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Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

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Implications in the Economic Relations

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Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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5G and its Implications in the Economic Relations between China and European Countries, with a Special Focus on Italy

By Melania Petrillo
Shanghai International Studies University

Abstract- The economic relations between China and the European countries are tightened by an intensive interdependence in different sectors, mainly trades and services, but decades of successful relations could be affected by the pressure risen around the development of the 5G network.

Recently, the development of the technology of the future, 5G network, is having a certain effect on the relations among those countries that joined the race for the leading global position. The major players in this geopolitical, technological, and economic affair are China and the USA, therefore, Europe plays an important role as well. These occurrences may increase not only the strategic suppleness of powers like China, India, the United States, and the European Union, but also the weight of nourishing alignments and fruitful partnerships. This research takes into consideration two fundamental elements to analyze this state of affairs: the economic interdependence between China and the European countries, and the protection of cybersecurity.

Keywords: *5G network, huawei, china, europe, cybersecurity.*

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5G and its Implications in the Economic Relations between China and European Countries, with a Special Focus on Italy

Melania Petrillo

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Recently, the development of the technology of the future, 5G network, is having a certain effect on the relations among those countries that joined the race for the leading global position. The major players in this geopolitical, technological, and economic affair are China and the USA, therefore, Europe plays an important role as well. These occurrences may increase not only the strategic suppleness of powers like China, India, the United States, and the European Union, but also the weight of nourishing alignments and fruitful partnerships. This research takes into consideration two fundamental elements to analyze this state of affairs: the economic interdependence between China and the European countries, and the protection of cybersecurity. The comparative research method and the discourse analysis are employed in this research, conducted examining the recent events (from 2018 to January 2020) and the different approaches of the governments to the new technology.

In sum, through the findings of this research, it can be stated that in Europe, the debates concerning the new technology and its risks are still going on. Still, the economic relations with China aren't affected.

Keywords: 5G network, huawei, china, europe, cybersecurity.

I. Introduction

Implementation of 5G network technology is in its initial phase. However, expectations on a quick advancement of the technology are high, due to its superiority. Verizon® has developed its first 5G network in the USA and made it available for the consumers in April 2019. During implementation, Chinese companies Huawei and ZTE had assumed the leading role by supplying main components, consisting of hardware and software, for the network. *Hongmeng*, a system developed by Huawei, is different from Android, as it is designed for the 4.0 Industry and the Internet of Things (IoT), and the system can be implemented only through the Huawei Core Network. Certainly, the technology of the future will generate profit for the companies that will be able to provide the service, thus, creating competitiveness and a real struggle in the business world. Data from the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT) report that the business volume of the telecom sector expanded on 23.9 percent during the January-September 2019 period.

But how the global community is reacting to it? In the Verizon® 5G network case, the United States response was aggressive, and the country blacklisted the Huawei, which resulted in a trade war between the USA and China. Worldwide governments have two opposite tendencies: restricting or accepting Chinese technology; from restricting specific manufacturers (such as in the case of the United States and the Czech Republic), to issuing non-binding guidance (Estonia), or voicing abstention from introducing restrictions. For example, Australia, Japan, and the Czech Republic have proclaimed mandatory security guidance that excludes providers potentially controlled by foreign governments. In Europe two aspects have to be highlighted: from one side, the trade partnership with China (BRI for some actors) and the implications if European countries decide to interrupt the suppliers of 5G based devices from Chinese companies (i.e., Huawei and ZTE); from the other side, pressures from the United States, in particular, regarding the network security.

European countries did not ban 5G, but they are evaluating the risk of cybersecurity, and on 9th of October 2019 the European Commission published an *EU coordinated risk assessment of the cybersecurity of 5G networks*[1], in which the main points are:

- Risks of relevant security gaps, exposure to attacks, as 5G network relies on a software system;
- The presence of more sensitive equipment elements (base stations for example);
- Serious risk of exposure for the profile of individual suppliers;
- Risks due to heavy dependence on suppliers (in the case of possible supply disruption caused, for example, by a commercial failure);
- Threats to network availability and integrity as a crucial security issue;

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[1] Gu, Xuewu and Heidbrink Christiane (2019) 'Geopolitics and the Global Race for 5G', Bonn: Centre for Global Studies, available at http://cgs-bonn.de/5G-Study-2019.pdf pp. 20-31

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It also states that "to complement the Member States' report, the European Cybersecurity Agency is finalizing a specific mapping of the threat landscape for 5G networks, which examines more in detail some technical aspects of the report."

a) Research questions and aims

According to the circumstances described above, the main questions discussed in the present research are two.

First, European countries are reevaluating their economic relations with China because of the 5G affairs, but could not banning the new technology have a risk for the economy of these countries? Also, how can this affect the relations between Europe and China?

Germany, France, Belgium, Great Britain, Norway, and Nederland discussed the ban in Parliament[2] Sweden in public, while Italy, Spain, and Denmark did not consider a ban. In particular, the author has analyzed the evolution of events in Italy. In March 2019, Italy adhered to the Belt and Road Initiative, reinforcing its economic partnership with China, initially in a Memorandum of Understanding, that the two countries signed on 23rd of March 2019. However, the strategy about 5G was not clarified, but later the government of "Conte-bis" proposed to extend the Golden power law to the new network.

The second enquiry is related to the importance of safeguarding the cybersecurity. The main reason behind the skepticism of Western countries on the Chinese way of controlling the data of clients is the Chinese and Western approaches to individual rights. The EU strictly stands on protecting individual privacy and restricts mass surveillance (as evident through the implementation of the General Data Protection Regulation 'GDPR' and in recent landmark judgments by the European Court of Justice). The EU and the United States have steady intellectual property protection regimes, while Chinese national policy favors state interests over private ones. Within domestic affairs, China's sovereign authority is free to impose obligations on its industry, including for intelligence collaboration. On the other side of the coin, according to the WTO General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), the Western states are in principle free to ban Chinese products, while respecting their obligations under international trade arrangements. A security exception of article XXI of the WTO GATT authorizes a party to take action or measures, "which it considers necessary for the protection of its essential security interests." The EU public procurement Directive 2014/24/EU in general and the electronic communications Directive 2002/21/EC, which addresses the operation of communications networks and the awarding of radio spectrum licenses, including 5G, comprise exceptions allowing each member state "to take the necessary measures to ensure the protection of its essential security interests, to safeguard public policy and public security."

The present research aims at analyzing the recent events related to the development of the 5G network, how the discussions about the issue of cybersecurity influenced the economic relations between China and the European countries.

II. The Relations between China and the UE under the Framework of the Economic Interdependence Theory

In the last three decades, the deep bilateral trade and economic relations with some of the most advanced and developed European countries brought significant advantages to the economic growth of China. After the recent world recession, China has maintained its position of major partner for many industrialized actors. In the last decade, trades and investments between China and the European Union improved as the interdependence of the two economies has increased. China and the EU are intensely export-oriented, both depending on a growing share of foreign inputs in their exports. Since several manufacturing sectors are interconnected, China and the EU are entwined through an economic partnership, that holds a focal point in the area of imports and exports. Indeed, a relevant share of the exports of each country contains imports from the other country[3]. The manufacturing sector is progressively becoming interdependent.

The global crisis of 2008 has demonstrated how in an increasingly interconnected global economy, the wealth of all countries is interdependent, and trade relations are crucial for the progress of global welfare[4]. In this context, China has remained an important partner for many emerging and industrialized economies. China, as the second-largest world economy, and its increasing assimilation in the global economy over the last three decades are the principal sources of such interdependence. Chinese companies are dynamic actors in a vast number of agricultural, industrial, and services sectors. Nowadays, the current economic rebalancing in China marks an evolution towards a more sustainable and efficient economy, as an essential source for a higher interdependence between China and the rest of the world. Considering Europe, for example, Italy has always been one of the principal trading

[2] The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT 1947), Article XXI. World Trade Organisation. https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/gatt47_02_e.htm#articleXXI.

[3] Yang, Y., *China's Integration in the World Economy: implications for developing countries*, Asian Pacific Economic Literature, 20(1), 2006, pp. 40-56.

[4] Echeverri-Gent John, Herlevi April, Ganczak Kim, *Economic Interdependence and Strategic Interest: China, India, and the United States in the New Global Order*, Department of politics, University of Virginia, 2015.

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partners for China, since the two economies disclose several similarities and connections in production structures. In the case of Italy, the economy relies on foreign inputs rooted in production exports in many sectors.

The agroindustry and the pharmaceutical sectors, where the competences, the expertise, and the products of some European countries, such as Italy, can match the growing superiority of Chinese consumers, are presenting new possibilities of economic cooperation.

Moreover, direct investments progressively interconnect the EU and China. In 2015, Europe was the first destination for Chinese outbound direct investments, surpassing North America, thanks also to the large percentage of investments in Italy, the top destination in Europe[4].

China and the EU are gradually collaborating in a number of economic activities, in the goods and services sectors, including food manufacturing. They intend to invest in a more innovative and advanced field, such as healthcare, environmental protection, green farming, industrial upgrading, urban planning, and sustainable development. Their collaboration also includes the sector of technology, specifically through direct investments, that are increasing in the new high-tech areas, such as the 5G network. Chinese companies Huawei and ZTE are major suppliers for the development of the new technology. Thus, it could increase the level of interdependence between the European companies and the Chinese companies. The project of building new economic interdependencies could consent to China and the EU to maintain a leading position in the global economy.

a) *EU-China economic relations: benefits and risks of the 5G network*

The 5G wireless technology is the future of communication. Comparing to the 4G technology, it is 100 times faster, which reduces the response time to 1-10ms. Additionally, the cost per bit is lower and allows transmission of data at 20GB per second or more of speed in comparison to 1GB per second of 4G technology.

The 5G network can efficiently interconnect people, machines, objects, and different devices like industrial robots, security cameras, drones, and automatic cars (remote control of critical infrastructure, vehicles, and medical procedures). It enables a new swing of innovation, improving sectors of technology: Internet of Things (IoT), Artificial Intelligence (AI), Augmented Reality (AR). Consumers would have to buy innovative smartphones to use the new network and get all the benefits from it, including higher-quality streaming video, quicker downloads of full movies in a few seconds, a new generation of video games, virtual sports, and online shopping, etc.

Also, 5G network technology is beneficial for all kinds of industries. Providing the services based upon 5G network technology, telecom operators could benefit globally up to USD 169 billion annually by 2026. There will be a large contribution to the public administration, healthcare, and other sectors. By 2035, the global economic effects of 5G are assessed to be 12 trillion US dollars by 2035, with job vacancies reaching 12 million.

Currently, China's Huawei and ZTE, Sweden's Ericsson and Finland's Nokia provide the specific services for building a 5G Network, while the American Ciscoattivo can furnish only switches and routers. Huawei share in the market is around 30% and provide services at relatively low prices, that's to say that, at the moment, China is the leader of the 5G network technology.

This trillion of US dollar potential market in the networking industry resulted in a competition among countries to occupy a maximum share of it and reinforce their position in the leading global sphere.

According to the data elaborated by the Global System for Mobile Communications (GSMA), telecom operators are investing 160 billion every year to amplify and update their networks, thus employing indirectly 32 million people. In this scenery, China has gained the leading role in 2018, with 1.2 billion users, 8.5 million employees, and an income of 750 billion dollars, 5.5% of the Chinese GDP.

Countries that invest less in the innovation and research field but will use the 5G network should consider effective strategies for building new platforms, otherwise, the procedures would be long and uneven, and it will depend on different factors, including; regulations and norms of the governments, costs and time for building infrastructures, technological experimentations, telecom operators, etc. According to this, for some governments, it will be harder to implement the technology. Some countries are already on the track to regularize the technology and its implementation. For example, the European Union is paying attention to the regulations that control and limit the 5G broadband, as this new technology is using frequencies, which are never used in the mobile network. Currently, China is a model country. The technological innovation and development of the 5G technology infrastructure are the key elements of the political and military power of the country, which is showed in the Digital Silk Road (DSR), one fundamental component of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). All the countries involved in the new silk road project have welcomed digital infrastructures, land and submarine cables, vast broadband, and a navigation system called Baidu, which replaces the American GPS. In military technology, 5G and IoT are supporting machine-to-machine communication, thus increasing the quantity of

[5] Amighini, Alessia (2016), *Economic and trade relations between Italy and China: trends and prospects*, ISPI, Milan, pp. 11-20.

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information being communicated. The transmission of information is the fulcrum of the trade war because who controls the data has a big, leading instrument. Therefore, cybersecurity is one of the main aspects while evaluating this new technology for implementation.

b) The blooming of 5G service in China during the fourth semester of 2019

The superfast 5G network service is already available to consumers in 50 Chinese cities with more than 130.000 5G base stations, including Beijing and Shanghai, with monthly plans ranging from 128 yuan ($18) to 599 yuan ($ 85.56), (Xinhua, 2019).

Although the United States and South Korea too launched 5G services in the selected area, China gained more influence over the global evolution of technology. Chinese commercial network is the biggest; Huawei, a smartphone brand based in Shenzhen (Guangdong province) and the world's biggest telecommunications equipment maker, is playing a leading role in this (Bernstein, 2019). "The scale of its network and the price of its 5G services will have a pivotal impact throughout the supply chain,"Bernstein analyst Chris Lane said.

Huawei company does business with all three Chinese telecom operators, and it is the principal vendor of 5G devices. China Mobile, the Chinese largest mobile internet provider, assigned nearly half of its 5G networking contracts to Huawei; the rest went to competitors such as Ericsson, Nokia and ZTE (China Daily, 2019).

The number of mobile internet users in China is higher than in any other country, with about 850 million people. South Korea launched its 5G network in April 2019, and approximately 3% of the country's internet users subscribed to it (Jefferies, 2019).

Chen Zhaoxiong, the vice-minister of industry and information technology, affirmed that China has been working hard to extend 5G coverage. The big three telecom operators - China Mobile, China Unicom, and China Telecom - chose price tariffs by internet speed rather than merely by data allowance alone for the first time.

South Korea, the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries rolled out 5G networks. Still for Wang Zhiqin, deputy director of the China Academy of Information and Communications Technology (a government think tank), China still leads the world in the scale and diversity of 5G services, with individual consumers and enterprises showing mounting enthusiasm for the new technology.

III. The Reactions of the EU Governments

According to the strategic program of 2020 cooperation between the EU and China, the European Commission shares its interest in a strategic partnership with China. At the same time, China considers the EU as a relevant international actor; in the last twenty years, the trade and economic partnership has increased the exchanges between China and the EU. Therefore, China aims at strengthening cooperation in the sector of infrastructures, in the digital market, and the connectivity between people.

About the digital market, European countries are moving with caution, through the adoption of strategic decisions by specific commissions.

Germany and France benefit from the investments of Huawei; all the telecom operators are using Huawei technology; since Huawei holds numerous licenses, its exclusion could be delaying the development of the digital networks. German wireless network lacks sufficient capacity, so Berlin agreed on collaborating with Huawei, only after granting necessary controls on cybersecurity. In this case, the consequences of a ban could severe on bilateral trades, as China is the largest trading partner of Germany, especially in the car industry. But the priority of Angela Merkel's government is network security.

The head of Germany's Federal Office for Information Security (BSI) in October 2018 noted that introducing a ban on Huawei equipment, there might be evidence of risk. However, in February 2019, Germany required a possible 'no-spy deal' similar to the US-China 2015 agreement.

France also agreed, the normative asset can accurately fix the limits on the new technology. Recently the French government has started the procedure to assign 5G frequency licenses, establishing the price of one segment of 50 MHz at 350 million euro[6].

Huawei and ZTE possess a market share higher than 40% in Europe. Thus, following the direction of the USA banning the two companies might cause huge losses for European Countries, almost 55 billion dollars.

In the case of the USA, trade negotiations between Beijing and Washington reached positive results after long. In June 2019, during the Osaka G20 there was the opportunity for an armistice, nonetheless the break was short: the USA companies again could sell to Huawei, if without risks for the national security, although the Chinese company was still written in the Black List. At the time when the escalation was high with also political and military inclinations, the Chinese think thank proposed to react, bringing back Chinese ambassador from the US.

A preliminary trade deal with China has been finally signed on the 15th of January 2020. The agreement opens the Chinese market to several American companies, increases the export of energy, and farm products, China has agreed to buy more American farm goods, including poultry, beef and soybeans, and provides protection for American technology.

[6] https://www.reuters.com/article/us-france-telecoms-5g/france-launches-procedure-for-5g-licenses-idUSKBN1YL23Z

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China has committed to buy an additional $200 billion worth of American goods and services by 2021 and will ease some of the tariffs it has placed on American products. "Today, we take a momentous step, one that has never been taken before with China toward a future of fair and reciprocal trade with China," Mr. Trump said at a ceremony at the White House. "Together, we are righting the wrongs of the past." [7]

The agreement is a significant turning point in American trade; this pact maintains tariffs forcing China to buy $200 billion worth of specific products within two years rather than lowering costs to permit the flow of goods and services to meet market demand. Previous presidents have tried to change China's economic approach; Trump has leaned into it. The agreement stipulates that "China shall ensure" its purchases could meet the $200 billion figure by 2021, all but guaranteeing an export boom as Mr. Trump heads into the 2020 election. He will proceed to a re-election campaign with China's commitment to reinforce its intellectual-property protections, make sizable acquisitions of American products, and pursue other economic changes that will benefit American business.

President Xi Jinping stated in a message to Mr. Trump that the deal is "beneficial to both China, the U.S. — and the world", the agreement also showed that "the two countries, based on equality and mutual respect, through dialogue and consultations, can find proper and effective solutions to problems."

a) The concern about cybersecurity

The main reason behind Trump's trade war was cybersecurity: unauthorized transmission or modification of data, acquisition of personal data through machine learning, telephone tapping, identity theft, fraud. The data transmitted could also be private, related to the health conditions, to the financial status, and, furthermore, to the political tendencies of users. The last one could be very harmful to democratic systems that alarmed European countries. Having such kind of data could have enormous commercial and political advantages.

In China, the anti-spy law of 2014 and the law on the national intelligence of 2016 imposed to citizens and companies to collaborate with the intelligence, in order "to support, provide assistance, and cooperate in the intelligence work, and guard the secrecy of any national intelligence work that they are aware of. The state shall protect individuals and organizations that support, cooperate with, and collaborate in national intelligence work" [8]. "Relevant organizations and individuals" must provide information, facilities, or other assistance, and "must not refuse" cooperation [9].

What alarmed more President Trump was the suspect of a 'backdoor' in the network that could divert the national security checks stealing political, economic, and financial data. With no proves the US accused Huawei of using this technology, without evidence, Beijing denied, clarifying that the government never asked the company to install this kind of technology. Huawei replied that it was a way to slow down the technological race and reassured its European partners, opening at Brussels a cybersecurity transparency center (already present in Oxfordshire and at Bonn) the 5th of March 2019.

The risk is not unfounded, but comes from the nature itself of the 5G network, able to manage many devices IoT, like also a virtual machine, healthcare devices, drones, and digital cameras for surveillance and industrial automated systems, in this case, the network's surface is broader and easy to attack.

In 2015 China and the EU signed a cooperation act, *5G Action* Plan[10], on research and standardization, to launch the 5G services in all the EU Member States by the end of 2020. On the 9th of October 2019, the European Commission published an *EU coordinated risk assessment of the cybersecurity of 5G networks*. It seems that some European countries are looking for other suppliers: Deutsche Telekom was reconsidering its vendor strategy; Orange (previously France Telecom) probably would not use Huawei devices. Also, the UK's leading telecommunications operator, BT group, is considering abandoning Huawei devices (existing 3G and 4G, and new 5G).

