuild their lives because their lands were occupied by the military and as it has almost passed 10 years after the war ended, the lands can be seen as subjected to a permanent militarization. Moreover, the governments are using those lands for the development projects (HRW, 2018).

However, two governments after 2009 released the military and state occupied lands partially in time to time. Some examples for such releases were; Pillakuduyirippu -133 acres in 2017, Iranatheevu, Kilinochchi district in 2018, J/Nadeswara College, Kankesanthurai, Jaffna in 2016, Sampur, Trincomalee

in 2016 (DGI, 2018). Following statistics issued by the government will further describe the land releases from 2009-2019 under then governments (SCRM, 2019, cited in Wimalagunarathne and Hettiarachchi, 2019).

Graph 01: Land released from 2009-2019
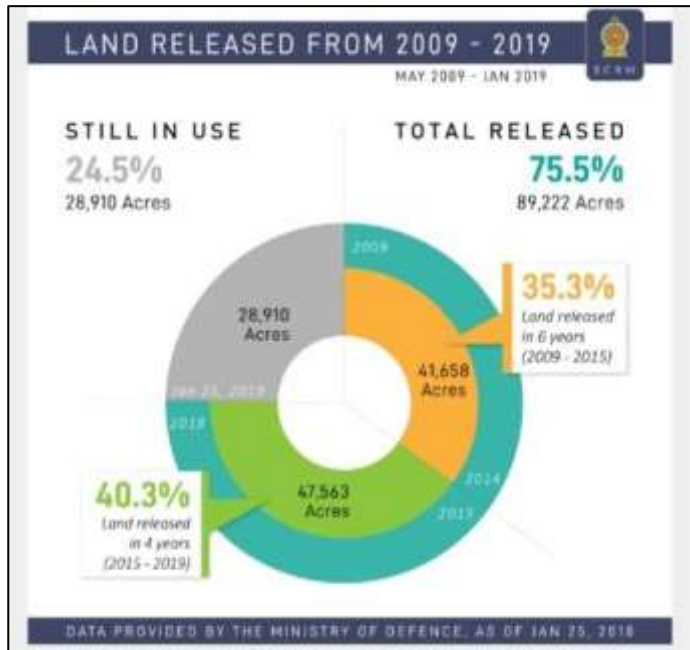
Source: SCRM, 2019, cited in Wimalagunarathne and Hettiarachchi, 2019

According to above statistics, from 2009 to 2015, 41658.65 acres of land were released and from 2015 to 2018, 47563.23 acres of land were released (Wimalagunarathne and Hettiarachchi, 2019). This is a positive spotlight for the displaced people. On the other hand, still there are numerous occupied lands and the owners of them are still protesting against the military and state acquisition of land. Some examples for such failures of government to release lands were; Pallimunai-Mannar District, Silavathurai-Mannar District, Sannar-Mannar District, House in Kuchchaveli Town- Trincomalee District, Panama-Ampara District, Ashraf Nagar-Ampara District, Karamalaiootru-Trincomalee District etc (HRW, 2018). As it has passed more than 10 years after the war, it is necessary to claim justice for the displaced people of these

areas. Land is interconnected with basic human needs and therefore protecting land rights of people is undoubtedly essential especially in a post-conflict era.

When considering the violations of land rights in the post conflict era in Sri Lanka, the military occupation of land has been justified by some legal interpretations. So far, the state has used the Emergency Regulations and the Land Acquisition Act to justify the land occupation for security and development purposes (HRW, 2018). Although the state of emergency ended in 2011, the Land Acquisition Act still plays a supportive role for the government and acts as a loophole of the law, which abuses land rights of the people.

However, there are some domestic and international legal opportunities for the people to safeguard their land rights. Some domestic provisions, which challenge the land occupation in post conflict era are the National Policy for Durable Solutions for Conflict Affected Persons passed by the Cabinet in 2015; the Policy Framework for Resettlement of Communities Displaced by Public and Private Sector Development Projects imposed by National Involuntary Resettlement Policy (NIRP); and the Article 12 of the Constitution which represents the right to equality (LST, 2012). Furthermore, the UDHR, UN Guiding Principles on Internally Displaced Persons, the UN Principles for Housing and Property Restitution for Refugees and Displaced Persons, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee's Framework on Durable Solutions for Internally Displaced Persons are some such International provisions for the restitution. Although there are legal provisions to safeguard the land rights of displaced persons, the military and state occupation of land is never ended and the displaced communities from the war is still seeking for the justice even after a post war era of more than 10 years.

A very controversial and conversational issue regarding the post conflict era land rights in Sri Lanka was the issue of Sampur region in Eastern province and this paper will specially pay attention on it.

Sampur Issue

"How many years have passed without any help? We will be happy back in Sampur...There's nothing like home. We just want our home back. We are waiting...hoping..."

