

## **GLOBALIZATION AND THE NEED FOR POLICY REVISION; IN CONTEXT OF THE UNITED STATES DEFENSE STRATEGY TOWARDS SOUTH ASIA**

**Vibusha K. Madanayake**

Ms. Institute of National Security Studies Sri Lanka, Ministry of Defense, Sri Lanka;  
vibusha23@gmail.com

### **Abstract**

The 21st century Globalization in International Affairs have created an integration which appears unpreventable. This global integration had an impact on South Asia. This paper examines the significance of the United States Defense Strategy of combating terrorism and its policy of Development. It intends to rethink of the United States Defense Strategy towards South Asia after September 2001 terrorist attack; whether it is to combat terrorism as stipulated in US national documents or whether it has other intentions. It was hypothesized that, the policy of the US comprised of diverse objectives and emotions, although the declared policy was the prevention of terrorism. US National Interest dominated over the prevention of terrorism. Preventing terrorism needed sustained development of the region to make development continuous. The ideological, educational, social and cultural areas had to change. Continuing as a super-power was basic to US foreign policy. Accommodating national development in South Asia was also a global responsibility of the US. Applying the prevailing theories and policies on international relations could not promote sustainability. US argued that military aid should be given to South Asians along with ideology, scientific knowledge and modern technology. The US uses its superiority in power to promote political equality, social opportunity, economic liberty, modern technology and human rights. The latter part of this research presents the relevant interventions and defense actions that followed the US policy declarations. The intentions of long term objectives are implicit in the chain of defense activities that followed to date. The incidence of the September 2001 terrorist attack was only a door that opened up for the US to make an international move at intervention in another country. Most international critics are of opinion that, the intervention in Afghanistan was not intended only for combating terrorism. Rather, it was a strategic operation by the USA to expand their power in South Asia. Although, there were contradictions within policies, the US granted considerable support to prevent terrorist activities. The world has clearly observed how the US deployed their military projects on "War on Terror". Whenever the US felt that their interests were at risk, US policies has become more aggressive. The world of politics and international relations is growing towards multi-polarity. Therefore, the US and other powers are struggling for power while trying to preserve their own hegemonies. These hegemonic powers had their declared and undeclared intentions. Applying currently accepted theories did not explain these complex motives. This research has traced the historical path through which strategic changes were effected, through the National Security Strategy document. It was a huge project dealing with India on one side and Pakistan, a polity with more differences than similarities with India. In addition, South Asia with almost 85% under poverty line, created for US a variety of problems that militaristic methods alone could give an answer to. Political Equality, Social Opportunity, Economic Liberty, Acceptance of Human Rights for Self-advancement and Self-actualization were a part of the undeclared ideological change expected by the US in its broader deep laid ideology. In this regard, the significance of this research is to understand how a peaceful atmosphere could be created in

South Asia where global development automatically follows. Structural adjustments are imperative for liberal capitalism and representative policing to grow. The findings of this research, has opened up a relevant and timely topic to inquire into. Specifically this research encourages Sri Lanka to understand and rethink on its foreign policy as a country in a post war period.

**Keywords:** Globalization, Foreign Policy, Defense, National Interest

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Many International Relations scholars who investigated into this phenomenon of the modern world observed the US policy of 'War on Terror' in 2001 mainly concentrated upon the military strategy and its related documents such as National Security Strategy, 2015. This military strategy was associated with the objective of the development of South Asian Region in the political and the economic, social and psychological domains. Obviously their interests were to secure, a hold on Asia against the impact of globalization that had become dominant in the affairs of the world. (Stern, 2009) The current researcher looks at the behaviour of super powers in a broader perspective than did theory explain the phenomenon which took place after Westphalia. The globalization converted the world into a village. A village meant that the world became a community where its members got close to each other almost brushing their shoulders together. This was the first time that it happened in the history of the world and different ideologies of cultures merged.