[7] Swanson, Ana, and Rappeport Alan (2020) Trump Signs China Trade Deal: Putting Economic Conflict on Pause The New York Times, 2020/01/15https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/15/business/economy/china-trade-deal.html

[8] Most countries lack specific transparency and accountability mechanisms over Huawei operations. The UK Huawei Cyber Security Evaluation Centre (HCSEC), with its dedicated oversight board controlled by the UK cyber security authority NCSC and reporting to GCHQ, the UK intelligence and security agency, is so far unique in its model of operation. (The recent entities Cyber Security Evaluation Centre set up in Germany and Belgium lack a similar oversight arrangement.)

[9] Hoffman, Samantha and Kania Elsa (2018) Huawei and the ambiguity of China's intelligence and counter-espionage laws, The Strategist, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, https://www.aspistrategist.org.au/huawei-and-the-ambiguity-of-chinas-intelligence-and-counter-espionage-laws/

[10] '5G for Europe Action Plan', European Commission, Policy, 19th December2019, available at https://ec.europa.eu/digital-single-market/en/5g-europe-action-plan

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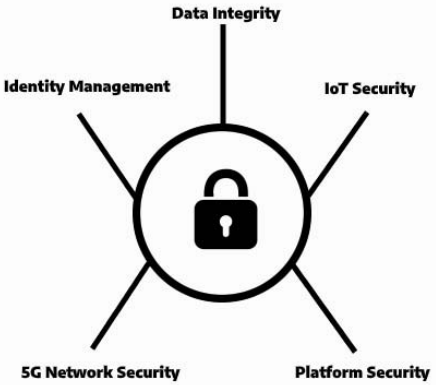

Figure 1: Security areas

Initially, some countries were favorable to ban the new technology because it was considered potentially harmful to human health. However, some research institutes deny this possibility: in Italy, the National Health Institute has proved that 5G antennas are safer; the French agency for safety, health, and environment has demonstrated that the 5G electromagnetic waves penetration is less relevant than 2G, 3G, and 4G. But in some areas those studies don't convince the authority, that are still sceptic about the effects on human health; this is the case of a town in Italy, Scanzano Jonico (Matera, Basilicata region), that refused to build infrastructures for the new technology within the territory of the town[11].

As said before, through the 5G technology, the transmission of information and data is quicker and wider. Therefore, a system of regulations and norms aimed at reducing the threats to cybersecurity and the violation of privacy is necessary. Considering the European Union, the European Commission should pay attention to this. On 26th of March 2019, the Commission requested to send to the ENISA (European Union Agency for Cybersecurity) an evaluation on risks and necessary measures for the integrity and the security of every country, and a group of cooperation would work on the possible solutions. It is essential to elaborate European certification schemes that guarantee minimum common standards, as established by the Cybersecurity Act on the 12th of March 2019. These common standards could be essential since third partners as China or the USA still don't have regulations on the 5G technology. Huawei is not furnishing the core network for the transmission of all the sensitive information of the European governments.

Huawei cybersecurity centers in the UK and Germany are examples of Huawei's intention to cooperate. The UK cybersecurity authority NCSC (part of the UK intelligence and security agency GCHQ) controls the Huawei Cyber Security Evaluation Centre (HCSEC), set up in 2010 that produces regular reports of its discoveries. A similar center was founded in Germany in November 2018 and in March 2019 the EU CyberSecurity Transparency Centre has been set up in Brussels. Huawei plans to establish a similar one in Poland. These measures for protecting the cybersecurity might be not so affordable and too expensive for small European countries.

On the 1st of October 2020, EU Member States, in cooperation with the Commission, have assessed the effects of the *risk assessment*'s report to determine whether further action is needed, taking into account the effectiveness of the measures. On the 31st of December 2019, the Cooperation Group of the European Union had agreed on several mitigation measures to address the cybersecurity risks identified.

Europe is the second market for Huawei, for Ren Zhengfei Europe should not reply to the pressures of Trump, because "once the USA has found an agreement with China and consequently Huawei, won't care anymore about its allies"[12].

Regarding the economic relations, data published by the General Administration of Customs of the People Republic of China (see table 2)[13] report that

[11] Del Frate, Claudio (2019) 'Scanzano Jonico vieta il 5G: «È pericoloso per la salute»', Corriere della Sera, available at https://www.corriere.it/cronache/19_agosto_03/scanzano-jonico-vieta-5g-pericoloso-la-salute-3a6d5e3e-b5cf-11e9-936f5597e95c0cf4_preview.shtml?reason=unauthenticated&cat=1&cid=dbSmfzVe&pids=FR&credits=1&origin=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.corriere.it%2Fcronache%2F19_agosto_03%2Fscanzano-jonico-vieta-5g-pericoloso-la-salute-3a6d 5e3e-b5cf-11e9-936f-5597e95c0cf4.shtml

[12] Savelli, Fabio (2019) Huawei, parla Ren Zhengfei: «Le spie? Gli Usa. Europa e Cina mercati complementari»', Il Corriere della Sera, available at https://www.corriere.it/economia/aziende/19_luglio_2019/huavwei-parla-ren-zhengfei-le-spie-theUSA-europa-cina-mercati-complementari-02130cee-aca3-11e9-8470-d02c1b58748e.shtml)

[13] China Customs statistics are the official external merchandise trade statistics of the country. China Customs is responsible for trade data collection, processing, compilation, and publication. By adopting

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commercial trades between China and the European Union regularly remain, except for the imports rage of Netherlands, as compared to the numbers of import and export between China and the US that decrease drastically since the Trade war started.

Table 1: Source: General Administration of Customs of the People Republic of China

China's Total Export & Import Values, September 2019 (in CNY)									
Unit: CNY 100 Million									
Import Source	Export & Import		Export		Import		1 to 9 Total Year-on-Year (±%)		
Export Destination	9*	1 to 9 in Total	9	1 to 9 in Total	9	1 to 9 in Total	Export & Import	Export	Import
European Union	4,251.4	35,730.4	2,627.2	21,665.1	1,624.2	14,065.2	8.6	10.7	5.5
Incl: Germany	1,089.6	9,463.1	453.6	4,048.5	636.0	5,414.7	5.7	9.4	3.1
Netherlands	521.3	4,176.2	457.9	3,628.3	63.4	547.9	3.1	5.4	-10.0
United Kingdom	594.0	4,363.5	447.1	3,166.4	147.0	1,197.1	14.4	18.3	5.1
France	375.2	3,271.8	194.0	1,661.7	181.2	1,610.1	10.4	11.9	9.0
Italy	331.6	2,806.4	204.6	1,712.0	126.9	1,094.4	5.6	6.7	3.8
United States	3,299.8	27,531.3	2,555.4	21,337.1	744.4	6,194.2	-10.3	-6.0	-22.5

**the table also included other countries like Australia, Japan, South Africa, etc.*

IV. The Concern Around the Cybersecurity in Italy: Issues and Solutions

This chapter analyzes the situation of one European country, Italy: how the Italian government is developing the 5G network searching for solutions to guarantee the protection of national security and cybersecurity.

In Italy Huawei had signed contracts with Enel, Fastweb, Ferrovie dello Stato, Telecom, Poste Italiane and others, it also manages different research and innovation centers, in the new Microelectronics Innovation Lab at Pavia Huawei has invested 1.7 billion dollars and in the Joint Innovation center at Pula 20 million, and has authorized commissions with Vodafone and Tim (Italian telecom operators). The project of the company is to invest 3.1 billion dollars in Italy for research within the next three years, innovation, infrastructures and marketing, creating 3000 job places. In the area Bari-Matera (Puglia-Basilicata regions) has invested 60 million euros, and there will be full network coverage by 2020. Thomas Miao, chief executive of Huawei in Italy, defined the Italian approach to 5G network as an example for the other European countries[14].

ZTE also had signed relevant commissions with Wind and Tre (Italian telecom operators), the sales volume of 2017 was of 14 billion euros. In the Abruzzo region, ZTE has opened a 5G center of Innovation and Research.

5G arrived in Italy in June 2019, Vodafone, the telco owned by UK telecommunications group Vodafone Group, was the first telecom company to offer the service in 5 cities: Milan, Turin, Bologna, Rome, and Naples, using equipment from Nokia and Huawei for the development of commercial 5G.

When Vodafone started launching the service, the company expected to cover around 45 to 50 cities during 2020. By 2021 rival operator Telecom Italia (TIM) also plans to provide 5G coverage for 245 industrial districts, 30 tourist destinations throughout Italy, and 50 industrial districts. By 2021 the new technology will reach 100 Italian cities and the main touristic sites.

In 2018, Ministry of Economic Development in Italy announced the completion of the national 5G spectrum tender, in which the government raised a total of EUR 6.55 billion, currently $7.36 billion (5G licenses are valid for 19 years, except the authorizations in the 700 MHz band, which will not be released until 2022 and will be valid for 15 and a half years).

The Italian government had chosen to extend the *Golden power* law (verify the security of the extra-UE vendors) as a strategy for the protection of national security also entrusting the government to react against improper use of data. Now the Italian companies have ten days, after the stipulation of an agreement with non-European countries, to notify to the premiership a detailed report, to "allow the veto exercises or the imposition of particular prescriptions or conditions." For

standard concepts and definitions recommended by the United Nations for use in the international trade statistics, China Customs figures are comprehensive, reliable, and internationally comparable.

[14] Fiordalisi, Mila (2019) 'Golden Power, approvato il decreto legge per la sicurezza del 5G', CORCOM, available at https://www.corriere comunicazioni.it/telco/5g/golden-power-approvato-il-decreto-legge-a-tutela-del-5g/

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example, Fastweb alerted its agreement with ZTE for the acquirement of devices for realizing the last segment of the 5G network (mobile and landline). Wind Tre notified its pacts with Huawei also related to the acquisition of equipment for building electronic communication networks based on 5G. The Italian Government had also established a Centre of Evaluation and National Certification (CVCN)[15].

a) The economic relations between China and Italy

The 13th point of the *Memorandum of Understanding* explains the importance of having a mutual benefit economic partnership between China and Italy with advantages and profits for both countries.

"13. The Parties underline the continued growth of bilateral trade and investments in both directions and reiterate that, to strengthen bilateral trade cooperation and mutual investment between the two countries, it is necessary to ensure a level playing field and promote full protection of property Intellectual. The Parties also agree on the need for wider and easier access to their respective markets, including the aim of achieving the common goal of a gradual rebalancing of bilateral trade. In this direction, the Parties will continue to use all bilateral mechanisms of dialogue and consultation, such as the Committee Government, the Joint Commission, the Business Forum Italy–China, and, on the Italian side, Italy-China Task Force set up at the Ministry of the Economic Development Republic of Italy. The Parties confirm Italy's participation as a country guest of honor at the second edition of the China International Import Expo. The Parties also want the definition of Mutual Recognition Agreement driver's licenses for conversion purposes."

Every week in both countries, there are events to promote the Chinese economy in Italy and the Italian economy in China. Italian entrepreneurs, researchers, and institutional managers participated in the edition of China-Italy Innovation, Science and Technology Week in the cities of Beijing and Jinan from 28th to 31st October 2019. Thematic seminars, networking tables, one-to-one meetings, and intensive institutional promotion marked, under the auspices of their respective governments, the pace of the bilateral cooperation program launched ten years ago between Italy and China with the aim of innovative research and enterprise systems. In the CIIE (Shanghai International Import Expo 5-10 November 2019) the Italian booth was one of the biggest, in that occasion China conferred to Italy a privileged position, it was a successful opportunity – as seen in the previous 2018 edition – for Italian companies to showcase the quality of Made in Italy's products and services. The exhibition for Italian companies extended to 6,900 square meters and touched more sectors.

The uncertainty veil around Huawei did not compromise the economic relations between Italy and China; in 2019, exports to Italy in China increased to 3153800 USD THO in December from 2615265 USD THO in November of 2019.

V. Summary

The affair is still under discussion; thus, the findings of this research could not head to a final prediction of future events.

In the technological race, China holds leadership with Huawei and ZTE. For some Chinese scholars, the USA probably tried to stop it with ban, penalties; the sanctions were never entirely employed not to encounter retaliations, besides, there was no public evidence of technological risks in Huawei and ZTE equipment. A concern persists because purchasing the technology of a specific vendor creates a level of dependence: it involves a long-term commitment to a partnership with a supplier. The hub of the Huawei dilemma is mostly about its credibility and liability. The concern related to cyber espionage remains. For Chinese companies, it is mandatory by law to cooperate with their government supporting Chinese national interests; this includes participation in intelligence activities. It also shows a different approach from that of Western countries on the interdependence and interaction between the government and industry. There are several examples of employing private actors in favor of economic espionage and influence activities for the interests of the government.

Moreover, all the countries involved in the Chinese Belt and Road Initiative are giving priority to the development of infrastructures, including the new network technology, so the USA, stepping down, take into consideration the current geopolitical context.

In Europe, the governments are still analyzing the risks of this new technology and they are debating to proceed towards the preservation of good economic relations between Europe and China.

Among the European countries, Italy has given a model, with a strategy on how to limit the risks for the cybersecurity through the *golden power* law. Considering that in 2020 China and Italy are celebrating 50 years of friendship, their partnership will soon run fast with benefits for both sides. Thus, regarding the new technology affair, there were not negative implications on China-Italy economic partnership.

Definitely, the topic is multifaceted since it affects the national security, the economic, technological spheres, and the dimension of international relations, so, notwithstanding countries

[15] *Comunicato congiunto tra la Repubblica Italiana e la Repubblica Popolare Cinese sul rafforzamento del partenariato strategico globale*, 23 marzo 2019, Roma. http://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/ComunicatoCongiunto_Italia-Cina_20190323.pdf

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signed agreements and are trying to cooperate, the path towards a trustful economic collaboration between Europe and China is still long, but, hopefully with less competition and more cooperation.

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Custodial Rehabilitation and Public Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

By Oyekunle Oluseye Oyewo

Abstract- The study examines the functionality of custodial rehabilitation as a means of improving public security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. A qualitative exploratory approach was employed during the research, and data was collected from seven correctional facilities, six selected from each of the six geopolitical zones in the country. In contrast, the seventh facility, Agodi Correctional Center was purposely selected to complement information from the other selected facilities. The study population included correctional officers, inmates, ex-inmates, and non-governmental organizations. Data collected were descriptively analyzed using thematic and content analysis. The study identified incongruence between rehabilitation programmes and services on the one hand, and offenses committed by the inmates and other risk factors on the other as the main cause of the poor performance of the rehabilitation mandate of the Nigerian Correctional Service (NCS) and by extension, the raging crisis of insecurity in the country. Lack of attention on behavior modifying services, and poor socio-economic conditions in the country are also identified as factors militating against effective inmate rehabilitation and re-integration.

Keywords: *fourth republic, inmates, public security, rehabilitation.*

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CUSTODIALREHABILITATIONANDPUBLICSECURITYINNIGERIASFOURTHREPUBLIC

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Keywords: fourth republic, inmates, public security, rehabilitation.

I. Introduction

As a unique human creation, the state has remained the fulcrum of interpersonal, group, and societal relationships. This makes the state to be at forefront of almost everything pertaining to the wellbeing or otherwise of the citizen and continues to set not only the pace but also the tone of political and socio-economic development. Ghani, Lockhart and Carnahan (2005) identify the key functions of the state to include: protection of its territorial integrity, the enablement of opportunities for citizens' capacity enhancement and actualization, delineation of citizen rights and duties, international relations etc. However, effective performance of these roles and responsibilities is a direct function of state capacity; the ability of state institutions to effectively implement official goals in the functions of contemporary states, namely extractive capacity, coercive capacity and administrative capacity (Hanson and Sigman, 2013).

Meanwhile, the centrality of effective security to the survival of every modern state justifies the attention and investment on the criminal justice administration as a whole and the prison system, particularly because the coercive capacity of the states is mainly built and expressed through rules and regulations. Individuals who contravene these legal provisions are sanctioned and, or corrected through various sentencing options, among which imprisonment is most prominent (Bamgbose, 2010). Correctional institutions are therefore, a primary instrument of punishment and its establishment and maintenance are some of the public policy options for maintenance of peace and security in modern nation-states. Efforts to maintain law and order through criminal justice decisions through interrelated processes. As observed by Lyons and Scheingold (2000), crime control policy is politically constructed. Therefore, laws are made, enforced, and interpreted through processes in which politics is at play. It is on this basis that Martin (2015) maintains that crimes are politically related to politics. More so, in democracies, laws are made and passed by representative bodies called the legislative assemblies.

The Nigerian Fourth Republic is instituted based on the principle of libertarianism and democratic ethos which is associated with rights, and opportunities for all categories of citizens, including those already kept behind bars. Under these principles, corporal punishment and other forms of inhuman treatments are de-emphasized, and the penal philosophy adopted now is that which is based on custody, rehabilitation and re-integration (Oyewo, 2014). However, custodial rehabilitation programmes goal is to ensure that inmates invest their time positively during incarceration for reformation and re-integration after discharge but this has remained ineffective in Nigeria. Although, inmate rehabilitation function of the Nigerian Correctional Service (NCS) is premised on: (i.) Identifying the causes of inmates' anti-social dispositions; (ii) Setting in motion mechanism for their effective treatment and training for eventual reintegration into society as normal law-abiding citizens on discharge (iii) Administering Prison Farms and Industries (Nigerian Prisons Handbook, 2012). However, the high rate of reoffending which further endangers public security in the country, does not suggest that existing rehabilitation programmes and

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policy in reality, address inmates' rehabilitative needs. The study, against this background, examines custodial rehabilitation programmes and services in the Nigerian correctional centers as a means of improving public safety in the country.

II. Research Questions

i. What are the problems affecting effective inmate rehabilitation in Nigeria?
ii. What are the types of available correctional services and programmes in the Nigerian correctional centers?
iii. What are the roles of non-governmental organizations in the Nigerian correctional centers?

III. Literature

Drawing upon works on prison system such as Rothman's Discovery of the Asylum (1971), Michael Foucault's Discipline and Punish (1975), Wacquant's Deadly Symbiosis (2001), and Rusche and Kirchheimer's Prisons and Social Structure (1933), imprisonment could serve different purposes in a society. Prisons or correctional institutions may reflect class structure/power in which the ruling class uses it to isolate and punish the disadvantaged population. In countries whose penal principle is skewed in this direction, the emphasis is on harsh prison labor and enforce compliance rather than teach any practical skills. The Eighteen century England, colonial and military governments in Nigeria were founded and operated on this principle. Coyle (2005) similarly recognizes that other factors influence imprisonment policy aside from crime.

Foucault (1971), for example, notes that a prison is a form of social and political control for the wider society and not just an institution that controls crime and criminal behavior. Wacquant (2009) observes that although crime cuts across every class of the society but punishment hardly does; this makes imprisonment a lower-class phenomenon. It is on this basis that Coyle (2005, p.20) maintains that an increase in the prison population reflects high rates of 'social exclusion'. Inmates are therefore, most likely, the marginalized members of the society. In the rare event of incarceration of 'high profile' persons, they spend lesser time behind bars and often usually accorded 'unusual humane' treatment.

This further reinforces Rusche and Kirchheimer's (1933) claim that the history of punishment is simply a history of class relations between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Carlen (2006, cited in Cavadino and Dignan, 2007) concludes that correctional centers in present day societies still fulfil its old age function of catering for the homeless, the mentally ill, the stranger, the non-compliant poor, the abused, and the excluded. The United Nations (2006) corroborates the idea of imprisonment being a class affair. It notes that the majority of prisoners worldwide come from economically and socially disadvantaged backgrounds. Poverty, unemployment, lack of housing, broken families, history of psychological problems and mental illness, drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence are realities likely to be found in most offenders' lives.

