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Rising Asia

April-June 2019 Issue 16



'New Zealand PM Jacinda Kate Laurell Ardern'



Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress (at Akasaka Imperial Residence, Crown Prince and Princess at that time)

"Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress of Japan"

His Majesty the Emperor Naruhito

(The 126th Emperor)

- Name
Naruhito
- Lineage
Eldest Son of the Emperor Akihito (The 125th Emperor), the Emperor Emeritus
- Date of Birth
23 February 1960
- The Personal Title for Young Members (Been conferred in accordance with the Imperial Family's tradition of appellation)
Prince Hiro (Hiro-no-Miya)
- Investiture as Crown Prince
23 February 1991
- Education
1982 – Graduated from the Department of History in the Faculty of Letters of Gakushuin University
1983 – 1985 – Studied abroad at Merton College, University of Oxford, UK
1988 – Completed first part of doctorate at the Graduate School of Humanities of Gakushuin University
1992 – Became guest researcher in the archives of Gakushuin University
1992 – Became visiting research fellow of the Museum of History of Gakushuin University

Her Majesty the Empress Masako

- Name
Masako
- Date of Birth
9 December 1963
- Education
1985 – Graduated from the Faculty of Economics of Harvard University, USA
1987 – Left Tokyo University
1987 – Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs
1988 – 1990 – Studied abroad at Balliol College, University of Oxford, UK
1993 – Left the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- Marriage
9 June 1993
- Children
Her Imperial Highness Princess Aiko
- Date of Birth : 1 December 2001
- The Personal Title for Young Members : Princess Toshi (Toshi-no-Miya)
Third year student at Gakushuin Girl's Senior High School.

In Pictures: Thailand Officially Welcomes New King Maha Vajiralongkorn and Queen Michiko Shoda with Coronation Ceremony





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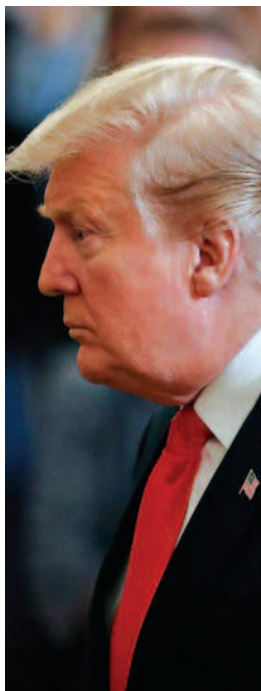
Beautiful Quotes



“

New Zealand condemns all acts of terrorism, and our resolve has only been strengthened by the attack on our soil on the 15th of March. ... New Zealand rejects all forms of extremism and stands for freedom of religion and the right to worship safely.

Jacinda Ardern



“

The United States offers heartfelt condolences to the great people of Sri Lanka. We stand ready to help!

Donald Trump

Editor's Note



Russia on May 9th, 2019 was marking the 74th anniversary of the Soviet Union's defeat of Nazi Germany in World War Two. The Victory came at great cost. The figures will never be absolutely clear, but historians agree that some 30 million people across the USSR lost their lives in defence of their country. On this victory day, we commemorate the heroism of the defenders of the Soviet Union who will always live on in our hearts and we pray to the Almighty for their salvation.

It has been nearly ten years since the guns fell silent in Sri Lanka's civil war. But bloodshed returned with a vengeance on April 21st, 2019, Easter Sunday when a succession of explosions ripped through three churches packed with worshipers, and three five star hotels. More than 350 innocent lives were lost and hundreds more were injured.

We extend our 'heartfelt condolences' to the families of those killed and wounded. We stand with the Sri Lankan government and the people in their quest to bring to justice the perpetrators of these despicable and senseless acts.

On 25-27 April, 2019, Beijing hosted the second 'Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation', which was attended by 37 foreign heads of state, government and representatives from more than 150 countries and 90 international organizations. The level of participants and the attention received around the world left no doubt as to the growing attractiveness of the initiative. As a result of the forum, more than 283 concrete result were achieved in the fields of infrastructure development, policy coordination and people to people cooperation. The event should be seen to represent significant global development amidst uncertain times.

Bangladesh is a proud member of this majestic initiative and it can play a significant role for the advancement of this epic project. The Centre for East Asia Foundation, Bangladesh, have launched an exclusive magazine on China. "The Belt and Road" magazine is the first one of its kind in the history of Bangladesh to focus primarily on China. Its inauguration ceremony was held on the 20th of April, 2019 in Dhaka. The primary objectives of this novel initiative is to highlight and popularize the great vision of China and its "Belt and Road Initiative", among policy makers and stakeholders as well as the general populace of Bangladesh.

Best Regards

Nasim Mahmud

Chief Editor

Rising Asia Magazine (RAM)

Email: ndipu1966@gmail.com



Bright Prospects of Tourism in Pakistan

Shah Faisal Kakar



Geography is an earthly subject, but a heavenly science. Geographically Pakistan is located on the very unique position where all four weather is

enjoyed with distinction and blessed with mighty mountains, long rivers, lush greenery, fertile agriculture land, plain desert and innumerable natural scenic beauty which are uncharted. The tourism sector is considered as one of the largest economic sectors in the world. It is also regarded as the most important economic activity in many developed economies of the world due to the opportunities it offers in creating employment and augmenting the foreign exchange earnings of the country.

From the mighty stretches of the Karakorum in the North to the vast delta of the Indus River in the South, Pakistan remains a land of high adventure and nature. Pakistan is endowed with rich flora and fauna. Gilgit-Baltistan, for instance, is one of the most spectacular regions in the world in terms of its geography and scenic beauty. World's three mightiest mountain ranges: the Karakoram, the Hindukush, and the Himalayas meet in this region, rendering it a paradise for mountaineers, trekkers, and anglers. Besides the numerous peaks above 8,000 meters in these mighty mountain ranges, alpine meadows, the vast Indus plain, the great desert, the coastline, and wetlands are an addition to Pakistan's beauty. Ten of 18 highest mountain peaks are in Pakistan. K-2 is the second highest moun-

tain peak in the world located in the Karakorum mountain range. It borders with China and Pakistan. Its total length is 8611 meters.

Besides, Pakistan is home to some of the world's oldest civilizations, i.e. Mehergarh, Gandhara, and Indus valley civilization (Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa). In addition to high mountain and archaeological tourism, Pakistan also offers religious tourism and conventional and cultural tourism. Pakistan is also home to several religious places which are the sacred attraction for Hindu, Buddhist, and Sikh. Gurdwaras at Nankana Sahib and Hasan Abdal are a great attraction for Sikhs all over the world.

Taxila is another archaeological treasure of the ancient Gandhara Kingdom located in Pakistan. It is a city of the Gandharan civilization, sometimes known as one of its capitals. Taxila was a hub of Buddhism, a center of learning, an urban metropolis and a meeting point of various cultures.

The great Mughal history presents yet another illustrious era of art, music, architecture, and gardens which speaks volume of their skill and taste. Their remnants of the splendor are scattered all over the country. Lahore known as the cultural hub of Pakistan hosts some of the most impressive Mughal and Victorian architecture. The elegance of the Wazir Khan mosque and a glass work art in Sheesh Mahal at Lahore fort are the magnificent examples of intricate artwork.

In recent years, Pakistan has largely been unable to attract the attention of international tourists to the degree its

tourist attractions merit despite its rich history, treasured heritage, impressive landscapes, and unique cultural diversity. The key hurdle in the realization of its tourism is the continuous flow of lopsided media reports about Pakistan and lack of information about its tourist attractions.

In the last few years, more than 1.7 million foreigners have visited Pakistan annually, which shows a remarkable increase in the ratio of tourists' influx. By the year 2025, the tourism sector is expected to contribute US dollar 7 billion, to Pakistan's economy.

With the growing focus on developing Pakistan's tourism industry, unprecedented visa liberalization has been formulated by the present government. In an effort to bring about a boost in the tourism sector, Prime Minister Imran Khan on 14 March 2019 announced to introduce on-arrival visas for 50 countries and e-visas for 175 countries. Bangladesh has been placed in category A and is one of 175 countries from where they can apply for e-visas. Moreover, IATA approved tour operators have also been allowed to bring tourist groups to Pakistan. In order to further facilitate the tourists visiting Pakistan, the government has eased the previous policies which could restrict the tourist's movements in Gilgit-Baltistan and Azad Jammu & Kashmir areas.

