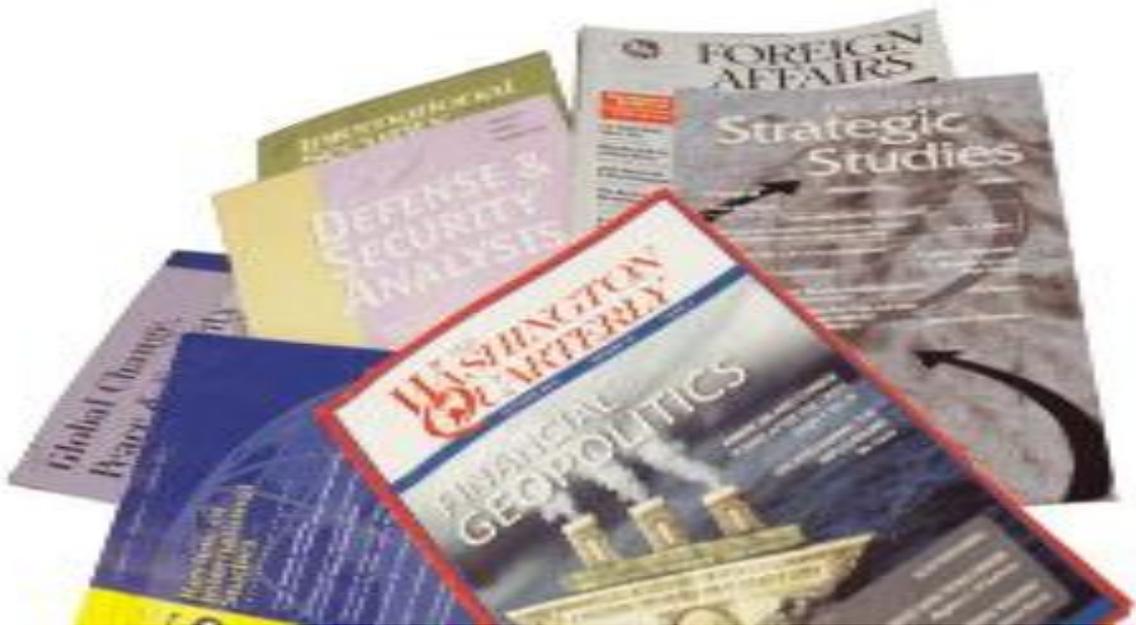


CURRENT JOURNAL CONTENTS

A Monthly Current Information Service



MANOHAR PARRIKAR INSTITUTE FOR
DEFENCE STUDIES AND ANALYSES

मनोहर पर्रिकर रक्षा अध्ययन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

CURRENT JOURNAL CONTENTS
VOLUME 23, NUMBER-4, April 2024

Journals covered in this issue

Sl. No.	Journal Title	Volume (Issue No.) Date	Page No.
1	Asia Pacific Viewpoint	64 (3) December 2023	1
2	Asian Perspective	48 (1) Winter 2024	2
3	Asia-Pacific Review	30(3) Autumn/Winter 2023	4
4	Australian Journal of International Affairs	77 (5) October 2023	5
5	Australian Journal of International Affairs	77 (6) December 2023	6
6	Cambridge Review of International Affairs	37 (1) February 2024	7
7	Central Asian Survey	43 (1) March 2024	8
8	China and World Economy	31 (6) Nov.-Dec. 2023	9
9	Civil Wars	25 (4) December 2023	10
10	Comparative Strategy	42 (1-6) 2023	11
11	Contemporary Islam	18 (1) April 2024	14
12	Contemporary South Asia	32 (1) March 2024	15
13	Diplomatic History	48 (1) January 2024	17
14	European Journal of International Security	9 (1) February 2024	19
15	Force	21 (7) March 2024	20
16	Foreign Affairs	103 (2) Mar.-Apr. 2024	22
17	Geopolitics	29 (1) Jan.-Feb. 2024	25
18	Indian Foreign Affairs Journal	18 (1-2) Jan.– Jun. 2024	26
19	International Journal of Middle East Studies	55 (3) August 2023	27
20	International Journal of Middle East Studies	55 (4) November 2023	29
21	International Organization	77 (4) Fall 2023	31
22	International Security	48 (3) Winter 2023-24	32
23	International Spectator	59 (1) March 2024	33
24	International Studies	60 (4) October 2023	35
25	Journal of Strategic Studies	46 (6-7) December 2023	36
26	Korean Journal of Defense Analysis	36 (1) March 2024	38
27	Maritime Affairs	19 (1) 2023	39
28	Millennium	51 (2) February 2023	40
29	Millennium	51 (3) July 2023	41
30	Nationalism and Ethnic Politics	29 (4) 2023	43
31	Nationalism and Ethnic Politics	30 (1) 2024	44
32	Nonproliferation Review	29 (1-3) Feb.-Jun. 2022	45
33	ORBIS	67 (4) Fall 2023	46
34	Pacific Affairs	97 (1) March 2024	47
35	Political Science and Politics	57 (1) January 2024	51

36	Review of International Studies	50 (2) March 2024	53
37	RUSI Journal	(6) 2023	54
38	Small Wars and Insurgencies	35 (1) January 2024	56
39	Small Wars and Insurgencies	35 (2) Jan.-Mar. 2024	57
40	Small Wars and Insurgencies	35 (3) April 2024	58
41	South Asia Research	44 (1) February 2024	59
42	South Asian Survey	30 (2) September 2023	61
43	Studies in conflict and Terrorism	47 (1-3) Jan.-Mar. 2024	62
44	Survival	66 (1) Feb.-Mar. 2024	64
45	World Affairs	28 (1) Spring 2024	66
46	World Focus	45 (529) January 2024	69
47	World Focus	45 (530) February 2024	70
48	World Focus	45 (532) April 2024	71
49	World Today	79 (6) Dec.2023- Jan.2024	72

Asia Pacific Viewpoint

Volume 64, Number 3, December 2023

Contents

Special Issue

Diasporic Chinese voluntary associations engage China's rise
Guest editors: Ningning Chen, Ying Ruo Show and Emily Hertzman

Special Articles

Diasporic Chinese voluntary associations engage China's rise
Ningning Chen, Ying Ruo Show and Emily Hertzman 294

Between positionality and nudging: A rising China and Chinese voluntary associations in Southeast Asia
Hong Liu and Na Ren 304

Moving beyond survivalism? Youth perspectives on non-Mandarin Chinese languages in the study of Chinese voluntary associations in Singapore and Vancouver
Jean Michel Montsion, Junjia Ye and Justin P. Kwan 317

Beyond as bridges: The role of the Chinese voluntary associations in Chinese outward foreign direct investment in Southeast Asia
Yutian Liang and Zhengke Zhou 329

Negotiating Routes and/or Roots: Heritagisation of *nanyin* in China and Singapore, 1970s to 2010s
Beiyu Zhang 343

Negotiating China's rise: The dynamics of Chinese business associations and the Belt and Road Initiative in Brunei Darussalam
Chang-Yau Hoon and Kaili Zhao 359

Dual-facing bridges and brokers: Diaspora politics and Chinese voluntary associations
Elaine Lynn-Ee Ho 371

Regular Articles

Labour market impacts of the equalisation of basic public health and medical services on internal migrants in China
Chong Lu and Ailin Wu 375

Pacific Island children: The use of maps in helping better understand children's lives
Claire Freeman, Anita Latai Niusulu, Christina Ergler, Michelle Schaaf, Tuiloma Susana Taua'a and Helen Tanielu 390

Agrotourism and fast urbanisation: The double pressure of development on peri-urban agriculture in Hôi An, a small city of central Vietnam
Thi Thanh Hiên Pham, Hai Son Cao and Dominic Lapointe 408

Geopolitical multiculturalism in East Asia
Pei-Chia Lan 425

ASIAN | VOL. 48, NO. 1, WINTER 2024

PERSPECTIVE

Special Issue on Infrastructure Connectivity in Europe with Chinese Characteristics—Part 1

Guest Editors – Niall Duggan and Ágnes Szunomár

- Chinese Investments and Involvement in Strategic Sectors and Infrastructure Development Across Europe: Europe's Hybrid Relationship with China Beyond the BRI—Introduction to the Special Issue
Niall Duggan and Ágnes Szunomár 1
- A Qualitative Cost-Benefit Analysis of the Maritime Silk Road in Europe: Who Benefits from the Initiative and Who Does Not
Enrique Martínez-Galán and Francisco José B.S. Leandro 13
- China's State Capitalism and International Responses: A Comparative Analysis of Infrastructure Investment Strategies
Maxmilian Rech 41
- Exploring Chinese Investments in Europe: Scope and Governance Dynamics
Carlos Lima da Frota Araujo 71
- Vietnam**
- Navigating the Indo-Pacific: Vietnam's Hedging Strategies Amid the Geopolitical Rivalry Between China and the United States
Xiangning Wu and Joseph Ching Velasco 95
- Rebooting Tourism in Vietnam: The Ho Tram Strip
John Hutnyk 119

Korea and Japan

- Ethnic Return Migrants in Korea and Japan: A Comparative Study of Nationalism and Citizenship 141
Zeljana Zmire

Book Symposium

- Book Symposium on Mel Gurtov, *Engaging China: Rebuilding Sino-American Relations*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2022. 165
200 pp.
Anne F. Thurston
David M. Lampton
Mel Gurtov

Contents

<i>The Global South and Japan</i> KITAOKA SHINICHI	1
<i>Japan and the Rise of the Global South: Can Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific Vision Survive?</i> HOSOYA YUICHI	17
<i>Africa and Japan: The World Seen through Assignment in and Evacuation from Sudan</i> SAKANE KOJI	30
<i>Kishida's Dual Track Nuclear Diplomacy</i> AKIYAMA NOBUMASA	48
<i>Direction of Japan's New Cybersecurity Policy</i> OSAWA JUN	63
<i>Perception of a "Color Revolution" in China under the Xi Jinping Regime and National Security Implications—Close interconnection between domestic politics and diplomacy—</i> KAWASHIMA SHIN	79
<i>China's Role in Conflict Mediation in the Middle East: Normalization of Relations between Iran and Saudi Arabia and the 2023 Israel-Hamas War</i> YAMAGUCHI SHINJI	99

