THE NEXUS BETWEEN GLOBAL VALUE NETWORKS AND NATIONAL SECURITY: THE SRI LANKAN CONTEXT

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Abstract

The global economy continues to evolve rapidly, presenting a complex and ever-changing landscape reflecting an increasing degree of integration and inter-dependency on global trade, day by day. Advocates for globalisation argue that it has brought prosperity and wellbeing to nations and that the benefits far outweigh the disadvantages. The spread of economic activities of organisations transcending national boundaries, driven by trade policy reforms, technological advancements, cost considerations, and access to resources and markets, have given birth to the concept of global value networks. Taking part in the value adding process at different stages brings socio-economic benefits for the participating countries. To do so mean a reassessment of a country's national political agenda, trade and investment policies, structural and other supportive policies, to harness the full benefits of participation in global value chains. Yet, such economic gains are not without risks. The integration of markets across the globe and their interdependencies results in shift of economic power bases and technological leadership. As the comparatively smaller and fragile economy of Sri Lanka attempts to elevate herself from its present economic status, the greater reliance on foreign supply chains, risks to critical infrastructure, polarised foreign direct investment, and fragmented social strata, the prospects of greater vulnerability to its national security and state sovereignty being compromised is a possibility. This paper discusses the potential national security threats to be vigilant of as Sri Lanka pursues opportunities within the global value adding network to facilitate her elevation from a lower-middle-income status to an upper-middle-income status.

Key words : Globalisation, Global value chain, Global Value Networks, National security

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the potential threats that are likely to emanate as Sri Lanka pursues opportunities to transform the country to a developed nation through an export led, industrialised strategy. In particular, we explore whether the effects of globalization, the growth of global value networks and the potential of manifesting themselves in the national security realm. Grounded on conceptual frameworks of globalisation and semi-globalisation, coupled with a drastic reduction of trade barriers across nations and disruptive technologies, has pushed the global economy to be more and more integrated and inter-dependent. Supported with extant literature, we argue that this has led to a greater dis-aggregation of manufacturing and service activities, from one location to multiple geographic locations, leading to the new phenomenon of Global Value Networks. The disaggregation of business activities across multiple geographic locations, crossing national boundaries infused with investments and mobility of people, creates potentially new threats to a country's national security in addition to the economic opportunity it creates. This paper explores some of these potential threats to the national security of Sri Lanka, especially in the form of regional geo-politics, environmental degradation, bargaining power of large-scale investors, cybercrimes and socio-cultural conflicts. The discussions and the articulation of potential threats to national security are grounded on a synthesis of extant scholarly literature and the authors thinking and experience in global trade.

Literature review : The context

Globalisation

In the most generalist sense globalisation refers to the broadening set of interdependent and integrated relationships among people, groups, and institutions across the world. The concept was formally introduced in management by Theodore Levitt in 1983 in his seminar article titled "The Globalisation of Markets" (Levitt 1983, 92). At the core of his argument was that technology was driving, convergence of commonality across markets in the world, connecting all corners of the world and driving demand for more standardised goods and services. Thomas Friedman called this phenomenon "The world is flat". However, we pose a pertinent question, "truly, is the world flat?" The answer according to one of the leading gurus in globalisation, Pankaj Ghemawat, is that it is not. Whilst similarities exist, differences between countries also continue to exist and are larger than generally acknowledged, a phenomenon he describes as 'semi-globalisation' (Ghemawat 2003, 139). Leaving aside conceptual differences that exist, it is generally accepted that from an economic perspective, globalisation has helped achieve access to greater variety, diverse resource stock, better quality, competitive prices, and broader markets to mention a few. However, globalisation extends beyond the mere economic perspective and encompasses practically every field in today's life. With technology in the forefront driving disruption of existing patterns of world order, the process of globalisation is driven by reduction of trade barriers and unrestricted flows of information, goods and services, private capital and investment, production, and people, to a more than ever integrated and interdependent world economy.

Since the establishment of General Agreement in Trade and Tariff (GATT) in early 1950s, trade values are said to have grown by approximately 300 times¹. The 2020 global trade value in goods and services was estimated at US\$ 22 trillion². Consequently, we observe value chains of businesses spreading across multiple countries, a phenomenon where services, materials, parts, and components criss-cross borders – often numerous times. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) estimates that nearly 70% of global trade today, constitutes global value chain activities³.