With the amplified efforts by the incumbent government, Pakistan's profile in the global tourism sector is going up fast with various tourism, media organizations, and travelers now figuring it among the world's top tourist destinations. Be it Forbes, the

global media company, solo travelers or bloggers, all are in unanimity to believe Pakistan is fast becoming a tourism hub with its changing geo-strategic situation, improvement in the internal security environment and more importantly the liberalization of tourists' visa policy.

The rapid rise in economic activity, particularly under the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), and the consequent enhancement of world's interest in Pakistan for investment, has also cast encouraging impact on the country's dwindling tourism industry. Based on the improving ranking amid positive observations by

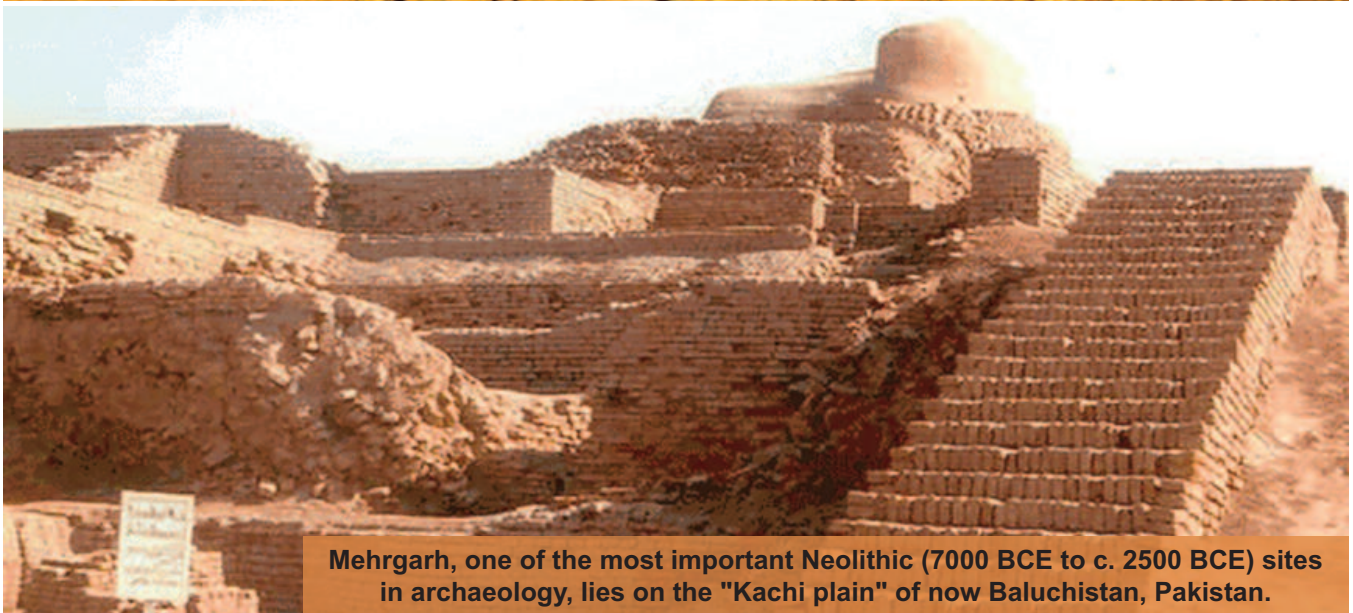
various organizations and foreign travelers, it is for sure that Pakistan will emerge as a popular international tourist destination in the time to come.

Shah Faisal Kakar is Acting High Commissioner for Pakistan in Dhaka, Bangladesh.

DISCOVER PAKISTAN



Buzi Pass, Makran Coastal Highway, Hingol National Park, Baluchistan, Pakistan.



Mehrgarh, one of the most important Neolithic (7000 BCE to c. 2500 BCE) sites in archaeology, lies on the "Kachi plain" of now Baluchistan, Pakistan.



The Soviet WWII Counter offensive that Changed the Course of History

Andrei Stanavov

Between late 1942 and early 1943, along the snow-covered steppes off the banks of the Volga River, the Nazi war machine suffered the most devastating defeat in its history – one from which it would never fully recover.

The Soviet counter offensive around Stalingrad, known as 'Operatsiya Uran' (Operation Uranus) started on November 19, and continued until February 2, 1943. The daring operation, planned by Soviet High Command and executed by Generals Georgy Zhukov, Konstantin Rokossovsky, Alexander Vasilevsky and Nikolai Vatutin, culminated in the encirclement and liquidation of a 300,000+ Wehrmacht army group led by Field Marshal Friedrich Paulus and units from Germany's Axis partners.

The battle was preceded by the Nazi offensive into southern Russia and the Caucasus in the summer of 1942, during which Nazi Germany reached the zenith of its territorial gains following its invasion of the USSR. Among the goals of the operation was Stalingrad, the strategic industrial city on the Volga with the additional, symbolic importance of carrying the namesake of Soviet leader Josef Stalin, the

commander in chief of the Red Army. "Nevertheless," Russian military journalist and RIA Novosti contributor Andrei Stanavov recalled, "the enemy did not succeed in taking the embankment of the Volga and the city center, in spite of their five fold superiority in numbers and fire power."

Loathe to comparisons of Stalingrad to the bloody WWI meat grinder, Hitler demanded that his generals throw their battered units into Stalingrad again and again. The last push, which began in the fall and involved five infantry and two tank divisions, was halted by Vasily Chuikov's depleted and pocketed but defiant 62nd Army, which refused to give a single street, house, or room to the enemy without a fight.

The Red Army amassed a powerful grouping of forces from the South-Western, Don, Stalingrad and Voronezh fronts and concentrated them at Stalingrad, reinforcing them with mechanized units from the reserve. The group included more than a million troops, 15,000 guns and mortars, about 2,000 aircraft, and 1,500 tanks and self-propelled artillery pieces.

"By November 1942, from the operational point of view, the Wehrmacht was not in the most favorable position on the approaches to Stalingrad," the military journalist explained. "Focused on their assault, the Germans moved their best strike formations into the city, covering the flanks with weak Romanian and Italian divisions. It would be against



them that the powerful dual blows from the Red Army forces in the South-Western and Stalingrad fronts would come. Soviet command chose the Serafimovich and Keltskaya areas as the bridgeheads for the assaults, as well as the Sarpinsky Lakes area, located to the south of the city."

On November 19, troops from the South-Western Front under the command of



Colonel-General Vatutin and part of the Don Front started their offensive. Striking the Axis grouping in its left flank from the north in a lightening advance, the Red Army broke through the Romanian 3rd Army's defenses, driving enemy forces back 35 km. A day later, rifle divisions from the Stalingrad Front commanded by Colonel-General Andrei Yeremenko struck from the southeast, smashing the 4th Romanian Army and advancing 30 km, softening up enemy entrenchments with 80 minutes of concentrated artillery fire. On November 22, the Soviet 26th Tank Corps seized the bridge across the Don and took the town of Kalach –directly behind the German 6th Army and elements of the 4th Panzer Corps. In the space of a few days, the Red Army proceeded to create an iron ring around the 300,000-strong Axis force, including German, Romanian, Italian, Croatian and

collaborationist units from the occupied Soviet territories, trapping 22 German divisions and over 160 individual units. By November 30, enemy attempts to break out of the encirclement were stopped.

Starting in December, Hermann Hoth's 30-division-strong Army Group Don attempted to break through the ring in the area near the village of Kotelnikovo. They were met by the 122,000-troop-strong 2nd Guards Army commanded by Lieutenant General Rodion Malinovsky. In fierce battles, Hoth's tanks got bogged down along the Myshkova River, and the offensive was stopped. Field Marshal Erich von Manstein, the commander of the operation, asked the Fuhrer to allow Paulus to attempt to break through to meet Hoth, but Hitler refused, believing the Sixth Army could still hold on to Stalingrad.

During fighting between January and

early February 1943, the Red Army's Don Front forces, commanded by General Konstantin Rokossovsky, gradually cut the encircled group up into several pieces and destroyed it. On January 31, Paulus and his command were captured, and promptly surrendered. Axis troops and officers surrendered in droves, notwithstanding orders from Berlin not to do so. The remainder of the 6th Army capitulated on February 2, 1943.