An early account of imprisonment policy indicates that it centers on corporal punishments such as torture, public execution, dismemberment, whipping, and other inhuman practices (Faucault, 1975), which is different from the idea of rehabilitation. It is perhaps, on this basis, that Weschler (1991) concludes that prison culture has always been ruled by violence, contrary to the values of humanness, softness, and openness. In an earlier but related development, Kant (1790) maintains that retribution is the sole consideration in fixing the amount and kinds of punishment. He says:

> Punishment can never serve nearly as a means to further another good either for the offender himself or for society, still it must always be inflicted simply and solely because he has committed a crime. The law of punishment is Categorical imperative (p.1).

Meanwhile, correctional institutions in many developing countries are associated with punishment and inhumane conditions leading to health challenges, which in most cases goes beyond intended punishment for their criminal behavior. Studies on correctional centers in Nigeria, for example, Obioha (1995) and Adetula and Fatusin (2010) showed that contact with the correctional centers in Nigeria, for example, is essentially punitive. According to Schönteich (2015), correctional centers in developing countries serve as agents in the spread of communicable diseases and exacerbate existing health problems, producing broader public health challenges as released inmates spread diseases to the rest of the populace. Schönteich's position seems to have corroborated that of Weilandt and Greifinger (2010), and Ikuteyijo and Agunbiade (2008). According to them, prison populations exhibit much higher rates of transmissible diseases than does the populace at large.

The struggle against inhuman treatments in the name of punishment in prisons is of historical significance and traceable to the early writers on the prison system such as Beccaria (1738-1794), and Bentham (1748-1832), among others. For Beccaria, (1819:75) "the degree of punishment, and the consequences of crime, ought to be so framed in a way to have the highest possible effect on others but with the least likely pain on the offenders. With this, Beccaria set the background for deterrent and rehabilitation rather than punishment as the essence of prison institution. The practical and intellectual strength of rehabilitation as the basis of imprisonment has ushered in an era in

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which prisons and corrections are now being used undifferentiated. For example, Nwolise (2010) notes that corrections implies "the organization and administration of prisons as a form of social clinic in which psychologist, medical doctors, social workers, researchers, spiritual workers, and others operate hand in hand with the correctional personnel to achieve the best results of transforming the inmates away from being deviants to being disciplined, productive, useful and patriotic citizens". This approach to imprisonment negates all forms of inhuman treatment in the name of punishment. Adetula and Fatusin (2010) corroborate this position. According to them, punishment and all forms of inhumane treatments bring about breeding and enhancing criminal behavior and recidivists than serving, deterrence, repentance, reformatory, and reconciliatory attitudes between ex-convicts and people in a free society to boost confidence in physical and conceptual security.

Prisons in many countries in modern times have therefore, grown into correctional institutions. According to Foucault (1975) prisons became concerned with the offender's personality, seeking to understand the reasons behind the criminal action in order to intervene and put an end to any further disobedience and by extension, insecurity. It is on this basis that prisons have experienced the proliferation of experts, such as social workers, psychiatrists, and criminologists in the correctional institutions (Foucault, 1977). Hence, the goal of punishment by imprisonment in many countries has become custodial rehabilitation.

IV. Methods

A qualitative exploratory approach was employed during this research. Data in respect of rehabilitation programmes available in the Nigerian Correctional centers were collected from seven correctional centers. Six of these facilities were selected from each of the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. These include North-Central: Nassarawa (Lafia Correctional Center), North-West: Kano (Kano Medium Correctional Center), North-East: Bauchi (Bauchi Correctional Center) South-West: Lagos (Badagry Correctional Center), South-East: Imo (Okigwe Correctional Center) South-South: Rivers (Port Harcourt Correctional Center). The Nigerian Correctional Service has 36 State and 1 Federal Capital Territory Commands. To this extent, Lagos, Imo, Rivers, Nassarawa, Kano, and Bauchi states were selected for the inmate population of the study. The choice of Lagos, Imo, Rivers, and Kano states was based on their position as the states with the highest number of inmates from the South-West, South-East, South-South, and North-West in that order (See NPS Annual Report, 2013). While Benue, and Adamawa states have the highest inmate population in the North-Central and North-East in the period under review, they were not selected due to the precarious security situation. Nassarawa, and Bauchi states which are next to these two states in terms of inmate population were selected in their place. In contrast, Agodi Correctional Center, Oyo State was purposely included to complement information from other selected facilities.

A total of 36 semi-structured interviews were conducted based on voluntariness and the snowball methods. Sampling method: the study adopted area, and purposive sampling given the size and nature of the study population. Interviews and participant observation were used to complement secondary data from the selected correctional centers. Generated data were descriptively discussed. Four different sets of open-ended question guides were used for the four categories of respondents. These respondents included correctional officials, inmates, ex-inmates and non-governmental organizations. In all, 70 (Seventy) inmates, 14 (Fourteen) correctional officials, 6 (Six) non-governmental organizations and 10 (Ten) ex-inmates participated in the study. Justification for the selection of these categories of respondents was primarily based on their position as the major role-players in the correctional industry. Interview location varied from correctional centers, offices, and religious centers. An informed consent form was administered on every category of respondents, and other ethical issues such as confidentiality were adhered. Data generated were content-analyzed based on the objectives of the research.

V. Limitations

The study was impeded at the early stage by administrative bottleneck in the correctional service, but this was overcome through the assistance of some correctional officers in the selected study facilities. Similarly, owing to the high rate of stigmatization of individuals who have experienced the country's correctional facility, it was very difficult to come across ex-inmates in the course of the research. Nevertheless, this challenge was also overcome with the assistance of a non-governmental organization, the Justice Peace and Development Commission, Bashorun Ibadan.

VI. Findings

Demographic information of the inmate respondents revealed that 64% of the respondents were below the age of forty while 70% claimed to be educated up to primary school level and only 53 % of the inmates respondents claimed to have post primary education. Findings in respect of the challenges of effective rehabilitation in the Nigerian Correctional Service were multi-dimensional. For example, rehabilitation programmes and services are not tailored to inmate rehabilitation needs. The study found out that there is a widespread mismatch between the reasons

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why inmates were incarcerated and the programmes offered, this indicates that inmates' criminogenic needs are not considered when programmes are being assigned. Similarly, available programmes and services such as tailoring, carpentry, and educational programmes are not well funded. At best, most rehabilitation programmes that relate to skill acquisition programmes are being delivered with obsolete equipment, this also, agrees with earlier studies on the Nigerian correctional system, such as Nwolise (2012), Ekpenyong N. S. and Undutimi J. D. (2016).

Further, the study observed that rehabilitation programmes in the Nigerian Correctional Service vary across correctional centers without any common indices for performance appraisal. Some of the programmes and services offered across the sampled facilities in the country include the following:

Table 1: Rehabilitation Programmes in Selected Correctional Facilities in Nigeria

Rehabilitation programme	Badagry	Okigwe, Imo State	Kano Kano State	Lafia Nassarawa State	Port- Hacourt Rivers State	Bauchi Bauchi State
Shoe Making	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Education Programme			✓		✓	
Elect. Work		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Carpentry	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓
Faith-based programmes & Counselling	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Barbing	✓		✓		✓	✓
Welding/Elect Work		✓	✓		✓	✓
Laundry			✓		✓	
Sewing/weaving	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

(Fieldwork, 2019)

The table 1 shows that tailoring and faith based programmes were the most subscribed rehabilitation programmes in the Nigerian correctional centers. The table also shows that the education programme is not available in many of the correctional centers despite the preponderance of inmates with poor educational background.

Similarly, the preponderance of pre-trial inmates constitutes another main challenge to effective inmate-rehabilitation in Nigeria. Even though pre-trial detainees are not statutorily required to offer correctional programmes and services because of the presumption of their innocence until a competent court decides otherwise, a very high percentage of both human and material resources of the country's correctional system is dedicated to the management of this category of detainees, thereby, inhibiting the process of effective rehabilitation. The average ratio of convicted inmates to awaiting trial inmates in the selected correctional facility is 1-12. Similarly, the average Nigerian correctional center is overcrowded by 60%. Below is the basic inmate information in the selected correctional centers:

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Table 2: Basic Information about Inmates of Selected Correctional Centers

Correctional Center	Capacity	Detainees	Convicted Male	Convicted Female	ATM	ATF	Total
Badagry	360	Nil	43	Nil	290	Nil	333
Okigwe	504	Nil	65	02	305	07	379
Kano	750	Nil	60	02	1300	18	1380
Lafia	300	Nil	104	Nil	494	09	598
Port-Harcourt	804	1	124	08	3445	73	4052
Bauchi	500	Nil	134	02	786	09	931
	3218	1	530	14	6620	116	7673

Source: Fieldwork, 2019

Table 2 shows the preponderance of awaiting trial inmates in all sampled correctional facilities. This reveals that a larger percentage of the inmates in the Nigerian correctional centers are not statutorily qualified to participate in rehabilitation because they were yet to be pronounced guilty for offenses for which they are incarcerated. This finding agrees with previous work such as Onimajesin (2013) and Tsuwa and Okoh (2016) on the impact of awaiting trial inmates on the performance of the rehabilitative objective of the Nigerian correctional service. However, helping inmates to cope with idleness as the teleological function of rehabilitation programmes in Nigerian correctional institutions is a major motivating factor for the participation of both awaiting trial and convicted inmates in the rehabilitation programmes. This agrees with the position of Craig (2004) that inmate rehabilitation programmes are largely used as a control mechanism-to kill time rather than treatment for effective rehabilitation.

Interview with ex-inmates of Nigerian prisons about the challenges of their effective re-integration into the society shows a lack of congruence between offenses committed except in the case of economic offenses, thereby reducing the possibility of reformation and eventual re-integration. Meanwhile, treatments/ interventions that target the known predictors of crime and recidivism for change have been argued as having a positive influence on all categories of offenders (Andrews 1995; Andrews and Bonta 1998). Further, skill-based/vocational interventions were over-focused in the bid to reform offenders in Nigeria at the expense of programmes capable of eliciting behavioral changes among the inmates. According to Andrews (1995), such behavioral interventions that would employ cognitive behavioral and social learning techniques of modeling, graduated practice, role-playing, reinforcement, extinction, resource provision, concrete verbal suggestions (symbolic modeling, giving reasons, prompting) and cognitive restructuring have also been found to have a positive influence on rehabilitation. Similarly, socio-economic challenges also impact the efforts towards the re-integration of ex-inmates. The failure of the state in Nigeria to provide basic needs and services to the general populace also impacts negatively on offenders released from the Nigerian correctional centers as they are confronted with the problem of homelessness, lack of capital to start a new business, among others. This finding agrees with Borzyki (2005) that offenders released from prisons are confronted by a range of socio-economic and personal challenges. Similarly, Heroux (2011) maintained that among the post-release challenges of prison inmates are accommodation, medical care, and employment.

Findings in respect of non-governmental organizations' involvement correctional programmes in Nigeria reveals that there are several non-governmental organizations such as Prisoners Rehabilitation and Welfare Action (PRAWA), Muslim Umar of South-West Nigeria (MUSWEN); Justice, Development and Peace Commission (JDPC); Prison Rehabilitation Ministry International (PREMI) involved in the provision of support services to prison inmates. According to Imhabekhai (2002), ' non-governmental organizations' attraction to assisting prison inmates was influenced by the deplorable conditions of prisoners' welfare in Nigeria. Non-governmental organizations, therefore provide numerous support services towards inmate rehabilitation across correctional service in Nigeria. These include welfare services in the area of counseling, health care services, provision of water, financial support, and aftercare services. These organizations also provide legal services and support staff for rehabilitation programmes and services, especially in the area of education. Findings of the study also showed a preponderance of faith-based non-governmental organizations in the correctional centers. However, for the factors of distance and accessibility, the involvement of all categories of non-governmental organizations in correctional programmes and services were more pronounced in the urban centers. This agrees with the position of Oyewo (Forthcoming) that infrastructure problems plaguing Nigerian society at large also impact on the performance of its correctional institutions. Correctional centers that are located in the rural areas are not easily accessible for non-governmental organizations.

VII. Concluding Remarks

Correctional centers, like other rule of law agencies of the state, play a crucial role in the provision of public security across the world. A substantial

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percentage of inmates return to the society upon the expiration of their term or through jail delivery efforts either as a reformed persons or a hardened criminals, this indicates that whatever happens behind bars has a way of affecting the society in the long run. However, the major finding of the research indicates that lack of effective inmate rehabilitation in the Nigerian correctional centers is rather a security risk to the society. The rate at which ex-inmates re-offend in Nigeria is a clear indication that correctional institutions in the country need to rejig their efforts toward inmate rehabilitation, particularly in terms of behavioral modification and skill acquisition. Doing this, the paper identifies the need for a greater congruence between rehabilitation programmes and services offered on when hand and crimes for which offenders are incarcerated as well as other risk factors that may pre-dispose inmates to crimes after discharge on the other. Recruitment of more professionals into the correctional service, allotment of more time for correctional programmes and services are also considered as means of improving custodial rehabilitation programmes and services, and by extension, public security in Nigeria.

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Historic Roots and Impact of Ethnic Uzbeks on Political Circumstances in Afghanistan

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Abstract- This research work consists of the general overview and analysis of partly living conditions and political activities of ethnic Uzbeks in Afghanistan, the ethnic composition of present Afghanistan, history, and roots of Uzbek migrations, the prominent leader of the Uzbek nationals' General Abdul Rashid Dostum's activities in governance and security issues, current processes and interactions of leaders, certain moves for governance in the country. Also, the piece briefly overhauls occurred splits in the political unities of the Uzbeks and further expected divisions on priorities of parties.

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Historic Roots and Impact of Ethnic Uzbeks on Political Circumstances in Afghanistan

Nurshod Nurkulov

Abstract- **This research work consists of the general overview and analysis of partly living conditions and political activities of ethnic Uzbeks in Afghanistan, the ethnic composition of present Afghanistan, history, and roots of Uzbek migrations, the prominent leader of the Uzbek nationals' General Abdul Rashid Dostum's activities in governance and security issues, current processes and interactions of leaders, certain moves for governance in the country. Also, the piece briefly overhauls occurred splits in the political unities of the Uzbeks and further expected divisions on priorities of parties.**

I. Introduction

Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is situated in the eastern part of South– Western Asia. Sometimes, according to the geographical location, the country is included in Central Asia.[1]

In the 17th century, Uzbeks ruled around ten autonomous Bekdoms (in Uzbek Bekliklar) such as Balkh, Maimana, and Shiberghan of Northern Afghanistan.[2] In the 18th century today's Afghanistan territory belonged to Iran (Persia). In 1747 after Persian Ruler Nader Shah's death, Ahmad Shah occupied Kandahar with the help of Afghan and Uzbek troops (3000 horsemen). In that year, Nadir Shah's former Uzbek commander Khoja Khan (at his own request) appointed by Ahmad Shah as Wali (local governor) of Balkh and Maymana with the condition of armed support if necessary.[3] This was the beginning of the political activity of Uzbeks in the Afghan government.

Ahmad Shah was from the Sadozai clan. After election as a Supreme ruler of the newly established state of Afghanistan, he renamed the Abdali tribe, to which the Sadozai clan belonged, as Durrani. That is why he is also known as Ahmad Shah Durrani. Later this country was used as buffer land between two colonialist British and Russian Empires.[4]

Afghan people have been through numerous political regimes, coups, countercoups, civil wars, clashes, and unrests. For many years Afghanistan remained in the central attention of Super Powers in terms of security issues and terrorism. In this way, there are certain factors that shape the vectors of their policies in the region. The state suffered from various religious and ethnic groups' battles for the government. Today, Afghanistan is more highly divided than any time before. In this division, ethnic Uzbeks also have a share to reach the sustainability. I try to examine the engagement of this community with the politics in Afghanistan through a retrospective approach.

II. Ethnic Composition and Uzbeks in Afghanistan

The number of Afghanistan's population is 34,124,811 (July 2017 est.) people. [5] Pursuant to *Article Four of Afghanistan's constitution* (2004), officially there are 14 recognized big ethnic groups in the country. The article reads, "National sovereignty in Afghanistan shall belong to the nation, manifested directly and through its elected representatives. The nation of Afghanistan is composed of all individuals who possess the citizenship of Afghanistan. The nation of Afghanistan shall be comprised of *Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkman, Baluch, Pachaie, Nuristani, Aymaq, Arab, Qirghiz, Qizilbash, Gujur, Brahwui* and other tribes. The word Afghan shall apply to every citizen of Afghanistan. No individual of the nation of Afghanistan shall be deprived of citizenship. The citizenship and asylum related matters shall be regulated by law."[6] (see Figure 1)[7]

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[5] 'South Asia :: Afghanistan — The World Factbook - Central Intelligence Agency'.

[6] 'The Constitution of Afghanistan' (2004), http://www.afghanembassy.com.pl/afg/images/pliki/TheConstitution.pdf.

[7] 'Afghanistan and Pakistan Ethnic Groups | National Geographic Society', accessed 3 January 2019, https://www.nationalgeographic.org/maps/afghanistan-and-pakistan-ethnic-groups/.

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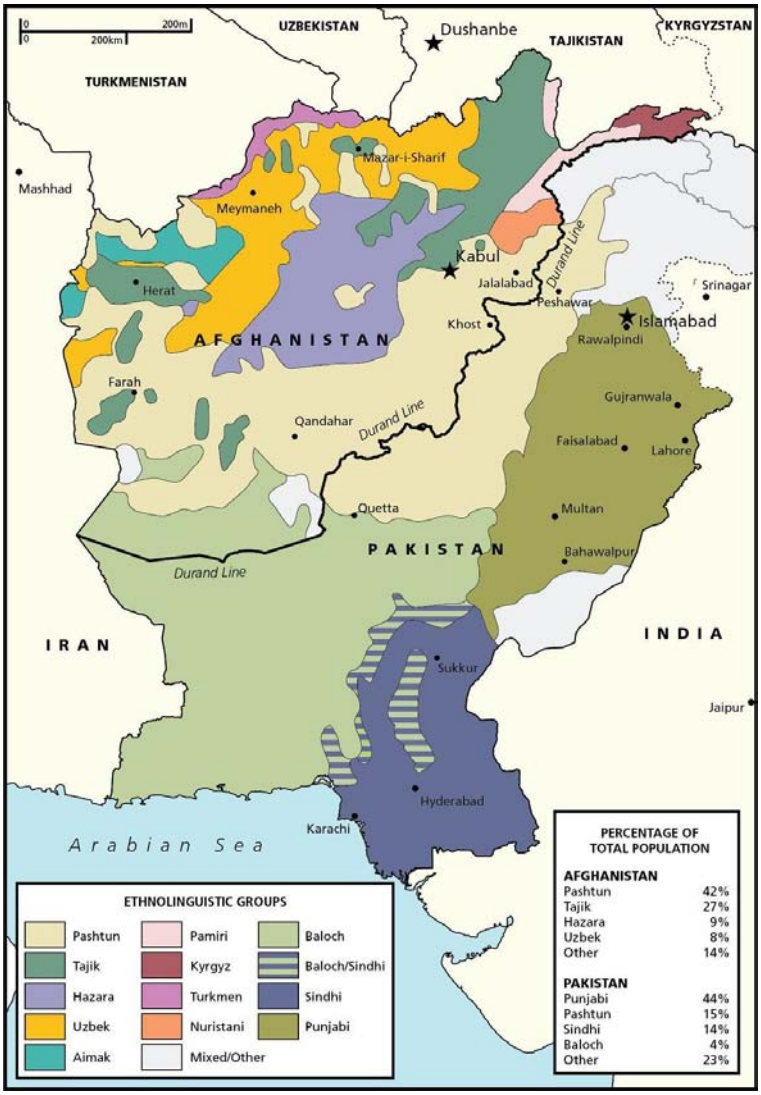

Figure 1: Map of Afghanistan and Pakistan Ethnic Groups.