Countries gain by participating in global value chains by doing more of what one is good at irrespective of the stage of the process. For developing countries such as Sri Lanka, which is constantly under pressure to enhance its foreign currency earnings to supplement its imports, aggressively participating in global value chains are a way forward. Yet, as much as one could expect as economic prosperity with such strategic directions comes issues of national security. Economic coercion from stronger economic partners, polarisation of investments in the hands of a privileged few, internationalisation of domestic issues precipitating in potentially foreign intervention, trade sanctions arising from trade disputes, the fall out of local industries and the resulting loss of employment are just a few areas to mention that poses threats to the national security of a nation. National security of a nation aims to go beyond the traditional military security by encompassing a broader perspective covering independence, integrity, and sovereignty of the state against external and internal adversaries, provision of good governance, promotion of economic growth with equity, ensuring food, energy, and water security, human development, emphasis on science and tech-

 $^{^1} See https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/trade_evolution_e/evolution_trade_wto_e.htm#fntext-1$

² World Trade Statistical review 2021: https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/statis_e/wts2021_e/wts2021_e.pdf

³ https://www.oecd.org/trade/topics/global-value-chains-and-trade/

nology and so forth (Chandra & Bhonsle2015, 340). Thus, national security in the 21st century implies a more all-encompassing national threat perspective that extends beyond the traditions of military threats.

The world is not flat- The concept of semi-globalisation

The world is flat! That's how Thomas Freidman summed up globalisation after his famous visit to the conference room of Nandan Nilekani, CEO of Infosys Technologies Limited, India. Technology had made it possible for people across the world to collaborate and compete in real time on diverse types of work on a more equal footing than at any previous time in the history of the world. Reduction of trade barriers, and communications technology in particular was shrinking the physical distances between geographies and connecting consumers, markets and producers seamlessly across the planet. These sentiments echo the ideas that were put forward by Levitt(1983, 92-93), when he argued that technology was driving the world toward a converging commonality driving demand across the world resulting in a new commercial reality -'the emergence of global markets for standardized consumer products'. Multiple definitions of globalisation exist, yet the essence is similar. The Oxford Reference defines globalisation as "the increasing worldwide integration of economic, cultural, political, religious, and social systems. Economic globalization is the process by which the whole world becomes a single market. This means that goods and services, capital, and labour are traded on a worldwide basis, and information and the results of research flow readily between countries"4. A world which is integrated and interdependent.

However, this notion that the world is flat was challenged by a leading scholar in management, Professor Pankaj Ghemawat⁵. Whilst agreeing that the diminishing tariff barriers, and the evolving communications revolutions are bringing connectivity of people across nations like never before, he posits (see Ghemawat, 2003) that the world continues to remain largely disconnected. Differences and distances exist. His findings reveal that most types of economic activity that could be conducted across nations continue to remain domestically concentrated. The world witnesses a growth in institutional harmonisation

⁴ https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095855259

⁵ Pankaj Ghemawat is the Global Professor of Management and Strategy and Director of the Center for the Globalization of Education and Management at the Stern School of Business at New York University, and the Anselmo Rubiralta Professor of Global Strategy at IESE Business School. https://ghemawat.com/about

and economic integration during the era 1970 to 1990s. We saw the entry of large economies such as China, Russia and India into the global market, yet such changes according to Ghemawat (2003, 144-145) does not necessarily reveal that the majority of trade is globalised. As much as globalisation friendly policies are being pursued the opposite forces too are in operation. The suspension of the Doha round of trade talks in 2006 stands as a testimony to how divided the world is.

One needs to understand that people within nations in general will demand for more protectionism than less and this is where the incompatibility arises between policies to globalise vs policies to pursue a national protectionism strategy. We see this happening in Sri Lanka. The two main political parties that have been ruling the country since independence, one follows a more right wing based open economic policy whilst the other a more left wing based restrictive economic policy. These two parties have been elected to serve alternative terms, with no clear winning strategy for the way forward. Successive governments have also played into the sentiments of the majority, only to find themselves sandwiched between global pressures and domestic pressures, with no sign of a win-win solution. So, what does Pankaj Ghemawat mean by semi-globalisation?