Stalingrad became the main turning point in the European Theater of World War II, and Nazi Germany's first major defeat following the air-based Battle of Britain in 1940. In 1943, after their defeat in the massive tank battles at Kursk, and the Allied invasion of Italy, the Nazis' total and unconditional capitulation became only a matter of time. Stalingrad was the first nail in that coffin.

Andrei Stanavov, *Russian military special reporter, Sputnik International (News agency)*

Akihito will be remembered as an emperor of the people'

Andrew Horvat



When Emperor Hirohito passed away 30 years ago, the only thing known for certain about the late monarch's views was that

he treasured his memories of a visit to Disneyland. This was known for sure because of a photograph of Hirohito taking part in a rice-planting ceremony which showed him wearing a Mickey Mouse watch. On all other

matters, the monarch's views were received indirectly, through the statements of those who claimed to have spoken with him.

As a result, Emperor Hirohito's opinions on the crucial issues and events of his 68 years on the throne during war and peace have remained largely a mystery.

This changed with the ascendance of Emperor Akihito. To be sure, Akihito adhered strictly to his constitutionally mandated role as 'a symbol of the state and the unity of the people', and therefore refrained from making state-

ments on matters of policy. Yet through his actions, choice of words and phrases, places he visited and even his body language, Akihito made it clear that he was a people's monarch and a strong supporter of Japan's post-war constitution.

Beyond that, he showed that he sees a role for the emperor in promoting peace, reconciliation and a Japan open to the rest of the world.

From his first press conference after becoming emperor, Akihito revealed his liberal inclinations. When the captain of the Imperial Household



Agency Press Club rose to ask the first question, the Emperor interrupted, asking him to 'please remain seated'.

The reporter, stunned silent by the unrehearsed comment, finally blurted, 'But your Imperial Majesty, it has been decided that I should stand'.

'In that case,' replied the Emperor, 'Please feel free to stand'.

By asking the reporter not to 'stand on ceremony' the new Emperor indicated that he wanted a more relaxed and closer relationship with his people than was achieved during his father's reign. The first half of Hirohito's rule was defined by a statist ideology that encouraged his subjects to see an emperor as a 'god incarnate' — a distant yet benevolent figure who could not be looked at directly.

Post-war efforts to turn Hirohito into a people's monarch were not entirely successful. But it was evident from that first press conference that Emperor Akihito would move quickly to shrink the distance between the imperial institution and the people.

The first change Akihito made was to the language he used in public. Unlike the strictly regulated speech of his father — it was thought that emperors should not use polite language when speaking to their subjects — Akihito chose to speak in public using normal everyday Japanese. He also used language with great care, often using a single word or expression to convey a major message.

For example, in 2015 it was reported that Emperor Akihito and Empress Michiko would visit Palau to mark the 70th anniversary of the end of World War II and pay their respects to the

10,000 soldiers killed in 1944 on the nearby island of Peleliu. On arrival, Akihito stated that he had come to remember 'all those who had lost their lives.'

The expression, *subete no hitobito* (all people), was intended not only for the Micronesians present at his welcome banquet but also for audiences back in Japan. By referring to the total number killed on Peleliu as 10,000, the Japanese media had ignored the 1700 US Marines who perished in the same battle. As during his visit to Saipan 10 years earlier, Emperor Akihito made a point of paying his respects to the dead of both sides of the war.

In his farewell address on 24 February 2019, Akihito recalled that he had met many people of Japanese ancestry living in foreign countries throughout his travels. Referring to the prospect of increasing numbers of foreigners coming to Japan to augment a declining labour force, Akihito added that he hoped these foreigners would receive a warm welcome as they integrated into Japanese society.

Sometimes, Akihito's message could be indirect, but still clear to those it was intended for. For example, in his speech two years ago requesting the Japanese government to take legal action to permit him to step down, he referred to the role of the Emperor as a 'symbol' 8 times in 10 minutes. On 24 February, in another short talk, he used the word five times.

Could he have been directing his message at conservative politicians making moves to rewrite Japan's post-war constitution, the first line of which refers to the Emperor as a symbol of

the Japanese nation and the unity of the people?

Akihito has often spoken about how he has given much thought in his time on the throne to how he could best fulfil his symbolic role. He often used the words *kokumin ni yorisou* (to stand close to the people) in how he has seen that role. But he and Empress Michiko have done more. During many visits to evacuation centres to comfort residents of areas affected by natural disasters, they got down on their knees when speaking with families who had spent days living in gymnasia or community centres separated from each other by cardboard partitions.

Akihito's efforts over the past 30 years to democratise the imperial institution have been met with virtually unqualified success. According to an NHK survey conducted in 2009 on the 20th anniversary of Akihito's ascent to the throne, 85 per cent of respondents either agreed wholeheartedly or in large part that the emperor was fulfilling his constitutional role. The results of a Mainichi Shimbun survey taken this year raised the ratio to 87 per cent. Questions relating to how close people felt to their emperor also elicited high scores.

If one were to find fault with this liberal, democratic, inclusive and caring Emperor, it would be that he gives hereditary succession a good name.

Andrew Horvat is a Japan-based writer and commentator and co-editor with Gebard Hielscher of *Sharing the Burden of the Past – Legacies of War in Europe, America and Asia*.



New Zealand mosque massacre results of Islamophobia

Prof. Sarwar Md. Saifullah Khaled



All-faith mass funerals were held on March 22, 2019 before burial of the victims of the Christchurch mosque massacre on March 15, 2019. Thou-

sands gathered on March 22, 2019 to remember the 50 people, including five Bangladeshis, killed by a lone gunman at two mosques in Christchurch. The Muslim call to prayer sounded out over Christchurch and around New Zealand. Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern joined about 20,000 people standing quietly at Hagley Park, in front of the Al Noor mosque where most of the victims were killed. She said in a short speech, followed by two minutes of silence, that "New Zealand mourns with you. We are one".

Most victims of New Zealand's worst mass shooting were migrants or refugees from countries such as Pakistan, India, Malaysia, Indonesia, Turkey, Somalia, Afghanistan and Bangladesh. Imam Gamal Fouda told the crowd, many wearing headscarves in support of the grieving Muslim community, that "We are broken-hearted, but we are not broken. We are alive, we are together, and we are determined to not let anyone divide us". He in prayers broadcast nationally, said "To the families of the victims, your loved ones did not die in vain. Their blood has watered the seeds of hope".

With some forming human chains in front of mosques, tens of thousands of people paid their respects around the country. Others said silent prayers at schools, cafes and even offices. In Christchurch, relatives of the victims and other mourners thronged into a

cemetery where 27 of the victims were laid to rest in a mass burial. Referring to an Islamic funeral prayer, one mourner said over a microphone, that "This is a special Janazah. We don't do these every day. We don't bury 27 of our brothers and sisters every day". The first to be laid to rest was Naeem Rashid, who was hailed as a hero, killed trying to tackle the gunman at the Al Noor mosque.

A suspected white supremacist, Australian Brenton Tarrant, 28, has been charged with one murder following the Christchurch attack and was remanded without a plea. Ardern, who swiftly denounced the shooting as terrorism, announced a ban on military-style semi-automatic and assault rifles on March 21, 2019. Surrounded by ministers and security officials, she came to Hagley Park wearing a black headscarf and a black suit. Female police at the park also wore headscarves, with a red rose on their uniforms. The imam, Fouda, in a powerful speech that lasted about 20 minutes, said that through its love and compassion, New Zealand was unbreakable. He said that "We are here in our hundreds and thousands unified for one purpose that hate will be undone, and love will redeem us". Fouda also denounced Islamophobia, saying it had killed people.

On the other side after the attack on two New Zealand mosques that killed 50 people, the Muslim nations called for "genuine" measures against Islamophobia. The ministers from the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) said in a statement after a meeting in Istanbul that violence driven by Islamophobia requires "genuine, comprehensive and systematic measures to address this affliction". The attacks against mosques and murders of Muslims showed the brutal, inhumane and

horrific outcomes of hatred of Islam. The OIC called for countries with Muslim communities, minorities or migrants to refrain from statements and practices that associate Islam with terror, extremism and threats to society.