Historically, the world was evolving into a globe which was possible to be looked as a close-up network of relationships. Nationalism was being challenged through the global expansion of modernist education. Modernism became an ideology through a variety of agencies of communication, media, schools, non-formal relationships and formal institutional, international organizations. Development became the criterion of measurement to justify intervention in the politics of another country. Science and technology had facilitated this path towards the future. Being so, the super power objectives of the US necessarily adds to include the development of the countries they are interfering with, namely South Asia. These countries boarded the Indian Ocean. The coastlines of these countries were important for access to the Indian Ocean. By implication, it was the Indian Ocean that US was interested in. This was clearly seen in the declared policy objective of the US into these countries.

However, South Asia was not geographically integrated region; nor political, historical or cultural region. The different nation states that surfaced out after the Second World War were super power creations. For example, India as a currently functional nation state did not exist as a polity nor did Pakistan or Bangladesh previous to the post war super power military interventions. It is the perception of this scenario that prompted the researcher to inquire further through empirical supplications. The body of this research presented is an attempt to find an answer for this argument.

## 2. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The proposed hypothesis to be tested called for a multiple approach to data gathering and theorizing. This way the instruments adapted were multifaceted, qualitative and ethnographic. A construction of an appropriate methodology demanded flexibility in the techniques used for data gathering an analysis. The subject area comprised of two distinct separate domains. That is "international relations as a science" on one side and the applications of it technologically as Foreign Policy in scholarly perspective. The nature of International Relations in the new world global system had to be understood by application of currently prevailing theory. E.g. Offense Defence Theory and Hegemonic Stability Theory

On the other side, it is the policy factor in international relationships. These relationships are culture bound and are influenced by constructivist ideologies. Right from the beginning of human evolution the element of using the brain by humans dominated behaviour which was understood as the 'human'. In Russell's perspective, it was do of things as different from how of things (Russell, 1918) It is this mix up of how of things with that of the do's that demanded a method different from clearly compartmentalized in social science methodologies. This approach also carries the characteristic of an interdisciplinary study. Patti lather points out that all human behaviours are interpretative in research analysis and practically applicable for social change. This means that, developing insights from an ethnographic perspective is meaningful to understanding policy formulation. Marx and Engels once criticized all traditional research as meaningless if such research do not promote development to improve the lot of humankind. They brought in the example of male breasts as useless in for research. Research should tie up with policy formulation if it is to achieve the

objective of improving living conditions. It is in this context this research used the viewpoints of Nation's citizen who hold ideas about how nations should relate with other nations. The interviews conducted fulfilled this objective and made this research a combined effort in using substantiate empirical data in a methodological process of policy formulation.

Policies are pre meditated and prior to implementation. In similar vein, Carr and Kemmis 1986 states that, research is meaningless unless it opens the door for policy implementation – policy based on theory. International Relations are the practical expression of policy on one hand. On the other side, the discipline of International Relations believes in a science based approach and attempts to discover propensities, probabilities and tendencies in human behaviour when involved in policy construction. This is the major complication in methodology that this research highlights and is faced with.

The idea and the concept of South Asia need explanation. What exist today in South Asia is not what it was right after the Second World War. An unexpected change occurred on the idea and the concept of South Asia. The South Asia at that time was a just a geographical reference when focusing attention on the Indian Ocean dominantly in relation to military strategies. However today, South Asia is a loosely knit community with both fission and fusion in relation to social and political change occurring in this geographical region. It had gone through a period of mooting for political and social regionality concerned with a variety of problems faced by this newly sprung independent Nation States. The background of South Asia is very different from that of the European Community. The South Asian region is evolving and is in massive social change. Exploring to understand the political and economic behaviour of this region has to be within a methodology which will expose the researcher to hitherto unseen realities. Taking into consideration this effect of globalization on international relations feature the researcher had to probe into viewpoints of previous scholars who researched on this area. It is with this objective the second part of the methodology developed insights by making ethnographic interviews at meeting the members of the citizenry at different levels and specializations.