-Victims in Sampur (CPA Documentary of Sampur land issue, 2016)

The Tamil word Sampur means "prosperity". Located in the Southern tip of Kevilia bay of Trincomalee, Sampur is a prosperous and a fertile area. Sampur has a long history of more than 600 years and it comprises with 85 small tanks. During the war, Sampur became a major base of LTTE and it was under the rule of LTTE for more than 10 years until 8 August 2006 (BBC Sinhala, 2016). It was the first area captured by military from LTTE. Then, nearly 950 Sampur families were taken in to welfare camps and they lived under the affection of military.

The government declared Sampur as a High Security Zone (HSZ) in May 2007 under emergency regulations and prevented the return of nearly 12,000 residents to their lands. Then in October, 2008, the government allowed around 8000 persons to resettle by shrinking the Sampur High Security Zone from 11 Grama Niladhari divisions to 4 (Fonseka and Raheem, 2015). The civil war ended in May 2009 and it gave Sampur residents a new hope on resettlement. The HSZs were ended with the lifting of emergency regulations in 2011 and Sampur too is no longer a HSZ, but military occupation of Sampur did not ended. It is said that military used land in Sampur for their commercial purposes such as building a golf course and a hotel. Moreover, in May 2012, the Board of Investment of Sri Lanka demarcated Sampur as a Special Zone for Heavy Industries and the government planned to use those lands for the development projects (Fonseka and Raheem, 2015). The Sampur residents with the loss of their lands protested and claimed legal justice.

For at least 9 years of displacement, majority of the Sampur residents lived in transitional shelters and some 500 families lived in welfare camps while others lived in rented properties or with relatives (Fonseka and Raheem, 2015). They faced many difficulties in their livelihood because of the loss of their lands. The government pressured them to agree on the solution of relocation, but majority of them stood firmly demanding their lands back (Fonseka and Raheem, 2015). The Sampur issue is a good evidence for the

importance of land rights for the people especially in a post conflict era as returning home is the most fundamental matter of the displaced community.

As a result of the petitions and protests led by Sampur residents, the government paid their attention on the Sampur issue and then partially released the land (DGI, 2016). It was an appreciable victory, which challenged the state and military occupation of Sampur lands. Eight hundred and eighteen acres of Sampur land were handed over to the original residents in August 2015 and then in March 2016, further 177 acres were released. First, 365 families were resettled and then gradually up to 950 families were returned to Sampur (Tamil Guardian, 2017; HRW, 2018). They reconstructed their livelihood with numerous challenges although the matters related to their lands were not fully solved.

Sampur Coal Power Station

Sampur Coal Power Station is a 500 MW coal-fired power plant proposed at Sampur, Trincomalee by the National Thermal Power Corporation of India, Sri Lankan Government and the Ceylon Electricity Board in 2006. This project aimed to complete by 2017 to meet the country's electricity demand (PEI, 2011). However, the project faced many challenges regarding environmental impact and the land rights of Sampur residents and their resettlement. People's Alliance for Right to Land (PARL), a group of local residents concerned about the land rights of the country pointed out that 2,795 acres of land was captured for the project and more than 2,200 people lost their lands. In addition, an area of 5,000 hectares was occupied by the Navy as a high security zone to conduct the coal power plant project and to establish a Special Economic Zone. Moreover, Sampur land was given to build a heavy industrial zone around the coal power plant comprises with a deep-water jetty and a coal-stockpiling yard for blending and transshipment, by Gateway industries of Sri Lanka (Gazette, No. 1913/19, 2015). Over 7,200 residents were displaced because of these land grabs. Fortunately, with the presidential order, the land grant given under the State Land Ordinance to build the jetty was cancelled to release the land for the resettlement (Gazette, 2015). Later, in August 2015, 1,272 families were resettled in Sampur, but then their main challenge was the environmental impact from the coal power station

(DailyFT, 2016). Therefore, with regard of these issues, Sampur Coal Power Station project was cancelled in September 2016, by safeguarding the fundamental rights of Sampur residents. However, later, the project was proposed to revive as a Foul Point Power Station with 300 MW units by the Cabinet in June, 2019 (DGI, 2019). However, cancellation of such a huge project, regarding the fundamental rights of people is an appreciable point for the post conflict Sri Lanka.

We can observe some more issues regarding the land rights of Sampur residents. Although the land was given back to them, they were not given proper documents for those released lands. The lack of legal documentation and the unclear legal status of those released lands creates matters such as unable to use lands for the loan purposes to reconstruct their shelters and business places. Another matter is the land occupation by Sri Lankan Navy. Eighteen families gave up their land at the request of Sri Lankan Navy to build a camp, but they have not been compensated (Tamil Guardian, 2017). Residents criticized as the Navy initially proposed only 240 acres for the building of navy camp, but later occupied further 30 acres of land and their Murugan temple is also located in that land. Furthermore, to the transportation purposes of the planned thermal power plant, the land of 49 families was seized and they were not yet returned after the project has been abandoned. Moreover, another issue came up with the Ceylon Electricity Board, which fenced off around 200 acres of private paddy land in Kilavely (Tamil Guardian, 2017). Therefore, the matters regarding the Sampur land rights were not yet fully resolved, there are many more to recover. The residents of Sampur are still seeks the attention of the government to safeguard their land rights.

