

BEYOND THE BORDERS



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EDITORIAL NOTE

FROM EDITOR'S DESK

As we welcome the second batch of students to the Masters in International Studies programme at Christ University, the faculty and students have ventured in to another exercise in exploring the world beyond our borders and our relations with it.



'Beyond the Borders', the quarterly of the Department of International Studies, School of Law, brings you informative and probing articles on current happenings around the world. As observers of international relations the faculty along with the students will share their insights in to these events and attempt to circulate information for the benefit of the interested readers. Along with the news from around the world the quarterly will also feature student and faculty news from the department.

The first issue brings you articles from as diverse fields as history and final frontier, the space. The article on history stresses the importance of studying history that affects all the relations between the nations. The 'Final Frontier' introduces the readers to the necessity of laws to govern the outer space. The issue also includes articles on India's ever evolving relationships with US, Sri Lanka and South Korea and the current policies towards these countries. International relations has a new player in the field and that is the Media. The article on media looks at the way it has instigated terrorist activities. Finally the article on Central Asia, focuses on the power struggle in that region that brings back memories of cold war rivalry.

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CONTENTS

- **DOES IT MAKE SENSE TO STUDY HISTORY?**

BY DR. VENUGOPAL MENON

- **THE AGE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

BY FRIEDRICH MUJURU, MA, SEMESTER III

- **INDIA-US STRATEGIC RELATIONS : POST OBAMA
VISIT**

BY DR. JOSHY M PAUL

- **INDIA-REPUBLIC OF KOREA JOINT STATEMENT FOR
SPECIAL STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP**

BY NILANJANA GHOSH & RIDHIMA JAITLEY , MA, SEMESTER I

- **FISHING IN THE TROUBLED WATERS: RESOLVING
FISHERMEN ISSUE BETWEEN INDIA AND SRI LANKA**

BY DR. N. MANOHARAN

- **MEDIA AS A CATALYST CONFLICT**

BY ANISHA GUPTA, BA LLB, SEMESTER III

- **POWER RIVALRY IN CENTRAL ASIA**

BY DR. ANURAG TRIPATHI

- **FINAL FRONTIER: SMALL THOUGHTS ON GIANT LEAPS**

BY JAYASHANKAR WARRIER, BA LLB, SEMESTER IX



DOES IT MAKE SENSE TO STUDY HISTORY?

Dr. Venugopal Menon

A mathematician of repute and a learned Professor from one of India's premiere science institution sometime back asked

of zero). The study of history is the study of man and nature. The contemporary values are not immediate products of existing circumstances, but of the past. The present is not self explanatory, knowledge of the past is necessary to make the present intelligible. The great Roman jurist Cicero puts it very neatly, "Not to know what took place before you were born is to remain forever a child." The term history is no longer used in the conventional sense referring to wars, conquests, political upheavals and the like on the contrary it is now an all



me "Does History Make Sense" unlike Mathematics, reflecting his allergy to the subject History. I responded to him by saying that only a person with reactionary attitude can come up with arguments such as "Why should I bother about my past" and "I am what I am." The learned Professor had every right to claim that Mathematics is dynamic and that it is based on strong theoretical foundations but then he failed to explain in spite of strong foundations of Mathematics why there are different definitions of Mathematics ranging from common man's definition to that of philosophers.

History is not locating the factual details of the past but in fact reading the present in terms of the past. Thucydides described it as science because it attempts to discover a scientific regularity in human behaviour. Like sciences History began to recognise the importance of truth and systematised knowledge. History is not a pure chronicle simply setting down disconnected facts. The will to understand rather than the will merely to know the motive force is the backbone of all serious sciences.

The primary concern of teaching history is to know why it happened. Like in history, we cannot fix a time limit or age in science as well since it was born when men started observing nature (No science has been able to identify the date of birth

inclusive and mediating field of study. Historians do not narrate stories from their imagination but documents humanity's evolution from the savage to the civilized and also the pitfalls in it. This narration is never arbitrary. Rather it is based on strong theoretical inputs from diverse academic areas of humanity.

The knowledge of the past makes a person knowledgeable mainly because the knowledge so gained is the accumulated experience of man. It is through the study of history man understood his scientific background and assessed the different facts and knowledge accumulated by observing things in nature. A good example of this logical thinking and observation is as far as 600BC-Thales of Miletus discovered that rubbing a piece of amber makes it capable of attracting small light objects. For more than 2000 years it was the only observation to characterise electrical phenomena. Darwin in his investigation of characteristics of natural phenomenon combined scientific experimentation with historical analysis and derived the theory of evolution; the principle of natural selection and the concept of survival of the fittest were in reality the historical processes. The relationship between past and science is an inner necessary condition for man's development.

History is never a myth; there is a clear dividing line between the two. Mixing history with myth is due to what an English poet said, "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing." The knowledge of the past alone assists mankind in the pursuit of ever widening frontiers of knowledge in science and technology and better cultural and social relations. A society without memory and self knowledge would be a society adrift. But a society unlike an individual does not possess an organic memory; hence the memory of the society must be preserved through history as source of knowledge. It is the knowledge of the past that enlightens present generation for future benefit. History in this sense becomes a prophecy in reverse demonstrating the past as a meaningful preparation for the future.