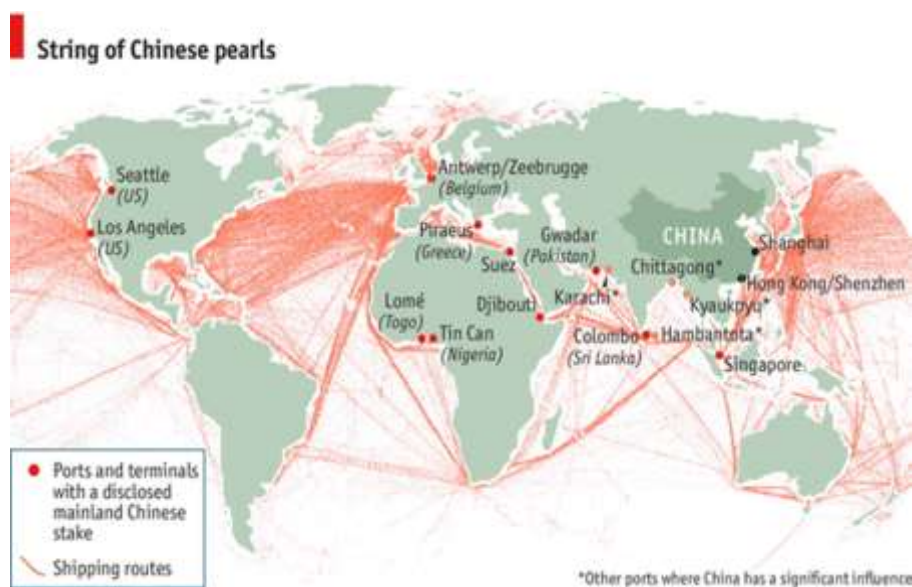
### **3. DISCUSSION AND FINDINGS**

The data gathered to arrive at the discussion of US policy for development meets with number of important challenges. South Asia of the present day thinking is very different from what was left in the hands of the super powers from the end of the European conflict among western nations generally referred to as end of the Second World War. An accelerated process of globalization occurred all over the world and International Relations between Nation States underwent consequential change. When taking into consideration, the result of nations getting closer was a significant factor that caused a challenge. The second was the problem of under-development stagnation and social change due to continuation and construction of traditionalism as against what these societies can achieve as modernity in the new world. Structural adjustments required to adapt into the capitalist economic system is not clearly visible and is a confused picture. International Globalization is a new phenomenon without pre-existing models for application to understand how development takes place. One major factor is that research should refer to the moves taken up by the US to prevent the expansion of terrorism into this region. South Asia as a region bordering the Indian Ocean is complex and does not lend itself to analysis as a living community. In the historical process what we see as US interest is the prevention of terrorism within the Asian countries that border around the Indian Ocean. This is a major challenge posed against the development of these countries. Military strategies refer to the activities in operation within the Indian Ocean. These countries are generally referred to as South Asia. However, these countries exclude the African coastline which also borders the Indian Ocean. This indicates that, US focus on the Indian Ocean is from the Asian side. Given this condition it appears that, what interests US is the region which is the sea line that opens into Asia.

#### **3.1 The US policy of the Containment of the Chinese Power**

Currently the US is at the crossroads with Asia. New situations arose after the Second World War and the conditions that existed at that time have changed. Structurally enemies to capitalism that existed in Asia at that time, is no more for now. The US still holds its hegemony. The strategies in the military areas in Asia have to be held with great care. Within Asia the possibility of spreading Soviet Communism or even Trotskyism seems diminished. Within the victorious capitalism, The US sees number of enemies. These enemies are openly diplomatic and are in constant contact with in trade and finance with US itself. But US Foreign Policy at the present moment is ambiguous. It is because of the suspicion that China may grow into a major power in Asia in the near future. In this context, the US fears that, China may control the economy in Asia. It is a complex condition on which US is trying hard to develop strategies to avert this catastrophe for US hegemony in Asia.