Conclusion

As Land is the main access to basic human needs especially food, shelter and security, Land right should be paid more attention within the International human rights instruments. Therefore, it is necessary to include rights on land within the basic human rights documents and creating an international legal jurisdiction for the land rights. Most significant era where land rights came in to discussion as a burning issue is the post-conflict era. With the end of a war

or a conflict, the occupation of land and the matters regarding their ownership rises.

It is same with the post conflict era of Sri Lanka from 2009 and numerous land issues arose and still did not achieve an end. The military and state occupation of land can be justified under the emergency regulations of the country until 2011. However, even after 2011, up to now, these issues of land rights never ended. Therefore, the government should essentially pay attention on these displaced communities. It is proven by observing the role of two governments from 2009, that the governments do not have much concern regarding the land rights of these North and East region residents. Restitution and replacement have become a very slow process within more than a decade era of post war. Displaced people are still seeking justice to safeguard their land rights from illegal land grabs. They are asking the question, why security forces are still there capturing the lands by preventing residents to access their lands.

Therefore, as a solution to solve this issue, government must aware of the lands occupied by military and for development, purposes and a legal process should be followed regarding these acquisitions. The ownerships should be clearly defined and the replacement process must energize. Restitution and compensation for damaged property too must be included under the reparations. Providing immediate compensations and better alternatives is necessary when the land acquisition is essential for security and development purposes. Moreover, a justice to displaced people from the civil war to protect their rights on land must be address without any discrimination regarding race or religion.

In conclusion, Land rights are prominent especially in post conflict eras, not only in Sri Lanka but also in countries such as, Indonesia, Cambodia, Uganda, South Africa, and Zimbabwe in the transition from conflict to peace, issues regarding land rights became a huge threat to the stability of states. It depicts how much land rights can affect a country and they should be solved immediately. Therefore, Sri Lankan government too should pay their special attention to the unsolved land issues for more than a decade and must safeguard the land rights of displaced community.

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Water Based Conflicts in South Asia: Special Reference to India-Bangladesh and India-Pakistan Disputes

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Abstract

Water is a basic human right because it is vital for human survival. The water conflicts are common to South Asia because of the high demand of water due to the population growth and development needs. This paper is focused on the distribution of water between India- Bangladesh, and India-Pakistan, which resulted in a conflict. South Asia is becoming increasingly short of water. The major economic activity of South Asian countries is agriculture so that water is being the most significant component has fuelled a lot of heated debates and struggles among some countries in the region. India, for its part, is planning a national water grid through transferring rivers, with certain links already in place. India is trying to become a hegemony upon Bangladesh and Pakistan in terms of having a dialogue, agreement, and implementation regarding the operation of transboundary rivers. India is violating the basic human right of "access to water" of the people in its neighboring countries. Water sharing disputes have led to mutual suspicion, mistrust and hostility between states. This paper discusses the adverse effect of the construction of dams and barrages by India on transboundary rivers without any consideration about its neighboring countries Bangladesh and Pakistan. This study is based on secondary data sources of data collection for having reviews and analyses of relevant literature. The water conflicts between South Asian countries could be a threat to regional security. Several steps should be taken to resolve these disputes.

Keywords: *Transboundary River, Water Sharing, Treaties, Hegemony, Human Rights*

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Introduction

Water is one of the most important substances on earth. Without it, human beings would not survive. South Asia is a geographical region wherein various countries in close geographical proximity. It is one of the oldest civilizations in the world where people from all races and religions have coexisted over a long period.

The partitioning of the country (into what are now India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh) and the combination of princely states resulted in redrawing the map, increasing new disputes over water rights. Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India belong to the South Asian subcontinent are assumed as a single geographic unit that shares three major river basins the Indus, the Brahmaputra, and the Ganges. These rivers are the largest economic resource of the region. All these three countries are mainly agrarian and their agriculture is reliant on the use of river water. It is also important to their hydropower and industrialization. However, due to the rapid growth of industrialization, agricultural expansion, and domestic consumption, water resources are decreasing rapidly which in turn gives way to political, economic, and regional conflicts. South Asia is a region of both abundance and scarcity of water. It is fed by the Hindu Kush and Himalaya mountain system, which is one of the biggest storehouses of fresh water in the world. As per the report of the World Bank, 20 rivers are originating from this mountain chain.

The Indus River takes a westward way towards the Arabian Sea while Ganges and Brahmaputra make a journey toward the Bay of Bengal east of the subcontinent. The Indus drains the territories of India and Pakistan while the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and Meghna drain Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, India, and some parts of China as well. When these rivers flow in a dry region, there is a risk of inter-state and intra-state conflict between upstream and downstream countries. Each upstream and downstream country wants to take extreme advantage of the water from shared rivers. Thus, the distribution and consumption of water from rivers is the main cause of disputes between upstream and downstream countries. The upstream country referred here to India while Bangladesh and Pakistan are downstream countries.