During the attacks in Christchurch mosques, New Zealand, alleged gunman Brenton Tarrant killed 50 men, women and children. The victims include people aged between three and 77 years old and left dozens injured. The self-avowed white supremacist live streamed much of the attack and spread a manifesto on social media claiming it was a strike against Muslim "invaders". Following the deadly attacks on two New Zealand mosques, Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan called for a global fight against rising Islamophobia like "anti-Semitism after the Holocaust". The Turkish leader has presented the mosque attacks by a self-avowed white supremacist as part of a wider assault on Islam. He demands that the West do more against anti-Muslim sentiment.

Erdogan told a meeting of ministers from the Organization of Islamic Cooperation in Istanbul that just as humanity fought against anti-Semitism after the Holocaust disaster it should fight against rising Islamophobia in the same determined fashion. He said that right now Muslims are facing Islamophobia and Muslim hatred. He demands that the far-right neo-nazi groups should be treated as terrorists in the same way as Daesh terrorists. Islam is a religion of peace and compassion and none should misunderstand it.

Prof. Sarwar Md. Saifullah Khaled is a retired Professor of Economics, BCS General Education Cadre.



Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc (fifth from right) and Indian Vice President Venkaiah Naidu (sixth from right) (Source: VNA)

Vietnam welcomes India's investment

Vietnam welcomes India's investment in the fields of information technology, infrastructure, energy and hi-tech agriculture, Prime Minister Nguyen Xuan Phuc has said, reported the Nhan Dan online.

Receiving Indian Vice President Venkaiah Naidu, who is also Chairman of the Rajya Sabha (Upper House) of the Parliament of India, in Hanoi on May 11, 2019 PM Phuc voiced his belief that the visit will contribute to maintaining high political trust and boosting collaboration in all spheres between the two countries.

Vice President Naidu appreciated Vietnam's efforts and contributions to religious and Buddhist activities, believing that the 16th UN Day of Vesak hosted by the country would be a success.

The leaders agreed to maintain the exchange of all-level delegations and meetings, people-to-people exchanges and existing cooperation

mechanisms.

They emphasised the importance of bilateral cooperation in defence and security. PM Phuc proposed India continue assisting Vietnam in human resource training, boosting collaboration between the two armies and sharing experience in UN peacekeeping operations.

Both leaders held that economic and trade cooperation remains a pillar in bilateral relations and agreed to lift the two-way trade value to US\$15 billion in the time to come. They consented to consider the opening of the Indian market for Vietnam's longan, grapefruit, rambutan and durian, and allowing India's pomegranate, grapes and millet to enter the Vietnamese market.

The leaders highlighted the need for intensifying collaboration in other fields such as development cooperation, information technology, science-technology, culture, tourism and people-to-people exchanges.

The leaders pledged to create favourable conditions for Vietjet, Indigo and other airlines to soon launch direct air routes connecting the two nations.

PM Phuc and Vice President Naidu exchanged opinions on regional and international issues of mutual concern and agreed to maintain close coordination and mutual support at regional and international forums, particularly within the framework of the United Nations.

Regarding the East Sea issue, both leaders agreed upon the importance of peace, stability, as well as safety, security and freedom of aviation and navigation, and settlement of disputes through peaceful measures, respecting international law, including the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), and soon completing an effective Code of Conduct (COC) in the East Sea.

Courtesy: Viet Nam News Agency (VNA).



What Is the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP)?

Though President Trump withdrew from the TPP, the remaining members of the trade pact have forged ahead with a new version, leaving the U.S. role in the Asia-Pacific in question.

James McBride and Andrew Chatzky



Introduction

The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) was the centerpiece of President Barack Obama's strategic pivot to Asia.

Before President Donald J. Trump withdrew the United States in 2017, the TPP was set to become the world's largest free trade deal, covering 40 percent of the global economy.

For its supporters, such a deal would have expanded U.S. trade and investment abroad, spurred economic growth, lowered consumer prices, and created new jobs, while also advancing U.S. strategic interests in the Asia-Pacific region. But its detractors, including Trump, saw the deal as likely to accelerate U.S. decline in manufacturing, lower wages, and increase inequality.

With the United States on the sidelines, the remaining TPP countries have forged ahead with a new version of the pact, known as the Comprehensive and Progressive Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP), keeping most of the original intact. Trump signaled in early 2018 that he would be willing to reenter TPP discussions under certain conditions, but he quickly backtracked and observers see the possibility as unlikely.

What were the origins of the TPP?

The impetus for what became the TPP was a 2005 trade agreement between a small group of Pacific Rim countries comprising Brunei, Chile, New Zealand, and Singapore. In 2008, President George W. Bush announced that the United States

would begin trade talks with this group, leading Australia, Vietnam, and Peru to join. As the talks proceeded, the group expanded to include Canada, Japan, Malaysia, and Mexico—twelve countries in all.

Upon taking office in 2009, Obama continued the talks. In 2011, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton framed the TPP as the centerpiece of the United States' strategic pivot to the Asia-Pacific region. After nineteen official rounds of negotiations and many more separate meetings, the participating countries came to an agreement in October 2015 and signed the pact in early 2016.

These negotiations overcame significant political hurdles, with countries agreeing to difficult reforms of their economies. For instance, Japan's powerful farming lobby resisted the reduction of tariffs on agricultural goods, while the country agreed to reduce barriers to its auto market. Canada agreed to allow more foreign access to its heavily protected dairy market, while Brunei, Malaysia, and Vietnam promised to reform their labor laws, and U.S. negotiators compromised on some of their demands for stricter patent protections for pharmaceuticals.

However, the deal was never ratified by the U.S. Congress, as it became a target of both Republican and Democratic candidates during the 2016 presidential campaign. Trump formally withdrew from the TPP on his first full day in office, in January 2017.

What did the parties agree to?

The TPP text consisted of thirty chapters, covering tariffs on goods and

services, intellectual property (IP) rights, e-commerce rules, labor and environmental standards, dispute resolution mechanisms,

and many other aspects of global trade. The goal of this ambitious mega regional deal—one spanning several continents and covering some 40 percent of world trade—was to create a fully integrated economic area and establish consistent rules for global investment. For Obama, the pact was a means to ensure that “the United States—and not countries like China—is the one writing this century's rules for the world's economy.”

Some prominent provisions included:

i) Elimination or reduction of tariffs.

The deal lowered tariffs and other trade barriers on a vast range of goods, including many automotive and other manufactured products, textiles and apparel, and agricultural commodities, such as meat, dairy, produce, and grains. Some estimates put the total tariff reduction among TPP members at 98 percent.

ii) Liberalization of services trade. Restrictions on cross-border services were removed, and rules added to ensure that businesses offering services in areas including retail, communications, entertainment, and finance would be protected from discrimination.

iii) Investment rules. Markets were opened to foreign investment among





Remaining members of the TPP gather at the signing agreement ceremony in Santiago, Chile, in March 2018. Ivan Alvarado/Reuters

members, and rules added to protect investors from unfair treatment. The controversial investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) provision, which allows investors to sue host governments using international arbitration panels, was included.

iv) E-commerce guidelines. The TPP was the first regional deal to include comprehensive rules on digital commerce, which would have ensured the free flow of information across borders, mandated consumer privacy protections, and banned policies that force investors to move their servers and other related facilities to the host country.

v) Intellectual property protections. The deal contained extensive provisions on IP, including patent enforcement, lengthened copyright terms, and protections for technology and trade secrets. This included controversial new protections for prescription drugs, including for a new class of

medications known as biologics, pushed by the United States.

vi) Labor and environmental standards. The TPP went further than previous trade deals in committing members to allow workers to form unions, prohibit child and forced labor, improve workplace conditions, and strengthen environmental protections.

Other important provisions included rules on transparency, restrictions on monopolies and state-owned enterprises, and streamlined regulations meant to make it easier for smaller businesses to trade across borders.

How would the deal benefit the United States?

For the American architects of the TPP, the pact was to be the center of an Asia-focused strategy to pursue both economic and geopolitical interests.

On the economic side of the equa-

tion, the Obama administration and many trade economists argued that the deal's lower tariffs and increased market access would have reduced prices for consumers, spurred cross-border investment, and boosted U.S. exports. More consistent rules and market-oriented reforms in developing countries such as Vietnam and Malaysia, they said, would make all the economies involved more efficient, increasing productivity and growth.