The US stand of their policy attitude was mooted in many media and otherwise discussions. The string of pearls strategy is a geo political interpretation of Chinese potential intentions in Asia. It refers to the network of Chinese economic facilities and relationships along its sea lines of communication. This term was originally coined by US scholars themselves to account for China's projected strategies. (Marantidou, 2014) As the map below indicates 'pearls' are widespread from the Strait of Hormuz to Strait of Malacca. The International Relations experts explains this as a purely commercial strategy of China towards South Asia funded and supported by China such as Gwadar Pakistan, Hambantota Sri Lanka, Chittagong Bangladesh, Sittwe Myanmar and Maroa Maldives. In response to this, trade activity the US Obama Administration 2012 started a strategy called 'Pivot to Asia'. According to this policy, the US experts to strengthen its ties with Asian states with the objective of gradually promoting Chinese expansion. (Campbell and Andrews, 2013) In this policy, the US intends to tighten their bonds with India and Pakistan. However, India is a country which conflicted with China regarding the border disputes. Alongside, US had long history of friendship with Pakistan. These two countries despite their friendships with US are having serious conflict regarding their borders. The research at an interview with an independent scholar by name Chapa Bandara stated that "enemy's enemy is a friend". This way he explains why US is friendly with both Pakistan and India, but separately. Other scholars interviewed hold different views. Some say that, US strategy is to contain China against Chinese expansion and maintain their continuity in economic hegemony.



**Map 1. Chinese Strategy of String of Pearls**

Source; Clint, J. S. 2015, April 5. What is the String of Pearls theory? [Map] quora. Retrieved from <https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-String-of-Pearls-theory-1>

According to the way how some scholars interpret the Chinese perspective, the China containment policy is controversial. Donald J Triumph 2016 competing for US presidency is of the stand that, "The US is not having any rivalry or competition with China. And the US considers China as the major economic partner to them". The US intellectual and political elites are not agreed and present confused stand points regarding what policy US should adopt. There is a considerable support to Triumph 2016 to view China as a partner to them. The attitudes are mixed with party politics and election programs. According to public citizens' viewpoint in Sri Lanka, which is an important South Asian country the researcher found out through questionnaires that nearly 56% held a partial view towards Chinese intervention in Sri Lanka. However, it was also found out that, nearly 90% of Sri Lankans appreciated the American values and life styles. A fewer percentage about 20% believe that, both China and US interested in naval foot holding Sri Lanka because of the value of Singapore and Sri Lanka's strategic position command in out into Indian Ocean.

**TABLE 2. Value of Trade Among the Three States (in millions of dollars)**

Year	India-China Trade	India-U.S. Trade	U.S.-China Trade
2013	68,052	96,749	616,542
2012	68,869	93,794	585,071
2011	72,201	87,150	546,293
2010	58,689	74,048	492,294
2009	40,983	60,015	395,130
2008	41,680	66,430	437,696
2007	34,068	57,884	412,223
2006	23,468	45,344	364,776
2005	17,351	36,880	302,129
2004	10,150	28,920	245,842
2003	6,182	23,930	191,755
2002	4,152	21,002	158,145
2001	2,751	18,551	130,918
2000	2,212	19,084	124,897

Sources: United Nations Comtrade database and the U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA)

Note: Bilateral trade with the United States is based on BEA data, including goods and services; bilateral trade between India and China is based on United Nations Comtrade data, which exclude services.

**Table 1. Value of Trade among US-China-India**

Source; Bureau of Economic Analysis, US Department of Commerce, (May 2015). Retrieved from <https://www.bea.gov/international/factsheet/>

According to the above table, it is very clear that, China's economic relationship is important to any country which communicates with China. China represents the biggest share of the US market. In practice, US and China can be interpreted as partners on one hand, US scientific knowledge developing academic and research institutions is important to maintain Chinese trade all over the world. Findings in modern science are difficult to be kept secret. The new technologies arising out of science can be copied bought over and spy systems can collect information needed to develop modern ways of replacing the old. Given this condition, technological objectives are linked with economic and hegemonic interests of nations. National interest was justified within accepted principles of peace, cooperation and fairness in trade transactions.