CONTENTS

In remembrance of Allan Gyngell AO FAIIA

- 433 Introduction to the special section: reflecting on Allan Gyngell's contributions to Australian foreign affairs practice, scholarship, and education
Joanne Wallis and Tim Legrand
- 435 The Charteris Oration, Australian Institute of International Affairs, Sydney 29 November 2017
Allan Gyngell AO
- 443 Farewell to Allan Gyngell AO FAIIA
Heather Smith and Bryce Wakefield
- 446 Passing of Allan Gyngell AO
Penny Wong
- 448 What would Allan think?
Rory Medcalf
- 452 The voice of Allan Gyngell in Australian foreign policy
Michael Wesley
- 457 Allan Gyngell's podcasting contribution to Australian foreign policy
Darren J. Lim and Walter Colnaghi
- 464 Remembering Allan Gyngell as a foreign policy educator
Benjamin Day
- 473 Taking statecraft seriously: Allan Gyngell's legacy in reimagining Australian foreign policy
Hugh Piper and Melissa Conley Tyler

Research Articles

- 483 Quad 2.0 in flux, how possible? A study of India's changing 'significant other'
Lai-Ha Chan and Pak K. Lee
- 509 Intermediary structure of paradiplomacy: examining sister-city links in Japan
Hiroaki Mori
- 528 Democracy, firms, and cyber punishment: what cyberspace challenge do democracies face from the private sector?
Nori Katagiri
- 548 Transition from hedging to balancing in Australia's China policy: theoretical and empirical explorations
Alexander Korolev

Article Commentaries

- 569 When political apology becomes a source of soft power: a case of South Korea and its Vietnam War experience
Chenjun Wang
- 578 Iranian overtures to Indonesia: Why? and Why now?
Fred H. Lawson

CONTENTS

Special Issue: Toward Indigenous Diplomacy: Relational challenges to International Relations and foreign policy survivalism

Guest editors: Morgan Brigg and Mary Graham

Article Commentaries

- 585 Approaching First Nations diplomacy from the Australian continent
Morgan Brigg and Mary Graham
- 590 Indigenous international relations: old peoples and new pragmatism
Mary Graham and Morgan Brigg
- 600 Yolŋu diplomacy
Gawura Waŋambi, Joy Bulkanhawuy, Ian Mongunu Gumbula, Brenda Muthamuluwuy and Yasunori Hayashi
- 606 Fractal politics and diplomacy: religion, governance, and conflict management in classical Aboriginal Australia
Paul Memmott
- 612 Negotiating meanings and processes: 'same, but different' in contemporary Aboriginal diplomacy
Toni Bauman
- 619 Relational Wiradyuri approaches to diplomacy: from Country, on Country, for a nation?
James Blackwell
- 625 Indigenous Australian diplomacy and the United Nations declaration on the rights of Indigenous peoples
Madeleine Pugin
- 632 Racialised foreign policy and the prospects for Indigenous diplomacy
Henry Reynolds
- 637 Indigenous foreign policy: the challenges of survivalism before and after the era of Western dominance
Andrew Phillips
- 644 Toward principled pragmatism in Indigenous diplomacy in the Indo-Pacific
Rory Medcalf
- 649 Perspectives from Melanesia: Aboriginal relationalism and Australian foreign policy
Meg Taylor, Priestley Habru, Solstice Middleby, Anna Naupa and Jope Tarai
- 656 Australia's indigenous diplomacy and its regional resonance in Oceania
Salā George Carter and Greg Fry
- 664 Can International Relations (IR) learn? The politics of 'doing understanding'
Martin Weber
- 670 Faces of 'not knowing' in International Relations
J. Marshall Beier
- 677 Philosophical vectors of oceanic diplomacy and development: the Samoan wisdom of restraint meets the Australian indigenous relationalist ethos
Upolu Lumā Vaai
- 682 Holding contradictions: toward the lawful carriage of Indigenous diplomacy
Morgan Brigg and Mary Graham
- 693 Correction

Cambridge Review of International Affairs

CONTENTS

Volume 37 Number 1 February 2024

EDITORIAL

- Letter from the editors
Elizabeth Paradis and Anni Roth Hjermann 1

RESEARCH ARTICLES

- State personhood and ontological security as a framework of
existence: moving beyond identity, discovering sovereignty
Nina C. Krickel-Choi 3
- The importance of *bona fide* friendships to international politics:
China's quest for friendships that matter
Nicholas Ross Smith and Tracey Fallon 22
- Ocean flows and chains: sea power and maritime empires within
IR theory
Kevin Blachford 44
- Home versus abroad: China's differing sovereignty concepts in the
South China Sea and the Arctic
Liselotte Odgaard 60
- Between defeating "the warlord" and defending "the blue
homeland": a discourse of legitimacy and security in Turkey's Libya
policy
M. Cüneyt Özşahin and Cenap Çakmak 79
- The unintended consequences of US deep engagement in the South
China Sea
Chin-Hao Huang 103

BOOK REVIEWS

- Shadi Hamid, *The Problem of Democracy: America, the Middle
East, and the Rise and Fall of an Idea*
Dwight W. Robinson 125
- Rohan Mukherjee, *Ascending Orders: Rising Powers and the Politics
of Status in International Institutions*
Rishabh Yadav 127
- Farahnaz Ispahani, *Politics of Hate: Religious Majoritarianism in
South Asia*
Bilal Ahmad Tantray 129

Special issue – LGBTQ+ Visibilities in the Caucasus and Central Asia

Guest editors: Jasmin Dall'Agnola and Cai Wilkinson

Introduction

- 1 Introduction: LGBTQ+ visibilities in the Caucasus and Central Asia
Cai Wilkinson and Jasmin Dall'Agnola

Articles

- 12 'Why wave the flag?': (in)visible queer activism in authoritarian Kazakhstan and Russia
Mariya Levitanus and Polina Kislitsyna
- 33 Transgender activism in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan
Yana Kirey-Sitnikova
- 49 Digital misrecognitions: the violence of visibility in postsocialist Kyrgyzstan
Alexa Kurmanov and Sanjar Kurmanov
- 65 LGBTQ+ activism in Azerbaijan: shifting queer (in)visibility regime through power-knowledge technologies
Khayyam Namazov
- 83 Methods of studying LGBT experiences in the situation of invisibility: from African countries to Uzbekistan
Alexander Sasha Kondakov
- 101 Persuasion or polarization? LGBTQ+ attitudes among young social media users in Kazakhstan
Marika Olijar and Junda Li
- 123 Smartphones and public support for LGBTQ+ in Central Asia
Jasmin Dall'Agnola

Research Notes

- 143 Fieldwork within queer communities in Central Asia: a research note
Ainagul Aitbayeva
- 151 Politicking of Islam and LGBTQ+ discourse in Uzbekistan
Gena Cheburashka

Book Reviews

- 158 *Inside Afghanistan: Political networks, informal order, and state disruption*, by Timor Sharan
Sayed Ziafatullah Saeedi
- 160 *Afghan Napoleon: The life of Ahmad Shah Massoud*, by Sandy Gall
A. Javeed Ahwar
- 162 *Tracing the atom: Nuclear legacies in Russia and Central Asia*, edited by Susanne Bauer and Tanja Pentter
Nikolaos Olma
- 164 *Uyat and the culture of shame in Central Asia*, edited by Hélène Thibault and Jean-François Caron
Aizhamal Muratalieva
- 167 *The multiethnic Soviet Union and its demise*, by Brigid O'Keeffe
Bendi Tso

China & World Economy

Volume 31

Number 6

November–December 2023

Special Issue:

Challenges Facing the Chinese Economy in a Changing Global Environment

Guest Editors: *Haoyuan Ding, Shu Lin, Xiaohu Wang, Zhiwei Xu*

Guest Editors' Words <i>Haoyuan Ding, Shu Lin, Xiaohu Wang, Zhiwei Xu</i>	1
The Chinese Export Displacement Effect Revisited: The Case of the East African Community <i>Christian Elleby, Wusheng Yu, Qian Yu</i>	4
Can Monetary Policy Undo Asset-freezing Sanctions? <i>Hengxu Song, Pengfei Wang</i>	33
Valuation Effects of US–China Trade Conflict: The Role of Institutional Investors <i>Jiahui Chen, Guangyu Nie</i>	56
The Role of Collateral in Sudden Stop Models <i>Bingbing Dong, Jieran Wu, Eric Young</i>	79
International Patent Cooperation, Patent Prosecution Highway Agreements, and Export Product Quality <i>Fan Duan, Yifei Li, Tenglong Zhong</i>	111
Media Inclination and Outward Foreign Direct Investment: Evidence from Chinese Firms <i>Beibei Hu, Qiao Luan, Xue Meng, Kai Wang</i>	134
Capital Account Liberalization and International Corporate Bond Issuance: Transaction-level Evidence from China <i>Xiao Wang, Yongwen Luo, Ziyang Zhu</i>	156
Earnings Management of Chinese Listed Multinational Corporations <i>Xingyu Lu, Tong Qi, Wenjing Xie</i>	179

Civil Wars

Volume 25 Number 4 December 2023

CONTENTS

Editorial

- 631 Civil Wars Vol. 25, No. 4 (2023) - Editorial Introduction
Alex Waterman and James Worrall

Research Articles

- 637 From Insurgency to Local Politics the Case of the Former FARC-EP
Insurgent Guillermo Torres in Turbaco, Colombia
*Julian Cortés-Urquijo, Rafael Quishpe, Laura Malagón and
Gemma van der Haar*
- 663 Addressing Past Injustice, Empowering for the Future? Reparation
Policies and 'Victim' or 'Survivor' Identities in Tolima, Colombia
*John Uribe, Ulrike Theuerkauf, María Salamanca, Santiago Padilla,
Iokiñe Rodríguez and Cristina Sala*
- 687 Turning the Tide: What Enabled the "Defection Mutinies" of Nationalist
Naval Vessels During the Chinese Civil War?
Zi Yang
- 708 "Think Positive, Save a Life"? Resilience and Mental Health Interventions as
Political Abandonment in a Refugee Settlement in Northern Uganda
Costanza Torre