THE AGE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Friedrich Mujuru, MA, Semester III

During the age where the universe is staggering from one side to the other, criss-crossing its orbit like a drunkard trying to find a foot path home, the world is celebrating the existence of International Relations. It appears naive and stubborn in my perspective for an International Relations scholar to talk about the successes of International Relations discipline. Probably many don't know the discipline and its core objectives, what facilitates the relationships to be well lubricated that it will constantly provide a balanced view to every nation and saves its purpose.

I.R is an exceptionally important aspect of citizenship in a global society. As our globe becomes smaller and smaller with increased globalisation and a complex economy, the value of peaceful and cooperative relationships between nations is increasingly important. The peaceful relationship and co existence between countries is facilitated by the United Nations as the main body with other sub branches and sub outlets joining the cause.

In the UN charter, an International treaty drawn in San Francisco at the end of Second World War by approximately 50 countries paved way to a new way how countries were to relate and today it is continuously being signed by every nation that joined UN, 191 countries in all.

Article one of UN charter describes the aims that include; maintaining international peace and security, developing friendly relations among nations, achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, political or humanitarian in character and lastly,



cooperating to promote and protect fundamental rights for all without discrimination. Peace and human rights therefore, forms part of main objectives that the charter designates as authentic international values, as aspirants of all humanity. These are the main pillars of contemporary International Relations.

Ironically, it seems we are in the age where everything in the world is engaged in the regression mode whilst IR is increasingly advertised as the newly found Messiah. Many theoretical philosophies were crafted from idealism, realism, functionalism and even post modernism as a way to understand a better approach humans can interact with themselves as well with the environment.

It is obvious that the nature of humans is complex and can't be predicted by anyone except the owner at some extents not all. The newly formed discipline is sending some distress calls that, it was formed by peace loving dreamers who wanted to safeguard what they have previously accumulated, but now it is hardly sustaining and is over stretching. It is very unfortunate that a dreamer is one that finds his way by moonlight, and his punishment is that, he sees the dawn before the rest of the world. Perhaps it's true that all IR scholars are protracting the end phase of international relations and envisioning the new world order to come.

Over 60 years since the discipline was formulated, very few success stories are recorded on its cover page. Why is it failing to be effective in serving its core objectives to secure peace and development? When a child is born, only with a period of 10 months, s/he would have grown teeth and can start to bite even the mother's breast. Puppies from dogs only require seven days for their eyes to see, in a period of six weeks, they will be roaming all over the yard barking for strangers and funny objects they come across and the house's security is beefed up. How many eyes should International Relations need to see, how many teeth does it need, to start

biting, and how many years should it have to be fully matured so that it can be effective?

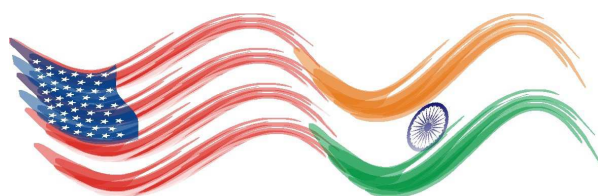
Is it true that the discipline was introduced by assassins who knew very well to monopolise other people's freedom with impunity? What else should the world expect from International Relations? Every country and citizens are in perpetual unknown fear that they are soon to be eliminated but they don't know how. The threat ranges from the proliferation of nuclear, terrorism, global warming or even global financial meltdown that may trigger poverty. How can people's hope be assured and their safety guaranteed when the major weapon the world has, the International relations discipline, is just appearing like a toothless bull dog that doesn't bark and bite.

The study of cooperation became important even as the study of conflict remained central in IR. Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane's theory of complex interdependence is a testament to this development. They argue that the decline of military force as a policy tool and the increase of economic and other forms of interdependence should increase the probability of cooperation among states.

INDIA-US STRATEGIC RELATIONS : POST OBAMA VISIT

Dr. Joshy M Paul

For the first time in the history of India's Republic day celebration, the president of United States' of America was the chief guest of this year. Barack Obama was also the first US President to visit India twice during presidency. The visit heralded a new beginning in the Indo-US relations especially in bilateral relationship which include, cooperation in military hardware and technology. The defense framework agreement signed during Obama's visit is significant for the US-India defense industry and economic relations. America considers India to be a 'lynchpin' of US' 'rebalance' strategy towards the Asia-Pacific.



America's 'pivot' to Asia and the role of India

President Obama announced a new 'rebalancing' strategy- popularly-known as, Asia Pivot- shifting America's focus to Asia, mostly notably the redeployment of a US naval armada to the region, at the ratio of 60/40 with regard to the Atlantic, in January 2012. The rebalancing strategy has two dimensions:

to keep the US military pre-dominance in the Indo-Pacific and to enhance its economic position the Asia-Pacific region. To maintain this position, Washington is expecting 'active' support from allies and partners, which include countries like, Japan, South Korea, Australia, Vietnam, Singapore, the Philippines and India. It is also aimed at countering the challenge posed by the rise of China, both militarily and economically.