### 3.2 Strategic Interest over Resources and Trade

The globalization process in the world, given the prevailing conditions, a new community is emerging for the world. The United Nations established alongside the globalization process was a challenge to many nation states. The challenge was in terms of how the super powers thought about the world. The super powers thought that world peace should be established through outright intervention into warring nations. This was indeed a challenge because behaviourally globalization meant working together considering each nation a complete national identity. Alongside, their developed with globalization the spread of political liberalization. The new ideologues developed a viewpoint that capitalism can lead to nazist authoritarianism or uncontrolled despotism. The idea of liberalism introduced the thought that human identities are global and carry common affinities and attributes. Human beings are equal against nationalities in which race, religion and language currently dominate. This is a major challenge that the super powers face at intervention into other nations.

Given this condition, political views have to be examined against the way hoe the resource of the world developed and traded in the common interest of human beings. It is this factor that leads US to define their intervention in Asia as an intervention to promote development. The 19th century did not evince any intellectual debate on development and the development was not included in reasons for intervention in other countries. Political institutions of the time did not doubled with the issue of development. It is with the logic of United Nations that introduced the development ideology and the development decades thereof. In consequence, any intervention by super powers was labelled as the development intervention. US Aid was conceived as help to develop and humanitarian because the under developed world needed humanitarian assistance almost all the time. Development has to do with resource and trade. US intervention in South Asian countries came to be defined as development interventions. This paper analyses the US strategic

military intervention in Indian Ocean in terms of the development objective. The experience of the two great world wars made the US elite think that it could bring continuing peace to the world. The stipulated objective of combating terrorism implied that under development can cause terrorism. This strategy indeed carried strong element of US Aid PL 480, scholarships, and other forms of aid in large amounts intending that it could prevent terrorism by giving a hand to government development programs. American policy supported large NGO activities which helped in the development approved by the government. In different countries such programs had different names and had different departments for their implementation. Each country had development programs through which these NGOs operated. However, this development approach has been revised and improved according to experience and evaluations made annually to find out whether the objectives have been achieved.

According to the viewpoint of a distinguished diplomat interviewed on 28th April 2016 stated that, "The United States more strategic and careful when it wants to manage contending powers like Indian and Pakistan. Both states are equally important for the US economy". According to another viewpoint of a journalist by name Vijaya Dissanayake on 29th April 2016, "There is an economic motive of every action of the US. The invasion of Afghanistan was also part of the economic game. It is a large scale economic, political and strategic program. The main objective of this strategy is oil, in other words energy". He refers to most of the wars after 1990 as Energy Wars. Energy today indeed plays a key role in international politics. The researcher finds that "Resource Politics" in South Asia as oil politics in the manner it happens in West Asia. A question is raised by the research as to whether South Asian countries agree with the continual strengthening of the military strategy in definitely. Currently available research has not this as of date.

### **3.3 Establishing Democracy and Human Rights**

Democratic government is the major value emphasize in the US Foreign Policy. The US always calls for a high level of peoples' representation in the government. This is within the boundaries of the principles such as representative governments, public opinion, the constitution, ideology and education. Education is a technique to achieve this objective is given prominence by theoreticians. They emphasized values as equality, liberty and human rights. The US accepts the UN charter to respect the right of sovereignty in all states. However, if any state challenges on international peace and security, a super power may intervene and openly negotiate with the UN. The major states that hold the right to veto in the Security Council have often resorted to interventions. The veto has functioned as a rescue ground for the institution to continue even if other members descent. This facility is developmental for new attitudes to grow institutions must change and adopt because of this condition one can be very hopeful about the growth of these values through continued negotiation and application.