Uzbeks are the fourth (some estimations claim the third) largest ethnic group in modern Afghanistan, according to various sources, between 2.8 and 4 million people. They are the largest group in Turkic-speaking class and profess Hanafi tradition of Sunni Islam[8] that reflects a primarily cultural rather than religious identity. Their dialect is closely related to the one spoken by the Uzbeks in the Uygur Autonomous Region of Xinjiang in China.[9]

Indeed, the ethnonym "Uzbek" has a perplexing interpretation. It was never used in a purely political context prior to the establishment of Uzbek Khanate in 1428 by Abul-Khayr-khan with the support of Timurid ruler Mirzo Ulugbek, as the successor of Golden Horde. Abul-Khayr-khan was from the dynasty of Shiban, a grandson of Genghis Khan. In history, several states such as the Grey Horde, Uzbek Khanate, Shaybanids Empire, Khanate of Khwarezm (Khanate of Khiva), and Khanate of Sibir were ruled, and some were founded by this dynasty. Although there are no clear facts, some historians believe that one big group of Turkic-Mongol tribes adopted the name Uzbek from the longest-reigning and most appreciated Muslim khan of Golden Horde - Uzbek khan (Öz Beg Khan).[10] Timurid Mirzo Ulugbek mentions that people who followed Uzbek khan when converting to Islam divided into two groups: those who followed Islam Uzbeks, and those who refused

[8] Узбеки в Афганистане: Демография и расселение · Этнография · Культура и Образование · Известные узбеки Афганистана', accessed 3 January 2019, http://rossiya.takustroenmir.ru/m_uzbeki-v-afganistane.htm.

[9] 'Uzbeks and Turkmens', Minority Rights Group, accessed 3 January 2019, https://minorityrights.org/ minorities/uzbeks-and-turkmens/.

[10] 'Kingdoms of Central Asia - Grey Horde (Shaibanids)', The History Files, accessed 3 March 2019, https://www.historyfiles.co.uk/KingLists FarEast/ AsiaShaibanids.htm.

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Kalmyks.[11] Other dominant views emphasize that "Uzbek" deviated from Oghuz bek, meaning Leader of Oghuz; it is linked to Oghuz Khagan (Oghuz Beg) too.[12] Also, "Uzbek" may have been an adjective used to describe certain Turkic tribes, which in translation means "Self lord"[13] that later grew into an ethnonym. The last view is less supported by the historians.[14] While neither of the above mentioned views is backed up by concrete historic narratives of that time, by today, we know that once the term "Uzbek" began to be actively used to refer to a particular group of Turkic-Mongol tribes, it first extended, then moved geographically to the south, towards Transoxiana (also in Arabic - Mawarannahr) and mainly the territory that is known as Uzbekistan in modern history and the southern part of Amudarya river (Oxus river). Thus some people have a misconception about what we call a certain nation Uzbeks today. In fact, Transoxiana and the southern part of the Amudarya River have been traditionally populated by people for ages even by the time of Genghis khan's conquest which resulted in the migration of other Turkic and Mongol tribes who later assimilated with the local Turkic and East Iranian (mainly Tajiks) people. And it is no surprise and worth emphasizing when Shaybanids (the dynasty who founded Uzbeks Khanate in 1428) headed by Muhammad Shaybani captured this land and founded Shaybanids Empire (later known as Bukhara Shaybanids Khanate), local Turkic and East Iranian people were already living in this region. The northern part of today's Afghanistan was also an integral part of the Shaybanids Empire.

In general, the ruling dynasty has a great influence in shaping self-identity issues of the population throughout the whole human history eventually bringing about most of today's nation-states. Later all three Khanates in Transoxiana were founded by the Uzbek dynasties and this statesmanship lasted until the Russian invasion into the region. Not only Turkic-Mongol tribes moved to the region together with Shaybanids but also Turkic people who had already been residing by then later accepted the common name Uzbek under the political leadership of Uzbeks. Yet reading the poems (by Alisher Navoi[15] e.g.) that were written before the Shaybanids invasion as well as the epics by the Shaybanids palace poets (by Mohammad Salih[16] e.g.) and comparing them with today's Uzbek language, one may make sure that dialects and features of local Turkic languages dominated across the region even after the establishment of the Shaybanids Empire. Moreover, as Eden Naby claims, most of the Uzbeks and Turkmens of Afghanistan assert that the language in which they communicate is definitely Turkic not particularly Uzbek or Turkmen.[17] All is a matter of time and space. The destiny of Afghanistan's Uzbeks was also highly dependent on policies conducted by leaders of states in the region.

As was mentioned above, Uzbeks had their own Bekdoms/Khanates in Northern Afghanistan. Eden Naby points out that Transoxiana or Afghan gold and silver coins were equally in use with the local copper coins. This implies they were autonomous, at the same time, heavily influenced by both neighbors. In *1751 Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah occupied the lands* on the southern part of Amudarya river namely Maimana, Andkhoy, Shiberghan, Balkh, Bamyan, and other areas up to Badakhshan that were settled by the Turkic people who already perceived themselves Uzbeks.[18] In different periods, these Bekdoms sporadically gained back and lost their independence. In 1850, Afghan Amir Dost Muhammad Khan defeated them. Another Afghan leader Amir Abdul Rahman' rule (1880-1901) is known for weakening the Turkification of the country's north. During his reign, the Pushtuns exceeded all ethnic groups, even Uzbeks who were leading demographically in the region. Furthermore, commerce turned from Central Asia towards the Indian Subcontinent.[19]

Officially, in modern international law, the Uzbeks have found themselves in the territory of modern Afghanistan following *the Russo-Afghan boundary agreement*. The agreement was finalized in an exchange of letters between the British and Russian ministers of Foreign Affairs, Granville Leveson-Gower (October 17, 1872) and Prince Alexander Mikhailovich Gorchakov (January 31, 1873).[20]

[11] Мирзо Улугбек, Тўрт улус тарихи, accessed 2 May 2020, http://www.ziyouz.com/index.php?option=com_remository&Itemid=57&func=fileinfo&id=831.

[12] Khurshid Davron, 'Xurshid Davron. «O'zbek» Atamasi (Etnonimi)Ning Kelib Chiqishi Bilan Bog'liq Bir Faraz Haqida | Xurshid Davron Kutubxonasi', accessed 25 March 2019, https://kh-davron.uz/ijod/maqolalar/ozbek-atamasi- haqida.html.

[13] Ахмедов Б.А., *Государство кочевых узбеков* (Москва: Наука, 1965).

[14] Ўзбек халқининг келиб чиқиши: Илмий-методологик ёндашувлар, этногенетик ва этник тарих (Республика илмий-назарий семинари, Tashkent, 2004), 84 http://khorezmiy.uz/media/85b92c5e-93cc-2c2a-dd10-a857d258fb69. pdf.

[15] 'Alisher Navoiy: Favoyid ul-Kibar Alif harfining ofatlarining ibtidosi «Favoyid»din', Uzbekistan National Library, accessed 10 February 2020, http://navoi.natlib.uz:8101/uz/xazoyin_ul_maoniy_favoyid_ul_kibra_oltinchi_tom/alif_harfining_ofatlarining_ibtilosi_favoyiddin/.

[16] Ваҳоб Раҳмонов, *Муҳаммад Солиҳ* Шайбонийнома (Ғафур Ғулом номидаги Адабиёт ва санъат нашриёти, 1989), http://www.ziyouz.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=7075.

[17] Naby, 'The Uzbeks in Afghanistan'.

[18] Q. Usmonov, U. Jo'rayev, and N. Norqulov, *O'zbekiston Tarixi*, 3rd ed. (Tashkent: O'qituvchi, 2014).

[19] Naby, 'The Uzbeks in Afghanistan'.

[20] Daniel Balland, 'BOUNDARIES Iii. Boundaries of Afghanistan – Encyclopaedia Iranica', Encyclopaedia Iranica, 30 December 2012, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/boundaries-iii.

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When British rulers tried to include the northern frontier of Afghanistan under control, they spread a series of disgusting information about Uzbeks' living conditions, their "dirtiness" and "wildness". It was aimed to urge Afghan leaders to occupy those areas and realize the campaign referred to as '*Pashtunisation*' or '*Afghanisation*'.[21] Admitted by the Pashtuns themselves, Uzbeks in Afghanistan are rather aggressive than other ethnic groups.

According to the publication by *Minorities at Risk Project* on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees official web-site, Uzbeks moved into the area during the raids of Turkic people across Central Asia in the sixteenth century. Large numbers of Uzbeks also moved into Afghanistan in the 1920s and 1930s from Central Asian territory where population was undergoing Sovietization. Audrey C. Shalinsky mentions that those migrants were called muhajerins in Afghanistan. They ethnically identify themselves as linked to town or cities like Namanganis, Kokandis or Andijanis back in their homeland. These were also added to names reminding their personal identity.[22] The second wave muhajerins were mostly of urban origin. Except for agriculture, they got engaged in the textile industry and small trades. Also today Uzbek women are well known for their carpet factories.[23]

After the establishment of the communist regime with the direct participation of the USSR, the ethnic groups policy context was modified. If before the emphasis was placed on 'privileges', this time 'equality' gets central. Some ethnicities, especially Uzbeks, got the opportunity to support their languages through issuances of various periodical papers ("Yulduz" weekly newspaper, e.g.), radio broadcastings, publishing poems in Afghanistan press and many more. Reportedly, Soviet and Afghan governments' concern regarding the possible union of the Uzbeks at both sides of the Oxus to fight for independence served as a ground to shun too much focus on cultural autonomy.[24]

Following the Soviet withdrawal in 1989, Uzbeks fought for a commensurate political power in the authority, and for the autonomy. Uzbeks did not have their own political organization until General Abdul Rashid Dostum defected from the Najibullah regime and, with his control over the Northern provinces, became self- appointed spokesperson for the rights of Uzbeks in Afghanistan. Uzbeks were part of the Northern Alliance, which fought against the Taliban regime. Thus after the fall of the regime Uzbeks gained an even more influential character into the military and political life of Afghanistan.[25]

III. Striving for Governance in Recent Past

At the June 1988 session of the National Council, Uzbek deputies (members of local councils) sharply criticized the policy of the *People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan* (PDPA) leadership on the national issue, which "pushed the people away from it", with regard to the principles of recruiting the country's armed forces and its command staff, demanded the inclusion of representatives of Uzbeks as well as Turkmens. The processes of ethnic politicization took place also in the Afghan army. So, for example, the personnel of the 53rd Infantry Division, formed in the province of Jawzjan, consisted mainly of Uzbeks living there.[26] In June 1990, in Moscow General Abdul Rashid Dostum stated: "*Uzbeks and Turkmens in the north of Afghanistan will not allow the Pashtuns to command the old way*".[27] Contemporary Afghanistan Uzbeks' political activity couldn't have existed without Dostum's great role. In 1992 he created the *Jombesh-e Melli-ye Islami-ye Afghanistan* (National Islamic Movement of Afghanistan – NIMA or in brief, Jombesh). In the 1990s, he formed a full-fledged structure of government bodies that did not depend on Kabul. As a result, quasi-state organizations arose in the four Northern provinces inhabited by the Uzbeks.

The Government of Uzbekistan also tried to mediate the parties advancing its *Six plus Two Group on Afghanistan* in 1997 followed by the adoption of Tashkent Declaration on Fundamental Principles for a Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in Afghanistan in 1999.[28]

The fragile political balance was violated already in early December 2001 by Dostum, who considered himself deprived when sharing power and refused to recognize the new government. And as Yuri Laletin claims the case was corrected thanks to *Donald Rumsfeld* (the 13th and 21st Secretary of Defense [29]), who

[21] Christian Bleuer, 'From "Slavers" to "Warlords": Descriptions of Afghanistan's Uzbeks in Western Writing', *Afghanistan Analysts Network* (blog), 17 October 2014, https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/from-slavers-to-warlords-descriptions-of-afghanistans-uzbeks-in-western-writing/.

[22] Audrey C. Shalinsky, 'Islam and Ethnicity: The Northern Afghanistan Perspective', n.d., 72–83.

[23] United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 'Assessment for Uzbeks in Afghanistan', Refworld, 31 December 2003, https://www.refworld.org/docid/469f3a521d.html.

[24] Naby, 'The Uzbeks in Afghanistan'.

[25] 'Uzbeks and Turkmens'.

[26] Ю.П.Лалетин, **Межэтническое взаимодействие в Афганистане** n.d., https://mgimo.ru/upload/iblock/891/891ca817af5196cc95fada903aa5e910.pdf.

[27] Х. Хашимбеков, *Узбеки Северного Афганистана*, 2nd ed. (Moscow: Российская Акад. Наук, Инст. Востоковедения, 1998).

[28] Tashkent Declaration on Fundamental Principles for a Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in Afghanistan | UN Peacemaker', accessed 5 December 2018, https://peacemaker.un.org/node/645.

[29] 'DONALD H. RUMSFELD > U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE > Biography View', accessed 3 January 2019, https://dod.defense.gov/About/Biographies/Biography-View/Article/602800/.

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together with *Islam Karimov* (the first President of Uzbekistan) offered him the post of *Deputy Minister of Defense* in the government of Hamid Karzai. Dostum was supported by the ally of the Northern Alliance, *Abdullah-khan Wardak*, who took part in the negotiations in Germany and refused to sign the document that was adopted there. During the formation of the authorities after the completion of the military phase of the anti-terrorist operation, Dostum received the posts of the *deputy head of the provisional administration* and *the deputy defense minister,* and in May 2003 was appointed *special adviser on military and security issues.* In the presidential elections in October 2004, he took the fourth place as a candidate, gaining 10% of the vote. On March 2, 2005, he received a post specially created for him - *Chief of Staff Commander of Afghanistan Armed Forces.* In other words, he became the Chief of the General Staff. In the lower house of parliament, NIMA received more than 20 seats.[30] (see Table 1. below)[31]

Table 1: Largest Political Parties in Afghan Parliament. Results of 2005 elections.

Political Party	Party Leader	Est. # of Seats
Hezb-e-Jamiat Islami Afghanistan	Burhanuddin Rabbani	25 – 30
Hezb-e-Junbesh-e-Milli Islami Afghanistan	Abdul Rashid Dostum	23 – 25
Hezb-e-Wahdat Islami-e-Mardum Afghanistan	Mohammad Mohaqiq	20 – 25
Hezb-e-Afghanistan Naveen	Mohammad Younis Qanooni	22 – 26
Hezb-e-Tanzim-e-Dawat Islami Afghanistan	Abdul Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf	10 – 12
Hezb-e-Mutahed Milli Afghanistan	Nur al-Haq Ulemi	10 – 12
Hezb-e-Afghan Milat	Anwar al-Haq Ahadi	7 – 8
Hezb-e-Mahaz-e-Milli-e-Islami-e-Afghanistan	Sayyed Ahmad Gailani	6 – 8
Hezb-e-Wahdat Islami	Mohammad Karim Khalili	5 – 6
Hezb-e-Eqtedare Islami	Seyyed Mustafa Kazemi	5 – 6

According to the 2014 presidential elections, *"Ashraf Ghani/Abdul Rashid Dostum"* tandem won over the potential opponents *Abdullah Abdullah/Mohammad Khan.* For the first time in Afghanistan history, an Uzbek representative got one of the two most influential positions in the official Afghan government. Abdul Rashid Dostum became a vice-president. Yet this wasn't the sign of success of Uzbeks. On the contrary, the results divulged the recent *lameness of Dostum's party* that used to be a leading one in northern regions, especially among Uzbeks and Turkmens. Besides, it clearly revealed current circumstances within the institution that could become a potential source of risks in the future.

IV. Political Risks Stemming from Current Circumstance

Nowadays, the political climate in the country more, exactly within the Northern Alliance and Jombesh party is fragile. Whether Dostum is capable of settling the current problems or not highly depends on how well he changes his previous behavior. Complete or partial collapse of the party also depends on whether changes will be made or not.

Uncertain integrity

It all dates back to the 2014 Presidential elections in Afghanistan, whose results showed that unity in the power struggle among Uzbeks as well as is damaged. The apparent split occurred. (see Table 2. below)

[30] Ю.П.Лалетин, Межэтническое взаимодействие в Афганистане.
[31] 'The September 2005 Parliamentary And Provincial Council Elections In Afghanistan' (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI), n.d.), https:/www.ndi.org/sites/default/files/2004_af_report_041006.pdf.

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Table 2: Votes by Uzbek and Turkmen majority provinces. Results of 2014 presidential elections.

#	Province name	Percentage of Uzbeks (and Turkmens)[32]	Percentage of votes for Ghani-Dostum	Percentage of votes for Abdulla-Mohammad
1.	Faryab	57.0 % (6.6 %)	65.39 %	29.31 %
2.	Juzjan/Jawzjan	27.0 % (54.0 %)	69.23 %	19.34 %
3.	Takhar	44.0 %	38.25 %	50.35 %
4.	Samangan	33.3 %	26.58 %	61.33 %
5.	Sar-e-Pul	31.0 %	50.41 %	38.53 %
6.	Badakhshan	18.0 %	64.85 %	14.43 %
7.	Balkh	10.7 % (11.9 %)	60.92 %	28.01 %
8.	Baghlan	5.0 %	60.14 %	20.48 %

Source: Prepared by the author based on the data at Independent Election Commission web-site.[33]

[32] Obaid Ali, 'Elections 2014 (22): How Disenchantment with General Dostum Split the Uzbek Vote Bank', *Afghanistan Analysts Network* (blog), 22 May 2014, https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/the-split-uzbek-vote-bank- disenchantment-with-general-dostum-spreads-from-hisparty-to-the-electorate/?format=pdf.

[33] '2014 Afghanistan Elections Results', Independent Election Commission (IEC), accessed 22 September 2018, http://www.iec.org.af/results_2014/en/finalresults/show_pr_elected.

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Figures in the Table 2 illustrate the final results of the elections by Uzbek or Turkmen majority or with a significant portion of Uzbeks and Turkmens provinces. Among these provinces, "Ghani/Dostum" campaign succeeded only in Faryab and Juzjan. While in all others, they failed being defeated by "Abdullah/ Mohammad" project. Initially, "Ghani/Dostum" was expected to prevail at least half of these regions. As far as the districts dominated by Uzbeks are concerned, according to *Obaid Ali,* an expert in Afghanistan Anaylsts Network, Ghani/Dostum ticket in Badakhshan's Argu, with a 95 per cent of Uzbeks, was supported by less than one- third of the potential Uzbek voters achieving 26.1% in contrast to Abdullah's 33.6%. In another district Khash (with 85 of Uzbeks) "Ghani/Dostum" attained only 11% percent of votes.[34] Ghani's later report made clear that in his opinion shortcomings were mainly due to the poor campaign influenced by some problems. Moreover, he blamed the IEC staff of unfairness. Though General Dostum responsible for this terrible results. *Obaid Ali* also emphasizes young Uzbeks network that were irritated at the failed Party reform may have contributed to the loss of considerable Uzbek votes. In the end, the Ghani-Dostum tandem overcame their opponents. Ashraf Ghani became President whereas Abdul Rashid Dostum got first vice-presidentship. This five-year term was very critical for both of them. Especially Dostum was in for a number of troubles. During this period, he had a suspicious incident with Ahmed Ischi, a political rival.[35] Investigations and attempts to arrest Dostum and his guards created a public furor, forcing the Vice-President to flee the country on the pretext of seeking medical care. De facto sheltering in Turkey. Accused of war crimes and human rights violations by the US so far, General Dostum faced the unexpected position of his election partner, President Ashraf Ghani. Tensions between former allies kept growing as Ghani was not willing to welcome Dostum back from exile. Yet, he returned after weeks of widespread protests in the country's north, his traditional bastion, demanding that the government allow the self-exiled leader to return though the plane that was carrying him was not allowed to land.[36] This was followed by sentencing Dostum's seven bodyguards who allegedly attended at torturing Ahmed Ischi.[37] In terms of justice, Ghani's decision was appropriate, yet more or less General Dostum did perform a key role in obtaining the victory in the 2014 Presidential elections. Perhaps his reputation among the Afghanistan Uzbeks is badly damaged and is not as bold as before, however he is still the leader of that community. This all means he still has a lever. As far as Dostum is alive afghan politicians have a little chance to obviate him. He literally survived countless attacks even during his vice- presidentship.[38] President Ghani's attitude outraged Dostum and designed participation of Uzbeks in the 2019 presidential elections. This five-year term was also notable for the transition of power in Uzbekistan, whose role in the region is critical, after the President Islam Karimov's death in 2016, the defeats of ISIL forces which posed a potential threat to Dostum, by the hardest attempts of Russia and International Coalition headed by the US. The outcomes of these events would reflect in Dostum's position.