Indo-Pakistan Water Conflict

The Indo-Pakistan sub-continent was separated in August 1947, resulting in two independent sovereign states, Pakistan and India, on the world map. At the time of the partition of the sub-continent, the British rulers appointed a Boundary Commission, to demonstrate the international boundary between India and Pakistan. The commission appointed by Lord Mountbatten was comprised of four members from the International Congress and four from the Muslim League and chaired by Cyril Radcliffe (Britannica, 2016). As a result, India became the upper riparian state while Pakistan became the lower riparian state. The water of six major rivers in the lower riparian Pakistan comes from upper riparian India.

The Indus Basin Irrigation System that irrigated 37 million acres of land was considered one of the most extensive and highly developed irrigation systems in the world. It was divided between India and Pakistan without regard to irrigation boundaries. This resulted in the creation of the international water dispute in April 1948 when India cut off the flow of water in canals that crossed the Indo- Pakistan boundary. It was a great difficulty for Pakistan's agriculture and agrarian infrastructure because it was highly dependent on river water for irrigation. In response, Pakistan approached the International community and eventually after a decade of strained relations between India and Pakistan, the World Bank took the initiative of mediating between India and Pakistan for the allocation and distribution of river water between the two countries. As a result of the mediation of the World Bank, the Indus Water Treaty was signed by the rulers of both countries, Indian prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Pakistani Field Marshal Ayyub Khan in 1960 (Bank, 2018).

As a result of the IWT, the water conflict was resolved to great extent until 1999 when India declared the construction of the Baglehar Dam on the Chenab River and completely ignored Pakistan's concern over the plan of the dam. According to Pakistan's government sources, the design of the dam could affect the quantity of water in the Chenab River. Meeting the permanent Indus commission with the members of both countries to discuss issues related to the IWT was also held but no agreement was reached and ultimately

Pakistan had to rely upon the judgment of the neutral specialists of the World Bank whose final verdict did not prevent the completion of the dam.

At the present, the hidden conflict of the past between India and Pakistan has appeared after the announcement from Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi that he would be bringing Indus water back to India. He also stated the formation of a task force to "review" the Indus Treaty. This has raised concern for Pakistan as the Indus River was legally allocated to Pakistan under the IWT, and Modi's statement about the Indus River has been regarded by Pakistan as very argumentative. The special assistant to the Pakistani Prime Minister confirmed that no changes or modifications of the IWT would be accepted by Pakistan. If the treaty is cancelled, there will be no consensus between the countries on the distribution of waters. As a result, the peace of the region could be at risk.

Moreover, India has begun the construction of dams on the western rivers the Chenab, Jhelum, and Neelum rivers in occupied Kashmir and within the Indian territory. Pakistan has serious opposition to the Ratle, Kishan Ganga, and Sawalklot Dams and the Wullar Barrage because they could influence the flow of Chenab and Jhelum rivers to a great extent which would harm Pakistan's irrigation system and availability of water for drinking and domestic purposes. However, the dispute still exists about other dams. These controversies are strengthening the India-Pakistan water conflict.

Indo-Bangladesh Water Conflict

Bangladesh depends on water originating from outside of its national border and because of that, Bangladesh does not have any control over the headwaters and a large part of the watershed management of their rivers. Being economically and militarily weaker than its neighbors, it cannot influence its watershed management policies. Bangladesh suffers from both flood and water scarcity.

India and Bangladesh share a largely friendly relationship. So far, India and Bangladesh have signed more than 100 memorandums of understanding covering numerous sectors including trade, transport, and water allocation. Nevertheless, there are unsettled issues between the two countries related to transboundary river management in the Ganga-Brahmaputra system.

Bangladesh shares 54 rivers with India including three major rivers Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and Meghna. These three rivers are essential in maintaining food and water security in Bangladesh. Bangladesh's major issue is too much water in the monsoon and drought in the dry season. The rapid growth of population, economic activities, and climate change places tension on water resources. Water dispute between India and Bangladesh as old as the partition of the sub-continent.

The issue between India and Bangladesh about water resource allowance can be traced to the time Bangladesh was still East Pakistan. In 1961, India unilaterally decided to construct the Farakka barrage to divert the portion of dry season flow and increase the navigability of Calcutta Port. After confirming its decision to go ahead with the project, India informed Eastern Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and came out with its official stance on the project with a report – Preservation of the Port of Calcutta. Although Pakistan objected, India did not change its decision (Sood & Mathukumalli, 2011). Soon after the liberation of Bangladesh in 1971, the Joint River Commission was formed between India and Bangladesh 1972. A five-year agreement was signed on 5 November 1977. In this period, however, no long-term treaty was placed regarding water sharing of Ganga. Negotiations resumed following the formation of the Awami League government, which would lead to the signing in December 1996 of a 30-year treaty on the sharing of the Ganga water. This long-term treaty consoled India and Bangladesh regarding the management of the transboundary Ganga.