To claim that the world is globalised, and that it is flat, in Ghemawat's view is an extreme. The concept of semi-globalisation brings a breadth of freshness and a realistic way of looking at what globalisation is in the real world. Cross border integration is contingent upon several elements and whether such integration will continue to increase, remain at moderate levels or even experiencing a set-back is anybody's guess. Technologies will continue to evolve yet the main engine behind policy development, the political ideologies may not necessarily change. China, India and Russia are classic examples. Thus, looking at a world which is semi-globalised, where differences between countries are greater than similarities, trade development must take into account, both, similarities as well as dis-similarities. Thus, those engaging in trade and services will aim to retain a balance between both similarities and dis-similarities, requiring supportive policy initiatives. Therefore, semi globalisation is a status a trading partner would achieve is a position in a continuum that lies between two extremes – zero integration and total integration. As firms are encouraged and motivated to go global, the extent to which they are globalise will be determined by the degree to which they adapt (maximising the local relevance), aggregate (the attempt to deliver economies of scale by creating regional or global operations) and arbitrage (exploiting disparities between national and international country markets, often by locating different parts of the value chain in different geographic locations). This is known as the triple 'A' framework (Ghemawat 2007, 60). Whilst

adaptation and aggregation has been at the forefront in explaining how trade moves across national boundaries for some time, it is the 3rd factor, arbitrage, the new addition that is of focal interest in this essay.

Globalising the value chain and the global value network

The presence of intermediate goods in global trade, which involves the dis-aggregating the traditional vertically integrated model of production and allows for the different value-added activities to be dispersed globally in a strategic manner (to achieve a competitive advantage) constitutes the global value network (GVN). It includes a full range of activities starting from research and design, through the intermediary phases of sourcing, production, sales, and marketing, culminating in the delivery of finished goods or services to the end consumer. GVNs link geographically dispersed activities into a single industry and give insights into the shifting patterns of trade and production. The shift of western production to countries such as China, India, South Korea, Vietnam, Bangladesh in the Far East stands as good examples. Thus, we see a different type of specialisation emerging in the new world order, from product specialisation to task and functional specialisation based on competitive and efficient inputs. GVNs are also useful for apprehending the interconnectedness of economies based on the extent of value generated at each stage. The apparel and mobile industries amongst several others are good examples of GVNs in the contemporary world.

The GNV is a value creating system or a 'value constellation' (Normann & Ramírez 1993, 66) where a set of economic players from different parts of the world come together to co-produce value (Wu et al 2007, 570). These value adding activities are carried out using a combination of human, tangible and intangible resources that are linked by flows of material, information, technological, financial resources, and relationships. The GVNs focus is on business functions, which are the different activities that add value to the end product or service, such as R&D, procurement, logistics, operations, marketing, customer services and so forth. Countries tend to specialize in specific business functions rather than specific industries, such as the assembly/manufacturing operations for China, Bangladesh, Vietnam or business and IT related services in India. These have implications from an institutional perspective, especially the national Governments in policy designs for trade and investment, national human capital development and capitalising on GVN opportunities without compromising national security concerns. Thus, it could be observed that decisions regarding locating specific functionalities, along the GVN is based on leveraging advantages based on location specific differences. This is the fundamental principle on which the notion of 'arbitrage' of the triple 'A' concept of Ghemawat (2007, 60) is conceptualised.