The 2019 Presidential election was even more compelling. Although Dostum didn't run this time, he remained in a win-win game. Elections that took place on 28 September, 2019 preceded a long-lasting political crisis in the country. According to the official final results announced on 18 February, 2020 by the Election Commission Mohammad Ashraf Ghani won his second election gaining overall 50.64 % of votes.[39] Nevertheless, Abdullah blamed Ghani and the Election Commission of falsifying the results and declared he would form his own government and held parallel inauguration ceremony.[40] This time Abdullah was backed by strongman General Dostum that bolstered his confidence. His victories in all Uzbek majority provinces and districts proved this once again (see Figure 2).[41] This also means lessons from the previous elections were learned well by Dostum. Part of the deal was in action when Abdullah's first two moves "at the office" became appointing a new governor in Sar-e-Pul and acting governor in Jawzjan[42] and Dostum was to ensure security of these ceremonies.

[34] Obaid Ali, 'Elections 2014 (22): How Disenchantment with General Dostum Split the Uzbek Vote Bank'.

[35] Matthew Rosenberg, 'Afghanistan's Vice President Is Barred From Entering U.S.', *The New York Times*, 25 April 2016, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/26/world/middleeast/abdul-rashid-dostum-afghanistan-barred- from-entering-us.html.

[36] Mujib Mashal and Najim Rahim, 'Afghan Vice President's Return Thwarted as Plane Is Turned Back', *The New York Times*, 18 July 2017, sec. World, https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/18/world/asia/afghanistan-dostum-ghani-plane.html.

[37] 'Afghan Vice President's Guards Sentenced over Abduction Case - World News', Tasnim News Agency, accessed 8 November 2017, /en/news/2017/11/05/1565367/afghan-vice-president-s-guards-sentenced-over-abduction-case.

[38] 'Afghan Vice President Dostum Escapes Blast on Return from Exile - Reuters', 22 July 2018, https://www.reuters.com/article/us-afghanistan-dostum/afghan-vice-president-dostum-escapes-blast-on-return-from-exile-idUSKBN1KC0IU.

[39] 2019 Presidential Elections', accessed 18 February 2020, http://www.iec.org.af/results/en/home.

[40] Gani Sworn in as Afghan President, Abdullah Holds Parallel Inauguration', accessed 10 March 2020, https://gulfnews.com/world/asia/gani-sworn-in-as-afghan-president-abdullah-holds-parallel-inauguration-1.70261763.

[41] Joshua Project, 'Uzbek, Southern in Afghanistan', accessed 8 August 2020, https://joshuaproject.net/people_groups/15756/AF.

[42] 'Abdullah's Team Appoints "Acting Governor" to Jawzjan', TOLO news, 23 February 2020, /afghanistan/abdullah%E2%80%99s-team-appoints-%E2%80%98acting-governor%E2%80%99-jawzjan.

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The political unrest lasted until 16 May, 2020 when eventually Ghani and Abdullah reached a power-sharing deal.[43] Ghani remained President while Abdullah became head of the High Council for National Reconciliation. Tough the crux of this very agreement was promoting Dostum to a Marshal rank, which happened on 3rd of July, 2020.[44] From then on he received membership in the Supreme State Council and the National Security Council of Afghanistan. His cooperation with Abdullah wasn't in vain.

Figure 2: Ethnic Uzbeks in Afghanistan Provinces.

Emergence of brand new directions to lead and absence of a sole prominent future leader

Young members of the Jombesh Party who once were sent to Turkey enjoying scholarships provided by Dostum to obtain high-quality educational degrees in the last decade of the last century are now striving to spread fresh ideas towards reforms in the party that are failing almost every time. As claimed by Obaid Ali, those failures have born two main separate movements. The first *Reform and Justice* (Eslahat wa Edalat) by reformist Jombesh members – Sa'i and Turkoghli. Some former Ministers and members of Parliament were members of this movement. The second is *Reform and Participation* (Eslahat wa Mosharekat)[45]. It is said that the movement includes mostly former Jombeshi party members. Both of the above- mentioned unities advocate reforms.

Dostum figured out that if he continues blocking reformists' attempts he could to unite Uzbeks who already were on the eve of distancing him soon. The disgracing episode with Ahmed Eschi and Dostum's consequent escape from the country actually worked for him. The number of attacks against Uzbeks grew and when he returned, they warmly welcomed him gathering and waiting his speech to the crowd. They apparently missed their leader. Realizing previous risks coming from young reformists, Dostum made use of this awakened affection - the leadership of the Jombesh party underwent some revisions. Dostum's eldest son

[43] 'Rival Afghan Leaders Sign Power-Sharing Deal', *BBC News*, 17 May 2020, sec. Asia, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-52699158.

[44] Ariana News, 'Abdul Rashid Dostum Officially Awarded Rank of Marshal – Jawzjan', accessed 15 July 2020, https://arianews.af/abdul-rashid-dostum-officially-awarded-rank-of-marshal-jawzjan/.

[45] Obaid Ali, 'Elections 2014 (22): How Disenchantment with General Dostum Split the Uzbek Vote Bank'.

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Batur Dostum became acting chairman of the party.[46] He didn't take part in any wars while there are, as I mentioned above, political challengers emerged in the region. After the mistakes at the 2014 Presidential elections, Dostum did a lot better pressuring any small political institutions which tried to shape the voters' opinions in Uzbek and Turkmen dominated provinces during the 2019 Presidential elections and granted those critical portion of votes for Abdullah Abdullah's team.

In general, viewpoints among the Jonbesh regarding the young Uzbek reformists vary. Some say that politics is not just uniting powers when needed and call the young Uzbek reformists as opportunists. To some extend, it is true that Afghanistan's modern history does not quite seem that any single idea could unite the people all at once. Those who have been through a number of clashes, conflicts and wars have pulled each other through those difficulties and hence don't want to lose the authority they gained along the way. On the other hand, history evinces that continuous coercion and "iron hand" rule rarely introduced a better future. Accordingly, Dostum should guide those young reformists and avail himself of their potential. They all represent the same community after all. Otherwise, as to me after Dostum, NIMA (Jombesh) may lose power because of inter-party fights for the authority and augmenting reformist movements amongst Uzbeks in Northern Provinces of Afghanistan.

The recent wave of peace talks between official Afghan government and the Taliban representatives gives a hope for all the ethnic minorities along with Uzbeks in Afghanistan. A member of the Taliban Council declared that they do share common assertion with other afghan people on several aspects.[47] Predicted scenarios regarding the political leadership of Uzbeks in Afghanistan will not be impacted drastically even if the parties reach long-awaited agreement to set peace in the country.

V. Conclusion

The geographical location of Afghanistan is very convenient since it borders with almost all key regions of Asia except far-east and south-east ones. In the last two centuries, the people there have been confronting with almost all those who have been consciously playing the role of Global Policeman or Arbitrator. The former USSR kept its military personnel for ten years to support the communist regime, even following which there was no success to set up peace in Afghanistan. The US involvement after 9/11, although achieved unique results, has failed to totally eliminate the signs of war.

Historically, Afghanistan has been landing for various ethnic groups that today find the other ends in neighboring states. Uzbeks have also been an essential part of afghan populations for many years. They always mattered in the policy of Afghanistan and had a series of attempts to rebel against afghan rulers aiming the autonomy and independence. While the ethnonym "Uzbek" is relatively young a number of Turkic tribes traditionally resided in the south of the Oxus river. The formation of the Uzbek community in the north of Afghanistan took place in 3 waves. First, during the conquest of Mohammad Shaybani in the 16th century. Second, after the continuous pressure of Tsarist Russia to the religious leaders in Central Asia as well as hardness caused by the first World War resulted in a big immigration of Transoxian Uzbeks to the south of the Amudarya river. The third one was made possible by the Sovietization policy of the USSR. These migrations led to the establishment of a fairly diverse Uzbek society.

Under the intense struggles for government, ethnic Uzbeks gained this increasing politically important stance in the north especially during the last years of Soviet military existence in Afghanistan. General Abdul Rashid Dostum played a key role in the Northern Alliance to fight against the Taliban. As a sole powerful leader, his activities have direct effects on Uzbeks across Afghanistan. Whenever he claimed more power in the government he achieved them and once even nominated in Presidential elections but his popularity was not far-reaching throughout Afghanistan. In the early 1990s he established his own party which acquired many supporters. The party granted scholarships to the talented youngsters to receive a secular and modern education in Turkey and other more developed states. Dostum's highest victory so far is reaching the post Vice-president and military rank of Marshal during Ashraf Ghani's first and second term administration, respectively. Yet as the most prominent leader of the whole ethnic group, his present condition is not desirable. His stable success dynamic is almost coming to an end.

At first, the 2014 Presidential elections revealed that Jombesh is suffering from disintegration. Dostum's disciples became his opponents. This is as I think the mistake committed by Dostum himself. He shouldn't have banned the attempts towards reforms but consider as the reality around him and the official Afghan government was altering. Any success should be measured by the scale of positive outcomes. The 2019 Presidential election results brought more personal privilege to him rather than the whole Uzbek community. Apparently, he should have been ready for initiatives that demand reforms. Otherwise, what was the purpose of giving the talented youth of his people the chance to obtain secular education? Those students who had the opportunity to compare the life in their homeland and

[46] 'Старший сын Абдуррашида Дустума занял его место', accessed 3 January 2019, http://afghanistantoday.ru/node/43145.

[47] BBC Uzbek, *Толибон вакили Би-би-си Ўзбек мухбирига нима деди?*, Interview, accessed 12 March 2020, https:/www.youtube.com/ watch?v=3GFGUib SMIo&t=145s.

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the life in more developed country, grew into reformists with fresh ideas that should have been shaped, not pressured by Dostum. The reformists' activity although was loosened, had some positive implications in terms of control. Unfortunately, it is a bit late now. One and only political unity of ethnic Uzbeks, Jombeshi Milliy got cracks. Dostum had to give the leadership of the party to his inexperienced son. The only thing that may defend Botur Dostum is his alive father. I think once Abdul Rashid Dostum entirely disappears from the political scene of Afghanistan, arduous days will come up to his son. Logically who runs Jombesh Party that heads the ethnic Uzbeks in terms of politics in Afghanistan. This is why the leadership issue should be profoundly addressed by Marshal Dostum in due course.

All in all, current political circumstances in Afghanistan are certain to be changed over the years. Dostum's loyalists may be defeated by opponents and his party may erode that reminds us Yassir Arafat's (former PLO leader) fate. I mean Mahmud Abbas is not as energetic as Arafat. Yet we don't know how powerful or influential may become young former Jombeshi reformist Uzbeks. The only thing ahead is observing…

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Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

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Introduction- There are many different definitions of cosmopolitanism and nationalism. Each of these terms cannot have one precise definition because there are many theories, principles and issues that overlap in defining the terms. To define both cosmopolitanism and nationalism one may have to consider factors like border-crossing, individ Nationalsmualism, citizenship or international justice (Kaunonen 23). Cosmopolitanism may incorporate aspects of nationalism and therefore there interrelationship that comes into play when giving a compressive definition to these terms.

Cosmopolitanism involves wide range views on moral and socio-political beliefs and practices. Initial shared thought about cosmopolitanism suggested that all humankind, regardless of their different affiliations should exist as one community. With time different views have created different versions of cosmopolitanism either based on moral customs, political alignments or geographical influences. Philosophical roles have always centered on cosmopolitanism debate. Cosmopolitanism arguments have always revolved around breaking bonders and other human interaction limitations. The scope of defining people in a dimension of world citizenship brings into light the ideological concept of cosmopolitanism.

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Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

Smriti Singh

I. Introduction

There are many different definitions of cosmopolitanism and nationalism. Each of these terms cannot have one precise definition because there are many theories, principles and issues that overlap in defining the terms. To define both cosmopolitanism and nationalism one may have to consider factors like border-crossing, individ Nationalsmualism, citizenship or international justice (Kaunonen 23). Cosmopolitanism may incorporate aspects of nationalism and therefore there interrelationship that comes into play when giving a compressive definition to these terms.

Cosmopolitanism involves wide range views on moral and socio-political beliefs and practices. Initial shared thought about cosmopolitanism suggested that all humankind, regardless of their different affiliations should exist as one community. With time different views have created different versions of cosmopolitanism either based on moral customs, political alignments or geographical influences. Philosophical roles have always centered on cosmopolitanism debate. Cosmopolitanism arguments have always revolved around breaking bonders and other human interaction limitations. The scope of defining people in a dimension of world citizenship brings into light the ideological concept of cosmopolitanism.

Nationalism is a varied, multidimensional ideology that reflects on a shared communal identification and association with a specific nation or state. Nationalism definition may depend on a nation context that is applied. It is a term that creates socio-political belonging and autonomy. Political advancement in 18th and 19th century created a need for nation's sovereignty that led to revolutions in different part of the world. It is during this period that nationalism became a strong socio-political agenda for initiating change in different nations' leadership and relationships. Nationalism was one of causes of World War I (Horne 37). Different nations where seeking a sense of identity and belonging of course in relationship to other nations beliefs and ideologies. It was the question of nationalism factor in determining who was an ally or a foe. These were some of challenges that intensive nationalism created.

II. Discussion

Cosmopolitanism is not guided by demands of singularity or wholesomeness. In support of cosmopolitanism (Will 127) says "it is an identity insistently mindful that the abundant possibilities of life may not be fully realized within the horizons of one tradition or culture and that the fabric of one's self is enriched by being stitched together from cloths of different colors and hues." This statement raises concerns of nationality breach. The actual nature of cosmopolitanism means knowing no boundaries in human interaction.

Cosmopolitanism ideologies are multi-level concepts. For one to adequately define cosmopolitanism they have to consider the levels that the ideology operates in. Different requirements set the levels of cosmopolitanism. Moral demands is such a requirement. In other cases, legal requirements can set a level of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism is also characterized by common linking of humanity.

The debate about nationalism takes into account history revolution of mankind. Historical inclinations and occurrences have always influenced dimensions of nationalism (Houghton 203). Some nationalists argue that nations are ageless trends. Since the formation of the world in terms of nation alignments nations has been on a progressive trend of defining their nationalism scope. Nationalism approach in recent history has viewed nations as contemporary constructed establishments.

Cosmopolitanism debate has had an equal share of evaluation by different scholars and philosophers. According to (Neilson 126) "since the early 1990s there has been a growing attempts in the US academy to free the term cosmopolitanism from its traditional implications of rootlessness and privilege and to make it work in the context of post colonialism and globalization." Neilson explores the debate on different forms of cosmopolitanism such as comparative, rooted and post-colonial cosmopolitanism. Comparative cosmopolitanism engages a broad analysis on social, cultural and political dynamics in search of self-consciousness.

Cosmopolitanism rides on the effects of cultural hybrid (Blainey 14). This means that creation of universal enlightenment and relationship is a component of cosmopolitanism. Although geographical limitation may affect scopes of cosmopolitanism, recent development of globalization has reduced geographical factors in Cosmo politics dimensions. In another different viewpoint cosmopolitanism has a geopolitical context. This means a close focus on inter-communal politics and their effects on the international interactions and relations.

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The relationship between cosmopolitanism and nationalism is a contradicting correlation. Nationalism incorporates politics as a primary focus which set guidelines for defining any nation. Cosmopolitanism ideologies on the other side to break the boundaries set by nationalism. It is this relationship that makes the relationship of the two ideologies be an intricate delineation.

An assertion by (Nussbaum, 19) gives an extensive scope of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, when he quotes "I am willing… top serve my country; but my worship I reserve for Right which is far greater than my country. To worship my country as a god is to bring curse upon it". Americans seemed to embrace aspects of nationalism at the expense of ideal cosmopolitanism. Their emphasis on nationalism seemed exaggerated and was seen as an isolation element. In justification of nationalism Americans argued that they couldn't define themselves well unless when associated with a common national identity. Seeking justification of nationalism to Americans had numerous advantages. This was an approach that was supposed to unite Americans, regardless of their ethnic, racial, religious or political difference.

The role of politics in nationalism and cosmopolitanism couldn't be ignored in America history. Although in other continents such as Asia cosmopolitanism might have autonomously evolved without nationalism, America had integration of these two ideologies. Nussbaum argues that forces of nationalism defeated the noble principles of cosmopolitanism. According to Nussbaum discussion "proponents of nationalism in politics and in education frequently make a thin concession to cosmopolitanism." This is a viewpoint that tries to define the role of education in creating international awareness and national identity.

A statement by Diogenes, a Greek philosopher provides intriguing approach of cosmopolitanism (21). When people inquired about his origin, this philosopher replied that he was a citizen of the world. This definition was not subject to nationalism approach. The philosopher refused to be identified along notational tags and opted for a more universal and broader definition. A universal definition gives a bigger moral obligation. According to the ideologies of this Greek philosopher, it did not matter which nation one was born. Being born in any nation was just an accident, and therefore defining one according to the nation was a nun-fundamental allegiance. According to this argument, no social restriction such as nationality differences, ethnical attachments, or geographical origins should create should we should not allow differences of nationality or class or ethnic membership or even gender to erect walls between mankind. The importance of recognizing humanity was regardless of any affiliation was a fundamental aspect of universal allegiance. This view was based on the assertion that human beings live in social circles. The circles are then integrated in national values. National values are further integrated in humanity values.

There are three main principles that form core values of cosmopolitanism. Universalism is a core principle at the hub of cosmopolitanism. This is a view that all humanity is equal; regardless of any difference. Generality is the second principle of cosmopolitanism. This is an approach that human being should not be confined in small ideology groups characterized by cultural practices and beliefs. If humanity had common association parameters according cosmopolitans life would be more fascinating. Lastly, individualism principle is a concern for cosmopolitans. Cosmopolitanism disregards element of individualism in humanity interaction.

Just has mentioned earlier, moral obligation can only be created through a bigger global picture of taking responsibility even in our beliefs. It is an aspect of cosmopolitanism that is critical in understanding nation's position globally. Cosmopolitanism creates a universal approach that takes into account importance of world unity. In the world of intense political lobbying cosmopolitanism neutralizes political tension that would cause sour international relationship if left unchecked.

The discourses between cosmopolitanism and nationalism also involves globalization debates (Friedrich 163). Globalization being a tool of technological manifestation has centered itself in the nation's relationships. Whether friends of foes, globalization has persistently proved that it knows no barriers. The extent at which human beings interact either through international trade or social media is immeasurable (Eilsler 76). Nationalism bottle-necks don't limit this kind of interaction. Distinction of effects of globalization and cosmopolitanism effects is minimal.