In October 2019, Bangladesh and India signed an MOU allowing India to take 1.83 cusecs (cubic feet for a second) of water from the Feni river for providing drinking water to Sabroom town, a town in India's Tripura (Ministry of External Affairs, 2019). The MOU however continues fear within Bangladesh that it might harm its Muhuri Feni irrigation project. India and Bangladesh have been in a long-standing dispute over water sharing in Teesta. The water of the Teesta is tremendously important for both India and Bangladesh, as increasing dry season paddy in both West Bengal (India) and Rangpur (Bangladesh) has raised the water demand. The two countries were to sign a water-sharing pact in 2011, during Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. However, West Bengal Chief Minister Mamata Banerjee objected to it. The

Teesta issue remained unresolved. Bangladesh is discussing a $1 billion loan from China for a project aimed at managing the river basin efficiently, controlling floods, and tackling the water crisis in the summers (Roy, 2020). This has increased the tension between the two countries.

Recently India is planning to build an embankment dam over the river Barak, the upper part of river Meghna in India. The purpose of the dam is to control flooding and generate power. The dam will be located in Churachandrapur District, Manipur, and is expected to submerge parts of Manipur and Mizoram. The project has been controversial from its beginning. This region is located in one of the biodiversity hotspots of not only India but also the world. The reports have warned that permanent submerge will lead to the displacement of many villages with families. A major earthquake may cause the failure of the dam and endanger the lives, land, and forests of both India and Bangladesh. The risk of dam failure is a significant issue.

Methodology

In this article, both qualitative and quantitative data have used to analyze. The data has 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 has analyzed using previous reports and documents, which have been published relevant to this study.

Literature Review

Water conflicts within and between states are widespread all over the world where water demand is high because of population growth and development needs. After the partition of India and Pakistan signed an Indus Water Treaty in 1960. The remaining Indo-Bangladesh conflict over sharing the lean season flow of the Ganga has been fixed by the Ganga Water Treaty in 1996. The Indo-Nepal Treaty on the Mahakali River has been set out principles for developing Himalayan rivers and cost-benefit sharing to hydropower, irrigation, and flood control. South Asia is becoming progressively short of water. India, for its part, is planning a national water network through basin transfers, with certain links already in place (Verghese, 2008).

India constructed a long barrage in the river of Ganges without any consultation with its neighboring country Bangladesh. Consequently, there has been a significant disparity in the flow of the water of the Ganges in Bangladesh between the periods of pre and post barrage. The southwest part of Bangladesh has been feeling serious challenges to sustainability due to water shortage in the dry season and overflowing in the rainy season. Thus, India practices its hegemony upon Bangladesh in terms of having a dialog, agreement, and implementation regarding the operation of the barrage. (Hassan, 2019).

The Indus Water Treaty between India and Pakistan has proved to be a good example of conflict resolution over the years. Due to the increase in water stress in the basin states, the treaty has put the treaty under strain. It may not survive until the next decade because it does not resolve the core issue of sharing water resources during dry periods (April to September). Rising Pakistan's demand and the continued building of hydropower and other dams by India on the western rivers may further threaten the treaty. (Ahmad, 2012).

Data Presentation and Analysis

Insufficiency of water is a huge problem in many countries of the world, especially those that are developing. The consequence of environmental degradation and poor management of accessible water resources have made water one of the scarcest resources in many poor economies. As a result, there is a struggle for this resource and sometimes leads to conflicts. The India-Pakistan and India-Bangladesh water conflicts are examples of the conflict arising from the struggle for scarce resources. The increasing scarcity of water resources, growing population, and poor management water resource in India, Bangladesh, and Pakistan has caused an increasing demand for water resources. The lack of water leads to the control of water resources by the nations, which becomes a ground for conflicts. The requirement for water is emphasized by the fact that these countries are mainly agrarian economies. Various factors lead to conflicts between states over water sharing such as population growth, weak treaties, climate changes, poor political leadership, absolute decisions of powerful countries, etc.

Water is a basic human right because it is essential for human survival. All human beings should have access to an adequate water supply for consumption, irrigation, sanitation, and domestic purposes. Most states have signed the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Political Declaration, the ICCPR, the United Nations Watercourses Convention, and other relevant declarations. Therefore, these states should support basic human rights, including the right to access water, and no state should cause the interruption of such for any other state's residents. However, India plans to build dams on transboundary rivers that are allocated to its neighboring countries. These projects can be good for the public of India, but these projects deprive the people of Pakistan and Bangladesh "the right to access water". Therefore, India's actions constitute a human rights violation.

The Indus Water Treaty settled the conflict between India and Pakistan largely. It formed an understanding of how water between the two countries would be shared. Six rivers that are the Chenab, Indus, Beas, Sutlej, Ravi, and Jhelum flow to Pakistan from India. This treaty allocated three rivers used by each country, and India had the Beas, Sutlej, and Ravi. Pakistan had access to Jhelum, Chenab, and Indus. Both countries were also given the right of conditional usage of water of each other's rivers for domestic reasons, such as power generation, agrarian, and other non-consumptive purposes; however, such usage must not lesser the quantity and natural flow of the water in the river of the other country. During the 1990s, India built a hydroelectric plant in the Doda district along the Chenab River. This river is one of the branches of the Indus River and was considered by the Indus Treaty for use by Pakistan. The Pakistan government, political and religious leaders saw this as a move by India to govern these waters. This was seen to be a breach of the Indus Treaty and a threat to the Pakistan economy. The reduction of water capacity for Pakistan people could affect agricultural and animal rearing activities.