Book Reviews

- 735 Principles of Conflict Economics: The Political Economy of War, Terrorism,
Genocide, and Peace
Gina Miller Johnson
- 738 The Syrian Revolution. Between Politics of Life and the Geopolitics of Death
Tiina Hyyppä
- 741 The Commander's Dilemma: Violence and Restraint in Wartime
Andrew M. Bell
- 744 A Tyranny Against Itself: Intimate Partner Violence on the Margins of Bogotá
Roxani Krystalli

Comparative Strategy

Volume 42 Numbers 1–6 2023

CONTENTS

Volume 42 Number 1 2023

Research Articles

- 1 U.S. privateering and China in the 21st century: Tied at anchor
Christopher Spearin
- 14 The *bingyun* strategy: How subverting armed forces aided the Chinese Communist Party's rise to power
Zi Yang
- 34 The Quranic concept of war and bounded instability: Understanding Iran's strategy and tactics in the Middle East
Bianca L. Adair
- 50 The Nasr and India's nuclear command structure, strategy and doctrine
Sanjana Gogna
- 61 President Putin: A holy mad man or a brave but trapped chicken in Ukraine?
Viljar Veebel and Illimar Ploom
- 80 Comparative strategy – A new framework for analysis
Håkan Edström and Jacob Westberg
- 103 Tracing strategic preferences in cyberspace: The role of regional and domestic strategic culture
Miguel Alberto Gomez
- 128 Cyberspace is what states make of it: The social construction (and deconstruction) of strategic concepts
Christopher Whyte
- 152 Mainstreaming South Asian nuclear rivals for nuclear suppliers group: Imperatives for strengthening the nonproliferation regime
Rubina Waseem and Zafar Khan

Book Review

- 171 The polar pivot: Great power competition in the Arctic and Antarctica, edited by Ryan Patrick Burke
Reviewed by C. Dale Walton

Volume 42 Number 2 2023

Research Articles

- 173 The need to up our game in countering disinformation
Todd Leventhal
- 187 Climate change and national security
Mark A. Bucknam
- 227 Strategy and grand tactics of Napoleon the Great for the 21st century
Michail Ploumis
- 242 Searching for on-site nuclear balance against North Korea
Hwee-rhak Park
- 264 Exploring NATO's enlargement in Northern Europe: Theorizing military transformation
Håkan Edström and Dennis Gyllensporre

287 Why did the 2004–09 Liberia SSR Program not succeed in creating an accountable and effective army?
Colin D. Robinson and Chris Wyatt

308 Terror, tech, and transformation: Will emerging technologies revolutionize terrorism?
Andrew Brown

Book Review

321 Collapse: The Fall of the Soviet Union, edited by Vladislav M. Zubok
Reviewed by C. Dale Walton

Volume 42 Number 3 2023

Special Issue: Deterring China in the Taiwan Strait

Research Article

323 Deterring China in the Taiwan Strait
Keith B. Payne (Study Director), Matthew R. Costlow, and David J. Trachtenberg

Book Reviews

462 Chasing a Grand Illusion: Replacing Deterrence with Disarmament, by Keith B. Payne
Reviewed by Susan J. Koch

464 China's Good War: How World War II is Shaping a New Nationalism, by Rana Miller
Reviewed by C. Dale Walton

Volume 42 Number 4 2023

Research Articles

467 The Panama Canal – China's illusive chess piece: What China's presence in the Panama Canal may mean for regional and global security
Yovani Edgar Chavez Rodriguez and Marcus Mohlin

489 The role of Gwadar in China's maritime strategy: A geostrategic dialogue between Mahan and Mackinder
Pieter W. G. Zhao and Sayed Mahdi Munadi

509 Major power competition in the Indian Ocean and doctrinal development in Pakistan
Khuram Iqbal, Muneeb Salman, and Tahir Abbas Sial

528 Russian Full Spectrum Conflicts and information warfare as Complex Adaptive Systems: The 2014 Crimean case study
Riccardo Allegri

556 Post-Soviet space caught in Thucydides Trap: Grasping the Russian zero-sum behavior
Jozef Hrabina

574 Timeless stratagem: Understanding Chinese strategic behavior
Salikyu Sangtam

587 Cross-border geopolitics: Ambivalent aspect of the border issue in relationship between Kazakhstan and Russia
Aigerim Ibrayeva, Svetlana Kozhirova, Yelena Nechayeva, Aiyim Shukyzyanova, and Raikhan Zhanbulatova

Book Review

602 The Islamic State in Afghanistan and Pakistan, by Amira Jadoon with Andrew Mines
Reviewed by C. Dale Walton

Volume 42 Number 5 2023

Research Articles

- 605 Comparative proxy strategies in the Russo-Ukrainian War
Amos C. Fox
- 621 Nuclear stability in a world with overhead transparency
Igor Moric
- 655 Theater of India-China strategic rivalry: The Indian Ocean
Indu Krothwal and Neha Kumar
- 670 Present tense technological competition: Natural resources, information, and American national security
Ilai Z. Saltzman
- 693 In for a penny, in for a pound: The trouble with offshore balancing and why it matters that "1917" was not "1941"
David G. Haglund
- 718 What makes a good strategic concept?
Lukas Milevski

Book Review

- 729 Empires of the weak: The real story of European expansion and the creation of the new world order, by J.C. Sharman
Reviewed by C. Dale Walton

Volume 42 Number 6 2023

Research Articles

- 731 Ethics, autonomy, and killer drones: Can machines do right?
Andrew Brown
- 747 Weaponization of refugees: Why now?
James Horncastle
- 763 The indelicate balance of terror: Nuclear deterrence stability in a world of three nuclear superpowers
Stephen J. Cimbala
- 776 The Arctic: The struggle for resources and influence in the region
Viacheslav I. Sharyi
- 789 Generals in the classroom: Joint professional national security education in Israel and the United States
Anat Stern and Ilai Z. Saltzman
- 813 Evolution of United States' space policy: An approach of proactive engagement
Divy Raghuvanshi
- 829 Analysis of the effectiveness of electoral technologies as mechanisms for regulating and manipulating electoral behaviour (using Ukraine and Kazakhstan as examples)
Aigul Amirzhanova, Gulnar Askeeva, and Vsevolod Zelenin
- 845 The modalities of China's combinatory unrestrictive warfare strategy
Nelly Atlan

Book Reviews

- 865 Innovating victory: Naval technology in three wars, by Vincent P. O'Hara and Leonard R. Heinz
Reviewed by James J. Wirtz
- 866 End times: Elites, counter-elites, and the path of political disintegration, by Peter Turchin
Reviewed by C. Dale Walton

Contemporary Islam

Volume 18 · Number 1 · April 2024

Special Issue: Islam, Critique, and the Canon
Issue Editors: Sertaç Sehlíkoglu and Mashuq Kurt

Islam, critique, and the canon: an introduction
S. Sehlíkoglu · M. Kurt 1

Allah, Bread, Freedom: Turkey's Muslim others and transnational mosques in Europe
M. Kurt 7

Beyond the canon: un-learning the "Muslim woman" in UK higher education classroom with a "pedagogy of opacity"
S. Allouche 27

"Traitor over a night": on critique and the fragility of privilege in the aftermath of Turkey's coup attempt
S. Sehlíkoglu 45

The immemorial Iranian nation? School Colonialism, nationalism, and modern islamic thought
K. Soleimani 69

Edep: ethical imagination and the Sunna of the Prophet Muhammed
Z. Kostadinova 87

Afterword: Islam, critique, canon
H. Iqtidar 111

Muṭahharī's approach to the right of women to issue fatwas
S. Larijani 115

"The Masjid is for Men": 'Aisyyah women's mushollas in Yogyakarta
B.E. Jenner 133

Tulak Breuh as paying fine within Muslim communities in Aceh: the practice, perspectives, and debate
A. Manan · M.A. Fadhilah · Kamarullah · C.I. Salasyah · Saprijal 153

Further articles can be found at link.springer.com

Abstracted/Indexed in *BFI List, Baidu, CLOCKSS, CNKI, CNPIEC, Dimensions, EBSCO Book Review Digest Plus, EBSCO Discovery Service, EBSCO Humanities Full Text, EBSCO Humanities International, EBSCO Humanities Source, EBSCO OmniFile, Emerging Sources Citation Index, Google Scholar, Naver, Norwegian Register for Scientific Journals and Series, OCLC WorldCat Discovery Service, Portico, ProQuest-ExLibris Primo, ProQuest-ExLibris Summon, SCImago, SCOPUS, TD Net Discovery Service, UGC-CARE List (India), Wanfang.*

Instructions for Authors for *Contemporary Islam* are available at www.springernature.com/11562.

CONTENTS

Special Issue: Jurisprudence and Geography of Hindu Majoritarianism: Thinking with the 2019 Ayodhya Judgement

Guest editors: Vera Lazzaretti and Knut A. Jacobsen

Introduction

- 1 Jurisprudence and geography of Hindu majoritarianism: thinking with the 2019 Ayodhya judgement
Vera Lazzaretti and Knut A. Jacobsen

Articles

- 10 The Ayodhya case, freedom of religion, and the making of modernist 'Hinduism'
Ratna Kapur
- 26 Dharmaśāstra and the legal personality of deities in the Ayodhya verdicts (2010 & 2019)
Christopher T. Fleming
- 40 The Ayodhya decision and Marwari mercantile patronage: materializing a devotional geography for Rāma through Hanumān
R. Jeremy Saul
- 54 The ritual of *parikramā*, Hinduization of space and the case of Ayodhyā
Knut A. Jacobsen
- 66 Ayodhya 2.0 in Banaras? Judicial discourses and rituals of place in the making of Hindu majoritarianism
Vera Lazzaretti
- 84 The view from Mathura: nationalist projections in local perspective
Nick Tackes

Review Article

- 101 The South Asia Gallery, Manchester Museum
William Gould

Book Reviews

- 109 Ghulam Ali (ed.), *Pakistan's foreign policy: contemporary developments and dynamics*
Sanjukta Nath
- 110 Marie Lall and Kusha Anand, *Bridging neoliberalism and Hindu nationalism: the role of education in bringing about contemporary India*
Sneha Roy
- 111 Rejaul Karim Laskar (ed.), *Forging new partnerships, breaching new frontiers: India's diplomacy during the UPA rule 2004–14*
Dhanabalan Thangam
- 112 Mukti Lakhi Mangharam, *Freedom inc.: gendered capitalism in new Indian literature and culture*
Suryakumar Murugaiah and P. Divakar
- 114 Akshay Mangla, *Making bureaucracy work: norms, education and public service delivery in rural India*
Therese Boje Mortensen