It is important to assert that different continents however have always maintained different cosmopolitanism ideologies. While some continents may be busy building cosmopolitanism others may be busy pushing their self-interest Agenda (78). This scenario has created a paradox on how various continents view cosmopolitanism. For instance, many people perceive that America is drifting towards political cosmopolitanism. However the only available prove are political incidences that are not adequate to define this stand.

Explaining the cosmopolitanism and nationalism approaches is like a puzzle. Different theories have been applied in explaining this puzzle. International relation theory has mostly concentrated on diplomacy while sidelining the cultural aspect. Previous world history still influences how nations or continents relate. Cosmopolitanism cannot define relationship of

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countries that have had historical political differences. Why? It is believed there chances of history repeating itself are high and this therefore would amount to engaging in a risky relationship.

As the debates ranges on, cosmopolitanism has caused various global impacts. Different global civil societies such as Amnesty International are products of cosmopolitanism. The social power of cosmopolitanism has been useful in promoting world peace. Different political structures are involved in cosmopolitanism establishments. The relationship between nationalism and cosmopolitanism is characterized deep integration of the two concepts.

According to (Thomas 12), universal community can be created in nations don't limit themselves to self-imposed barriers. For instance, religion should not be a limitation for cosmopolitanism. Spread of religious beliefs across the continents should be an ingredient of cosmopolitanism. Ideology differences can be a complex matrix in achieving cosmopolitanism. How can the world come together when it is sharply divided along strong religious, racial or geo-political lines? For cosmopolitanism to operate these differences have to be overcome. The need for a universal integration has to be bigger than the resistance barriers.

Element of cultural domination cannot be left out on the discussion of nationalism and cosmopolitanism. If cosmopolitanism is established on cultural background it does not have ability to cross international borders (Karl-Dieter 88). Cultural variants are therefore would be best suited in defining nationalism. This form community is based on a restricted geographical area. Cultural values would be much more appreciated in nationalism umbrella than in cosmopolitanism view. Unlike nationalism, cosmopolitanism tries to defeat barriers of political institutions'. When political twist is incorporated in cosmopolitanism, a new form of association is formed. In this set-up cosmopolitanism can only work if political powers are universally distributed across the institution. According to (Newman 11) political cosmopolitanism may not need to make cultural manifestations. On the other hand, cultural cosmopolitanism does not need to make political claims.

Liberal culture practices are seen as a threat to nationalism. The cultural practices may cross border and cause undesired friction. While nationalism may embrace diverse cultural practices, these are only limited within a geographical location. Therefore culture needs cosmopolitanism to cross into the rest parts of the world though it may be restricted by commitments demands. The guiding principle of nationalism is that each nation is permitted to its own state restrictions. Cosmopolitanism movement's ideologies go across nation's boundaries.

This ongoing discussion highlights the broader definition and evaluation of two allied ideologies. According to (Butler et al. 22) "the historical record shows an association between cultural and political manifestations of cosmopolitanism and nationalism, there have been enough instances of a political cosmopolitanism and cultural nationalism" The dual ideologies of nationalism and cosmopolitanism suffer one common limitation; the political influences. It is complex two separate politics from either of the ideology. Political liberals however believe that political institutions' should only serve as a tool encouraging equality across humanity.

Political enlightenment of the western in 19th century desired both cosmopolitanism and nationalism (Butler et al 24). Their argument was that once nationalism is established and grounded it would require bigger theme to sustain. This therefore introduced the need of cosmopolitanism in sustaining nationalism.

It is essential to evaluate how other continents like Europe incorporated cosmopolitanism ideologies in their existence. With increased modernization in Europe, many European states changed their nationalism criteria especially in the line of citizenry. The boundary limits of ethnic alignments and immigration activities were also reduced. The aspect of pluralism and multicultural practices were also incorporated. This was cosmopolitanism formation. The minority groups and non-citizens where beginning to receive fair treatment. European Union (EU) played an indispensable in promotion of cosmopolitanism in Europe (Grafton et al. 34).

III. Conclusion

This extensive discussion has closely evaluated cosmopolitanism and nationalism as a brother and a sister. Although these two ideologies have great similarities, it is essential at this point to highlight their striking contrasts. First, Nationalism sets a limited unifying dimension of humanity. The argument here is that universal humanity destroys sense of belonging. This means confinement along a nation or state group. In contrary, cosmopolitanism its scope goes beyond individualism of a nation.

Another major contract between cosmopolitanism and nationalism is territory alignment. While cosmopolitanism encourages mobility of people ideas, and cultural beliefs nationalism operates under specific territorial dimension. Closely related to territory alignment contrast is the sentiment of these two ideologies. While cosmopolitanism runs under calm spirit, nationalism is characterized by scalding spirit and loyalty.

Cosmopolitanism discussion cannot be conclusive without referring to some its benefits highlighted by its supporters. Cosmopolitanism enables human beings to learn more about themselves. It is a

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platform that limits personal sense of belonging and preferences and acts like a mirror for self-reflection (Kwame 98). Through cosmopolitanism nations can realize their ignorance and incorporate new aspects as part of their norms. Cosmopolitanism creates international cooperation (Honey et al 13). Nature does not obey the law of boundaries restriction. Why should nations be restricted to interact by their bonders? How can nations solve global world problems such as climate change without cooperation that cosmopolitanism nurtures? These global dialogues cannot be conducted in nations don't share a universal agenda and key basic principles like cooperation (Gartzke 149).

This discussion has scrutinized various aspects of cosmopolitanism and nationalism in regard to human interaction subtleties. The relationship between cosmopolitanism and nationalism has been extensively evaluated. Integration of the two ideologies is based on commitment that factors in diversity, globalization effects and of different legal structures governed by political formations (Dickerson 104). Modernization has worked for and against cosmopolitanism while globalization has broken overlapping boundaries and identities. Reducing nationality scope and technological creation of a global community is creating a cosmopolitan tradition.

Harmonization of cosmopolitanism and nationalism can help in solving the modern crisis of racial discrimination and cultural restrictions (Griswold 22). It is necessary to highlight that cosmopolitanism cannot be a supra-nationalism that operates in disregard of a nation. Each ideology needs each other to be fully conceptualized. The fact remains that no matter how passionate a nation embraces cosmopolitanism, it cannot escape from it initial self; nationalism. Political class is mostly the determinants of direction that cosmopolitanism and nationalism takes. Political interest should not isolate either of the ideology in favor of the other since both have great importance in society.

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The Chinese Communist Party as Bedrock for Technological Breakthrough: Lessons for Political Parties in Nigeria

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Abstract- The Chinese Communist Party as Bedrock for Technological breakthrough: lessons for political parties in Nigeria attempt to analyze the communist party central role in Chinese technological advancement and economic development over the years. The objective was to present the learning points for Nigeria political parties as the Chinese communist Party entrench authoritarian capitalist development model that aids their technological breakthrough in science and technology. The paper found out that the communist party was a leading force in Chinese post civil war development, the party have also been performing adjucating role between their centralized state and the market. The research conclude that the party has made China an enduring development model that will withstand the test of time and recommends among other things that research in science and technology should be given premium attention by political parties and government of Nigeria. Political party's hierarchy should be well grounded in leadership and development politics through establishment of party academy.

Keywords: *communist party, technological breakthrough, political parties, nigeria and china.*

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I. Introduction

The journey of china in the development of technological innovation was a long but enduring one. Before the emergency of People Republic of China in 1949, it was known as a poorly and severely underdeveloped country devoid of modern technology to drive their economy.

There was no difference between the Chinese Communist Party and the government of China. It is the party structure that develops or restructures their political and economic plan. The communist party was involved in China's science and technology policy over the years. Their first efforts were in 1959, when technology policy was drafted towards creation of heavy duty industries. In 1976 saw an attempt to internalize domination of indigenous technological project as parts of their national life.

The party and the government had another technology driven reform launched under Deng Xia Oping and was consolidated by Jiang Zenin in 2001 towards building an independent research base that is market oriented and product driven (Joel, 2013). Between 2002 and now, Chinese policy of has favored technological breakthrough by support of the party, proper legislation and state centric financing. The communist party did not only build the Chinese empire through technological innovation but they also put concerted effort in creating ideological platform for their citizen and party members. The CPC as the communist party is fondly called is a single party without dissent or opposition which made the government and the party so powerful.

The party has network of schools at both central and pronvincial level with devotion of significant time in indoctrination of most senior cadre to imbibe the Chinese cultural and the ideological ground work of government. The communist party therefore continues to commit resources in maintaining the network of party school in the production of their think tanks and political elites (Kerry, 2012). The Chinese policy makers constantly promote technological driven economy as a result of the above.

The Nigeria political parties were focused on control of power and distribution and allocation of resources without identifiable policy for technological breakthrough as bedrock for national development. (Omodia, 2010) corroborated on the above postulations that the Nigeria state and her democratic process has been stagnated by poor party politics on the account of absence of internal democracy in the party structure, ethnic affiliation within the party system, poor political leadership, party indiscipline and lack of party ideology unlike the Chinese communist party.

Conceptual Framework

II. The Chnese Communist Party and Technological Innovation: from Acient to Modern

The Chinese government through ministry of science and technology has been the key organ empowered to coordinate and fund technological development in china. Patterns of their planning was result based compared to what was obtainable in Nigeria.

The ministry coordinates not less than five (5) important technology development programs. They are:

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i. Key technologies research and development program with specific attention to industrial technology.
ii. Development of 863 technological driven program focuses on basic and applied research that is market oriented for production of marketable technologies.
iii. The torch program as a nationwide campaign to aid commercialization of high tech products.
iv. 973 program was designed on cutting edge technology for multidisciplinary project.
v. The spark program aimed at promoting the developmental and use of technology in rural areas (Joel, 2013).

According to James (2014), the Chinese drive for indigenous innovation of technology was a result of political and economic campaign that all hands must be on deck for Chinese collective action to catch up and surpass the west in terms of science and technology. They focused on their fast growing domestic market and powerful regulating regime to firstly decrease their reliance on foreign technology and thus relied on indigenous technologies that will be able to cater for their infrastructure, environmental and social challenges. It will surprise many that Chinese long years of technological innovation was officially unveil in 2006 as evidence of 1978 reform blueprint for indigenous technology.

In 2006, they had a plan of becoming a technological power house by 2020 and a global leader by 2050. The blue print encourages Chinese enterprise to establish research and development centers overseas. The blueprint equally set agenda for collaboration research with foreign universities. It does define indigenous innovation as "enhancing original innovation through co-innovation and re-innovation based on the assimilation of imported technology". The above has been the driving force of Chinese technological breakthrough as the west sees this as a grand style technology theft by the Chinese government (James, 2014).

(Bark, 2007: 338) sees China stride in technological breakthrough and painted the picture as:

> *emerging institutional fabric governing innovation in Chinese society represents an evolving synthesis of values and routines that have been formed over centuries on the one hand, and new principles introduced as parts of ongoing political and economic change on the other hand.*

Bark position was that the communist party has central political influence on the value and line of action of Chinese citizen and thus have significant control over the markets despite the introduction of open or free market with level of state control. Their government centric economy had actually helps in their technological breakthrough.

Morkyr,(1990) believed that the cradle of Chinese technological advancement could be traced not only to the communist party but the pre-communist party erah when they had improvement in Agriculture technological for rice cultivation through wet field techniques and hydraulic engineering. They therefore had a breakthrough in early irrigation system and other important innovation such as weeding racks, iron plow, deep-tooth harrow and seed drives. Morkyr further stated that what accounted for Chinese technological breakthrough was their gift of benevolent leaders in the course of their development. He further postulated that their gift of extreme talented leader was a game changer for their development. He aptly posited that "the absence of political competition did not mean that technological progress cannot take place, but it did mean one decision maker can deal with it a master blow (Mokyr, 1990:231). In view of the above, the Chinese government from 1978 sees research and development as strategic sector of the economy. The party continue to promote the Chinese modernity view and modernization became a new direction of Communist Party ideology. The party document defines the role of the state and the party as the party most play adjucating role between the market and the state. (Kerry, 2002).

According to Wyne, (2015) the Chinese development mode is a state led that had been attractive to Sub-Sahara Africa Such as Nigeria. He further stated that with Chinese experience, state led development can be extra ordinary favorable under good political environment. The rapid industrial development was seen as outcome technological advancement, huge foreign investment that invariably led to increase in production. Qian, (2002) was of view that the aforementioned development makes the elimination of people commune as a basic principle of communalism and thus paves way for township – collective house hold system of production. Larchy (2006) stated that the tax sharing reform initiated by the party gave incentive to local administration to promote capital and technological intensive industries. The tax reform that concentrate revenue at the central pose financial pressure on the local government which made them to explore innovative means of raising revenue.

The Chinese Communist Party was so powerful because it was the party of modern Chinese history. The party fought and won the Civil war of 1949. They have played significant roles in building the Chinese market economy. Gregory et' al (2006) asserted that the Chinese reform in term of technological innovation and economy was gradually local and sectoral experimentation. Their economy was therefore organized regionally which pave way for un-uniform institutional change and economic development.

The introduction of private investment in Chinese economic was not only to ignite investment in technological advancement but also lower

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unemployment and avert protest that could be a threat to their political survival. Private enterprise began to emerge in China from September 1997, the party Fifteenth Congress made pronouncement that private ownership in an important component of China economy while state ownership is the pillar after privatization of state owned enterprise between the 1995 and 1996 where 11.5 million workers were down sized (Qian, 2002).

The Chinese Academic of Science is the China most prestigious institutions initiate knowledge innovation program to mobilize resource towards establishing not less than 30 internationally recognized research institute by 2010 with ultimate goal of having five out of them as leading global leaders in research and innovation. In order to achieve this, the Chinese academic research institutes were cut down to 89 from 120 as a reform for better service delivery.

China has become one of the global technology leaders today because of consistence policy reform by the Chinese Communist Party. According to Can and Nambahar (2015) they argued that over the last century, global technology leadership was taken over from Britain by the United State of America. And China having positioned herself through technological breakthrough will assume global leadership of technology in the nearest future. They studied further that China has not only become economic super power over the years but also technological super power with their market and products becoming relevant to Europe and the United State of America.

According to Thomas (2011), China was ranked second in the global research output which is measured by number of papers published in research journals. Not only this, China was closely behind the United State and Japan in patent fillings on the Treaty for Patent Cooperation monitored by World Intellectual Property Office as two Chinese large telecommunications equipment manufacturer ZTE and Hauwei technologies submitted 2,309 and 2,094 patent respectively (WIPO, 2014).

Between November 9th to November 12th 2013, the Chinese Communist Party 18th party congress held harp on new wide range of economic reform with a 60 points document to serve as a guide for the anticipated reform. The reform among other things is for the market to play a decisive role in the economy in order to boost market competitiveness and economic efficiency (Wyne, 2015).

Joshua, (2013) discuss extensively on Chinese stride in economic development through technological innovation. He began his analysis from the premise of Chinese reform in the 70's on how they have fared from poor and mostly agrarian society such as Nigeria to the second largest economy after the United State of America in 2010 with a globally renowned city like Shanghai and Beijing. He stated further that the Chinese technological breakthrough or development model was made possible through streamline and rapid decision making of Chinese leadership devoid of convoluted legislature and judiciary like the western democracy.

The Chinese one party autocracy or what is called centralized or rather an autocratic democracy led by reasonably enlightened group of people gave the present day China impetus and great advantage in taking a center stage in global technological innovation leadership and development race. Joshua cited Thomas Friedman (A New York Times Foreign Affairs Columnist as saying that "one party (communist party) can just impose the politically difficult but critically important policies needed to move a society forward". Some new emerging western literatures have begun to admit the existence of Beijing Consensus like the Washington Consensus coined by John Williamson. Beijing consensus is the promotion of China authoritarian capitalist model of economy by Chinese leaders that has become globally attractive to Asian, Sub-Saharan Africa and other parts of the world. The proponents of Beijing Consensus believed that western democracy will start copying the Chinese model of development that is predicated upon reasonable lower profits that has made the Chinese products and services cheaper across the world with unimaginable huge return on investment (ROI). The 2008 bail out of financial sector and major leading companies in Europe and United State of America is a manifestation that Beijing's economic intervention model has come to stay as the best development model and at the same time as acceptable alternative to free market economy thereby demystifying the invisible hand of the market.

Joshua concluded that many countries gave preference to Chinese development model to America development model today as they are eager to learn how China modernized her authoritarianism. He admitted that despite the allures of Chinese achievement in technological breakthrough vis-à-vis development model, there have challenges of corruption, foolish leaders and lack of checks and balance on the state power. He aptly asserted in his own word that:

> *for every Deng Xiaping, the politically savvy and foresighted architect of China's economic reforms, one could find ten Mobutu Sese Sekos or Kim Jong ils, dictators who used their power solely for venal purpose (Joshua, 2013:133).*

III. Lessons for Political Parties in Nigeria

Political party suppose to be a fulcrum of ideology and a vehicle that drive viable development through a clear policies on Research and Development as in the case of Chinese' Communist party. Nigerian

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political parties especially the People's Democratic Party (PDP) has travelled to China for more than one occasion to learn about Communist Party and how they harnessed ideas for development.

This led to the establishment of National Democratic Institute (NDI) by Peoples Democratic Party in Nigeria. The Communist Party played central role in their government; therefore, the leaders of the party were also leaders of government. The party makes important legislative agenda for the government. But in Nigeria today, the party is subservient to the leaders they elected into power. In this case, president of the country, a senate or a governor automatically become leaders of their respective party. This scenario eroded the supremacy of party leadership and imposition of undemocratic principle that was anathema to National development (Omodia, 2010).

Another lesson political parties could learn from Chinese communist party is the introduction of proper orientation to party members. All members of the party from ward to National level must have party certification in leadership and development policies. That means the party must have their academy across the regions in Nigeria as in the case of China. Although, funding would be a major challenge, but the development will safe political parties in Nigeria from ideological poverty presently experience in the country political system.

The Chinese communist party development policies are sacrosanct for implementation by their government. Any alteration must go through the party congress for amendment. In Nigeria today, political parties manifesto are mere rhetoric and utopian that is mostly jettison by people elected into power. This development has led to policy summersault in Nigeria.

Research in sciences and technology should be given premium attention by government and political parties in Nigeria. Lips service by parties and politician has been the bane of technological breakthrough in Nigeria. The communist party despite their achievements is still one of the highest financiers of Research and Development (RD) across the world.

The party system in Nigeria needs benevolent autocratic as in the case of communist party. The party was at times the legislature, the executives and the judiciary depending on the socio-economic scenario. Some of the Political Parties in Nigeria had the opportunities to model their party after the Chinese Communist party but ruse the opportunity due personnel aggrandizement, excessive corruption, primordial ethnic affinity and lack of ideology other than to remain in power pertually.

IV. Conclusion

The study concludes that the Chinese communist party became a virile tool for technological breakthrough in China because of their experience in the civil war that led to their emancipation in 1949. The country had characteristics of any other developing countries but what aided their transformation is their unity of purpose despite their diversity through the party leadership.

The Chinese has strong culturally value that bind them together as a nation. They had pride and believe in their inner soul in becoming a greater nation after the civil war. From their National Anthem, social values and all aspects of their national life, there exists unimaginable bond of confraternity that made them stand tall behind a single political party that ushered in technological and economic progression that bewildered the world. Their political and economic system is so dynamic that attenuate itself suite global forces in order to survive. This single feat of dynamism has made China an enduring authoritarian capitalist model that will stand the test of time.