As Figure 01 shows, the IWT was an extraordinarily generous water-sharing treaty. The treaty gave Pakistan control over three rivers so-called, "western" rivers and India has to control the three "eastern" rivers. The three rivers that India got to control have a very low volume of water compared to the other

three. Pakistan got an 80% share of total waters while India has to use only 20%.

Figure 01: Water share after the Indus Water Treaty
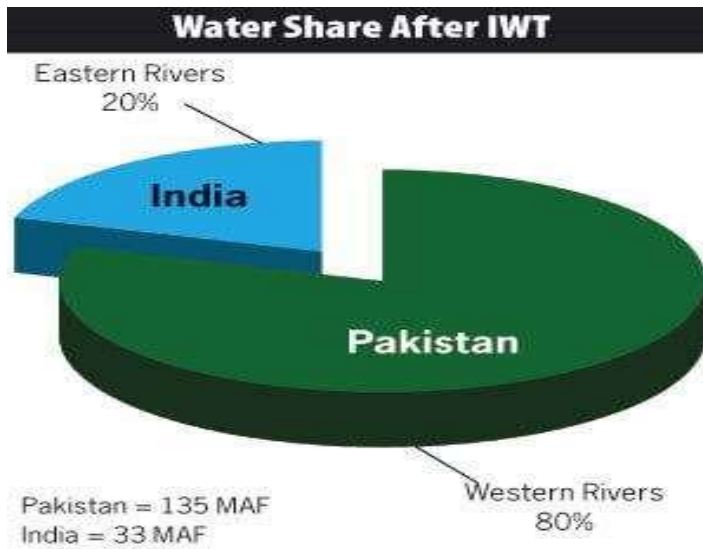
Source: ClearIAS

However, the statement from the Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, about taking Indus river water back to India, has reignited the conflict. India is also constructing the Kishan Ganga and Ratle Dams on the Jehlum and Chenab rivers, respectively, and has completed the Baglehar Dam on the Chenab River. Pakistan has serious objections to the Ratle, Krishan Ganga, and Sawalkot Dams, and Wullar Barrage (Chaturvedi, 2013) because they could impact the flow of the Chenab and Jhelum rivers largely which would damage Pakistan's irrigation system and availability of water for drinking and domestic purposes. India is violating the Indus Water Treaty and these contentions are strengthening the India-Pakistan water conflict. However, disputes exist related to the dams and these issues are strengthening the India-Pakistan water conflict.

According to the recent report by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Pakistan ranks third in the world among countries facing severe water shortages. The water capacity in Pakistan has been deteriorating over the years

and it poses a threat to the existence of its population within the next decade. According to the IMF, Pakistan's per capita water availability is 1,017m^3. In the 1950s per capita availability was approximately 5000m^3 per annum, it has now declined to below 1000m^3, which is an internationally recognized threshold of water scarcity (Aziz, et al., 2018). Pakistan had a water crisis in 2009 due to the reduction of its water capacity. In 2009, its water capacity was 1,500 cubic In May 2018, the Pakistan Council of Research in Water Resources (PCRWR) announced that by 2025 there would be very little or no clean water available in the country (Shukla, 2018). The Pakistan population is increasing gradually and is set to reach 250 million within the next decade. This is a huge population that wants sufficient water to sustain its livelihood.

Pakistan has poor water storage methods and facilities. The construction of the Baglehar Dam will deprive Pakistan of water. Pakistan believes the future decrease in water capacity can be attributed to India's construction of the Baglehar dam. Scientists explain that over 320,000acre-feet of water will be lost from the construction of this dam. This will harmfully affect agricultural activities such as the production of wheat in the province of Punjab. Besides, irrigated land around Ravi and Chenab rivers is set to be badly affected due to the reduced water capacity.

The Ganges River flows through northern India and enters Bangladesh where it becomes the Padma River. Once the Padma reaches the centre of Bangladesh and eventually drains into the Bay of Bengal. Farakka barrage is a dam across the Ganga River, located in the Indian state of West Bengal. The government of India constructed the barrage across the Ganges at the place of Farakka about 17kms upstream from the Bangladesh border. Since 1975, India has been operating the Farakka barrage to divert water from the Ganges River to the Bhagirathi-Hooghly river system to navigate Kolkata port and to face future challenges of the water crisis. On the other hand, Bangladesh highly dependent on the flow of the Padma river which contributed thoroughly to Bangladesh's economy, ecosystem, and culture. It would provide the water supply for irrigation and inland navigation in the southwest part of Bangladesh, but it has become worst after the construction of the dam because of the illegal withdrawal of water by India using the Farakka barrage. As a result, Bangladesh is confronting noticeable problems like water crisis, crop

and grain damage, soil erosion, deforestation, and reduction of wildlife. The problem building barrage is being regarded as one of the disputed issues between Bangladesh and India that is popularly known as "Death Barrage". India constructed the barrage for its benefit without considering the effect of this embankment upon the neighboring country Bangladesh.