In the early days multinational firms were accustomed to arbitrating labour cost differences by locating more labour-intensive processes in countries with low labour costs. One may recall the entry of the apparel manufacturing industry in Sri Lanka, where international firms were invited to transfer their production on the basis of low labour wages in the late 1970s. However, in the modern world, arbitrage has gone beyond leveraging low-cost labour advantages. It has moved into research & development, information technology, production, specialised component manufacture, design capabilities, human resources, software development, distribution, marketing and so forth. The establishments of each of these different nodes in the GVN can take many a form, viz., wholly owned subsidiaries, joint ventures, strategic alliances, contractual arrangements, or even non-controlling foreign firms. Whilst the policy of ownership and control of the parenting firm would decide the shape and format of the relevant node, eventually it would be the institutional framework of the respective country in which the node is located that will determine the governance framework, its ownership and control. Participating in GVNs are generally viewed as beneficial to developing economies who could gain a foothold in global markets, earn much needed foreign exchange for development, provide employment opportunities, and assist in the development of the infrastructure. There is a belief that countries, especially developing countries, should aim to move up in the value adding process and create higher value added, though the OECD suggests that countries should focus more on doing more of what a nation is good at and become more efficient and competitive in that sphere. Whilst the debate continues and nations craft their own strategies, the potential threats emanating to a nation's national security by participating in the GNV should be given due consideration.

Discussion

Sri Lanka and its position in the GVN

Successive Governments over the past four decades have aimed at achieving high growth rates mainly through external demand, recognising the limitation of the domestic market with a modest per capita income. Recognising her strategic geographic location, the aim has been to attract foreign direct investment (FDI) to boost much needed foreign exchange on the one hand and

on the other hand to generate employment economic growth from value added. The completion of the major infrastructural projects such as the Hambantota port and the adjacent Mattala international port, major highways facilitating speedy transportation between these major logistical hubs and the capital city, the Colombo International Financial City (CIFC) are a few that are worthy of mention. Sri Lanka's geo-strategic location and therefore its speedy access to important markets, both, in the east and west, makes it attractive to be developed as a hub for numerous value-adding projects. The southern Hambantota port is only 10 nautical miles away from main east-west maritime route and this is what makes its positioning attractive to prospective investors. This has been the geo-strategic advantage that successive Governments have pursued albeit slowly. However, the immediate past Government and the present Government has begun a process of vigorously pursuing this advantage to gain the necessary advantages speedily. The establishment of a large-scale economic zone around the southern port, the development of some major infrastructural projects, including power & energy are being pursued. The CIFC built on land reclaimed from the sea is also gathering momentum and the first phase is expected to be completed in 2025. The new city is expected to function as a special jurisdiction area with its own economic and commercial laws to facilitate the operations of global multinational corporations. It is in the backdrop of these developments that the issues of national security are reviewed.

Potential Implications to National Security

Today Sri Lanka enjoys full benefits of peace after three decades of conflicts was brought to an end by successful intervention of the military. The drive for economic prosperity through growth strategies primarily directed to increase our foreign exchange earnings will need to attract more FDIs and require policies that create an enabling environment. One of the major economic issues facing the country today is its choking debt. The Government debt reached an all-time high of 101.0 % of the country's nominal GDP in December 2020 (see annual report of CBSL 2020). Consequently, the Government has attempted to drive the country's exports on the one hand, whilst pursuing opportunities to create strategic investments attracting foreign investors. A few low yielding, yet high worth strategic assets have been targeted to be developed, especially in the leisure, energy, agriculture sector etc via the Strategic Development Projects Act (SPDA). All of this would mean investor-friendly policies and regulatory frameworks designed to attract the best amongst competing countries in the immediate neighbourhood, as well as regionally. Hence there will be pressure on the Government to be more lenient, flexible, and open to foreign investors, a

situation which could irk the perceptions of a few social groups with opposing views. We have observed such anti-foreign sentiments being spoken of amongst certain social groups who then try to incite the feelings of the public and create an atmosphere of hate and destruction. Such movements could be encouraged by interested parties through NGOs operating in the country with intent to create chaos. There are also politically and socially motivated parties who appear to take the stance that the absolute ownership of national assets should not be diluted, either by selling or even through joint ventures. Trade unions with opposing political ideologies are also likely to oppose such moves, irrespective of the economic benefits to the country. Such civil movements cold lead to civil disobediences eventually leading to disturbing the peace and a potential threat to national security.