The rebalancing strategy is inherently to reassure American allies and partners in the Asia-Pacific of its continuing and renewed commitment in the face of increasing assertiveness of China. The foremost challenge Beijing could inflict in the region is in the maritime domain, stretching from western Pacific to the Indian Ocean - the so called Indo-Pacific. In this Indo-Pacific security architecture, Washington has termed India as a 'lynchpin' of the Pivot and sought more naval cooperation between the two. Current US Secretary of Defence Ashton B. Carter had said earlier that Washington considers India to 'rise and prosper' through active defence cooperation with the US and becomes a major stakeholder in the security of the Indo-Pacific. Washington, in turn, expected multilateral naval cooperation, a la the Malabar 2007 naval exercise, in which Japan, Singapore and Australia have joined. However, this game plan has not treaded very far as none of the Asian countries conspicuously wants to annoy China by openly allying in any anti-China platform, even though some of them have territorial disputes with Beijing. Similarly, India wants to preserve its 'strategic autonomy' by not joining any group or power bloc while maintaining constructive cooperation with all countries.

Indeed, Indo-US strategic partnership was initiated at the dawn of the present century. Its chief architect, President George Bush envisioned the Asia-Pacific region as the next strategic arena in US defence posture and declared China as a 'strategic competitor'. By doing so, Bush sought to embrace India as its 'lynchpin' in the region to counter China, akin to what Jimmy Carter conceived of China against former Soviet Union.

Advantage of the Obama visit

Although the expected momentum in Indo-US strategic partnership has not yet fully materialised, significant improvement can be seen in recent times. Washington expected that India would buy more US made arms through foreign military sales (FMS). Its disappointment was evident when India went ahead with the Medium Multi-Role Combat Aircraft (MMRCA) deal through an open global tender instead of opting for American F-18s through FMS. India has been seeking high-tech defence technology, which was agreed upon in the 2005 New Defence Framework, and not just hardware, which Washington could not honour in letter and spirit. At the same time, India's reluctance to sign customised American agreements as precondition for foreign military trade such as the Basic Exchange and Cooperation Agreement for Geo-spatial Cooperation (BECA), Logistics Support Agreement (LSA) and Communications Interoperability and Security Memorandum of Agreement (CISMOA) emerged as speed-breakers even as New Delhi

sought 'special treatment' for defence trade without signing these agreements, something the Senate could not so easily waive.



However, through the 'make-in-India' program US would become one of the leading supplier of defence technology to India. The new defense framework pact signed when US Secretary of State Ashton B. Carter visited India in early June envisions the joint development and manufacture of defense equipment and technology including jet engines, aircraft carrier design and construction. The pact also focuses on issues ranging from maritime security to joint training. As India is the world's top arms importer, and around 75% of its arms come from Russia, increased defence technology cooperation and manufacturing in India with US support would bridge this gap

Of late, India has planned to buy more US made defence system which would enable the Indian armed forces, access to some of the latest military equipment of US origin. The increasing demand from the armed forces would force US companies to start manufacturing facilities in India. The Pentagon has agreed to share with New Delhi the electro-magnetic aircraft launch system (EMALS), hot engine and extended battery man pack technologies under the defence trade and technology initiative. Currently being developed by General Atomics, EMALS technology will replace the steam catapults used to launch jets from aircraft carriers. The technology was offered by Obama to Prime Minister Narendra Modi during the latter's Washington trip in September 2014. The hot-engine technology developed by General Electric corporation permits fighter jets to operate in hot weather conditions without any possibility of engine failure. This next generation technology is needed in the hot and dry climate of Rajasthan and Gujarat as well as parts of Haryana and Punjab.

The Defence Acquisition Council (DAC), headed by Defence Minister Manohar Parrikar, has recently decided to purchase of a C-130J Super Hercules aircraft for the IAF from the US to replace the one which had crashed in March last year. Earlier India had ordered 11 Hercules aircraft from US of which six are already in operation by the Indian Air Force. The DAC has also agreed to procure US-origin M777 artillery guns of BAE System. The ultra-light howitzers could be partly made locally with BAE proposing to shift its production unit here in partnership with a private firm. This could in effect make India the global hub for the M777 howitzer with BAE planning to export the guns to customers in South America, Africa and Europe. In a way, the Obama visit has had some really tangible impact on India-US strategic relationship.

INDIA-REPUBLIC OF KOREA JOINT STATEMENT FOR SPECIAL STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Nilanjana Ghosh & Riddhima Jaitly, MA, Semester I

Prime Minister Narendra Modi paid a State visit to the Republic of Korea (ROK) at the invitation of President of Republic of Korea Park Geun Hye on May 18 2015. India sees ROK as an essential partner in its "Act East" strategy. Both the countries identify the value of the bilateral partnership in bringing peace, stability and security in the Asia-Pacific region. Prime Minister Modi appreciated ROK's North East Asia-Pacific and Cooperation Initiative (NAPCI) put forth by President Park which will enhance cooperation and security among countries in the Asia-Pacific region.

The highlights of the joint statement issued by the two countries are as follows:

In terms of trade and investment President Park welcomed India's "Make in India" initiative as it provides new possibilities to enrich and add substance to the bilateral relations. President Park appreciated Modi's invitation to become a privileged partner in "Make in India" policy. They directed their respective officials to undertake in-depth consultations to leverage fully the potential of the Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (CEPA) to make full use of current discussion mechanism under (CEPA), such as Joint Committee for a particular purpose. Both leaders acknowledged that trade and commerce between the countries have enormous potential for further development. The Ministry of Strategy and Finance and the Export-Import Bank of Korea conveyed their intentions to provide US \$10 billion for mutual cooperation in infrastructure which comprises Economic Development Cooperation Fund (US \$1 billion) and export credits (US \$9 billion) for priority sectors, including smart cities, railways, power generation and transmission and other sectors.