The TPP economies make up some 40 percent of global gross domestic product (GDP), and the agreement would have been the largest ever completed by the United States, both in terms of the number of countries and total trade flows. U.S. International Trade Commission data [PDF] shows that U.S. trade with TPP countries amounted to more than \$1.5 trillion, or about 40 percent of all U.S. trade, in 2015. The United States has exist-



ing free trade deals with many TPP countries, including Australia, Canada, and Mexico, but not with Japan, the world's third-largest economy.

Many economic studies, including those by U.S. government agencies and think tanks, have projected that the TPP would boost the U.S. economy, with one predicting an added \$130 billion to U.S. GDP by 2030, or an increase of about 0.5 percent. However, some models showed a mixed impact on employment, with job losses in manufacturing offset by growth in the agriculture and service sectors.

As for the TPP's geostrategic value, the Obama administration argued that it would bolster U.S. leadership in Asia and strengthen its alliances in the region. In 2011, Secretary Clinton pointed to how the deal would deepen Washington's relationship with Tokyo, the "cornerstone of peace and stability in the region." She also said it would advance broader Asian integration efforts, supporting regional institutions, such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum.

The TPP would also have ensured that the United States led the way on global trade rules. Analysts say that U.S.-led deals generally provide for deeper economic reforms and higher labor, environmental, and health standards, which participant countries are incentivized to adopt in order to gain access to new markets, than China-led ones. While Trump has made confronting China's trade-distorting policies a centerpiece of his agenda, experts including CFR's Edward Alden say that withdrawing from the TPP reduced Washington's leverage and made it harder to deal with Beijing's abuses.

The TPP would also have ensured that the United States led the way on

global trade rules.

For its part, Beijing is pushing a separate trade agreement, the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), which would include sixteen Asia-Pacific countries but exclude the United States. It has also launched its Belt and Road Initiative, which seeks to develop trade and energy infrastructure throughout South and Central Asia.

What drove opposition to the TPP?

The TPP was the target of attacks from across the U.S. political spectrum, especially during the 2016 presidential campaign, as well as from some groups in other participating countries. Trump long criticized the deal, claiming that it would push more manufacturing jobs overseas, increase the U.S. trade deficit, and fail to address currency manipulation by U.S. trade partners.

Some Democrats agreed at least partially with this prognosis, including presidential candidates Bernie Sanders and Hillary Clinton, although Clinton had championed the TPP as a vital component of Obama's pivot to Asia during her tenure as secretary of state. Many in the U.S. labor movement also fought it, arguing that trade deals such as the TPP erode wages and lower environmental and labor standards. They say such a deal could repeat the experience of the 1994 North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Canada, Mexico, and the United States, which they blame for job losses in manufacturing.

Trump long criticized the deal, claiming that it would push more manufacturing jobs overseas.

Trade unions in Australia, Canada, and elsewhere opposed the deal on the grounds that it gives global corporations too much power over domes-

tic policymaking, undercuts wages, and increases the incentives to move manufacturing production to lower-cost countries. Critics also maintained that provisions on labor and environmental standards were vague and unlikely to be consistently enforced.

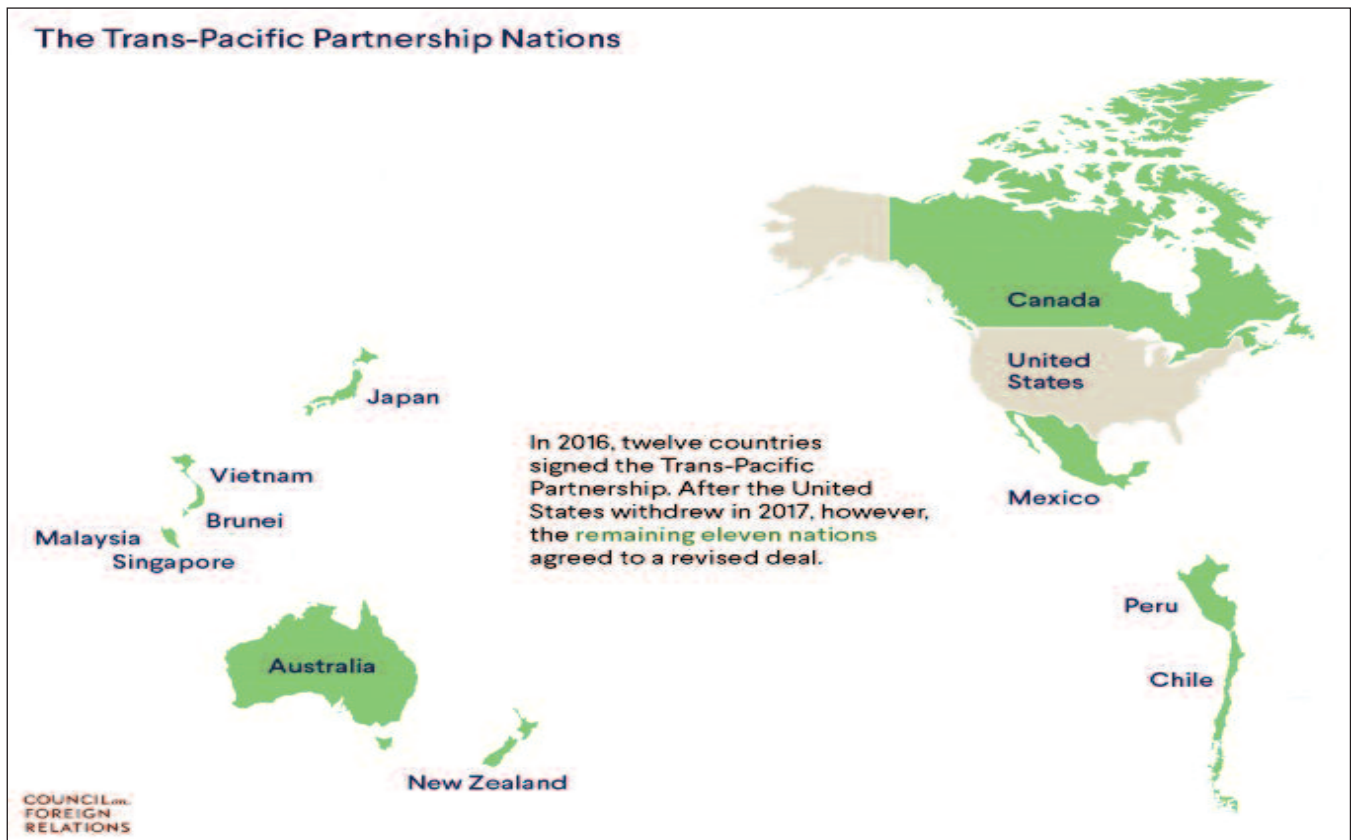
Many pro-TPP economists have acknowledged that expanded trade, while a net positive for growth, has downsides. Former Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers points to evidence that it has increased inequality by "allowing more earning opportunities for those at the top and exposing ordinary workers to more competition." However, they argue that the loss of manufacturing jobs has more to do with new technologies than with trade and that trade deals can help U.S. workers by opening foreign markets to the goods and services they produce.

What is the CPTPP, and how is it different?

After Trump withdrew from the TPP, the remaining eleven signatories, known as the TPP-11, continued talks with the aim of salvaging a pact without the United States. Their effort was successful, leading to the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership, or CPTPP, which was signed in March 2018. It has already been ratified by a majority of members and entered into force for those countries on December 30, 2018.

While much of the CPTPP remains unchanged from the original TPP, trade experts say that there are important differences. These are largely changes to or the removal of measures pushed by Washington that were unpopular among the other participants.

The largest and most substantive change centers on intellectual property. In TPP negotiations, Washing-



ton pushed hard for longer copyright terms, automatic patent extensions, and separate protections for new technologies, including so-called biologics, a cutting-edge medical technology. Largely opposed by the other participants, these provisions were removed from the CPTPP. The investment chapter was also modified. Members kept the ISDS provision, but they limited its scope. Some timelines for implementation of certain measures were also altered, and some labor and environmental rules partially relaxed. CPTPP members specify that the removed provisions have only been suspended, a distinction intended to signal that they could be easily reinstated if the United States decided to rejoin. Trump has floated the idea of returning to the deal, but trade analysts say that his preference for bilat-

eral trade agreements and his willingness to impose tariffs on allies, including Japan, have forestalled that possibility for the immediate future.

What's in store for the future?