Along with FDIs comes the indirect link with those respective international Governments. New relationships are built, and existing relationships are strengthened with respective national Governments in this process. These relationships must be honoured and respected. As the degree of interconnectedness and the interdependencies increase, there is greater burden on the host nation to manage this relationship effectively. Yet, with greater investments from specific countries could possibly lead to foreign government interference in the domestic affairs of the country, particularly so if there are potential threats to the investors themselves. Once a foreign investor is here the country is duty bound to guarantee not only the investment but also protection to physical assets and human factors as well. The other important aspect is the balancing of the FDI portfolio from a national perspective. Bias towards a favoured nation being given more prominence attracts attention of other neighbouring and geo-politically interested nations. Such situations can endanger the national security situation, with pressures being mounted by such affected nations, both directly and indirectly. Periodically Sri Lanka has been subject to pressures from countries such as India, USA on the basis of certain national scale projects being partnered with the Peoples Republic of China on a preferential basis, a claim that the Government has dismissed.

Another potential threat emerges from an environmental perspective. Most developed countries are taking very stringent measure regarding preventing environmental pollution. Consequently, industrialists in these developed nations are looking to relocate their redundant technologies and or environmentally toxic plant and machinery to developing countries, where such laws are lax, and processes are manoeuvrable. The transfer of redundant technology and or environmentally damaging plant and machinery can eventually lead to social unrest arising from serious harm that will be caused to the surrounding

environment. The release of industrial affluents to the natural environment, processing material that are imported to the country which may be harmful or even banned in other parts of the world, are a few other instances were scrupulous investors could resort to under the guise of investing in the country. Such events can even lead to endangering human life which can trigger serious civil unrests impacting the peace of the country. As such, whilst FDIs and participating in the GVN is of importance for the growth of the economy, they should be done with care and proper attention to mitigate the likely threats to national security. Sri Lanka with a strong agriculture industry despite its low contribution to GDP still employs nearly 25% of the population who are mostly rural based. Hence, the sensitivity to potential environmental pollution is relatively high.

With modern industry comes communication technology. In particular, the software industry is a major foreign exchange earner and has experienced phenomenal growth during the past decade. The consolidated IT-BPM industry's exports reached US\$ 1.5 billion in 2019⁶. One of the greatest threats to national security emerges from cybercrime. The upgrading of the infrastructural to support the growing IT-BPM industry also means spill over benefits such as a gradual improvement in technology literacy rates in the country, followed by an increasing usage of mobile technology and social media platforms. Cybercrime is defined as the use of a computer as an instrument to further illegal ends, such as committing fraud, trafficking in child pornography and intellectual property, stealing identities, or violating privacy⁷.

The accelerating investment in infrastructure and the growth in the IT industry can lead to malicious disruption or modification of data, access to information and data, unauthorised access, disruption of operations, digital identity thefts, to mention a few. The scope of cybercrime is vast and goes beyond the scope of this essay. However, with development, and integration into the global value network, the filtrations of cybercrime into the country's network cannot be ignored nor taken lightly. Its implications are to critical infrastructure, intellectual capital, vital information, and to promote terrorism. Organised crime can come in the form of several guises, and one could be in the form of a genuine business as a front. With transnational terrorism this is a possibility. Hence, proper due diligence of potential investors and their local partners when setting up nodes in the GVN should be considered from a national security perspective.

⁶ https://www.srilankabusiness.com/ict-services/about/export-performance.html

⁷ https://www.britannica.com/topic/cybercrime

The Hambantota port is now operational, and the sea traffic is building up. So is the development of the Hambantota Industrial Park (HIP). Several industrial projects with foreign investment are targeted to commence operations once the infrastructure facilities of the zone are complete. A tire manufacturing plant, production of household electric and electronic appliances, assembly of yachts, are just a few of the projects that have been lined up, the output of which is mostly targeted for export. Thus, we could see the beginning of the growth in Sri Lanka's participation in the GVN. Substantial employment is expected to be generated along with new technology transfers. The increasing industrialisation in Hambantota and the hive of import-export activities would mean that the seas lanes are going to get busy as the country progress. Along with this comes another potential threat, maritime security. Sri Lanka already has a maritime issue with its neighbour India on the western front, where Indian fisherman illegally engage in fishing activities in the north-western seas. However, though somewhat not seen in the foreseeable future, the potential threat to maritime security in the southern seas could be a likely scenario with growth in sea transportation via the Hambantota port. We observe the increasing capabilities and reach of sea pirates, mostly from east Africa. The likelihood of them being attracted to a busy sea lane with HIP in full gear is a phenomenon that cannot be discounted in the future and should be seriously considered in the national security strategy.