India and ROK emphasised on their shared interest in strengthening global non-proliferation objectives. ROK took note of India's wish to join the international export control regimes and agreed that India's entry will have a positive influence on strengthening the global non-proliferation regimes. ROK forwarded its support for India's early membership of the four multilateral export control regimes- The Nuclear Suppliers Group, Missile Technology Control Regime, Australia Group and Wassenaar Arrangement, based upon consensus within each regime. Both the bodies recognised the need for comprehensive UN reforms including Security Council Regime to make the body more representative, accountable and effective. Hence they agreed

to work toward UNSC reforms to redirect contemporary realities and include major developing countries.

Interest of both the countries lies in area of shipbuilding which includes the construction of Indian vessels such as LNG carriers. Indian government desires to have a partnership with Korea with an aim to modernise the Indian Shipbuilding Industry. A Joint Working Group that includes the government and private sectors of the two countries will be established to facilitate cooperation in the shipbuilding industry.

President Park applauded Prime Minister's "Swachh Bharat Abhiyaan" as an effort to transform India and the two leaders agreed that both side would promote cooperation to create synergies by combining development experiences recognising Korea's successful rural development initiative in 1970's-"SaemaulUdong(SMU)". Appreciating the Korean Green Economy initiative, India expressed its participation in improving urban water and air quality and to protect natural resources.



Two sides agreed that cooperation in space sector has many possibilities and welcomed the agreement between Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and Korea Aerospace Research Institute (KARI) to pursue cooperation in the area of lunar exploration, satellite navigation and space science application.

Prime Minister Modi and President Park welcomed the rapid expansion and diversification and bilateral ties in recent years. The two leaders agreed to upgrade the bilateral relationship to a "Special Strategic Partnership". Welcoming the visit of the Speaker of Korean National Assembly to India in May 2015, the two countries anticipated increased exchange of India-Korea parliamentary delegation. To substantiate the special strategic partnership the two agreed on the following:

- Establish annual Summit meetings, in either country, or on the margins of multilateral events;
- Hold Joint Commissions held by the two foreign ministers annually;
- Further strengthening regular consultations between National Security Council structures of the two countries on security, defence and cyber related issues. Important MOUs signed in the presence of the two leaders were

- a) Agreement between the Government of India and Korea for the Avoidance of Double taxation and the Prevention of the Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Tax on Income
- b) MOU between the Ministry of Power of the Republic of India and Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy of the republic of Korea concerning cooperation in the field of electric power development and New Energy Industries.
- c) MOU between Ministry of Shipping of the Republic of India and Ministries of Ocean and Fisheries of ROK on Cooperation in the fields of Maritime Transport and Logistics.

The partnership as intended in the agreement is beneficial in many ways, not only because of its prior cultural ties and religious ties but also as the new Asian partnership between likeminded economies. As both countries face new threat in the cyber world, it is beneficial to have a partner in monitoring the cyberspace. The partnership in shipbuilding and maritime transport will lead to generation and provision of employment helping the economies and encouraging self-sufficiency in the maritime business. ROK can become a trusted partner for India in Asia both in the economic and political sphere.

FISHING IN THE TROUBLED WATERS: RESOLVING FISHERMEN ISSUE BETWEEN INDIA AND SRI LANKA

Dr. N.Manoharan

As and when fishermen from Tamil Nadu get arrested or shot by the Sri Lankan Navy, calls for retrieval of Kachchathivu and abrogation of 1974 and 1976 maritime agreements gain ascendancy. Over the years the fishermen issue has got politicised and mixed-up with the maritime boundary between India and Sri Lanka.

Soon after independence, both India and Sri Lanka felt the need for a clear-cut demarcation of maritime borders between them. Kachchathivu was foremost in Sri Lanka's mind and figured as an issue in the form of a base for military

practice. After bilateral negotiations, the boundary line in the Palk Bay area was agreed upon in 1974 based on 'modified equidistance line' by ceding Kachchathivu to Sri Lanka. This did not mean that India lost the deal. There were in fact two significant gains:

- a) In the Palk Bay (area of 2100 sq nm), India's share vis-à-vis Sri Lankan share in terms of ratio was 1.02:1.
- b) Two special clauses were inserted to protect the interests of Indian fishermen:
 - i. Use of Kachchathivu for pilgrimage and for drying nets and fish. (Article 5)
 - ii. Free movement of vessels in the Palk Bay as before. (Article 6)

The exchange of letters between the Foreign Secretaries of India and Sri Lanka in 1976 gave clarity on fishing rights: fishermen of either country shall not engage in fishing in each other's waters without express permission of the other. This implied that Indian fishermen were never granted fishing rights around Kachchathivu.