V. Recommendations

From the foregoing discussion, the study recommends the following:

1) Research and Development in Science and Technology should be given premium attention by political parties and government of Nigeria. There must therefore be a concerted effort not only to import technology, but to study and adopt them to suit the country socio-economic reality.
2) Personality heading political parties should as a matter of urgency undergo compulsory leadership training in partnership with a recognize leadership institute across the world. This will undoubtedly impact on challenges of leadership and development by political parties in Nigeria.
3) Multiple party democracies are not good enough for Nigeria political milieu. Three ideological political parties would have been better for the country democracy. The proliferation of political parties beyond 40 parties today can never give room for a genuine ideological foundation that could trigger necessary development in science and technology.
4) The university system in Nigeria should have at least Institute of Chinese Studies to continuously understudy the China evolution and the lessons the nation can learn to accelerate their technological breakthrough. It is far from being benign to continue the same policies on science and technology that does not work for the country over the years.

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The "Deal of the Century" for Israel-Palestine and the Role of Israel-Lobby

By Awad M. Slimia, Muhammad Fuad Bin Othman & Nazariah Osman

Abstract- The American "Deal of the Century" is unlikely to meaningfully contribute to resolving the conflict of Israel-Palestine. Instead, it is risking the further escalation of an already tensed situation and the acceleration of the erosion of joint conflict management. Even under intense pressure, the leadership of Palestine rejected the U.S deal along with any further mediation by Washington. However, more than 100 Congress-members joined leaders around the world opposed it. The Trump deal, which was negotiated with the Prime Minister of Israel Netanyahu in the absence of the Palestinian leadership, among others, include acknowledging Jerusalem (al-Quds) as the undivided capital of Israel and allows Israel to annex illegal settlements in the occupied West Bank involving about 600,000 settlers living in 122 settlements, Jordan Valley (Palestine's eastern borders with Jordan), as well as refusing the right of return for Palestinian refugees. It is not a "Peace Plan" by including a Palestinian state, but it is somewhat a roadmap to legitimize the policy of Israel for encroachment and land expropriation.

Keywords: *deal of the century, president trump, kushner team, israel-lobby.*

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The "Deal of the Century" for Israel-Palestine and the Role of Israel-Lobby

Awad M. Slimia [α], Muhammad Fuad Bin Othman [σ] & Nazariah Osman [ρ]

Abstract- The American "Deal of the Century" is unlikely to meaningfully contribute to resolving the conflict of Israel-Palestine. Instead, it is risking the further escalation of an already tensed situation and the acceleration of the erosion of joint conflict management. Even under intense pressure, the leadership of Palestine rejected the U.S deal along with any further mediation by Washington. However, more than 100 Congress-members joined leaders around the world opposed it. The Trump deal, which was negotiated with the Prime Minister of Israel Netanyahu in the absence of the Palestinian leadership, among others, include acknowledging Jerusalem (al-Quds) as the undivided capital of Israel and allows Israel to annex illegal settlements in the occupied West Bank involving about 600,000 settlers living in 122 settlements, Jordan Valley (Palestine's eastern borders with Jordan), as well as refusing the right of return for Palestinian refugees. It is not a "Peace Plan" by including a Palestinian state, but it is somewhat a roadmap to legitimize the policy of Israel for encroachment and land expropriation.Conveniently, the deal is presented at a time that detracts attention from the corruption charges of the current Israeli Prime Minister and the U.S President's impeachment. Examining the plan details, it is clear that there will not be an established Palestinian state. Instead, it is "archipelago" of enclaves, attached by a network of bridge and tunnels that would gradually lead towards the full Israeli control over the entire West Bank. Henceforth, with such announcement, the quest of Israel-lobby groups and its evangelical Christians allies in the U.S to create "Greater Israel", the "Zionist dream" will be fulfilled.

Keywords: deal of the century, president trump, kushner team, israel-lobby.

I. Introduction

The U.S administration around the past four decades was subjected to the significant influence of the Zionist-lobby over its Middle East policies specifically concerning Israel-Palestine conflict. Bishara (2018) argues that indeed, the "Deal of the Century" engineers or the 'Zionist trio' composed of Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner, the U.S ambassador to Israel David Friedman and Jason Greenblatt are not ordinary diplomatic figures. They are ideological hitmen with a mission to kill all prospects of an independent sovereign state and the Palestinian national aspirations. At that point, Wermenbol (2019, p.3) argues the appointment of Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner as mastermind and chief of this deal in addition to Special Envoy Jason Greenblatt and Ambassador David Friedman, was indicative of the pro-Israeli stances within the Trump administration and the personal ties that existed between the Trump team and Israel. The implications of the policy to this closely convergent interest led to the far-reaching implementation of the pro-Israeli decisions on the ground that countered with a prior American Middle East policy, the Palestinian Authority's alienation, and further challenged the U.S ability to act as an impartial mediator.

There are at least three things in common among Greenblatt, Friedman and Kushner. First of all, they are all Orthodox Jews, and secondly, all of them have no diplomatic or political experience before their appointment as officials in the Trump team. Finally, they have connections to Israel, or particularly, to the illegal settlements in the West Bank (Al-Jazeera, 2019). Trump's foreign policy promised a more Israeli-concerned compliant policy as highlighted by Ron Dermer (the Israeli Ambassador to the U.S) who stated, "We saw the light at the end of the tunnel" (Entous, 2018). So, on four main issues such as settlements, Jerusalem, borders, balancing Israeli security needs towards the sovereignty of Palestine and Palestinian refugees being displaced in the 1948 war, the deal is clearly biased towards Israel (Beauchamp, 2020).

Therefore, in this paper, the authors argue that Trump's "Deal of the Century" is the master plan of an Israel-lobby in particular American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC). The arguments are based on a review and analysis of relevant and most recent published input on the deal recently announced by the U.S president.

II. Elements of the Deal

On Jan 28, 2020, after three years in office, the U.S President Donald Trump launched his "ultimate deal" and he has announced a so-called "Deal of the Century" to resolve the conflict of Israeli-Palestinian. While the details of the plan suggest the initiative towards giving priority to the Israeli interests over the rights of Palestinian, it ignores the fundamental principles of international law and over 700 resolutions of the UN General Assembly and over 100 resolutions of the UN Security Council in connection to the conflict, and deviating from the Two-State solution idea (See, Peace to Prosperity, 2020).

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This paper will explain the construction of the guiding and founding principles set towards this vision. We will explain how Israel-lobby was involved in making this deal. Nevertheless, before that, we will highlight how the deal is treating the final status issues which result in the increase of more problems rather than offer solutions.

a) Firstly: Jerusalem

Based on this deal, Jerusalem will remain as an undivided city and the Israeli sovereign capital while proposing that the Palestinians' capital could be established at the East Jerusalem's outer sections (that lie on the Israeli separation wall's on the eastern side), suggesting neighborhoods such as Kafr Aqab, the "eastern part of Shuafat" Shuafat refugees camp and Abu Dis. According to the plan, "Jerusalem should be internationally recognized as the capital of the State of Israel. Al Quds (or another name selected by the State of Palestine) should be internationally recognized as the capital of the State of Palestine" (Peace to Prosperity, 2020).

b) Secondly: Borders and Sovereignty

For borders issue, the Trump's plan proposes a "two-state" solution as "an unrecognizable version of the former solution of two-state proposed along the 1967 borders. The State of Israel and the United States do not believe the State of Israel is legally bound to provide the Palestinians with 100 percent of the pre-1967 territory. Instead, Palestinians will be given what has been described by some critics as an "archipelago" of enclaves, attached by a network of bridge, highways and tunnels. This would include a tunnel or highway connecting the Gaza Strip with the conglomerate of enclaves in the West Bank.

c) Thirdly: Annexation and Land Swaps

The proposal for land swaps has been one of the most controversial aspects between Palestine/Israel. The U.S support for the annexation by Israel of the large swaths of land consisting the existing settlements and the Jordan Valley where "Approximately 97% of Israelis in the West Bank will be incorporated into contiguous Israeli territory". The plan further stated that of "the estimated 600,000 Israeli settlers living in the West Bank illegally. As for the three percent of settlers living in settlements that will not be annexed to Israeli territory, they will have the choice to remain in settlements within the Palestinian state, surrounded by an Israeli security network". While, the plan proposes the annexation by Israeli of the Jordan Valley, it does not address the consequences for the thousands of Palestinians living in that place. The question on whether they will be provided the citizenship of Israel and have full rights according to the law or, will they remained as Palestinian citizens living under the current system to the already existed Israeli control and occupation are still unresolved.

d) Fourthly: Palestinian Refugees

When we highlight on the refugees issue (comprising around 6 million), the plan begins with an unquestionable rejection of the right of return for the refugees of Palestine as a right preserved under the Resolution of the UN 194. Instead of that, the plan "envisions three options for Palestinian refugees seeking a permanent place of residence:

1) Absorption into the State of Palestine.
2) Local integration in current host countries (subject to those countries' consent); or
3) The acceptance of 5,000 refugees each year for up to ten years (50,000 total refugees) in individual Organization of Islamic Cooperation member countries who agree to participate in Palestinian refugee resettlement (subject to those individual countries' agreement).

e) Fifthly: Palestinian Political Prisoners

The proposal calls for all the Palestinian prisoners to be released but with the exclusion of those convicted of the murder of Israeli citizens or conspiracy to commit murder. These Palestinian prisoners will become citizens of the Palestine state upon release even if they are citizens of Israel. It is yet unclear what would happen to those prisoners' families, and how the stripping down of the Israeli-citizenship would affect their community's life and home. Under this plan, it also requires the Palestinian's prisoners to sign a "coexistence oath" or else they would continue their stay in prison. However, it is a pity that the vision does no recognise those people as political prisoners and freedom fighters.

f) Sixthly: A Palestinian State and Rules of implementation

The plan says the Palestinian state can be established only when Palestinian leadership wholly accepts the conditions below:

1. Demilitarization.
2. Accept Israel's new borders.
3. End all of the education programs perceived to serve and incite or promote hatred or antagonism towards its neighbors.
4. End payments to the fund for martyrs and replace them with a welfare program.
5. Ensure no violence against U.S citizens or Israelis.
6. Suspend all the actions at the International Criminal Court (ICC) or contemplative charges against Israel at Interpol.
7. Controlling the Gaza strip, and Agrees to Israeli security oversight on all of its territories until a point in the future deemed suitable for withdrawal.

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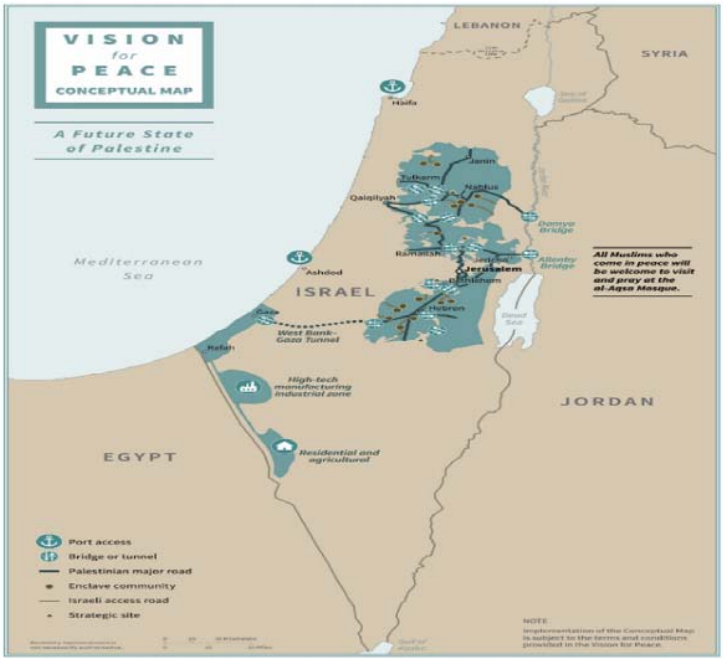
At this point and only at this point the Palestinians would receive USD 50 billion of investment promised by the U.S. although even then, the figure is misleading. As outlined in the economic part of the plan released in June, only USD 27.8 billion of that will go directly to the new Palestinian state over ten years, while the remainder will go to neighboring state. That USD 27.8 billion is around 27 percent less than the USD 38 billion ten-year military aid deal that the U.S made to Israel during the period of Obama in 2016.

However. Figure 1 presents the map of a new Palestinian state based on Trump's deal of the century.



Source: Plan Peace to Prosperity, 2020.

Figure 1: A new map of a Palestinian state based on Trump's deal of the Century

While figure 2 presents the shape of the final geographic area of the Palestinian countries (The archipelago state).

Source: Various Media agencies.

Figure 2: Form of the final geographical area of the Palestinian countries (like archipelago)

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Indeed Figure 3 presents the Historical Map of Palestine before the occupation of Israeli in the 1948 war to Trump's deal of the century 2020.

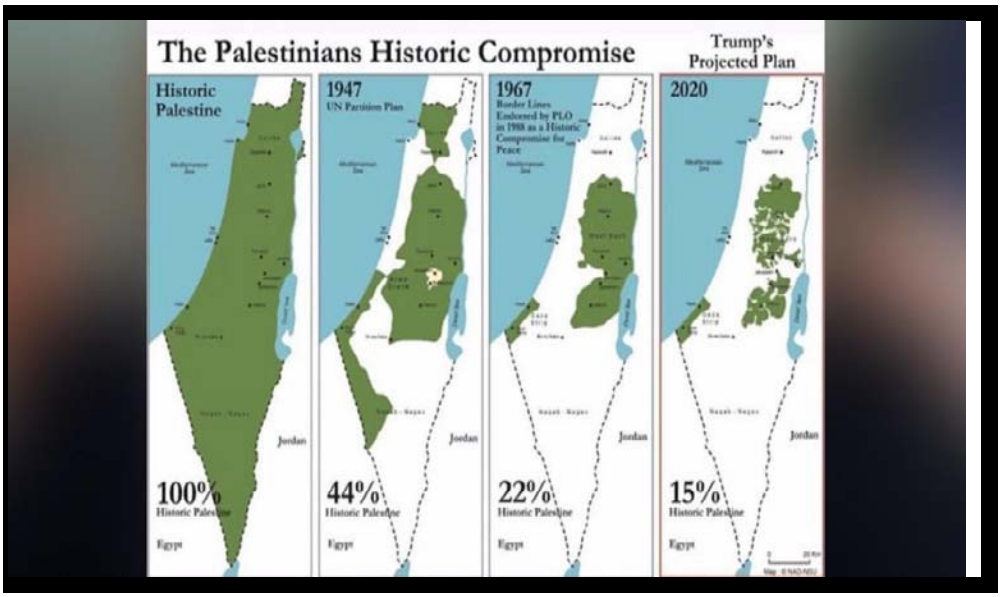

Figure 3: The changes on the Historical Palestine map before the occupation of Israeli in the 1948 war until Trump's deal of the century 2020.

III. Blind Deal and Blackmail

While Trump's deal takes all demands and aspirations of Israel but totally disregard the Palestinians where it does not take any account to the their demands and aspirations. The deal mostly consists of the basic demands of Israel, for instance, the Israel security border will be at Jordan River, a unified and united Jerusalem under the sovereignty of Israel, the complete demilitarization of the state of Palestine, and the Jewish settlements' annexation on the West Bank to Israel. Unfortunately the deal does not include a single one of the basic demands of Palestinian, for instance, East of Jerusalem should be the Palestinian capital, the end of the occupation by Israeli of all the Palestinian lands occupied in 1967 war, and reparations or the right of return for the Palestinian refugees in 1948 (Rolef, 2020).

However, within the midst of reactions negatively to the Trump plan, Black (2020) argued that the Trump deal has given the green signal for the Israeli sovereignty application to the settlements that was illegally built since the war in 1967 which now house 0.6 million jews of Israel. Trump has already controversially transferred the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem. He suggested that the national capital of future Palestinian state will be located beyond the wall of Israel in Abu Dis, a suburb out of Jerusalem. However, Robert Fantina (2020) pointed out that, from one side, the Palestinian people's future is being decided without the Palestinians input itself. It seems very strange that the Palestinians in Palestine, and those in the camps of refugee and those around the world, do not have any say in their nation's future, at least as defined by Netanyahu and Trump. Nevertheless, when there is a goal to provide everything in accordance to the Israel's wishes, this "oversight" is easy to understand.

In response, President of Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas strongly rejected the plan of the Trump administration, calling it the "the slap of the century" by firmly reiterating that "We say 1,000 times: No, no and no to the deal of the century". President Abbas confirmed that "Jerusalem is not for sale" and the people of Palestine "rights are not for sale or bartering" (Rasgon, 2020). Similarly, The Arab League has ultimately rejected the Middle East plan of U.S President Trump in an emergency meeting in the capital of Egypt, saying "it would not lead to a just peace deal". On 1 February 2020, the pan-Arab bloc said "rejects the U.S-Israeli 'deal of the century' considering that it does not meet the minimum rights and aspirations of Palestinian people" (Al-Jazeera & News Agencies, 2020). Moreover, the statement of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) comprising 57 countries came on February 3, 2020 was also aligned and in support of these views (Al-Youm, 2020).

In the same context, the UN has rejected the Trump's 'deal of the century' and restated that the conflict of Israeli-Palestinian should be resolved on the basis of international law and UN resolutions. In a statement, Stephane Dujarric, a spokesperson for the UN Secretary-General, said: "The position of the United Nations on the two-State solution has been defined throughout the years by relevant Security Council and General Assembly resolutions by which the Secretariat is bound." (Middle East Monitor & News Agencies, 2020).

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Besides that, in the statement, the foreign policy chief of Erupe Union (EU) Josep Borrell noted that "We are especially concerned by statements on the prospect of the annexation of the Jordan Valley and other parts of the West Bank. In line with international law and relevant UN Security Council resolutions, 'the EU does not recognize Israel's sovereignty over the territories occupied since 1967'. Steps towards annexation, if implemented, could not pass unchallenged." (MEHR. News Agency, 2020).

On the flip side, More than 100 Democrats in the U.S House of Representatives signed a letter rejecting the plan of Trump, dubbed the "deal of the century." Congress-members joined leaders around the world who have opposed the deal, saying that it is not a "peace" deal but the legitimization of land theft, which will only lead to more conflict and violence. The Congress members who signed the letter say the deal will "hurt Israelis and Palestinians alike, pushing them toward further conflict" (Adamczyk, 2020). While Jimmy Carter (the former president of the U.S) said that the Trump's plan for Middle East would violate the UN resolutions and international law, and he urged the UN to stop the Israeli annexation of Palestinian land. He further stated that "The new U.S plan undercuts prospects for a just peace between Israelis and Palestinians". His office stated that the plan of Trump, unveiled Tuesday, "breaches international law regarding self-determination, the acquisition of land by force, and annexation of occupied territories" (The New Arab & agencies, 2020). However, Trump's deal, drafted by advisers of his son-in-law Jared Kushner in close collaboration with Netanyahu, proposes that a series of enclaves spread across the West Bank and Gaza constitute a Palestinian state. This "Palestinian 'state' would not be contiguous and would be connected by a series of roads and bridges. These enclaves sound more like Bantustans than a free and independent state" (Everett, 2020). A Palestinian American legal scholar and human rights attorney, Noura Erakat, tweeted, "They want to put us in permanent, high-tech cages and call it peace."