The Ganges River was a source of supplying water in Bangladesh for human consumption, irrigation, fishing, trade and business, transportation, conservation of forests and wildlife. However, the creation of the Farakka barrage collapsed the natural flow of the Ganges considerably and its operation done by the Indian government raised the issue of unequal distribution of water that resulted in drought, desertification, salinity, and sedimentation in the southwest part of Bangladesh. The flow of Ganges in Bangladesh reduced significantly in the dry season, while the release of water is being increased in the monsoon. Bangladesh has been negotiating for a long time with India for connecting, developing, and fairly sharing the transboundary river. Unfortunately, despite sharing 54 rivers with India, Bangladesh has only one water-sharing treaty with it, on the river Ganges, which was signed in 1996. On the sharing of common rivers, Article 9 of the 1996 Ganges Water Treaty makes it compulsory for India to conclude a water-sharing agreement with Bangladesh on principles of equity, fairness, and no harm to either party. However, the real picture is different. Although a thirty-year water treaty has been in between the two countries since 1996, India has been diverting water according to its will, depriving Bangladesh of its fair share during the dry season.

Figure 02: Yearly minimum (a) and yearly maximum (b) for both the pre- and post- Farakka period and a comparison with the threshold value
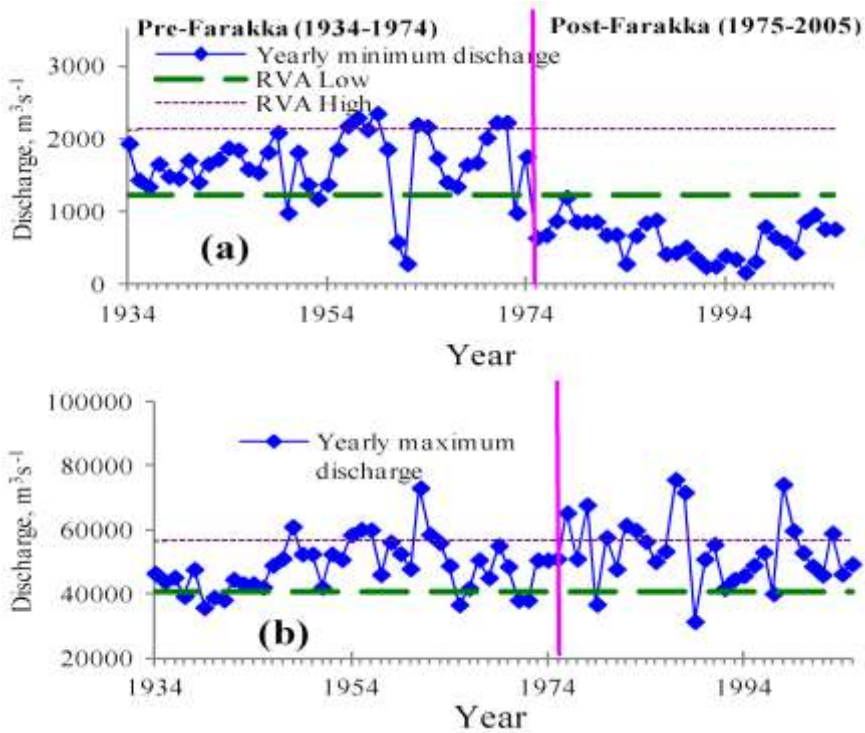
Source: Gain & Giupponi, 2014

The results of the annual minimum and maximum flow are shown in figure 02. The results demonstrate that every year after the construction of the Farakka dam, the annual minimum flow, and the maximum flow failed to meet the threshold limit. Therefore, both floods and droughts are seen to be more frequently occurring in the post- Farakka period.

This kind of unequal diversion of water and the control over the transboundary rivers led by India could be judged and explained through the concept of hegemony. India considered itself indirectly as a holder of a hegemon in the South Asian region in terms of military power, territorial borders, institutional arrangements, and strategic insights regional context. Moreover, all neighboring countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, and Sri Lanka viewed India also as a hegemonic country as it has the honor to exercise power and to neglect the interests of these neighboring countries. Thus, there

are ever-growing weak relations in South Asia that seeming a competition and a conflict over transboundary water-sharing agreements. For example, the Indus Water Treaty in 1954 between India and Pakistan, the Ganges River Treaty in 1996 between India and Bangladesh. India planned to build up a tunnel and a power generation system by diverting water from this transboundary river of India and Pakistan. Pakistan placed opposition to this water diversion that violates the Indus Water Treaty and demanded that India should stop the construction. However, India also violated the Ganges Water Treaty. India thinks that naturally the most division (79%) of these rivers are inherited by India, so it is right of India to occupy the full volume of water of the rivers. India had done it fruitfully because of its beneficial position regarding geography (big upper riparian country), politics, and economy. Both Pakistan and Bangladesh were small and lower riparian countries in South Asia. Bangladesh is politically weak, environmentally fragile, and economically vulnerable in comparison to India.