The 1976 Agreement settled boundary line between India and Sri Lanka in the Gulf of Mannar and the Bay of Bengal. The issue of Vadge Bank was resolved after India agreed to permit Sri Lankan fishermen to fish for three years at the Bank since the establishment of EEZ (which India did on 15 January 1977) and after this period to sell 2000 tons of fish per year. Unfortunately, fishermen on both sides, local governments and other political parties were not consulted while finalising the Agreements. This omission has come to haunt the issue to this day.

Despite the Agreements and the exchange of letters, the movement of fishermen on either side remained unhindered. Both governments also did not find the need to restrict the free movement of fishermen, especially in the "historic waters". Part of the reason was that the Sri Lankan Navy lacked capability to effectively patrol its borders. Meanwhile, the expansion of fishing fleets and advancement of fishing equipment, especially on the Indian side had continued. Trawlers expanded; vallams got motorized; nylon nets replaced traditional nets. Consequently, range and speed of operations by the fisher folk increased manifold. Interestingly, these advancements in fishing have made the special provisions granted to Indian fishermen (to dry nets and rest) on the use of Kachchathivu more or less redundant.

In the early 1980s, the emergence of the LTTE as a dominant militant group, with a naval wing of its own ('Sea Tigers') and the consequent Sri Lankan Navy's counter-measures, changed the dimension of the issue. In the process of patrolling, the Sri Lankan Navy found Indian fishing boats in Sri Lankan waters a major distraction. Shooting and arrests were a frequent phenomenon. Despite risks, fishermen from Tamil Nadu continued to venture into Sri Lankan waters; the risk was worth taking because of presence of untapped fishing grounds in the Sri Lankan waters.

After the defeat of the LTTE in May 2009, the Sri Lankan Navy has been patrolling the island's maritime borders. Also, relaxation of fishing restrictions along Sri Lankan coasts has led Sri Lankan fishermen to venture into the seas around challenging the monopoly enjoyed by the Indian fishermen. This has led to confrontations between the two fishing communities and, in turn, drawing intervention by the naval forces of the two countries. The main complaint of Sri Lankan fishermen has been against mechanised Indian trawlers that indulge in pair, mid-water, pelagic, and bottom trawling and in the process severely damaging marine resources and sea bed. Sri Lankan fishermen, who venture on high seas for 'multi-day fishing', are caught poaching in Indian waters by the Indian Coast Guard. They are, however, not shot at, but arrested and prosecuted.



Approach and Solutions

Given the dynamics of the issue, it is difficult to say that the fishermen problem will wither away with the retrieval of Kachchathivu or by abrogation of maritime agreements of

1974 and 1976. Assuming the IMBL (International Maritime Boundary Line) runs one mile east of Kachchathivu, would not the Indian fishermen venture into Sri Lankan territorial waters? There are no figures to support that waters around Kachchathivu have enough fish to cater to all fishing trawlers of Tamil Nadu. Most importantly, abrogating international agreements will pose numerous other problems to India as a nation. The way out to the issue, therefore, lies elsewhere.

Politico-economic: Existing understanding/arrangements between New Delhi and Colombo to deal with the issue of bonafide fishermen (such as no seizure of small boats, no firing, identity cards for fishermen, permit to fishing boats) need to be followed in letter and spirit. The meetings of Joint Working Group (JWG) should be held regularly.

If adequate fish population through extensive fish farming is maintained in Palk Bay and Gulf of Mannar, most of the fishermen would not find the need to venture into other's 'territories' in search of a 'big catch'. India may also consider leasing fishing blocks, especially those identified as 'surplus total available catch', from Sri Lanka.

Fishing Vessels: To preserve marine resources and to provide enough sustenance to the traditional marginal fishermen of both the countries, it is important to impose strict and complete ban on mechanised trawlers, a practice followed by other countries. A mutually acceptable phase-out time needs to be negotiated among the fishing communities under the guidance of both governments. Large trawlers could be encouraged to venture into high seas.

As a safety measure, vessel tracking devices be installed in all fishing boats to navigate and determine locations. Costs of installation could be borne by the governments of India and Tamil Nadu with a token contribution from the concerned fishermen.

Border Guarding: It would be useful if the Sri Lankan Navy takes greater care in handling straying Indian fishermen, intentionally or unintentionally. Indian marine forces do not indulge in shooting of straying Sri Lankan fishermen, though they apprehend and hand the trespassers to the local police for prosecution. Both sides need to avoid arrests and detentions of fishermen for the purpose of 'reciprocal release'. What is required is a humane approach.

To avoid shooting incidents due to mistaken identity, 'coordinated patrolling' by security forces of both

countries can be considered. Apart from patrolling, the Indian Coast Guard, with the support of the Tamil Nadu government, may be tasked to create 'awareness' among the fishermen on the adverse implications of illegal entry into Sri Lankan territorial waters. Urging them not to cross the borders or distances agreed upon by both countries (5 nm cushion distance is under consideration) can be added to the scope of the ongoing 'Operation Tasha'.

It is not late for both India and Sri Lanka to go in for a supplementary agreement to incorporate resolution mechanisms by taking into consideration the present dynamics and future trajectory of the fishermen issue.

Civil Society: 'Solution from below' has greater chances of success than a solution imposed by the governments. Arranging frequent meetings between fishing communities of both countries could be explored. It is important that whatever agreements reached by the fishing communities amongst themselves should receive strong backing from the governments and the security forces. Provincial governments can play a major role in facilitating such engagements on a regular basis.