Nevertheless, the TPP—and the CPTPP—was explicitly written with an eye toward future expansion. During the original negotiations, for instance, South Korea was seen as a likely future member. More recently, Thailand and Colombia have expressed interest in joining. Taiwan has as well, but its accession to an agreement that had been framed as a mechanism for confronting China could draw opposition from Beijing.

The TPP was explicitly written with an eye toward future expansion.

In October 2018, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe said the United Kingdom, despite its geographical dis-

tance, would be welcomed into the CPTPP “with open arms,” indicating the potential for CPTPP member states to use the agreement as a global diplomatic framework in the coming years.

James McBride covers economics, energy policy, and European politics. He received a bachelor's degree from St. Olaf College in Northfield, Minnesota, and a master's degree from Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service. *Writer/Editor, Economics.* & **Andrew Chatzky** covers economics, energy, and geopolitics, and helps edit the *Daily News Brief*. Before he joined CFR, Andrew was the international relations manager for Los Angeles' bid to host the 2028 Olympic Games. He holds a BA in political science and French from the University of Miami and an MS in foreign service from Georgetown University, USA.



The new era of great-power competition

Graeme Dobell



The first strategic priority for Australia in the Indo-Pacific is to manage great-power competition. And the central trend of that competition is the chal-

lenge to US dominance.

So says Australia's defence minister.

Here's Christopher Pyne describing the regional race:

We see today that the relationships between the great powers of the region are becoming more competitive. There are worrying signs of a return of 'might is right'. That is just one of the reasons we regard the United States as our most important security partner. For decades, it has used its considerable power to sponsor rules and institutions that have benefited countries of all sizes and provided the stability that has allowed this region to grow into the engine room of prosperity and growth it is today. But the United States will find it increasingly difficult to provide this security unchallenged—and frankly we should not expect it to underwrite that security alone.

Australia's responses, as listed by Pyne:

Lift the defence budget to 2% of GDP by 2020–21, three years ahead of schedule: 'the largest recapitalisation of our defence capability in peacetime history, including the largest regeneration of Australia's maritime capability'.

Pursue stronger military-to-military

relations 'with a wide range of partners, new and old'.

Enhance Australia's military capability and presence in the region, 'so we have good options to respond to a wide range of contingencies'.

Reinforce the Pacific pivot (a headline description embraced by Pyne): 'a generational realignment of our framework and support to the South Pacific'.

Deal with the threat of terrorists coming to or returning to Southeast Asia from the Middle East.

The terrorism point is the category outlier. Everything else leans towards Pyne's first priority—managing great-power competition. Cast your mind back to the way the previous decade was defined by terrorism. Talk about a shift in strategic focus.

The sense of a new era arriving is the launch point of the *Regional security outlook 2019* from the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific.

As Ron Huiskens writes in the volume's introduction, we face a change likely to have major and enduring consequences for stability and order: 'the end of ambiguity and denial about whether the United States and China saw themselves as in an essentially adversarial contest for global preeminence'. He links a 'decisive shift' in America's attitude to the judgment that 'the challenge of adapting the global order to accommodate a powerful China is proving too hard'.

The US and China may yet surprise

us with concessions and initiatives, Huiskens writes, but the two states can no longer credibly assert that they have everything under control:

An overtly adversarial relationship between America and China is precisely the outcome that everyone has been seeking to avoid over the past 30 years. Such a development was first mooted in the late 1980s as a theoretical possibility suggested by history. Since the turn of the century, it has evolved from a detectable tendency into an increasingly probable outcome.

Giving the CSCAP view from Washington, Lindsey W. Ford reports on a sharp-edged US embrace of strategic competition:

Two years after President Trump's election, most of the worst fears about what a Trump presidency might mean for Asia have not been realised. The United States remains engaged in the region, focused on maintaining alliance relationships, and committed to creating greater freedom and openness.

But the administration's shift toward a more openly competitive US-China relationship suggests that US strategy may be on the precipice of a significant, and potentially longer-term, realignment.

From Shanghai, Zhong Zhenming says the US-China relationship is being transformed:

[A] vicious competition between China and the United States may lead to the two countries trying to please other countries in the Asia-Pa-



cific region, and some will try to benefit from their strategic competition by playing one off against the other. The dynamics of great power competition will worsen the ecology of international relations in the region. China and the United States will find it costly to compete for allies, partners or friends. More importantly, some countries are likely to be victims of

Sino-US competition as their national interests are discounted and priority given to power rivalry.

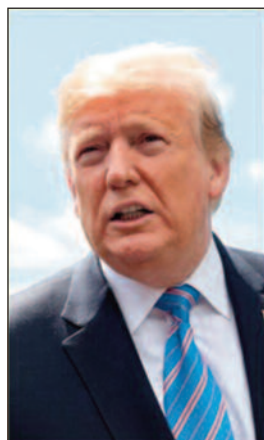
From Tokyo, Masayuki Tadokoro offers key questions being quietly debated in Japan: 'Is the US still a reliable ally? How do we balance China and hedge against the erosion of the alliance?' And in the classic

Japanese manner, the professor's article ends on those questions.

They're good questions, though, as decision-makers and thinkers in Canberra would agree.

Graeme Dobell is Australian Strategic Policy Institute (ASPI)'s journalist fellow. Image courtesy of the Department of Defence, Australia.

Significant Comments



The relationship I have with President Xi (Jinping) is extraordinary, it's really very good, but he's for China and I'm for the USA, and it's very simple. We are again in a very, very strong position.

Donald Trump



Today's China is not only China's China. It is Asia's China and the world's China. China in the future will take on an even more open stance to embrace the world.

Xi Jinping



Xi stresses timely completion of military development goals

President Xi Jinping on Tuesday stressed fulfilling the set targets and tasks of national defense and military development as scheduled.

President Xi Jinping on March 12, 2019 stressed fulfilling the set targets and tasks of national defense and military development as scheduled.

Xi, also general secretary of the Communist Party of China Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission, made the remarks when attending a plenary meeting of the delegation of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and armed police force at the second session of the 13th National People's Congress, China's national legislature.

This year is the key year for completing the building of a moderately prosperous society in all respects.

The entire armed forces must clearly understand the importance and urgency of implementing the 13th Five-Year Plan for military development, firm up their resolve, intensify the sense of mission, forge ahead with a pioneering spirit, and go all out to carry out the plan so as to ensure that the set targets and tasks are fulfilled as scheduled, he said.

Xi called on the whole army to adhere to the guidance of the thought on socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, fully implement the Party's thinking on strengthening the military for the new era and the military strategy for new conditions, concentrate on war preparedness, and intensify reform and innovation.



Chinese President Xi Jinping, also general secretary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee and chairman of the Central Military Commission, meets with deputies from the People's Liberation Army (PLA) and armed police before attending a plenary meeting of the delegation of the PLA and armed police at the second session of the 13th National People's Congress (NPC) in Beijing, capital of China, March 12, 2019. Xi delivered an important speech at the meeting. (Xinhua/Li Gang)

On implementation of the plan, Xi stressed that it is imperative to strengthen overall planning and coordination, as well as make breakthroughs in key areas.

Xi pointed out that it is necessary to take into consideration the overall situation and coordinate the task plans, resources, and management procedures to ensure orderly advancement of various projects.

Focusing on the overall layout of the plan, the military should give prominence to key projects including urgent necessities for military

preparedness, crucial support for combat systems, and coordinated projects for the reform of national defense and armed forces, he noted.

Xi stressed the formulation of the 14th Five-Year Plan for military development should serve the demands of the national development, security and military strategies, and should take into account both the actual condition and long-term development needs.

Source: Xinhua



Thailand's King Vajiralongkorn crowned in solemn ceremony.

King Vajiralongkorn of Thailand is crowned in elaborate ceremony

King vows to 'reign with righteousness' as Bangkok becomes a sea of royal yellow

Hannah Ellis-Petersen

It was a day of parades, ancient rituals, Buddhist chanting and gold as far as the eye could see. For its first coronation in seven decades, Thailand pulled out all the stops.

In an elaborate ceremony that fused Buddhist and Hindu Brahmin rituals, King Maha Vajiralongkorn was doused with holy water, had the royal crown placed on his head and received a symbolic nine-tiered umbrella vesting him as King Rama X of Thailand.

Issuing his first command after being crowned on Saturday, the king vowed to “continue, preserve and build upon the royal legacy” and to “reign with righteousness for the benefit and happiness of the people forever”.