Water is a human necessity and recognized as a fundamental human right. India's threats and construction of dams on the transboundary rivers are paving the way for the deprivation of the people of Pakistan and Bangladesh of their basic human rights. Agriculture is the main mean of survival and earning of the population of both Pakistan, Bangladesh, and India. Therefore, any damage done to the agriculture of Pakistan or Bangladesh will cause a direct negative effect on the lives of these people. The citizen's well-being, standards of living, employment, access to health care, food, water, and sanitation will all be directly affected. Therefore, if India pursues continues constructing dams or barrages to deprive Bangladesh and Pakistan of the river water, then it would cause severe harm to the basic rights.

According to the United Nations Watercourses Convention, one country cannot deprive another country of access to drinkable water, and further, that specific right must be prioritized overbuilding infrastructure for storage, hydroelectricity generation, irrigation, or any other non-consumptive purpose. This clause is relevant to the upper riparian states, from where rivers flow to the lower riparian states.

The conflicts between India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh over water resources have been developing for a long time and dialog has failed to solve this crisis.

These conflicts have affected the relations between those countries as well as the security of the South Asian region. Water sharing disputes have led to mutual suspicion, mistrust, and hostility between states. Since these disputes have lasted several decades, there is a possibility of breaking into a war. Entering into a war is a threat to the South Asian region as well as the whole world because both India and Pakistan possess nuclear power. Most of the countries in the South Asian region face an increased risk of terrorist activities. Most of the terrorist attacks have political purposes and they aim at weakening the government. It is very easy for terrorist groups to alter the cause and motivate terrorists to carry out attacks due to these water disputes. Terrorist activities between these countries can escalate into a great war because there is a misconception among those countries that the governments support terrorist activities. The water crisis should therefore be solved before it leads to a full-scale war between the countries.

To resolve these conflicts and safeguard the benefits of India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh from rivers, all these three countries should implement policies. The dialog is the most effective way in which the disputes between India-Pakistan and India-Bangladesh over water can be resolved. Other measures such as hostility or violence will only lead to miseries. Since the treaties like the Indus Water Treaty and Ganges Water Treaty have proved to be ineffective in solving the current disputes. Pakistan, Bangladesh, and Indian leaders should hold dialog and develop a new treaty that will solve the present issues while safeguarding the interests of both countries. Mediation is another successful strategy that may be used to end the Indo-Bangladesh and Indo-Pakistan water conflicts. For mediation to be a success, it should involve a mediator who is neutral to concerned parties. Both countries affected by the conflict should choose a leader who comes from a country that is neutral to both countries' interests. Decisions that are made in such cases are binding to both countries. Water conservation is important since it will enable countries to reduce reliance on rivers, which scarce resources. All these countries lose millions of cubic waters to the sea due to a lack of water conservation methods. Water conservation will assist countries to have more water for use in agriculture, and let citizens access to water. It will reduce disputes, which arise from the use of rivers because poor water conservation is one of the factors, which have worsened the crisis. The establishment of a new treaty is

necessary to resolve the India-Pakistan and India-Bangladesh water conflicts. The countries should re-negotiate the treaties and clearly explain how the water may be used by the countries to achieve mutual benefit.

Conclusion

"Access to water" has been universally recognized as being one of the fundamental human rights. All human beings should have an adequate water supply for consumption, irrigation, sanitation, and domestic purposes. India's plans to construct barrages, dams to divert transboundary rivers, or power generation projects deprive the people of Bangladesh and Pakistan the "right to access water". Although Bangladesh and Pakistan formulated agreements, treaties, and MOUs regarding water sharing, all go in the favor of India both technically and indirectly. Therefore, India's hegemonic actions over lower riparian countries constitute a human rights violation.

These conflicts have harmfully affected all three countries by limiting development through cooperation. It also poses a threat of encouraging terrorism between countries. These conflicts may also lead to a regional war and may cause many fatalities. To mitigate the threats caused by the conflict, actions should be taken to prevent further growth of the conflict. The most effective ways to prevent conflicts are the use of dialog and mediation. Dialog and mediation allow the parties to discuss issues and present them to a neutral mediator who makes necessary decisions on issues. Another method is the renegotiation of treaties. The water-sharing treaties were made many decades ago and those treaties focused on certain societal issues that arose at that time. New treaties should replace the current ones to avoid future disputes. Countries should implement policies that assist the mutual use of rivers to benefit from rivers. Poor water conservation is one of the main factors, which has worsen the crisis. Water conservation policies should be implemented by India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh to reduce expenses on water costs and prevent the water resources. Water conflicts affect regional stability, peace, and cooperation due to distrust, mutual suspicion, and hostility among states. So that these measures should be embraced by all countries with resources since, they will prevent conflicts that are associate with the possession of resources.

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