Role of NGOs and think tanks in providing legal and humanitarian assistance to jailed nationals in other countries needs to be recognised. Media, especially the vernacular, could play two roles: (a) to create awareness among the fishermen on the adverse consequences of venturing into territorial waters of Sri Lanka; (b) avoid sensational reporting of shooting or arrests.

MEDIA AS A CATALYST CONFLICT

Anisha Gupta, BA LLB , Semester III

"... I say to you: that we are in a battle, and more than half of this battle is taking place in the battlefield of the media. And we are in a media battle for the hearts and minds of our Umma."

Ayman al Zawahiri, (2005)

In this era of technology and globalization, the role of the media as a catalyst of change has been widely appreciated. But, while the media has been hailed for empowering the masses, it has also been brought under the scanner for instigating political movements around the globe. Robert Picard in 1986 formulated a popular theory about how media coverage on terrorist activities led to an increase in terrorism. We can see this coming true as the use of the media for 'propaganda

politics' has created conflicts among civilisations. The abuse of the Freedom of Speech and Expression has become abundant and the media is now acting as a catalyst of conflict between people of varied ideologies and backgrounds. While the print media and social media provide the public at large with an array of information, the

authenticity and the hidden agenda of this information is often questionable and conflicting. The form of dialectic that is witnessed seems to include the thesis and the anti-thesis, but no synthesis.

Large political powers have long been criticized for manipulating the news to foster their own ideologies, in support of their own policies, and even illicit acts. Governments and terrorist groups reach out to the hearts and minds of individuals to justify their illegal activities, be it an attack on a country or a civilian. The media is used to send out strong messages across the globe and to initiate a discussion to draw sympathy towards a particular cause. Post the 1990's a debate sparked the news about the 'CNN effect' and the 'Al Jazeera effect' which typically dealt with the effect of media in instigating political movements. The CNN effect studied the effect of media in formulation of foreign policies. The impending terrorist threats in countries like Libya, Syria, Afghanistan, etc. led to military intervention from countries like US and France.



The role of the media in such policy decisions is certainly questionable. The media has often been used as a platform to instil faith in a certain ideology or decision by glorification of the possible outcomes. The US justified its 'war on terrorism' claiming an imminent threat from Saddam Hussain's supposed Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD). Years of war and conflict can often be justified and glorified through the media much like the United States of America continues to do.

On the other hand, many scholars believe that the Al Jazeera effect triggered the Arab Uprising in 2010. The political heads were threatened by the criticism of their hegemony and the tyrannical rule by the local media. This social journalism by Al Jazeera sparked a revolution in the Arabic peninsula. The uprising that broke out in Egypt was

captured from radically different perspectives by the local media and by Al Jazeera. While the former aired a rosy picture of the Tahrir Square, the latter covered the violence and the bloodshed. Human tendency has become such that we reflect over the crisis of the moment depending on the stance that the news channels take. On one hand the covered up truth misleads the masses, on the other hand the truth is so dismal that it leaves a black mark for the rest of the world. The truth is often ambushed by contradicting views over a conflict, coupled with asymmetric information, which worsens the strife even more.

Terrorism is fundamentally about influence. The aim of terrorists today is primarily to attract attention, and to appeal to the sentiments of people in order to emerge victorious. Irrespective of the bloodshed, if a terrorist attack gets wide media coverage, it would be considered a success. Although studies have shown that media coverage of a terrorist attack does not lead to an increase in terrorism, it triggers xenophobic sentiments and draws supporters towards a

'greater cause'.¹ A big question arises on who is actually responsible for the death, destruction and misery.

The stereotypes and misconceptions portrayed over the media have created a certain animosity between cultures. Africa is seen as the land of poverty, Muslims are branded as terrorists, Americans as racists and off late Indians as rapists. The negative portrayal of civilisations over the media is doing more to ignite a fire, than to put it off. The Indian Government recently banned a BBC documentary titled 'India's Daughters' on one of India's most horrifying rape cases. The Government justified the ban claiming that the documentary incited violence and that it portrayed Indians negatively. The line of reasoning adopted by the Government has been widely criticised, but it sadly had been proven to be true when Indian was denied a job in Germany on the ground that he came from 'a land of rapists'. Negative and unwanted outcomes such as this have time and again led to the question on whether the media has the right to portray situations in a way it has interpreted it? Or should the media remain objective when broadcasting news about such sensitive matters?

A balance needs to be struck between formulating opinions and imposing ideologies among the masses so as to facilitate an easier path towards a peace mechanism. Sensitivity in reporting about conflicted regions will help create a safe and independent media that promotes peaceful relations between countries. Mere criticism does not pave way for a solution of the conflict. Rather a more reasoned approach could be adopted by journalists internationally. Further, self-regulation of content of online terrorist groups could help to dissipate the emergence of terrorist activities.