The ceremony, which cost upwards of £23m, is hugely significant in Thailand, for it is not until the king has received the holy ablutions and anointment that he is fully consecrated as Devaraja, or “god-king”, and can take on his title as the upholder of Buddhism.

Images of the king had been plastered across buildings throughout Thailand in recent weeks, and Bangkok was a sea of royal yellow flowers, flags, ribbons and bunting.

The morning coronation ceremony, held at the Grand Palace in Bangkok, began with the ritual of ablution, known as Song Muratha Bhisek or royal purification, where the king, dressed in a simple white robe and

white slippers, was blessed with holy water taken from five rivers and four ponds in Thailand.

This was followed by an anointing ritual, where eight senior figures, including the prime minister, Prayut Chan-ocha, the chief justice of the supreme court and the chief brahmin, poured water on the king's hands.

Finally, in a slightly newer ritual influenced by western coronation traditions and introduced by King Rama IV, who ruled from 1851, a gold crown weighing more than 7kg was placed on Vajiralongkorn's head, symbolising the king's possession of the kingdom.

The king was later carried to the Tem-



King Maha Vajiralongkorn and Queen Suthida perform a ritual during his coronation in Bangkok. Photograph: AFP/Getty Images

ple of the Emerald Buddha on a palanquin held on the shoulders of soldiers.

Present at the coronation ceremony was the king's new wife, Suthida Tidjai, a former Thai Airways hostess. The couple wed three days ago in a surprise ceremony so that she could be named queen at the coronation. After Vajiralongkorn received the crown, his bride knelt before him and he anointed her as Queen Suthida.

Hundreds of people gathered outside the royal palace, all dressed in matching yellow polo shirts, the auspicious colour of the monarchy. Free transport had been provided for those who wished to travel from across the country to pay their respects, and complimentary meals of fried chicken and rice were handed out to the crowds.

Earn Noo, 68, and Vad Phusouggree, 54, had made an eight-hour journey from the southern Thai province of Phatthalung and said the ceremony

had brought them to tears. "It was so beautiful," said Vad, clutching her chest in emotion. "I love the king and I wanted to be here today to show him how much I love him, as much as I love his father, King Rama IX. I know that he loves the people, that he will look after us."

The coronation came more than two years after Vajiralongkorn ascended the throne following the death of his father, King Bhumibol, whose legacy is still omnipresent in Thailand. So far, Vajiralongkorn's reign has differed considerably from that of Bhumibol, who was seen as pious and a man of the people. Vajiralongkorn has been married four times, has seven children and has been far less present in public life, spending most of his time in Munich, Germany, where he owns a £10m villa on Lake Starnberg.

"We would love the king to come to the countryside and visit the people like his father King Rama IX often did," said Rojana Sonam, 53, who had travelled for four hours from Khon Kaen, in the north-eastern region of Isaan, to attend the coronation celebrations. "I loved King Rama IX and so I love his son, but we do not know him very well. But my hope is that he will develop the country."

Significantly, the coronation was held just over a month on from Thailand's first election in eight years, which was supposed to mark a return of democracy after five years of military junta rule but instead left the country in a state of political limbo. The official election result is still undeclared and allegations of vote-rigging and persecution of pro-democracy political parties have cast a shadow over the vote.

Political instability is nothing new in Thailand, from the communist movement of the 1970s and 1980s to the pro-democracy movement that emerged in the early 2000s. Bhumibol



People watch the live broadcast of the coronation ceremony in Bangkok. Photograph: Manan Vatsyayana/AFP/Getty Images

bol, who portrayed himself as above politics – though this was not always the case – was revered by most Thais as the only stabilising figure who could unite all factions.

Since his death, the country appears to have split between those who see the new king as a great unifier, and others who believe that if Thailand is to become a modern democracy, his role in public life should be more ceremonial.

Crucially, Vajiralongkorn is protected from criticism by some of the strictest lese-majesty laws in the world, which make the offence punishable by up to 15 years in jail. More than 90 people are believed to have been charged with the offence since 2014, though since Vajiralongkorn ascended the throne, prosecutions under the law have dropped.

Suwit Ekkawat was among those who had come to the royal palace to observe the coronation out of curiosity. “The Thai people have a deep and long relationship with the monarchy, it is part of our culture,” said Suwit. “But I also hope King Rama X is a new era for Thailand. I think we need change and democracy, and I think the monarchy and politics needs to be kept separate for us to make that progress.”

Since 2016 Vajiralongkorn has taken multiple steps to consolidate his power and wealth, from taking ownership of the country’s crown property bureau, worth an estimated £30bn, to pushing for changes to the constitution to give him greater executive powers.

He publicly intervened twice in the recent election, first forbidding his

older sister, Princess Ubolratana, running for prime minister and then, on the eve of the vote, urging citizens to vote for the “good people”, widely seen as push for the pro-military ruling party.

In a speech at the royal residence after his coronation, Vajiralongkorn called for national unity.

The ablution and anointment rituals of Saturday were the beginning of three days of celebrations and rituals marking the coronation. On Sunday, Vajiralongkorn will lead a procession through Bangkok and visit some of the capital’s most sacred temples. On Monday, he will greet the people from the balcony of the Grand Palace.

Courtesy: *The Guardian, United Kingdom (UK).*



How China is Challenging American Dominance in Asia

Max Fisher and Audrey Carlsen

As China grows more powerful, it is displacing decades-old American preeminence in parts of Asia. The outlines of the rivalry are defining the future of the continent.

We asked a panel of experts how they think the power has shifted in the past five years:

something much more fluid.

The stakes could hardly be higher: The two powers are seeking to reshape the economies and political systems of the world's most populous region in its own image.

The United States' military capabilities still dominate Asia. But China has started to wield growing military

The trade deal reached last week is a powerful signal of how countries like Australia and Japan are forging ahead without American leadership. The deal replaces the Trans-Pacific Partnership, which Mr. Trump had effectively killed.

Every Asian country now trades more with China, often by a factor of two to one, an imbalance that is only growing as China's economic growth outpaces that of United States.

Asian leaders know that their economies – and therefore, domestic politics – rely on Beijing, which has shown it will offer investment to friends and economic punishment to those who displease it.

But another metric of great power influence, arms sales, shows United States' enduring reach.

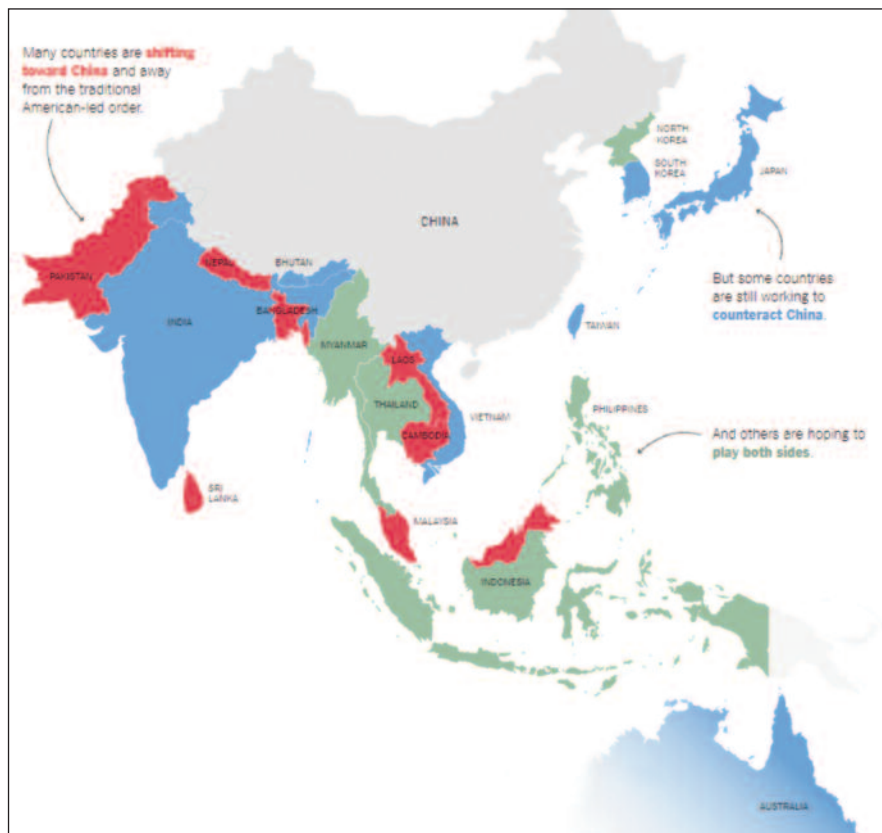
Countries that purchase American weapons bind their militaries and their foreign policies to the United States. The imbalance reflects the extent of American military relationships in Asia, which date back to World War II.