Finally, as Sri Lanka grows economically and transits into a more modernised developed economy, the potential impact on the nation's culture cannot be ignored. We are a country that is rich in cultural diversity in which ethnicity, language and religious affiliation correspond with one another, each being a key determinant of an individual's identity. One school of thought argues for a loss of these unique identities as the world globalises but the fact remains that cultures remain diverse as much as they display similarities. Youth around the world appear to display similarities in their cultural outlook but a close scrutiny will reveal that their uniquely deep-rooted values, norms and beliefs do exist. As trade and investment pervades across nations, we are bound to observe cultural clashes, at institutional levels, enterprise levels and at societal levels. Fearful of losing cultural identities, eroding moral codes and values and so forth, pockets of societies may fight back to prevent more dominant culture from overriding the local cultures. In Sri Lanka, we have seen how religious groups have come forward in protest of trade and investment decisions of the Government, whenever they felt that such decisions were detrimental to the local culture, for example legitimising gambling. Therefore, from a security perspective one must be constantly vigilant of forces that will act in the opposite on the perceived belief that certain types of investments will be detrimental to local cultural values and norms. Such opposition could escalate to dangerous levels and explode into a national level socio-economic disorder posing a serious threat to national security.

Thus, it is evident that the extremely complex process of globalisation manifests itself into the domain of security too. The creation of new relationships between individuals, firms and nations lead to the likely emergence of new threats as the integration and interdependencies of this complex process increases over time. It also creates the paradox of simultaneously increasing absolute security relative to prior periods whilst increasing the perception of insecurity (CÎRDEI 2019, 42). The state of insecurity arises predominantly from domestic non-state stakeholders who feel threatened regarding their safety and security consequent to globalisation. Such perceptions of insecurity, threat to national cultures can lead to fragmentation of societies resulting in conflicts between inter-state stakeholders with further possibility of such differences spilling over on an international basis. With boundaries between nations continuing to disappear and the scale of integration and interdependencies will increase. These will lead to a further scaling of vulnerabilities to national security threats. Thus, maintaining an appropriate balance between the degree of global integration, whilst preserving the country's national characteristics and its heritage which forms its unique identity, is the order of the day. In doing so, maintaining a holistic approach to national security is a sine qua nonfor the country.

Conclusion

Globalisation is generally viewed from an economic and trade perspective and the debate on whether it has brought more gains than losses is a continuing debate. Whilst data supports those who argue for overall gains in trade and benefit to participating nations, the growing inequalities between people and nations, continuation of conflicts, as well as emergence of new conflicts are seen as the negative effects of globalisation (CÎRDEI 2019, 42-43). On a more serious note, how globalisation is a threat to national security is of concern. With barriers to mobility in production, finance and people gradually diminishing, we observe business value chains being spread across nations, a concept known as global value networks. Enterprises in their attempt to leverage the best and competitive advantages, shift parts of their value chain to different nations, where such advantages can be maximised. To facilitate such movement, and with the objective of attracting FDIs, respective Governments embark on a journey of liberalising trade, providing an enabling environment through the

reduction of investment barriers. The extent of openness creates possibilities of both, desired and undesired elements to permeate the country's national environment amplifying the vulnerabilities, creating imbalances, which can lead to sources of instability, intrastate tension, and conflict. The increasing role of influence from large global enterprises also can be detrimental to developing countries whose fragile economies and weak financial status are dependent on large scale investments for economic growth. The emergence of new environments for the manifestation of hostile intentions, such as the cyberspace, diminishing national borders, emergence of non-state organizations with regional assertions and other geo-political manifestations are a few other vulnerabilities that are prone for amplification with globalisation. On a positive note, the interconnectedness through globalisation has also led to cooperation amongst states in uniting their efforts overcome barriers, increase greater inter-state-communications, and transparency in dealing with security threats that are beginning to globalise. For a country such as Sri Lanka, who has a modest economy and needs to pursue growth opportunities, the full benefits of globalisation and the participation in GVNs must be exploited to its fullest potential but at the same time, should maintain its guard by keeping a close check on the areas that are prone to national security threats.

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