Nevertheless, the U.S President Trump adviser, Kushner was quicker to provide more revealing insight into the plan. Rhetoric of Kushner was described to design the Palestinians as reactionary, unreasonable of their doom. He engaged in emotional blackmail when he was not victim-blaming. In his interview with Egyptian broadcaster, Amro Adib "MBC Masr" on Feb. 2, 2020, Kushner's claimed that "the ability of Palestinians to see themselves as victims, and as humans with rights, is contingent on accepting the U.S deal. Refusal to comply with the neo-colonial imposition of his vision of the Middle East voids any Palestinian claim to victimhood". For Kushner, "If the Palestinian undermine this plan, I think that they will have a tough time looking the international community in the face, saying they are victims, saying they have rights." Paternalistically, Kushner positioned himself as the eventual arbiter of the legitimate victim. Therefore, they have to obey the terms of Kushner and by refusing the deal they would lose their right to be treated as humans. If the Palestinians obey him, they would live as what Kushner condescendingly described as an "amazing life". Through the interview, he swiftly abandoned any attempts to attribute the both sides parity as no mention was made of the asymmetry in power of the occupation of Israeli, the Israeli snipers and bombs that killed thousands of peaceful Palestinians. It is obvious that in the view of Kushner, the Palestinians are aggressors by default and not the peaceful victims (Jones, 2020).

All extremists from right-wing were all in the same line in Washington when Netanyahu landed. The settler leaders were waiting for him like "the tail that wags the dog" and chased him to America. They are alike of his mouthpieces in the media, not to say drooling and panting, ecstasy the Jordan Valley immediate annexation, the northern part of Dead Sea, and 150 settlements at West Bank. They started even before the paced of Trump, and Netanyahu ceremoniously into the White House East Room. The room was full of billionaires Jews, evangelical Christians and other elderly, so that everyone falls in line and recites: "This is a historic step and an unprecedented achievement, whose fruits can be picked here and now" (Verter, 2020). During the announcement ceremony in the White House, main supporters of Trump such as Sheldon Adelson, a gambling tycoon and his wife, Miriam Adelson, who were there in the front row "this was yet another win." These days, it is people like the president's evangelical base, along with Adelson, wealthy conservative donors to the Trump campaign, who are calling the shots in Jerusalem and Washington. They always stand there in the front row. They looked beaming and satisfied at the U.S Embassy in Jerusalem inauguration in 2018 (Eldar, 2020).

The money's corrupt symbiosis, media and power is no secret. In an opinion piece of June 2019 in Israel Hayom newspaper, the most significant endowment of Adelson to political right of Israel, Miriam Adelson gushed, "Trump is a man of his word and, he has kept all of his promises", "By rights, Trump should enjoy sweeping support among US Jews, just as he does among Israelis. That this has not been the case (so far; the 2020 election still beckons) is an oddity that will long be pondered by historians". Bible scholars will no doubt note the sages, prophets, and heroes of antiquity who were in the same way spurned by the very people they came to raise. Would it be too much to pray for a day when the Bible gets a "Book of Trump," much like it has a "Book of Esther" celebrating the deliverance of the ancient Persian Jews (Adelson, 2019). In the Trump administration, pro-Israeli friends of Netanyahu, among them David Friedman (the U.S Ambassador to

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Israel) and senior adviser Jared Kushner to the U.S president, assisted to sow the numerous landmines among the pages of the "plan" to make sure that the leadership of Palestinians will not even be drawn to discuss it (Eldar, 2020).

IV. Israel- Lobby's Drafted the Deal

During an AIPAC speech in 2016, Trump stated, "When I become president, the days of treating Israel like a second-class citizen will end on day one," he said, "I will meet with Prime Minister Netanyahu immediately" (Schaefer, 2016). Indeed, the Trump administration did not waste time to advance the unbalanced agenda of the pro-Israeli. In an overt departure from the traditional foreign policy of the U.S. on December 6 2017, President Donald Trump formally recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and, along with, directed the shifting of the American embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem (Landler, 2017). Trump called it "a long-overdue step to advance the peace process and to work towards a lasting agreement". Trump did what he had pledged all over the time during his election campaign and recognized formally Jerusalem as the capital of Israel (Underwood, 2018). However, Trump had done what predecessors had promised; Presidents Obama, Bush, and Clinton all pledged to formally recognize as Jerusalem is the capital of Israel, however eventually they did not fulfil the promise, citing concerns of national security.

Furthermore, "under the 1995 Jerusalem Embassy Act, the president was required to move the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem or sign a waiver [every six months] to avoid doing so" (Landler& Davis, 2017). In this point, Trump base also worked hard to lobby the move. That consisted of the right-wing American Jews as well as devout evangelicals whose voice and message were amplified by the conservative orthodox Jews dominating the inner circle of Mr Trump in the White House, the devout evangelical Christian, Vice-President Mike Pence stated "God decided Jerusalem was the capital of Israel more than 3,000 years ago during the time of King David" (Usher, 2018).

It is worth noting that the "Jerusalem embassy act" in 1995 was supported by AIPAC (Pileggi & Ahren, 2016) to undermine the Oslo agreement in 1993. Therefore, the "Jerusalem Embassy Act" was passed in both Houses of Congress overwhelmingly in October 1995. As anticipated, the Congress members, enthusiastic to determine their support for Israel, consistently produced a stream of letters and resolutions demanding the transfer of the embassy. This led to a strain on the Oslo peace process (Massing, 2006).

On Nov. 21, 2017, the Wall Street Journal unveiled part of Special Counsel Robert Mueller's investigation about the involvement of Mr. Kushner, through Contacts With Foreign Leaders for lobbied UN Security Council members to sabotage a resolution denouncing Israeli settlements (2334 Resolution). This took place during the transition before Mr. Trump took office. The investigators scrutinized Mr. Kushner for his primary omission of any foreign contacts from a government form required to obtain a security clearance. The Wall Street Journal reported (citing a public letter from congressional investigators) that Kushner later updated the form at least three times to include what he has said were more than 100 contacts with more than 20 countries. The Israeli officials admitted they were in touch with Mr. Kushner (Nicholas et al, 2017). That was certainly what Kushner did in this case: Netanyahu, who initiated the request for Trump's intervention in the UN affair wanted to fend off the resolution at all costs, the fake cry of the Israel-lobby is that there is no difference between Israeli and U.S interests. In other words as highlighted by Silverstein, 'when you work on behalf of Israel's interests, you are also advancing America's' (Silverstein, 2017). Then, Kushner received public praise on Dec. 3, 2018, from Haim Saban, a billionaire of Israel-lobby for his possibly illegal attempts to derail a U.N. Security Council vote condemning Israel's settlements (Ali Abunimah, 2018). Kushner, whose family has made over USD100 million donations to Israeli illegal settlements (Tribune Wire Reports, 2016) was already known to be heavily pro-Israel in his approach. What Kushner did was to violate a cardinal rule of American life when he showed dual loyalty (like a spy who betrays his country). However, today, given the eagle-clawed grip the Israel- lobby holds over aspects of American politics, dual loyalty is once again a claim raised (Silverstein, 2017).

On the eve of his inauguration, Trump informed the attendees of a dinner that "despite decades of strife and years of failed attempts by people with deep expertise on the matter, I had finally found the guy who was going to bring peace to the Middle East" referring to his son-in-law, Jared Kushner of the New Jersey and further stressed to his favorite kid's husband that "If you cannot produce peace in the Middle East, nobody can,". He continued his optimism of Kushner's ability by stating that "All my life, I have heard that is the toughest deal to make, but I have a feeling Jared is going to do a great job." (Levin 2019). According to the Middle East, the Monitor report published on April 10, 2019. In his task, Kushner would come to rely on the support of his assistant, Avi Berkowitz, who is the cousin of Howard Friedman, the first Orthodox president of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC).

With the Kushner team, Jason Greenblatt, an Orthodox Jewish attorney was appointed to lead the American negotiating team (Maltz, 2016). However, Greenblatt, the U.S envoy for international negotiations and Trump's special adviser on Israel, has admitted that his primary sources of information about the Israel-

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Palestine conflict come from daily email alerts, the powerful Israel-lobby group American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) and a weekly Jewish radio program. Greenblatt said, "I also speak to people that I would say are involved in the Israeli government at certain levels and hear their thoughts" (Al-Jazeera, 2019). The Jewish radio program has always been hosting Malcolm Hoenlein, the CEO of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations" (CoP). Though he would help President Trump to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Greenblatt has no Palestinian contacts as he was a yeshiva student in the mid 1980s at Yeshivat Etzion, settlement bloc in a West Bank. Greenblatt's positions on Israel are similar to those of his boss Trump that does not believe Jewish settlements in the West Bank have been a core part of the problem (Heilman, 2016).

During an informal Security Council meeting Oct. 2019, Greenblatt said "the council's "obsessive" focus on Israeli settlements is a 'farce'. Settlements, which under international law are illegal and have been a significant roadblock in peace talks are not keeping Israel and the Palestinians from negotiating peace. He has also blamed the leading UN Palestine refugee work agency (UNRWA), for prolonging the Palestine refugee problem (Y net News & Al-Jazeera, 2019). However, in an exclusive interview with Asharq Al-Awsat in Washington on 13 July 2019, Greenblatt stated, the plan would not feature the phrase "two-state solution" because using that language would lead leads to nothing. When asked about the fate of Israelis living in settlements in the West Bank, Trump said he prefers to call them "neighborhoods and cities" instead of "settlements" as the word is seemed as a pejorative term that is used as a biased form of putting the finger on the scale of one side of the conflict. Moreover, regarding the right of return for Palestinian refugees, he totally ignored the relevant UN resolutions regarding the matter (Anderson & El-Koudsy, 2019).

In the same respect, in an interview published by the New York Times Jun 8, 2019. The U.S ambassador to Israel, David Friedman said that Israel has the right to annex parts of the West Bank by stating that "Under certain circumstances, I think Israel has the right to retain some of the West Bank" (Halbfinger, 2019). Ambassador Friedman also said in a follow-up call with reporters that Israel would also get "overriding security responsibility and control over entire territory from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean" (Dolsten, 2020). Also, he lobbied Washington to refer to the occupied West Bank by its biblical name used by Zionists, "Judea and Samaria" (Al-Jazeera, 2019). According to the Palestinian chronicle website dated 28 March 2019, Friedman, in an AIPAC conference in Washington told that the plan would provide Israel full control of security over the occupied West Bank. Friedman, who has been the strong supporter of illegal settlements of Israel across the occupied Palestinian territories added that the deal would give permission that Israel seek to sustain a permanent security presence in the Jordan Valley.

Indeed, Trump administration has already started implementing the deal of the century prior it being announced. They have made several historic decisions in total contradiction with previous U.S policy where all seemed to be supportive of Israel and damaging to the Palestinians. The long list includes the U.S recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel in December 2017 and the transfer of the U.S embassy there; closure of the PLO office in Washington in September 2018; and U.S funding cut to UNRWA in September 2018. Moreover, the U.S position toward the Jewish settlements stands in sharp contrast to all previous administrations which saw the settlements as an obstacle to the Israeli-Palestinian peace process (Podeh, 2019). Moreover, within the framework of U.S exclusively consulted with the Israeli side only over its peace plan. One of the moves was the participation of Greenblatt and U.S Ambassador to Israel Friedman inaugurating a settler tunnel running under a Palestinian village (Silwan) in East Jerusalem (Hasson, 2019).

Keeping in mind the closest relationship of Israeli Prime Minister to the Trump family, and the long friendship with Charles Kushner, the father of Ivanka Trump's husband, Jared Kushner. In recent years, the Kushner's have donated large sums of money to Israeli settlements in the West Bank. Also, Ron Dermer, Israel's Ambassador to the U.S, communicate regularly with Jared Kushner and even got some of his talking points included in Trump's first major policy speech on Israel. Dermer saw the election of Donald Trump as an opportunity (Entous, 2018). With his 181-page document, backed by Netanyahu's full-throated endorsement, Trump cemented the support of his two most critical pro-Israel constituencies–evangelical Christians and Orthodox Jews. Moreover, as a bonus, Trump got a short reprieve from dealing with his ongoing impeachment trial in the Senate, and Netanyahu, who had been formally indicted for bribery and fraud the same day, was able to shift the focus of Israeli public discourse away from his criminal charges and on to his statesmanship capabilities (Guttman, 2020).

V. Israel-Lobby Groups Reactions

Reactions to President Trump's deal took a predictable path, with Jewish groups praising the much-anticipated proposal and AIPAC supported the plan, saying that we appreciate for Trump's effort and noted that both political leaders see the plan in Israel as an acceptable framework for negotiations (Guttmann, 2020). AIPAC said in a tweet, we "appreciate[s] the efforts of President Trump and his administration to work

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in consultation with the leaders of the two major Israeli political parties to set forth ideas to resolve the conflict in a way that recognizes our ally's critical security needs." (Dolsten, 2020). At the same time, AIPAC bemoaned that "the Palestinian leadership has continually refused direct talks with Israel for the last several years." AIPAC called for "Palestinians to re-join Israelis at the negotiating table," adding that "a lasting, genuine peace will inevitably require agreement between the parties themselves and tough compromises from both sides" (Richman, 2020).

In response to the Trump Administration's Middle East peace proposal, the Christians United for Israel (CUFI) founder and chairman John Hagee gave a statement, "President Trump has shown time and again that he is the most pro-Israel president in U.S. history. This plan reflects that tradition and is the best peace proposal any American administration has ever put forth. The President's vision ensures Israel's defensible borders, a united Jerusalem, sovereignty over biblical holy sites, and provides an opportunity for the Palestinians to choose peace" (CUFI. website, 2020).

The Republican Jewish Coalition (RJC) also recommended the plan as stated by its Executive Director, Matt Brooks who said, "The President and his team have put together a bold and nuanced proposal that is deeply rooted in America's core values of liberty, opportunity, and hope for the future" (Dolsten, 2020). Meanwhile, the organization's national chairman, former Senator Norm Coleman said, that it creates a "realistic path" for the Palestinians to have a state while not compromising on "the requirements that the Palestinians reject terrorism, stop inciting violence, stop their indecent 'pay for slay' program that pays terrorists for their crimes, and end corruption and human-rights abuses" (Richman, 2020). Moreover, The American Jewish Committee (AJC) said on Twitter that it "welcomes President Trump's serious effort to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, assuring Israel's security & Jerusalem's uncontested status, while creating a path to Palestinian statehood" (Dolsten, 2020). Malcolm Hoenlein, the executive vice chairman of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations (CoP) declared that Tuesday as a 'historic day,' saying he was encouraged by the proceedings. We saw the U.S.-Israel relationship in its full expression a great moment of opportunity for Palestinians and Israelis" (Richman, 2020). Additionally, Israel-lobby groups in Canada also responded positively to the plan stating that "The proposed U.S peace plan is a creative solution balancing the need for independent/prosperous Palestinian state with a safe and secure Israel," B'nai Brith Canada wrote on Twitter (Ross, 2020).

VI. Discussion and Conclussions

The Deal of the Century is the unilateral U.S moves with Israeli Prime Minister without the Palestinians. This deal led to undermine decades of international consensus about how to resolve the world's most intractable conflict involving the status of Jerusalem, the legality of Israeli settlements and the ever-emotive question of Palestinian refugees. It ignores the Oslo accords of 1993, countless UN resolutions, the Arab peace initiative of 2002, and the fundamental idea that Palestinians have the inalienable right to self-determination.

The timing of the announcement of the Trump initiative suits the political and legal needs of Mr. Trump and Mr. Netanyahu as both men are facing elections. Besides that, Mr. Trump gets a distraction from his impeachment and his trial in the U.S Senate for high crimes and misdemeanors. Mr. Netanyahu is also facing criminal charges of corruption, bribery and breach of trust. The release of a plan so tilted to Israeli priorities helps the right-wing prime minister sell himself as the man best positioned to handle the vital U.S-Israel relationship. Furthermore, it does not seem like a coincident that the plan was released on the same day that Israel's attorney general formally indicted Netanyahu on bribery and corruption charges.

The proposal is missing a signature feature of every prior peace plan i.e., a path to a viable Palestinian state. It would divide the Palestinian territories up and surrounds them with Israel thus would give Israel total control over Palestinian security. This would also mean that a future Palestinian government would not be allowed to exercise full control over its land but only limited to what Israel deems acceptable. It is a kind of state-minus: a Palestine without much of its land and subservient to Israel for essential functions. Needless to say, the Palestinians cannot and will not agree to such humiliation and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas has already firmly ruled it out.

The Trump plan is a gamble that has been immediately rejected by the Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas. Palestinian President emphasised that that Palestinian rights and hopes "were not for sale." and the proposed plan was not planned for peace is seen as a surrender document that dictated the Palestinians to accept that Israel has won and that would let Israel with its American friends to shape their future. Moreover, more insidiously, it is a plan to legitimize Israel's ongoing effort to seize additional Palestinian land and in a combustible part of the world and that could be very dangerous.

Trump's Deal has been perceived to be much like his presidency i.e., a morbid joke. Sadly, however, the punch line running center stage in this theatre of the absurd is set to come at the expense of the Palestinians. This is because of the culmination of the architecture of exclusion that has for close to a hundred years, denied the Palestinians their agency and undermined their quest for self-determination, justice and freedom. This deal is reflective of the irrelevance of the very notion of

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Palestine and the Palestinians in the eyes of Kushner, Trump and Netanyahu that the asymmetry in the dynamic crafted by this trio's proposal deceivingly titled "Peace to Prosperity" was done without consultation or involvement from the side of the Palestinians.

As for the status of Palestine and Palestinian rights in their occupied city, East Jerusalem, rebranding a few neighborhoods (Kafr Aqab), the eastern part of Shuafat and Abu Dis as al-Quds or East Jerusalem had been an old Israeli plan that had already failed in the past. The late Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat had enough political sagacity to reject it, and neither President Abbas nor any other Palestinian official would think to compromise on the historical and legal Palestinian rights in the city. Thus, the deal of the century died before its announcement.

Plan of Trump will fail to resolve the conflict. Worse, it will exacerbate it even further for Israel now seemed to be given absolute freedom to speed up its colonial venture, to entrench its military occupation and to further oppress Palestinians, who will undoubtedly continue to resist. Indeed, this deal planned by the U.S would benefit Netanyahu, right-wing coalition and Trump thus the the Zionist discourse that predicated maximum territorial gains with minimal Palestinian presence has finally succeeded. This is evident when every Israeli request has been met to the last one. Meanwhile, Palestinians received nothing aside from the promise of chasing another mirage of a Palestinian state that has no territorial continuity and no real sovereignty.

Time and time again, the UN has clearly made it that it pursues a different political trajectory than the one followed by Washington, and that all decisions of the U.S regarding the Jerusalem status and the illegal settlements are void and null. Only in the matters of international law, as none of Trump's actions in recent years have succeeded in considerably altering Arab and international agreement on the Palestinians rights.

According to Trump's plan, Israel has rights over all the land between the Jordanian river and the Mediterranean. This would mean that now, the Israel-lobby group will snatch a congressional resolution to the recognition of any areas that Israel decides to annex formally. That means the veteran American Jewish groups lobby like the American Jewish Committee (AJC), the Conference of Presidents (CoP) and the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC) won. They warmly welcomed the plan and they participated in the funeral of the two-state solution. In other words, these groups, along with the right-wing American-Jews conservative, were like "casino magnate" and pro-Israel mega-donors like Sheldon Adelson, Haim Saban, Ronald Lauder (billionaire and the president of the World Jewish Congress (WJC), Senior advisor Jared Kushner, and U.S. Ambassador to Israel David Friedman, necessarily endorsed the settlers right's dream of "Greater Israel" wherein Jews are the sole sovereign.

Trump's "deal of the Century" could somehow be perceived as sending a clear message to all of the nations that creating unilateral facts on the occupied land through power and money in the hand of bullies and bandits is legitimate, upending the international legal order which is crying for Justice. In Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammad's words at the third conference of The League of Parliamentarians for Al-Quds that "This deal will only bring more conflict to the region, and will antagonize billions of people around the world."

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5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.

6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.

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Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

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Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."

Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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