Many of the 20 countries caught between Beijing and Washington face an impossible choice between Chinese wealth and American security.

"These countries don't want to have to choose sides," said Tanvi Madan, an Asia specialist at the Brookings Institution.

So they're not. Instead, most are pursuing strategies intended to draw maximum benefit from both powers, minimize risks of angering either and preserve their independence.

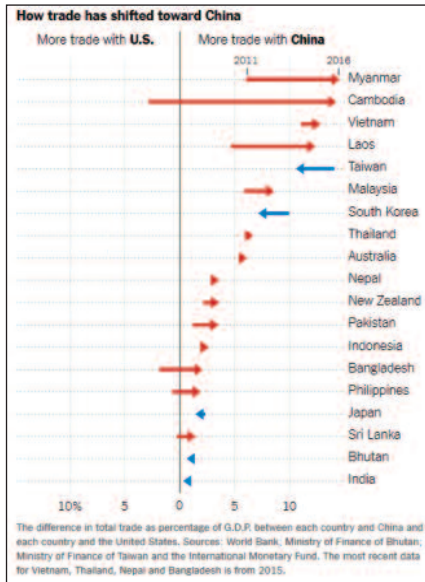
The result will likely be something



Last week, a group of 11 nations signed a trade deal that had originally been conceived as an American-led counterweight to China – but after President Trump pulled out, the pact went forward without the United States. It was the latest turn in Asia's gradual transition from American dominance to

power and economic leverage to reorder the region, pulling longtime American allies like the Philippines and Indonesia closer.

The shift may accelerate under President Trump, whose volatile foreign policy and rejection of trade agreements is already forcing Asian nations to rethink their strategies.



very different from Cold War-era Europe, which was divided cleanly between two sides. Instead, the continent will fracture along many lines at once as countries accept, reject or manage China's growing influence.

Each strategy involves hard compromises and provides a model for how others in Asia, and perhaps one day globally, will cope with a Chinese-American world.

Though the world is changing in Beijing's favor, Japan is a reminder that China remains a long way from becoming an American-style power. And it provides a template for counteracting China.

Japan is matching China's rise with its own resurgence, leveraging its economy — the world's third-largest — to build an independently powerful military and set of diplomatic relationships. It is attempting to reconstitute an informal and implicitly anti-Chinese alliance known as "the quad," which includes India, Australia and the United States.

The "quad" remains mostly aspirational, and its members so far exert only a fraction of China's economic

and military influence in the region.

Still, Japan represents the headwinds facing Beijing. Asia's largest economies and its leading democracies, rather than bending to Chinese power, are counterbalancing against it.

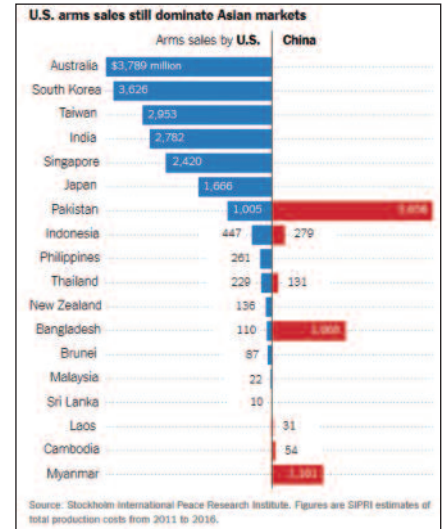
Most countries lack Japan's economic power, but they can still follow its lead. Rather than meekly accepting American withdrawal, Japan shows how countries can compensate for it.

The region has more bad news for China. Even its sole ally, North Korea, is increasingly independent. Its nuclear and missile tests often appear timed to humiliate Beijing, and give China's adversaries like Japan an excuse to build up their militaries. North Korea apparently hopes to one day strike a deal with Washington, allowing it to climb out from a half-century of Chinese dominance. If Beijing cannot keep even North Korea as a client state, it will have trouble cultivating others.

Sri Lanka might not seem like a geopolitical bellwether. But Asia-watchers have been glued to developments here since 2014, when a Chinese submarine sailed into a port built with Chinese investment. It marked a new era, in which China is converting its economic power into military power — and, in poorer democracies, into political influence.

China has since developed more infrastructure projects across Asia, particularly in strategically vital ports and transit corridors. Those projects begin as joint developments but can end up in Chinese hands. In December, Sri Lanka, unable to pay debts on the port's construction, granted China a 99-year lease.

"The Chinese are using their abundance of labor, capital and workforce to project their influence," said Mira Rapp-Hooper, a scholar of Asian security issues at Yale Law School.



She added, "It's mostly taking place in countries where the U.S. does not have a lot of influence or give a lot of aid."

This a promising model for China, whose economic strengths naturally fit the needs of small, developing countries. It is even pushing in countries where the United States has spent heavily, such as Pakistan. And it is slowly extending this model beyond Asia, giving it the outlines of what could one day be a global network.

But small, poor allies are less powerful than rich ones, which tend pro-American, and Beijing can be clumsy when dealing with democracies.

Still, China's success in South Asia shows it can hem in a powerful





adversary. It is leveraging trade and investment to build ties with every country on India's border. Beijing's unstated goal: encircle India before it can rival to Chinese power. While India is taking a harder line against China, it is less practiced in regional alliance-building and has fallen behind.

Many Asian leaders are eluding the great powers by hedging between them. Few have done so as creatively and brazenly as President Rodrigo Duterte of the Philippines.

Upon taking office in 2016, Mr. Duterte suggested that he might end his country's 65-year alliance with the United States. He rushed to Beijing, promised cooperation with China and – as if to signal there was no going back – crudely insulted then-President Barack Obama.

Instead, Mr. Duterte ended up collecting concessions from both powers. The Americans reduced Mr. Duterte's obligations to the alliance while continuing to guarantee his country's defense. The Chinese offered Mr. Duterte favorable terms on maritime disputes and possible

thought it might galvanize an anti-Chinese bloc. Nearly every country has found a middle path.

Even Vietnam, a traditional Chinese adversary, has resisted both Chinese influence and American overtures. Almost two years after President Obama lifted his country's arms embargo on Vietnam, hoping to bring it into the American fold, it still buys most of its arms from Russia.

But China's leverage in the region can only grow, particularly if the United States continues withdrawing. Ms. Rapp-Hooper called attention to growing scandals in Australia and New Zealand over Chinese influence-buying.

"These countries could not be more

investment deals.

He never did switch sides.

Such stories have played a cross Southeast Asia, where China has been at its most confrontational. Beijing had hoped that it could coerce smaller countries to accept its dominance. Washington

aligned with our interests, but there is still a lot of discomfort about stepping away from Chinese money," she said. "Those are tests of what we're up against."

This is another possible future: countries subject to influence from both powers, with American and Chinese hands on their economies and politics. It's a future that is both American and Chinese, with nations in the middle neither fully independent nor clearly aligned.

The map represents the aggregate views of a panel of five experts: Aaron Connelly of the Lowy Institute, Bonnie S. Glaser of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Jennifer Lind of Dartmouth College, Tanvi Madan



of the Brookings Institution, Mira Rapp-Hooper of Yale Law School.

Source: Max Fisher and Andrey Carlsen are working at the New York Times, USA.

U.S. MILITARY IN THE WEST PACIFIC

■ With active U.S. bases ● Naval bases ▲ Air Force bases



NAF: Naval Air Facility, CFA: Commander Fleet Activities

Sources: Military Balance 2011, Commander Navy Installations, Pacific Air Forces

REUTERS

In Pictures: The Art and Cultures of the Republic of Korea



Royal Wedding Ceremony



Traditional Dance in South Korea Culture



Jeonju: Home of South Korean Culture and History



Lunar New Year Parade



Shop Lights, Seoul, South Korea



Gyeongbokgung Palace: The main Royal Palace of Joseon located at the heart of Seoul

Rising Asia

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