- 115 Papreen Nahar, *Childlessness in Bangladesh: intersectionality, suffering and resilience*
Anindita Majumdar
- 116 Brahma Prakash, *Body on the barricades: life, art and resistance in contemporary India*
Bharti Arora
- 117 Ronojoy Sen, *House of the people: parliament and the making of Indian democracy*
Shreya Das
- 119 **Books Available for Review**

CONTENTS

Diplomatic History Volume 48, Number 1, January 2024

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

- Presidential Cold War Doctrines: What Are They Good For? 1
by Mary Ann Heiss

ARTICLES

- Running to School: U.S.-Kenyan Athletic Pipelines in the 1970s 20
by Jessica M. Chapman
- Protesting Architects: Development and Dissent at Colombia's University of Valle 48
by Amanda C. Waterhouse
- "True Patriots and Democrats": U.S. Student Activism in Cold War-era Spain 77
by Jennifer Chochinov
- The United Fruit Lobby: Revisiting Truman's Guatemala Policy 102
by Jonathan Marshall

BOOK REVIEWS

- Remembering Korea and Returning to Vietnam 127
by Sabrina Thomas
- A "Fortress America" for Ideas 131
by Justin Hart
- Democracy and Double Standards 134
by Vanessa Walker
- From Travancore to Pokhran and Beyond 139
by Malcolm M. Craig
- Cinema from a Different Shore 141
by Hiroshi Kitamura
- Disentangling Shadows: A Critical Appraisal of Sexual Capital 144
by Grace Peña Delgado

Cold War Colonialism and Suburban Innocence <i>by Steven High</i>	147
Citizen Diplomat, Global Activist: Reconsidering Norman Cousins <i>by Sarah E. Robey</i>	149
Love is a Battlefield <i>by Andrew Muldoon</i>	152
Engagement, Neglect, and the Contradictions of Liberal Interventionism <i>by Thomas C. Field Jr.</i>	154
The Many Currents of Antebellum Maritime Empire <i>by Jason W. Smith</i>	158
Complicating Empire in the North Pacific Borderlands <i>by Justin Gage</i>	161
CORRECTION	
Correction to: Before the Roosevelt Corollary: Colombia and the Nineteenth-Century Panama Canal Treaty Debates	164

European Journal of International Security

VOLUME 9 · NUMBER 1 · FEBRUARY 2024

Editor-in-Chief: Andrew Mumford, University of Nottingham

Associate Editors: Sergio Catignani, University of Exeter
Ruth Deyermond, King's College, London
Amira Jadoon, Clemson University

Olivier Schmidt, University of Southern Denmark

Journal Manager: Francesca Petrizzo, University of Leeds

CONTENTS

RESEARCH ARTICLES

- Contesting the heavens: US antipreneurship and the regulation of space weapons 1
ADAM BOWER AND JEFFREY S. LANTIS
- Military ad hoc coalitions and functional differentiation in
inter-organisational relations 23
MALTE BROSIG
- Statebuilding beyond the West: Exploring Islamic State's strategic narrative of
governance and statebuilding 41
RAQUEL DA SILVA, MATTHEW BAMBER-ZRYD AND NICOLAS LEMAY-HÉBERT
- Trust, distrust, and mass atrocity prevention: The Central African Republic 59
ADRIAN GALLAGHER
- Agents, multilateral institutions, and fundamental institutional change in
international society: The case of Russia's peacekeeping policy 78
TAKAMITSU HADANO
- Political audience and non-linear securitisation: Revisiting Israel-Iran
relations and the making of the 1979 Islamic Revolution 97
ELDAD BEN AHARON
- Cue Brexit: Performing Global Britain at the UN Security Council 122
LAUREN ROGERS

CORRIGENDUM

- Drawing a line: Digital transnational repression against political exiles and
host state sovereignty - CORRIGENDUM 141
MARCUS MICHAELSEN AND JOHANNES THUMFART

In this issue



COVER STORY

POLITICISATION & PREPAREDNESS

8

How narrow political interests are compromising the military's warfighting ability

A Matter of Military Honour 14

Being secular and apolitical is critical to the professionalism of our forces

Strategic Overhaul 20

Indian Army's comprehensive modernisation plan to enhance operational effectiveness in 2024

Eyes on the Future 23

The IAF sets its sights on a transformative journey towards modernisation and strategic autonomy by 2032

Sea the Opportunity 26

Indian Navy adapts to changing waters and expanding global role in 2024



REPORTS

Vayu Shakti Paints the Sky With Glory 04

IAF demonstrates precision strikes and tactical deployment, featuring modern and indigenous platforms

Chip off the New Block 30

Growing the indigenous semiconductor industry in the defence sphere will be a challenging endeavour

Beyond the Blue Yonder 37

India's space economy, coordination and governance

In Need of Lift 40

The new Medium Transport Aircraft will



transform the IAF's military airlift capability

Industry News

DRDO Conducts Successful Flight Trials of 'ABHYAS'

47

No Entry

Ending FMR, India to fence entire border with Myanmar

60

Service News

Indian Navy Hosts Annual Refit and Infrastructure Conference

62

In Memoriam

Do Not Go Gentle Into That Good Night...

73

BOOKS

Undoubtedly, There is a Case for Political Engagement With The People. But This Can Happen Only When the Ruling Parties Look Beyond

Winning Elections

Rajeev Bhattacharyya, author of ULFA: The Mirage of Dawn

68



Double Agent

The murky world of insurgency and counter insurgency. An extract

70

Extreme Inequalities

Until these inequalities are bridged, it is impossible for the nation as a whole to prosper, let alone be a world leader. An extract

71

COLUMNS

Eyes Strike

Col Mandeep Singh (retd)

32

The Final Frontier

Shrikumar Sangiah

44

Force Multipliers

R.C. Sharma

57

The Commander's Way

A deep-dive into a CO's life during counter insurgency operations

74

The Russian March

Maj. Gen. Atanu K Pattanaik (retd)

77



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Volume 103, Number 2

The Fight for a New Middle East

- The Strange Resurrection of the Two-State Solution 8
*How an Unimaginable War Could Bring
About the Only Imaginable Peace*
MARTIN INDYK
- The Two-State Mirage 23
How to Break the Cycle of Violence in a One-State Reality
MARC LYNCH AND SHIBLEY TELHAMI
- Only the Middle East Can Fix the Middle East 32
The Path to a Post-American Regional Order
DALIA DASSA KAYE AND SANAM VAKIL
- Israel's Self-Destruction 44
Netanyahu, the Palestinians, and the Price of Neglect
ALUF BENN

Cover illustration by Mark Harris

1

Essays

- India's Feet of Clay 58
How Modi's Supremacy Will Hinder His Country's Rise
RAMACHANDRA GUHA
- Spycraft and Statecraft 74
Transforming the CIA for an Age of Competition
WILLIAM J. BURNS
- Politics Can't Stop at the Water's Edge 86
The Right Way to Fight Over Foreign Policy
ELIZABETH N. SAUNDERS
- The Age of Amorality 104
Can America Save the Liberal Order Through Illiberal Means?
HAL BRANDS
- Kissinger and the True Meaning of Détente 120
Reinventing a Cold War Strategy for the Contest With China
NIALL FERGUSON
- The United States' Missed Opportunity in Latin America 134
Economic Security Begins Closer to Home
SHANNON K. O'NEIL

Reviews and Responses

After Free Trade	148
<i>Trump's Legacy and the Future of the Global Economy</i>	
ROBERT E. LIGHTHIZER; GORDON H. HANSON	
Who's Afraid of Freedom?	153
<i>The Fight for Liberalism's Future</i>	
HELENA ROSENBLATT	
How Iraq Happened	160
<i>Washington's Fateful Misreading of Saddam</i>	
GIDEON ROSE	
How Israel Fights	168
<i>And Why Military Prowess Doesn't Guarantee Strategic Success</i>	
SHASHANK JOSHI	
The Real Roots of Xi Jinping Thought	176
<i>Chinese Political Philosophers' Long Struggle With Modernity</i>	
RANA MITTER	
Recent Books	184
Letters	208
The Archive	212

Geopolitics

Volume 29 Number 1 January–February 2024

CONTENTS

Special Issue: The Geopolitics in the Global Compacts

Guest Editors: Nicholas R. Micinski and Camille Lefebvre

Introduction

- 1 The Geopolitics in the Global Compacts: Sovereignty, Emerging Norms, and Hypocrisy in Global Migration Governance
Nicholas R. Micinski and Camille Lefebvre

Articles

- 13 Offshoring and Outsourcing Anti-Smuggling Policy: Capacity Building and the Geopolitics of Migrant Smuggling
Corey Robinson
- 39 Capacity Building as Intervention-Lite: Migration Management and the Global Compacts
Nicholas R. Micinski and Philippe Bourbeau
- 64 Euphemistic Rhetoric and Dysphemistic Practices: Governing Migration in Mexico
Amalia Campos-Delgado
- 90 National Policies on Immigration Detention and the Global Compacts: A Comparative Analysis of Canada and France
Camille Lefebvre and Silvana Cocan
- 118 Exclusion of Climate Migrants from the Global Compact on Refugees
Fran Woodworth

General Articles

- 148 Facing a New Ocean Decade: Geopolitical Change and Challenges in Ocean Governance
Juan Luis Suarez de Vivero and Juan Carlos Rodriguez-Mateos
- 174 Costs of International Recognition: Palestine's and Kosovo's Struggle with Negotiated Statehood
Shpend Kursani
- 203 Displacement as Heterotopic Space: The Syrian Refugee Crisis in Jordan
Filippo Dionigi
- 230 Technologies of Drawing (On) a Desert: Reading Land Art and Colonial Politics in the Naqab/Negev Diffractively
Dorota Golańska
- 261 Producing Territory, Resisting the State: Embodiment, Discourse, and Symbolism in Street Demonstrations in Iranian Kurdistan
Sanan Moradi
- 288 Vision Documents, Nation Branding and the Legitimation of Non-democratic Regimes
Petra Alderman and Kristin Anabel Eggeling
- 319 Liquid or Solid Warfare? Autocratic States, Non-State Armed Groups and the Socio-Spatial Dimension of Warfare in Yemen
Max Mutschler and Marius Bales