However, in the case of Sri Lanka some of the scholars, journalists and experts were not in the agreement with US intervention in the war partial to the terrorists. At the beginning they extended military training and strategic assistance to the government of Sri Lanka. However, around the time ending the war US supported diasporic and Indian intervention for a separate state within a vaguely defined sovereignty. At the beginning the US CIA was of view that the LTTE were one of the most dangerous and anti-social terrorist organization. Subsequently US changed its approach and demanded the safe extradition of the terrorist leader into their custody. Sri Lankan government was blamed for war crimes. The UNHRC is still of the view that Sri Lanka is guilty of war crimes. The research has not met with any data to conclude either view point. This situation has arisen because globalization has setting in motion a machine where information is made available to any interested person. The satellite system can provide operations to check and follow many things that happen on the ground. Media organizations covering detail every inch of the globe and keep watch on what's happening. However, it is not possible to prevent nation states or super powers using these machines to distort actual happenings. Against this picture of using modern technology super powers are capable of achieving public support to whatever intention they have in mind.

Running parallel to this, the publicity given to liberalism and economic equality these ideologies carry unresolved conflicts within defective institutions which have not been revised in accordance with new values as representative government. The question remains unanswered and that is, "has the institutions being revised in accordance with the new ideologies maximizing public representation?" This calls for evolutionary changes and this is another instance where globalization is making a demand on traditional institutions. US political institutions were created for internal government in 1776. It followed the principle 'no taxation without representation'. But over time taxes grew but not representation. The constitution stalwartly safeguarded the initial kind of representation with which US government began. The globalization process rationally and empirically has made the world a small place and have emphasized on the unity of the human identity as the characteristic global citizenship. There is in this process and undercurrent of humanity as a political value.

This factor is definitely a challenge faced by the super powers or any power who wants to act in their own national interest. More globalization can surface this undercurrent and be a major challenge to 'national interest'.

### **3.4 Preventing Nuclear War and Inter-State Conflicts**

According to recent statistics, it is reported that India has 100-120 nuclear warheads. Pakistan has 110-130 (Kronstadt, 2004) The US continually tried to convince both India and Pakistan to join the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty. This happened both within Clinton's administration and after. The US set forth non-proliferation benchmarks for Pakistan and India including the halting of any further nuclear testing. US also called for the Comprehensive Test ban Treaty (CTBT) halting the production of fissile material. A treaty for the control of fissile material is being negotiated. However, neither Pakistan nor India are signatories in CTBT and NPT. This means that, US faced the problem of getting nations to give up their traditional rivalries. This clearly indicates that there is a risk of nuclear war in the South Asian Region. However, some of the critics of International Relations are opposed to this point of view. The reason for this criticism is that, US does not make a special effort to redeem conflicts between nations and an element of 'divide and rule' exist hidden behind US policy. While the US believes in world peace, it comes in conflict with the interest of the US at economic benefit. What is foremost in their South Asian activities are economic interest. It is an ambiguity. One cannot forget the fact that US could be interpreted as keeping South Asia within its national conflicts, interstate conflicts or under-development. What we see as the US Foreign Policy in South Asia, is to sustain South Asia within its conflicts and underdevelopment and in turn eventually swell their own hegemonic power. Asia is only one part of the globe and US can feel that Asia will not pose a threat to their hegemonic power. It is within this context that, we can arrive at a conclusion of this research.

## **4. CONCLUSION**

Working for the Defense and the protection of national interest is achieved in international relations by using multiple methods like the military, diplomacy, intrigue, negotiation, persuasion etc. Militaristic methods are traditionally divided into two categories Defense and Offense. In practice and in historical process, these activities are organized into the overall strategy of conducting statecraft. Nevertheless, if the overall defense strategy dominates, it also is a continuing readiness for war. It can contradict the rational national interest of the state which is the individual citizen. The world has come to a stage where the individual citizen is a key focus of all liberal political action. Not only political action, but also the action of the international society, its community and the ultimate ideology of human progress. This is the dilemma that this research faced at concluding the observations made, and the insights that surface from it. The super power conflict and its methodology of hegemonic dominance are confusing. The US is one of the super powers interested in the Asian sea line.