POWER RIVALRY IN CENTRAL ASIA

Dr. Anurag Tripathi

Ukraine crisis has led to the end of the post-Cold War status quo in Europe and a return to US-Russian rivalry that reflects the competition for power between Russian and British Empires in 19th century in Central Asia region. As Russian involvement in neighbouring Ukraine's rebellion has

grabbed the world's attention, it is worth looking at the power rivalry between Russia and the US. The rivalry has its root in the Cold-War period. During this period, both the powers were engaged in confronting with each other through a system of alliances and counter-alliances. Towards the end of this long confrontation the events such as the fall of Berlin wall, the disintegration of Warsaw pact, the Soviet withdrawal of troops from Eastern Europe were supported by the US led Western alliance and finally, the Cold-War ended with the demise of the Soviet Union.



Russia ceased to be a super power following the Soviet break up and pursued a pro US policy for sometimes. However, after short honeymoon in relationship, their interests clashed in a world, where the latter has become the only super power. After many years of Cold War, the events like Eastward expansion of NATO, September 11 incident followed by the US war against Taliban forces in Afghanistan brought the former adversaries into the sphere of power-rivalry.

The premature independence of Central Asian republics after the Soviet disintegration, the emergence of terrorist outfits like Al-Qaeda and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism in the region, all are the matters of pressing concern for the US. Russia would not like to leave her traditional sphere of influence unwatched. Any happening in Central Asia may have its serious repercussions in Russia as / well as the US. This is more so in an age of globalisation of economy and terror, when geography is not a factor to check the terrorist attack as it happened in Sept 11, 2001 in the US.

Thus, it is in the interest of both the powers to keep Central Asia stable. This common concern on part of both the powers is reflected by a willingness to harmonise their interests in the region. Besides Their common interests, both the powers are competing for the vast natural resources of the region.

The geo-strategic importance of Central Asia is heightened by the geo-economic potentialities. The Central Asian states are rich in economic and energy resources. Oil reserves of Caspian region are estimated as high as 200 billion barrels. The region has more than 6% of world's proven oil reserves and almost 46% of its gas reserves. The energy and other natural resources of Central Asia have attracted major regional and global players. The oil and gas pipeline have added new dimensions in the regional politics of Central Asia.

The region which was previously the centre of 'Great Game' between Russia and Britain in 19th century due to its geographical location as gateway to Indian subcontinent and the Persian gulf, came into prominence in post Cold War period. The geo-strategic flux generated shortly after the disintegration of Soviet Union attracted many regional players like China, Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and India and great powers like the US and Russia. Some even went to suggesting onset of the "new great game" in the region. The father of geopolitics Halford J. Mackinder has once said that whoever controls Central Asia controls the world. So this region has become an open ground where different actors are striving to carve niches of influence.

The US engagement in Central Asia has forced the regional actors to formulate their own strategies to maintain their footholds while containing the growing influence of the US. Broadly, it can be regarded as a power rivalry between the two major powers such as Russia and the US by taking account of other regional actors especially China.

Currently, the competition for supremacy in Central Asia has reached a critical stage, when the major regional actors like Russia and China are engaging in this region jointly on the one hand and individually on the other. While, Russia the true successor state of the demised Union has started its involvement by restructuring the old regional security structure like Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) and engaging bilaterally with individual Central Asian states, China the growing regional power is engaging itself with the individual states of Central Asia with many bilateral economic treaties and agreements.

Furthermore, both the powers are at loggerhead with the US through a regional multilateral organisation- Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) which was created as a forum for settling the border disputes of the concerned member states: China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, and

Kyrgyzstan. Later on, Uzbekistan, the most populous and militarily supreme state of Central Asia joined this multilateral forum. In this context, from the Chinese perspective Shanghai Cooperation Organisation would be viewed as a direct attempt to undermine the rationale for the US security presence in the region. Furthermore, Russia and China the leading members of SCO want to take India, which has traditional linkages with Central Asia and stakes in the oil and gas resources of the region in their struggle to prevent the establishment of the US global hegemony under the cover of fighting international terrorism.

In a summit meeting of the SCO which was held in Kazakhstan's capital Astana on July 5-6, 2005 in which India got the observer status, the six members' regional grouping called upon the US led anti-terrorist coalition to set a deadline on its military presence on the territories of the SCO member states. The fact is that in the run up to the SCO summit in a meeting in Moscow on July 5, 2005, the Chinese President Hu Jintao and the Russian President Vladimir Putin issued a joint declaration rejecting the efforts by any power to achieve a monopoly in world affairs.

On the other hand, the Central Asian countries are scared of the US' aggressive policy of democratisation, which attempted to change the governments of Ukraine, Georgia and Kazakhstan under its banner of colour revolutions. In the present scenario, the leaders of the Central Asian republics those who backed the US in its war against terrorism are tilting towards Russia and China. In an instance, Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov ordered to close the Karshi Khanabad base, which was offered to the US during the war on terror.

Currently, this power rivalry between Russia and the US in Central Asia has reached a stage, where Russia along with China is going to lead in containing the US influence in the region while making the whole of Central Asia as a battlefield for great-power rivalry.

FINAL FRONTIER: SMALL THOUGHTS ON GIANT LEAPS



Jayashankar Warriar, BA LLB, Semester IX

Humanity has always learnt its lessons with the passing of the darkest of times. Only when significant consequences have come his way, has man said never again. The genesis of the international institutions and the various pillars that guide it today arose out of the ashes of such loss. The Second World War displayed the strength of man and his ability to erase cities within the blink of an eye. Thus mankind came to understand that there must be force that regulates this conduct. Thus was born the United Nations.