Book Review Essay

- 348 Pauline Geopolitics: Thinking Apocalyptic Politics with Jacob Taubes
Benedikt Korf

Indian Foreign Affairs Journal

Vol. 18, No. 1-2, Jan.-Jun. 2023

Contents

OVERVIEW	1-14
<i>2023: An Overview of India's Relations with Selected Countries in the Neighbourhood</i>	1-8
<i>2023: An Overview of 'Voice of the Global South' Summits</i>	9-14
ARTICLES	15-84
P. R. KUMARASWAMY	15-32
<i>India's Balancing Act on the Israel-Hamas Conflict</i>	
KHALID ABDALLA ABDEL WAHAB AHMED	33-54
<i>MENA Pivot to Asia: Rebalancing Old Relationships with New Friendships</i>	
J. K. TRIPATHI	55-67
<i>SADC and India: A Relationship of Mutual Respect and Trust</i>	
POOJA GOPAL	68-84
<i>Khalistani 'Doom Loop' and the Promise of India-Canada Relations</i>	
DOCUMENTS	85-126
<i>Parliament Question and Answer on India's Assistance to Sri Lanka</i>	85-86
<i>Prime Minister Modi's Remarks (21st July, 2023) at the Joint Press Conference on the Occasion of Sri Lanka President's Visit to India</i>	87-89
<i>Voice of Global South Summit</i>	90-91
<i>Summary of Deliberations: Voice of Global South Summit 2023 (January 12-13, 2023)</i>	92-96
<i>Transcript of Special Briefing by Foreign Secretary (January 06, 2023)</i>	97-110
<i>2nd Voice of Global South Summit</i>	111-112
<i>Chair's summary: 2nd Voice of the Global South Summit (November 17, 2023)</i>	113-118
<i>Transcript of Special Briefing by Foreign Secretary on the 2nd Voice of Global South Summit (November 17, 2023)</i>	119-126

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

- SUMAYYA AHMED To the Nation, Belong the Archives: The Search for Manuscripts and Archival Documents in Postcolonial Morocco 421–443
- OLGA VERLATO A Latin Alphabet for the Arabic Language: Romanizing Arabic in Late Nineteenth-Century Egypt and Beyond 444–460
- SOPHIA GOODFRIEND Algorithmic State Violence: Automated Surveillance and Palestinian Dispossession in Hebron's Old City 461–478
- STEFAN WILLIAMSON FA Between *Mezhep* and Minority: Twelver Shi'ism in the Turkish Public Sphere 479–497
- PAUL MANNING The "Poetic Chaos" of Gardens and Genres in Colonial Tbilisi 498–516

ROUNDTABLE: DISPLACED SCHOLARS AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

- ILANA FELDMAN Threats to Academic Freedom are Global, and So Must Be Its Defense 517–519
- NIHAT CELIK The AKP-Era Higher Education Strategies for Establishing Hegemony over Turkish Universities 520–527
- SELIN BENGI GUMRUKCU Democratic Backsliding and Universities: Between Control and Resilience 528–536
- UTKU BALABAN Industrialization and Academy in Contemporary Turkey 537–543
- EVREN ALTINKAS Displaced Scholars as a Contribution to Academic Diversity 544–547
- KATTY ALHAYEK AND BASILEUS ZENO Decolonizing Displacement Research: Between Autoethnography as a Method of Resistance 548–555

REVIEW ESSAY

- HISHAM AIDI Gnawa Mirror: Race, Music, and the "Imperialism of Categories" 556–577

BOOK REVIEWS

Culture Wars

- WAZHMAH OSMAN, *Television and Afghan Culture Wars: Brought to You by Foreigners, Warlords, and Activists*
(Reviewed by Zeynep Sertbulut) 578–580
- CARL ROMMEL, *Egypt's Football Revolution: Emotion, Masculinity, and Uneasy Politics*
(Reviewed by Tamir Sorek) 580–581
- REBECCA RUTH GOULD, *The Persian Prison Poem: Sovereignty and the Political Imagination*
(Reviewed by Claudia Yaghoobi) 582–584

Ecologies/Landscapes

- ASHKAN REZVANI NARAGHI, *A Social History of Modern Tehran: Space, Power, and the City*
(Reviewed by Mehdi Faraji) 584–586
- MUNIRA KHAYYAT, *A Landscape of War: Ecologies of Resistance and Survival in South Lebanon*
(Reviewed by Lara Deeb) 586–588

(CONTENTS CONTINUED ON INSIDE BACK COVER)

(Contents continued)

ALDA BENJAMEN, <i>Assyrians in Modern Iraq: Negotiating Political and Cultural Space</i> (Reviewed by Sara Farhan)	588–590
JOSÉ CIRO MARTÍNEZ, <i>States of Subsistence: The Politics of Bread in Contemporary Jordan</i> (Reviewed by Sean Yom)	590–592
GUILLEMETTE CROUZET, <i>Inventing the Middle East: Britain and the Persian Gulf in the Age of Global Imperialism</i> (Reviewed by Daniel Foliard)	592–594
Genders	
AMY AISEN KALLANDER, <i>Tunisia's Modern Woman: Nation-Building and State Feminism in the Global 1960s</i> (Reviewed by Hind Ahmed Zaki)	594–596
RHODA KANAANEH, <i>The Right Kind of Suffering: Gender, Sexuality, and Arab Asylum Seekers in America</i> (Reviewed by Eszter Zimanyi)	596–599
GHASSAN MOUSSAWI, <i>Disruptive Situations: Fractal Orientalism and Queer Strategies in Beirut</i> (Reviewed by Nadia Guessous)	599–600
Ideas	
GARY LEISER, <i>The Restoration of Sunnism: The Early History of Islamic Law Schools and the Professoriate in Egypt, 495–647/1101–1249</i> (Reviewed by Jonathan P. Berkey)	601–602
R. KEVIN LACEY, <i>All the World Is Awry: Al-Ma'arrī and the Luzūmiyyāt, Revisited</i> (Reviewed by Sona Grigoryan)	602–605
CHARLOTTE COURREYE, <i>L'Algérie des oulémas: Une histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine (1931-1991)</i> (Reviewed by James McDougall)	605–607
CORRIGENDUM	
SOPHIA GOODFRIEND Algorithmic State Violence: Automated Surveillance and Palestinian Dispossession in Hebron's Old City–CORRIGENDUM	608
ERRATUM	
HANNAH SCOTT DEUCHAR A Case of Multiple Identities: Uncanny Histories of the Arabic Typewriter–ERRATUM	609

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

- ONURSAL EROL *Efendilik*: Civility, Urbanity, and Homohistoricism in Contentious Istanbul 611–629
- PELLE VALENTIN OLSEN A Tale of Three Brothers: Ezra, Me'ir, and Hayyawi Sawda'i and the History of an Iraqi Jewish Cinema Business 630–649
- MASHA KIRASIROVA The Partisans of Peace in Lebanon and Syria: How Anti-Nuclear Activism in the 1950s Revitalized the Arab Left 650–674
- KRISTEN ALFF Changing Capitalist Structures and Settler-Colonial Land Purchases in Northern Palestine, 1897–1922 675–692
- NADĀV SOLOMONOVICH From “Atomic Spies” to Turkish-American Relations: The Cold War in Turkish Children’s Magazines in the 1950s 693–714

ROUNDTABLE: WOMAN, LIFE, FREEDOM: REFLECTIONS ON AN ENDURING CRISIS

- NEDA BOLOURCHI AND FIROOZEH KASHANI-SABET Introduction: Activism, Scholarship, and Shaping History 715–717
- FARANGIS GHADERI *Jin, Jiyan, Azadi* and the Historical Erasure of Kurds 718–723
- MARYAM ALEMZADEH Revolutionary Politics of the Normal 724–728
- NEDA BOLOURCHI What’s in a Name? To Call or Not To Call the Revolutionary Guards a Terrorist Organization 729–738
- SARAH ESKANDARI Internal Colonialism in Iran: Gender and Resistance against the Islamic Regime 739–743
- YALDA N. HAMIDI Woman, Life, Freedom, and the Question of Multiculturalism in Iranian Studies 744–748
- NASRIN RAHIMIEH Politics of Vengeance in Iranian Diaspora Communities 749–753
- SAHAR RAZAVI Discord in the Diaspora: Agonism in the Woman, Life, Freedom Movement for Democracy 754–758
- LADAN ZARABADI (Mis)translating the Life Stories of the “Heroes of the Year 2022: Women of Iran” 759–767
- NAHID SIAMDOUST The Birth of a University Music Genre in Iran’s Woman, Life, Freedom Uprising 768–776
- FIROOZEH KASHANI-SABET “A Nation in Turmoil, A Field in Crisis: The Upshots of Woman, Life, Freedom” 777–785

REVIEW ESSAYS

- NAT NESVADERANI Navigating “Sensitive” States: How Surveillance Practices Affect Research Development between the United States and Iran 786–794
- IFDAL ELSAKET The Politics of Stardom, Entertainment and Industry: New Studies in Egyptian Cinema History 795–801

(CONTENTS CONTINUED ON INSIDE BACK COVER)

Cambridge Core

For further information about this journal please go
to the journal website at:
cambridge.org/mes

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

BOOK REVIEWS

National Identities

- AM AHL BISHARA, *Crossing a Line: Laws, Violence, and Roadblocks to Palestinian Political Expression*
(Reviewed by Areej Sabbagh-Khoury) 802–805
- DAWN CHATTY, *Syria: The Making and Unmaking of a Refuge State*
(Reviewed by Samer Abboud) 805–807
- KEVIN MAZUR, *Revolution in Syria: Identity, Networks, and Repression*
(Reviewed by Elizabeth R. Nugent) 808–809
- PERLA ISSA, *The Endurance of Palestinian Political Factions: An Everyday Perspective from Nahr el-Bared Camp*
(Reviewed by Nadya Hajj) 810–811
- LINE KHATIB, *The Quest for Democracy: Liberalism in the Modern Arab World*
(Reviewed by Elizabeth Suzanne Kassab) 811–813
- CLAUDIA YAGHOUBI, *Transnational Culture in the Armenian Iranian Diaspora*
(Reviewed by Helen Makhdomian) 813–816
- MARLENE SCHÄFERS, *Voices That Matter: Kurdish Women at the Limits of Representation in Contemporary Turkey*
(Reviewed by Alize Arican) 816–818