At the beginning of the research, it was hypothesized that the declared objective of interfering in South Asia was an internationally impressive purpose. That was "combating terrorism". However, after covering considerable area of accessible literature on the subject it was concluded that, the policy of combating terrorism or its activity may and could extend over the declared demarcation. It appears that US policy goes beyond combating terrorism. It does not mean that, US policy had hidden agenda with not so pleasant a flavor to the world community.

'War against terrorism' was instituted during the time of the president Bush. There was very little difference in this policy with the coming of President Obama. However, during the time of Clinton, in the previous time of presidency there was a difference. There were a signs of openness and willingness to negotiate during the time of Clinton. But, overall strategies of foreign policy were similar. This could be seen at each historical context of changing governments and difference in trade patterns and economic crisis.

Today, the world is in an accelerated process of International Globalization. This is a challenge that the history of the world of traditional directions face as impediments to progress. A challenge carries obstacles wayward circumlocutions and confusion. This research surfaced out some of these manifestations of globalization. The researcher finds a need for a paradigm shift (Khun, 1962) to explain the phenomenon of these new emerging changes. US Defense Strategy in Asia meets with this challenge. US called their strategy a development aid for Asia. But, the proximity of men, women, children and nation in one whole under the process of Globalization disturb this scenario. The world is something like what a village was in traditional society. In the traditional societies of the past, and its continuing legacies into the 21st century, it is this village which possesses this challenge. Development demands the transference into modernity from the vestiges of traditions that lay widespread in Asia. Globalization has created this new community which needs new structures of effective democratization, liberal economic and social equality. In this context, research



raises a question. That is, "What has the super power done to make this new community democratic?" US has given a number of aid programs like US Aid, PL 480, concessions on wheat, milk etc. But, it is yet to find out, whether US strategies concentrated sufficiently to install a major attitudinal change to promote a spirit of sustainable development. Theoreticians believe that, the world will realize that if the producers are to sustain they will have to satisfy the consumer. Unless they satisfy the consumer, the development of democracy and effective representation can overthrow the ruling elites. The ruling elites of USA are capitalists comprising those who dabble in maximizing profits. Globalization has brought in a social circumstance where everybody in the world can meet, will meet and strive to achieve more and more representation of common interest. Common interests reflect the wishes of the individual. The individual is the global person who is a liberal, rational and empirical personality of world citizenship. They get together every day and get closer and closer in their dealings. Getting together, they will be more and more powerful and constrain the directions of foreign policy in their interest. This can cause a major obstacle to super power intervention in South Asia. This is a major challenge from international globalization.

The researcher as a member of a South Asian country finds meaning in inquiring into this topic area. It should finally justify the way how it contributes to Foreign Policy. Foreign Policy today in this modern world affects almost everyone in the international community. Humanity is the total coverage of this foreign policy. Sri Lanka as one of the South Asian countries is relevant to this issue of US Strategy in Asia. More and more data can help produce a fruitful and active public interest and there by contribute to a public viewpoint basing on the realities discovered by the research. Public opinion can intern influence policy making at the level of political elites currently operating in Sri Lanka.

## **5. ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I have the honor to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to each and every one who supported and guided me to complete this paper successfully.

First, I am very much obliged in the first instance to My Supervisor Ms. Kulani Wijayabahu, Lecturer, Department of International Relations, University of Colombo for the guidance and help she gave me to begin, progress and complete this research paper. Her patience, kindness, motivation, immense knowledge and constant surveillance of my work indeed led to the successful completion of the research.

I also extend my special thanks to Dr. Maneesha W. Pasquel, Head of the Department and to all the lecturers in the Department of International Relations, University of Colombo, who advised me off and on my thoughts on the subject in all the four years that preceded. They were indeed a source of untold help and guidance.

Further, I am very much thankful to Former Diplomatic Officer and lately Research Fellow at the NIE, Mr. Hemachandra Wijesooriya for his guidance. I reckon with appreciation the long discussions that helped me sort out technical details of a research work.