With its formation and the call for peace, humanity acted with great haste and care to place laws that serve to preserve this most noble cause. The United Nations Charter is the cornerstone of this vision surrounded by a long litany of laws that guide the various aspects of conduct between nations, both in times of peace and strife. Waging war now was at the cost of grave international backlash. But man soon turned his gaze to a new playing field, the stars. These were uncharted waters sailed by States that still feared the outbreak of war. But by now, man had learnt from the bloodshed that stained the pages of history so often, so he proceeded to make laws for the heavens. The Outer Space Treaty of 1967 is this law. The treaty aimed at preventing irreparable damage as a result of irresponsible usage. Its need and importance are simplistic yet central to the international legal sphere; principles of state responsibility now extended not just between borders but to the farthest reaches of space as well. Rules of international interaction now guide man in every direction .

Within this Treaty lay the framework for how man was to explore the unknowns of space. The articles of this Treaty

state that the exploration of space is for all and that no sovereign may lay claim over it by any means. Especially by the use of force, it is the common heritage of man or res communis. We see other key elements discussed within this treaty as well. Matters of environmental importance and the prevention of harmful contamination of space and celestial bodies as well as questions of state liability arising from damages caused by space objects.

Thus began the space race, an era where nations plunged into a financial abyss to establish its dominance over the realm of space. When the dust finally settled it was the Americans that succeeded in this endeavour. But Fifty years down the line the landscape has altered drastically, today States are not the sole parties that lay claim to the heavens. The likes of Richard Branson and Virgin Galactic and a few others have ushered in an era of a new player, the private player. The benefit of this is that now space as such can be explored but not at the cost of the tax payer. When the space race first began any man of reason would have deemed it unimaginable for private parties to be even considered a competitor in this race. But today that statement no longer stands true.

Bills such as the Space Settlement Prize Act put forth before the American Congress have recognised the role of the private sector in space exploration. It aims to entice the private sector by promising them property rights in outer space in return for their contribution. But with this comes various questions of legality- the most important of which being the extent of the outer space treaty and its application to private parties. Other questions such jurisdiction and administration comes to mind as well. The encroachment of States into this realm, through such private parties causes concern with the principles of the Outer Space Treaty.

This brings us to a crossroad of either maintaining status quo or revisiting space law as a whole. The simplest of reasons for the latter is that the landscape has so greatly been altered since its passing, a plethora of variables have come to play and like most laws that come in touch with the passing of time, amendments are an inevitable.

On a personal note I believe that the question is no longer on ifs but that of when and how. Mankind has reached a point where it has become both inevitable and inexcusable to explore the unknown. For in all of recorded history, we have been the only species capable of writing our own destiny. With such ability it is up to us to leave no stones unturned.

DEPARTMENT NEWS

Our students spent their summer learning the practical aspects of the international studies by interning in various organizations and think tanks. These institutions gave them a glimpse of what their future career paths may look like. This valuable experience will prepare our students to make informed career choices in the fields. Here is the list of organizations that gave these youngsters an opportunity to work with them for a short period of time:

- Abhishek Mishra- Motheson Sumi Limited
- Anubhav Gaur- Centre for Air Power Studies, new Delhi
- Ashim Dhakal- Human Development Foundation Of Sikkim
- Benjamin- Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL), Bangalore.
- Friedrich Mujuru- Takshashila Foundation, Bangalore.
- Gokul.G.S.- Gulati Institute Of Finance And Taxation, Trivandrum
- Paul V Varghese- Gulati Institute Of Finance And Taxation, Trivandrum.
- Sathwik M S- Karnataka State Human Rights Commission, Bangalore.
- Tsenthar Gyal- Tibetan Centre For Human Rights And Democracy, Dharmashala, Himachal Pradesh.
- Anisha Abraham- NDTV, Delhi.
- Anna Dias- Institute Of Foreign Policy Studies, Kolkata And Red Bull, Kolkata.
- Aochenla Pongener- Indian Council Of Agricultural Research, Nagaland.
- Garima Walia- International Labor Organization, New Delhi.
- H P Prarthana- National Institute For Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bangalore.
- Harshitha- Centre For Air Power Studies, New Delhi.
- Mehnaz- Non-Governmental Organization, Home For Orphanage, Assam.
- Prabisha Jaiswal- Institute Of Foreign Policy Studies, University Of Calcutta, Kolkata.
- Prerana Rao- Destimoney Securities
- Reshma Jose- Centre For Air Power Studies, New Delhi.
- Shambavi bhriguvanshi- Networking Eye, New Delhi.
- Shriya Arora- Indian Council Of World Affairs, New Delhi.
- Vaishali- Centre For Air Power Studies, New Delhi.
- Vatika Sharma- Himachal Pradesh University, Shimla.
- Reshma C.H.- Human Rights Council, Andhra Pradesh.
- Rahul Ramachandram- LHA Volunteer Organization, Dharmashala, Himachal Pradesh.
- Sowmini Gopal- National Institute For Advanced Studies (NIAS), Bangalore.
- Akul Arora- Transparency International India, New Delhi.
- Pankhuri Sharma- Tata Powers, New Delhi.

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