Representations

- MARC OWEN JONES, *Digital Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Deception, Disinformation and Social Media*
(Reviewed by Andrew M. Leber) 818–820
- ERAY ÇAYLI, *Victims of Commemoration: The Architecture and Violence of Confronting the Past in Turkey*
(Reviewed by Anoush Tamar Suni) 820–822
- SEEMA GOLESTANEH, *Unknowing and the Everyday: Sufism and Knowledge in Iran*
(Reviewed by Guangtian Ha) 822–824
- MEJDULENE BERNARD SHOMALI, *Between Banat: Queer Arab Critique and Transnational Arab Archives*
(Reviewed by Elif Sari) 824–826
- KIRSTEN L. SCHEID, *Fantasmic Objects: Art and Sociality from Lebanon, 1920–1950*
(Reviewed by Alex Dika Seggerman) 826–828

ERRATA

- FARANGIS GHADERI *Jin, Jiyan, Azadi* and the Historical Erasure of Kurds – ERRATUM 829
- FIROOZEH KASHANI-SABET *A Nation in Turmoil, A Field in Crisis: The Upshots of Woman, Life, Freedom* – ERRATUM 830

International Organization

Volume 77, Number 4, Fall 2023

Articles

- Rethinking International Order in Early Modern Europe: Evidence from Courtly Ceremonial *Quentin Bruneau* 691
- Civilized Barbarism: What We Miss When We Ignore Colonial Violence *Paul K. MacDonald* 721
- Unbundling the State: Legal Development in an Era of Global, Private Governance *Michael O. Allen* 754
- Do Exchange Rates Influence Voting? Evidence from Elections and Survey Experiments in Democracies *Dennis P. Quinn, Thomas Sattler, and Stephen Weymouth* 789

Research Notes

- Terrified or Enraged? Emotional Microfoundations of Public Counterterror Attitudes *Carly N. Wayne* 824
- Low-Skilled Liberalizers: Support for Free Trade in Africa *Lindsay R. Dolan and Helen V. Milner* 848

In Memoriam

- What Made John Ruggie's World Transformation Theory and Practice Hang Together *Emanuel Adler and Kathryn Sikkink* 871
- In Memoriam: Robert L. Powell *James D. Fearon, David A. Lake, Anne Meng, and Jack Paine* 881
- In Memoriam: Bruce Russett *Alexandre Debs, Nicholas Sambanis, and Kenneth Scheve* 883

Corrigendum

- Conflict, Peace, and the Evolution of Women's Empowerment – Corrigendum *Kaitlyn Webster, Chong Chen, and Kyle Beardsley* 885

International Security

WINTER 2023/24
VOL. 48 NO. 3 \$23.00

3
Summaries

7
A “Nuclear Umbrella” for Ukraine?
Precedents and Possibilities for Postwar
European Security

Matthew Evangelista

51
We All Fall Down: The Dismantling of the
Warsaw Pact and the End of the Cold
War in Eastern Europe

Simon Miles

86
Foreign Intervention and Internal
Displacement: Urban Politics in
Postwar Beirut

Amanda Rizkallah

129
Reining in Rebellion: The Decline of Political
Violence in South America, 1830–1929

*Raúl L. Madrid and
Luis L. Schenoni*

CORRESPONDENCE

168
Debating U.S. Security Assistance

*Christopher Darnton
Rachel Metz*

The International Spectator

The journal of the Istituto Affari Internazionali

Volume 59 Number 1 March 2024

Special Issue

Re-imagining EU Foreign and Security Policy in a Complex and Contested World

Guest Editors: Riccardo Alcaro and Hylke Dijkstra

Re-imagining EU Foreign and Security Policy in a Complex and Contested World <i>Riccardo Alcaro and Hylke Dijkstra</i>	1
Engagement against All Odds? Navigating Member States' Contestation of EU Policy on Kosovo <i>Pol Bargués, Assem Dandashly, Hylke Dijkstra and Gergana Noutcheva</i>	19
EU Policy towards Ukraine: Entering Geopolitical Competition over European Order <i>Kristi Raik, Steven Blockmans, Anna Osypchuk and Anton Suslov</i>	39
EU Policy towards the Israel-Palestine Conflict: The Limitations of Mitigation Strategies <i>Sinem Akgül-Açıkmeşe and Soli Özel</i>	59
From Conflict Management to Shielding EU Stability: How Syria's Fragmentation Diverted the EU(FSP) from Action to Reaction <i>Caterina Bedin, Tiffany Guendouz and Agnès Levallois</i>	79
Weathering the Geopolitical Storms: The Ever-elusive Success of EU Policy towards Iran <i>Riccardo Alcaro</i>	98
EU Policy towards Ethiopia amidst the Tigray War: The Limits of Mitigating Fragmentation <i>Francesca Caruso and Jesutimilehin O. Akamo</i>	120

Constraints, Dilemmas and Challenges for EU Foreign Policy in Venezuela <i>Anna Ayuso, Tiziano Breda, Elsa Lilja Gunnarsdottir and Marianne Riddervold</i>	140
Multipolar Competition and the Rules-based Order: Probing the Limits of EU Foreign and Security Policy in the South China Sea <i>Zachary Paikin</i>	161
Book Reviews	
<hr/>	
Missed Opportunities? The Anglo-French Entente and Post-War Europe <i>Tommaso Milani</i>	179
Putting the Politics Back into Conflicts: Understanding Armed Orders in Post-colonial South Asia <i>Nazir Ahmad Mir</i>	182

Contents

Research Articles

- Understanding and Prospect of Identity Construction in
ASEAN Integration 379
Pattharapong Rattanaseevee
- Canada's Shift Towards the Indo-Pacific: Economic and Trade Aspects 401
Shubham Verma
- Evolution of Russian Strategic Planning in the Arctic and Enhancing
of Integrated Security of the Fuel and Energy Complexes 417
Sergey N. Grinyaev, Dmitriy A. Medvedev and Javed Zafar
- Gaming Borderless Internationalism: From International to
Interlocalized System Using Ujamaa Epistemology 431
Francis Onditi and Claire Amuhaya

Review Article

- The Missing Nexus: A Historical and Contemporary Position
of the United States on Climate Change Action 444
Rajesh Sahu and Pramod Kumar

Book Reviews

- Carlos Fortin, Jorge Heine and Carlos Ominami (Eds), *Latin American
Foreign Policies in the New World Order: The Active Non-Alignment Option* 480
Aprajita Kashyap
- Mahmood Monshipouri, *In the Shadow of Mistrust:
The Geopolitics and Diplomacy of US–Iran Relations* 484
Javad Heiran-Nia

Journal of Strategic Studies

Volume 46 Numbers 6–7 December 2023

CONTENTS

Editorial

- 1111 From the editors
The Editors

Original Articles

- 1116 The meaning of China's nuclear modernization
Caitlin Talmadge and Joshua Rovner
- 1149 China's military strategy for a 'new era': Some change, more continuity, and tantalizing hints
Joel Wuthnow and M. Taylor Fravel
- 1185 Explaining China's large-scale land reclamation in the South China Sea: Timing and rationale
Ketian Zhang
- 1215 State or soldier? Explaining China's decisionmaking in India-China border crises
Jaganath Sankaran
- 1245 Pulled East. The rise of China, Europe and French security policy in the Asia-Pacific
Hugo Meijer
- 1287 Mobilizing patriotic consumers: China's new strategy of economic coercion
Audrye Wong, Leif-Eric Easley and Hsin-wei Tang
- 1325 The rise of the autocratic nuclear marketplace
Nicholas L. Miller and Tristan A. Volpe
- 1364 The genesis of the first strategic stealth bomber: Understanding the interactions between strategy, bureaucracy, politics, and technology
Adam B. Young
- 1383 Nuclear divergence between Britain and the United States: SDI and the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
Wyn Rees and Aziel Bermant
- 1406 *Fortuna*, chance, risk and opportunity in strategy from Antiquity to the Nuclear Age
Beatrice Heuser
- 1434 Awe for strategic effect: Hardly worth the trouble
Samuel Zilincik
- 1460 Montesquieu: Strategist ahead of his time
John Stone
- 1482 A Swiss "Columbus" in Clausewitz's homeland: How the works of Antoine-Henri de Jomini were received by the Prussian military before 1848
Jacek Jędrzyak

(Continues on next page)

(Continues from previous page)

Review Essay

- 1510 The transatlantic basis of war and peace, 1914–1917
John Nicholson

Book Review

- 1517 Routes to reform: Civil–military relations and democracy in the third wave
Thomas Bruneau

THE KOREAN JOURNAL OF DEFENSE ANALYSIS
Volume 36 Number 1 March 2024

CONTENTS

National Security Concerns Triumph over Security Cooperation —Lessons from European Defense Collaborations for the U.S.–ROK Nuclear Assurance Debate <i>Bence Nemeth</i>	1
The Rise of Quantum Technology and Its Implications for National Security <i>Junghyun Yoon</i>	25
Behavioral Choices of Middle Powers in U.S.–China Strategic Competition: A Neoclassical Realism Perspective <i>Chaoying Zhang and Tong Sun</i>	49
Capability for China’s Intervention by Sea in the Total War on the Korean Peninsula in the 2049—By Using Scenario Planning Methodology <i>Hackyoung Bae and Jungkyeong Han</i>	75
Quiet Crisis Beneath the Waves: Fiber-Optic Cables, Internet Revolution, and International Order <i>Kent Calder and Min-Jung Paik</i>	103

Contents

iii Editorial

Articles

- 1 New Situations and New Instruments Wallop some Naval Conceptualizations: with reference to Corbett and Mahan
Glen Segell
- 23 India-Vietnam Maritime Connectivity: Convergence of Interests
Do Thanh Hai and Apila Sangtam
- 38 Transforming US Policy in the South China Sea Under the Trump Administration
Pham Cao Cuong
- 62 China's Search for Aerial Dominance in the Indian Ocean: Implications for India
Joshy Paul
- 82 Decoding the Drug Economy and Rising Maritime Terrorism in Mozambique: India's Interests and Challenges
Raghvendra Kumar
- 98 A Study of Critical Sustainable Factors in the Malaysian Seaport Sector for the Implementation of Industrial Revolution (IR) 4.0
Nurul Haqimin Mohd Salleh and Mahendrran Selvaduray
- ### **Article Commentary**
- 116 The Implementation of the Notion of Seaport Tourism for Seaport Sustainability
Mahendrran Selvaduray et al