My sincere gratitude is also extended to the Librarian of Regional Centre of Strategic Studies (RCSS) Mrs. Kamani Perera and the Librarian of the American Centre who gave me helping hand with bunches of information on books in the preparation of this dissertation.

I also wish to express my sincere thanks to all the Distinguished Diplomats, University Lecturers, Scholars, International Relations Experts and Journalists who gave me personal interviews to make this effort a success.

I am also thankful to the public who responded me and supported me in my survey of the Sri Lankan viewpoint on the US Defense Strategy towards South Asia.

Most importantly, none of this would have been possible without the love and patience of my family. Therefore, I would like to express my heartiest gratitude to my Mother and Father. They have been a constant source of love and concern, support and strength all these years.

## **REFERENCE LIST**

- Bandara, C. (2016, May 03). Personal Interview. *US Policy of Containment China*.
- Bilton, T, et al. (1996). *Introductory Sociology*. London, Lon: Macmillan. 532-335.
- Campbell, K. & Brian A. (August 2013). Explaining the US 'Pivot' to Asia. *2013/01*, 2-8. Retrieved from



[https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/.../0813pp\\_pivottoasia.pdf](https://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/files/.../0813pp_pivottoasia.pdf)

- Carr, W & Kemmis S. (1986). *Becoming critical: Education, knowledge and action*. London. Lon: RoutledgeFarmer.
- Daalder, I. H. and James, M. L. (2003). *America Unbound: The Bush Revolution in Foreign Policy*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press. 99.
- Dissanayake, V. (2016, April 29). Personal Interview. *US Economic Interests*.
- Distinguished Diplomat. (2016, April 28). Personal Interview. *US Defense Strategy*.
- India-USA Economic Relations, The Next Decade*. (June 2009). New Delhi: Confederation of Indian Industry. 4.
- Khun, T. (1962) *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Kronstadt, A. (Jan 2009). US-India Relations. RL33529 52. Retrieved from PDF file.
- Kronstadt, K. A. & Bruce, V. (2009). Sri Lanka: Background and U.S. Relations. RL31707.16-17. Retrieved from [research.policyarchive.org/1595.pdf](http://research.policyarchive.org/1595.pdf)
- Kronstadt, K. A. (2004). Pakistan-U.S. Relations. 6-7. Retrieved from <http://carnegieenowment.org/pdf/npp/uspakistan.pdf>
- Marantidou, V. (June 2014). Revisiting China's 'String of Pearls' Strategy: Places 'with Chinese Characteristics' and their Security Implications.', (Map). Pacific Forum CSIS. 14, 6-9, [mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/.../140624\\_issuesinsights\\_vol14no7.pdf](http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/.../140624_issuesinsights_vol14no7.pdf)
- McNeill, P. (1992). *Research Methods*. New York, NY: Routledge. 43-5.
- National Security Strategy of the United States of America 2015*. (2015). White House: NY 24-25. Retrieved from [https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015\\_national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](https://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/docs/2015_national_security_strategy.pdf)
- Russell, B. (1918). Proposed Roads to Freedom: Socialism, Anarchism and Syndicalism. Retrieved from <http://pinkmonkey.com/dl/library1/digi311.pdf>
- Stern, R. M. (2009). *World Scientific Studies in International Economics*. Chennai, World Scientific Publishing Company.
- Strengthening the U.S.-Pakistan Economic Partnership: Policy Recommendations to the Obama Administration*. (2009). Lahore: U.S.-Pakistan Business Council. 5.
- Trump, D. J. (2016). (2016, May 12) Reforming the U.S.-China Trade Relationship to Make America Great Again. The Trump Organization. Retrieved from <https://www.donaldjtrump.com/positions/us-china-trade-reform>
- Tull, D. (2006). J. of Modern African Studies. *China's Engagement in Africa: Scope, Significance and Consequences*. 44, 459-479. Retrieved from <http://archives.cerium.ca/IMG/pdf/Tull.pdf>
- Vaughn, B. (2011). Congressional Research Service. *Nepal: Political Developments and Bilateral Relations with the United States*, PDF. 1.