Contents

Original Articles

- Who is Indigenous in Africa? The Concept of Indigeneity, its Impacts, and Progression 379
Karolina Werner
- Two Responsibilities to Protect 405
Patrick Quinton-Brown
- Tackling Epistemic and Cognitive Injustice in Political Dialogue: The Case of OACPS–EU Relations 431
Katri Vihma
- Accessible, Transparent, Progressive: Conceptualising the Militarisation of Digital Space Through the Social Media Presence of Arms Manufacturers 463
Natalie Jester
- Theorising the Politics of Tourism: Global Travel and the Nation-State 489
Gregory Fayard
- On Multiple Objects and Ontic Fixes: Human Rights and the ‘Forgotten’ Politics of the United Nations’ Human Rights-Based Approach 519
Laura Pantzerhielm

Solicited Articles

- English School Special Section 552
Jack Basu-Mellish, Cornelia Navari, Yongjin Zhang, Hussein Banai, Filippo Costa Buranelli, Carolina Zaccato, Simon F. Taeuber, Charlotta Friedner Parrat and Thomas Bottelier
- ‘We try to Humanise their Stories’: Interrogating the Representation of Migrants and Refugees Through the Shift from ‘Poverty Porn’ to Humanisation and Resilience 615
Sabrina Axster

Contents

Original Articles

- Elimination Games: The Global Rise of Military Reality TV and the Shaping of the Citizen Subject 643
Sebastian Kaempf and Roger Stahl
- Street Renaming as a Means of Symbolic Insult and a Diplomatic Slap in International Relations 663
Enav Birnbaum
- Decentering the Western Gaze in International Relations: Addressing Epistemic Exclusions in Syllabi in the United States and Canada 686
Maika Sondarjee
- Technification and Securitisation: The Mechanism of 'Rendering Technical' in Polish Nuclear Energy Politics 711
Trine Villumsen Berling and Izabela Surwillo
- A People's Sea: Palestine and Popular Thalassopolitics in the Mediterranean Sea 739
Nikolas Kosmatopoulos
- Why is There No History of Fascist International Thought? 758
Kye J. Allen
- Why Matter Matters: Conflict-Related Sexual Violence and the Relevance of New Materialism 785
Janine Natalya Clark
- 'The Skills. . . had to be Used Simply Because They Were There': Instrumental Rationality in the Military Domain 814
Yagil Levy
- A Struggle for Hegemonic Feminisation in Six Feminist Foreign Policies Or, How Social Hierarchies Work in World Politics 839
Ekatherina Zhukova
- The Ottoman International System: Power Projection, Interconnectedness, and the Autonomy of Frontier Politics 866
Ali Balci and Tuncay Kardaş
- The International Turn in Far-Right Studies: A Critical Assessment 892
Rodrigo Duque Estrada Campos

Review Article

- Doing Justice to Dissent: Unruly Principles and Wild Democracy 920
Reviewed by: Will Kujala

Book Forum

- Sovereign Attachments: Masculinity, Muslimness, and Affective Politics in Pakistan 931
Shenila Khoja-Moolji, Reviewed by: Lina Benabdallah and Hendrik Spruyt
- Textures of Belonging: Feeling Muslim Publics Past and Present 937
Brannon Ingram
- The Affective Economies of Sovereignty: Desire and Identification 949
Shah Zeb Chaudhary
- The Affective Trajectories of Sovereignty in Post-9/11 Pakistan 960
Ali Altaf Mian
- Affect, Aesthetics, and Sovereign Attachments 967
Shenila Khoja-Moolji

Nationalism and Ethnic Politics

Volume 29 Number 4 2023

CONTENTS

Special Issue: Beyond Binaries and Polarization? Rethinking Pluralist Inclusion in Immigrant Nations

Guest Editor: Elke Winter

INTRODUCTION

Beyond Binaries and Polarization? Rethinking Pluralist Inclusion in Immigrant Nations

Elke Winter

377

RESEARCH ARTICLES

Conservatism and the Re-Communitarianization of Citizenship in Canada

John Carlaw and Elke Winter

391

Staggered Inclusion: Between Temporary and Permanent Immigration Status in Quebec, Canada

Danièle Bélanger, Myriam Ouellet, Capucine Coustere, and Charles Fleury

412

The Paradox of Pluralism: Municipal Integration Policy in Québec

Bob W. White

426

A Diverse Minority of Intolerance: Ethnic Relations in a Multicultural Society

Mathieu Lizotte

441

Hailing in the Face of Covid-19: On the Uses and Abuses of Heroism

Elke Winter, Leah Bassel, and Marina Gomá

461

AFTERWORD

The Value of Normative Models for Understanding Pluralism

Howard Ramos

486

Nationalism and Ethnic Politics

Volume 30 Number 1 2024

CONTENTS

Special Issue: Consociationalism and the State: Lebanon and Iraq in Comparative Perspective

Guest Editors: Toby Dodge and Bassel F. Salloukh

INTRODUCTION

Special Issue Introduction: Consociationalism and the State: Lebanon and Iraq
in Comparative Perspective

Toby Dodge and Bassel F. Salloukh 1

RESEARCH ARTICLES

The State of Consociationalism in Lebanon

Bassel F. Salloukh 8

Iraq, Consociationalism and the Incoherence of the State

Toby Dodge 28

Consociationalism and the State

Matthijs Bogaards 46

Conflict Mitigation versus Governance: The Case of Consociation in Iraq

Dylan O'Driscoll and Irene Costantini 65

Bringing the State and Political Economy Back in: Consociationalism and Crisis
in Lebanon

Hannes Baumann 85

The Kurdish Consociational Experiment in Post-Saddam Iraq: A Practice-
Theoretical Approach

Michiel Leezenberg 103

Lebanon's Political Opposition in Search of Identity: He Who Is Without Sect
among You Cast the First Stone

Ibrahim Halawi 127

From *Muhasasa* to *Mawatana*: Consociationalism and Identity Transformation
within the Protest Movement in Federal Iraq, 2011–2019

Taif Alkhudary 145

AFTERWORD

Afterword: Consociationalism and the State: Situating Lebanon and Iraq in a
Global Perspective

Shamiran Mako and Allison McCulloch 164

Nonproliferation Review

Volume 29 Numbers 1–3 February–June 2022

CONTENTS

Editorial

- 1 From the editor
Daniel Horner

Articles

- 3 The Argentella scandal: why French officials did not make Corsica a nuclear test site in 1960
Austin R. Cooper
- 27 Sanctions as a deterrent to nuclear testing
Matt Bowen, Nicholas L. Miller, and Richard Nephew
- 47 BWC assurance: increasing certainty in BWC compliance
Matthew P. Shearer, Christina Potter, Rachel A. Vahey, Nancy D. Connell, and Gigi Kwik Gronvall
- 77 Defining “dual-use items”: legal approximations to an ever-relevant notion
Ana Sánchez-Cobaleda
- 97 Why do states commit to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons?
Espen Mathy
- 117 US nonproliferation policies and Canada’s medical-isotope industry: a case study in nuclear ambivalence
Mahdi Khelifaoui

Book reviews

- 137 The bumpy road to Pakistan’s bomb
Review of *Pakistan’s Pathway to the Bomb: Ambitions, Politics, and Rivalries*, by Mansoor Ahmed
Christopher Clary
- 143 A guide to the proliferation universe
Review of *Seeking the Bomb: Strategies of Nuclear Proliferation*, by Vipin Narang
James J. Wirtz
- 147 An early effort to make a film about the bomb
Review of *The Beginning or the End: How Hollywood—and America—Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb*, by Greg Mitchell
Jamie Withorne

A Journal of World Affairs by the Foreign Policy Research Institute

ORBIS

FALL 2023, VOL. 67, NO. 4

THE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE, THE GLOBAL SOUTH, AND US-CHINA COMPETITION

Guest Editor's Corner	Jacques deLisle	465
The Contradictions in China's Developmentalist Foreign Policy	Matt Ferchen	471
The Belt and Road Initiative and China's Pursuit of Agenda-Setting Power	Dalton Lin	496
Is America Losing the Global South? Assessing the Dynamics of Sino-American Rivalry in Infrastructure Diplomacy	Maria Adele Carrai	524
The Belt and Road Initiative and China's Hegemony in Africa	Jean-Pierre Cabestan	544
Foreign Policy Implications for China's "Foreign-Related 'Rule of Law'"	Matthew S. Erie	565
A Comparative Study of Traditional Donors and Non-Traditional Donors in Sri Lanka	Narayani Sritharan	579
China's Techno-Economic Statecraft amid US-China Strategic Rivalry: AI and the "New Whole-State System"	Tian He and You Ji	605
Innovators and Emulators: China and Russia's Compounding Influence on Digital Censorship	Catherine Andrzejewski, Ana Horigoshi, Abigail I. Maher, Jonathan A. Solis	626

Pacific Affairs

Vol. 97, No. 1

MARCH 2024

We are Brothers but Not Allies: The Sino–DPRK Alliance Revisited	<i>Daekwon Son and Yongjon Han</i>	5
From Human Rights to Citizens' Rights? Democratic Framing Contests and Refugee Politics in South Korea	<i>Seo-Hyun Park</i>	29
— <i>Perspective</i> —		
The Role of Fear and Memory in West Papua's Ethnonationalist Conflict	<i>Cahyo Pamungkas and Yogi Setya Permana</i>	59
— <i>Perspectives on the Thai Elections</i> —		
The Real Deal: Results versus Outcomes of the 2023 Thai General Election	<i>Duncan McCargo</i>	79
Social Media and the DIY Politics in Thailand's 2023 Election	<i>Aim Sinpeng</i>	99
Age and Ideology: The Emergence of New Political Cleavages in Thailand's 2566 (2023) Election	<i>Jacob I. Ricks and Napon Jatusripitak</i>	117
— <i>Review Essay</i> —		
A Bridge over Troubled Waters? New Developments in Chinese Foreign Relations	<i>Aleksander Lust</i>	137
Books and Films Reviewed (listed on pp. 2–4)		155

Copyright © 2024, Pacific Affairs, a division of The University of British Columbia
Publications Mail Registration No. 07775

PRINTED IN CANADA
GST No. R108161779

ISSN (print) 0030-851X
ISSN (online) 1715-3379

BOOKS AND FILMS REVIEWED IN THIS ISSUE

NOTE: All book and film reviews are freely available on our website:
pacificaffairs.ubc.ca or with our online provider ingentaconnect.com.

Asia General

- NEW THREATS TO ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN ASIA.
Edited by Dimitar D. Gueorguiev. *Shaun O'Dwyer* 155
- WHO IS THE ASIANIST?: The Politics of Representation
in Asian Studies. Edited by Will Bridges,
Nitasha Tamar Sharma, and Marvin D. Sterling. *Marina Svensson* 157
- CULTURES OF MEMORY IN ASIA: Dynamics and Forms
of Memorialization. Edited by Chieh-Hsiang Wu. *Shu-Mei Huang* 159

China and Inner Asia

- EXAMINING US-CHINA-RUSSIA FOREIGN RELATIONS:
Power Relations in a Post-Obama Era. By Gregory O. Hall. *Zhiqun Zhu* 162
- CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S POLITICS OF SHAME: Leadership,
Legacy, and National Identity in China.
By Grace C. Huang. *Peter M. Worthing* 164
- SEEKING TRUTH & HIDING FACTS: Information, Ideology,
& Authoritarianism in China. By Jeremy L. Wallace. *Kerry Ratigan* 166
- TIGER, TYRANT, BANDIT, BUSINESSMAN: Echoes of
Counterrevolution from New China. By Brian DeMare. *Qiliang He* 169
- CHINA'S NEXT ACT: How Sustainability and Technology
are Reshaping China's Rise and the World's Future.
By Scott M. Moore. *Carla Freeman* 171
- MARRIAGE UNBOUND: State Law, Power, and Inequality
in Contemporary China. By Ke Li. *Arianne M. Gaetano* 173
- POVERTY AND PACIFICATION: The Chinese State
Abandons the Old Working Class.
By Dorothy J. Solinger. *Björn A. Gustafsson* 176
- I HAVE NO ENEMIES: The Life and Legacy of Liu Xiaobo.
By Perry Link and Wu Dazhi. *Norbert Francis* 177
- ICONOGRAPHIES OF OCCUPATION: Visual Cultures in
Wang Jingwei's China, 1939–1945. By Jeremy E. Taylor. *Travis Chambers* 180
- DISTANT SHORES: Colonial Encounters on China's
Maritime Frontier. By Melissa Macauley. *Ryan Holroyd* 182
- TOURING CHINA: A History of Travel Culture, 1912–1949.
By Yajun Mo. *Gregory Fayard* 184

Northeast Asia

- MEDIATING THE SOUTH KOREAN OTHER: Representations
and Discourses of Differences in the Post/Neocolonial
Nation-State. Edited by David C. Oh. *Chuyun Oh* 186
- BASE TOWNS: Local Contestation of the U.S. Military in
Korea and Japan. By Claudia Junghyun Kim. *Steve Rabson* 189

UNTHINKING COLLABORATION: American Nisei in Transwar Japan. By A. Carly Buxton.	<i>Takeyuki Tsuda</i>	191
WATER FROM DRAGON'S WELL: The History of a Korean-Canadian Church Relationship. By David Kim-Cragg.	<i>Timothy S. Lee</i>	194
SURVIVING IMPERIAL INTRIGUES: Korea's Struggle for Neutrality Amid Empires, 1882–1907. By Sangpil Jin.	<i>Jihoon Chun</i>	196
NEGOTIATION DYNAMICS TO DENUCLEARIZE NORTH KOREA: Cohesion and Disarray. Edited by Su-Mi Lee and Terence Roehrig.	<i>Edward Kwon</i>	198
LANGUAGE AND TRUTH IN NORTH KOREA. By Sonia Ryang.	<i>B.R. Myers</i>	200

South Asia and the Himalayas

PLOUGHSHARES AND SWORDS: India's Nuclear Program in the Global Cold War. By Jayita Sarkar.	<i>Waheguru Pal Sidhu</i>	202
OUTCASTE BOMBAY: City Making and the Politics of the Poor. By Juned Shaikh.	<i>Indrajit Roy</i>	204
CAPABLE WOMEN, INCAPABLE STATES: Negotiating Violence and Rights in India. By Poulami Roychowdhury.	<i>Rajib Nandi</i>	206
MAKING THE RIGHT CHOICE: Narratives of Marriage in Sri Lanka. By Asha L. Abeyasekera.	<i>Victor de Munck</i>	208
PIOUS PERIPHERIES: Runaway Women in Post-Taliban Afghanistan. By Sonia Ahsan-Tirmizi.	<i>Orzala Nemat</i>	210

Southeast Asia

EXPERIMENTS WITH MARXISM-LENINISM IN COLD WAR SOUTHEAST ASIA. Edited by Matthew Galway and Marc H. Opper.	<i>Zheng Wang</i>	214
A GENEALOGY OF BAMBOO DIPLOMACY: The Politics of Thai Détente with Russia and China. By Jittipat Poonkham.	<i>Ryan Ashley</i>	216
DIASPORIC COLD WARRIORS: Nationalist China, Anticommunism, and the Philippine Chinese, 1930–1970s. By Chien-Wen Kung.	<i>Justin Wu</i>	218
THE CANDIDATE'S DILEMMA: Anticorruptionism and Money Politics in Indonesian Election Campaigns. By Elisabeth Kramer.	<i>Dirk Tomsa</i>	221

Australasia and the Pacific Islands

IGNORED HISTORIES: The Politics of History Education and Indigenous-Settler Relations in Australia and Kanaky/New Caledonia. By Angélique Stastny.	<i>Marta Gentilucci</i>	223
PACIFIC SPACES: Translations and Transmutations. Edited by A.-Chr. Engels-Schwarzpaul, Lana Lopesi, and Albert L. Refiti.	<i>Douglas Dalton</i>	225
THE THEORY OF RECOGNITION AND MULTICULTURAL PRACTICES IN COLOMBIA AND NEW ZEALAND. By Nicolas Pirsoul.	<i>Michèle D. Dominy</i>	227

Pacific Affairs: Volume 97, No. 1 – March 2024

CAPITAL AND INEQUALITY IN RURAL PAPUA NEW GUINEA. Edited by Bettina Beer and Tobias Schwoerer.	<i>Naomi M. McPherson</i>	229
SINGING SAMO SONGS: From Shaman to Pastor. By R. Daniel Shaw.	<i>John Cox</i>	232
STATE AND SOCIETY IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA, 2001–2021. By R. J. May.	<i>Michael Main</i>	234
YOUTH IN FIJI AND SOLOMON ISLANDS: Livelihoods, Leadership and Civic Engagement. By Aidan Craney.	<i>Rachel Emerine Hicks</i>	236
UNSUNG LAND, ASPIRING NATION: Journeys in Bougainville. By Gordon Peake.	<i>Sinclair Dinnen</i>	238

DOCUMENTARY FILM REVIEWS

CROSSINGS. Directed by Deann Borshay Liem.	<i>Eun Ah Cho</i>	240
DEATH OF THE ONE WHO KNOWS. A film by Dana Rappoport.	<i>Kathleen M. Adams</i>	243

Political Science and Politics

CONTENTS

January 2024, Volume 57, Number 1

POLITICS

- ARTICLES**
- 1** COVID-19 Direct Relief Payments and Political and Economic Attitudes among Tertiary Students: A Quasi-Experimental Study
Mathew Y. H. Wong and Ying-Ho Kwong
- 8** Explaining Partisan Gaps in Satisfaction with Democracy after Contentious Elections: Evidence from a US 2020 Election Panel Survey
Sam Whitt, Alexandra B. Yanus, Mark Setzler, Brian McDonald, John Graeber, Gordon Ballingrud, and Martin Kifer
- SYMPOSIUM**
- What Scholars Know (and Need to Know) about the Politics of Climate Change**
Guest Editors: Jennifer Hadden and Aseem Prakash
- 17** Introduction: What Scholars Know (and Need to Know) about the Politics of Climate Change
Jennifer Hadden and Aseem Prakash
- 21** The Politics of Climate Policy Instruments
David M. Konisky
- 25** Varieties of Environmentalisms and Latino Views of Climate Action
Gary M. Segura
- 30** US Partisan Polarization on Climate Change: Can Stalemate Give Way to Opportunity?
Patrick J. Egan and Megan Mullin
- 36** How International Relations Theory on Norm Cascades Can Inform the Politics of Climate Change
Kathryn Sikkink
- 40** Global Climate Policy Beyond the Paris Agreement
Jessica F. Green
- 45** Climate Security: How to Write About the Future Without Lapsing into Prophecy
Joshua W. Busby

THE PROFESSION

- ARTICLES**
- 51** A Case for Description
Carolyn E. Holmes, Meg K. Guliford, Mary Anne S. Mendoza-Davé, and Michelle Jurkovich
- 57** Improving Content Analysis: Tools for Working with Undergraduate Research Assistants
Benjamin Goehring
- 64** Is Political Science (Still) Ignoring Religion? An Analysis of Journal Publications, 2011–2020
Steven Kettell
- 70** Synthesize This: Meta-Analysis as a Dissertation Tool
Christopher Jackson and Andrew Q. Phillips
- 76** Reflections on an Institutional Journey Toward Enhancing Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in Political Science
Ankushi Mitra, Diana Kapiszewski, Thijs Kleinpaste, and Lahra Smith
- SPOTLIGHT**
- Archives in the History of Political Thought and Beyond**
Guest Editor: Peter J. Verovšek

Contents

- 85 Introduction: The Archival Turn in Political Theory
Verena Erlenbusch-Anderson
- 86 Political Theory, the Archive, and the Problem of Authority
Matthew Longo
- 88 Anarchives: The Labadie Collection
Kathy E. Ferguson
- 89 The Archives of Colonial Trauma: Politics and Psychiatry in North Africa
Nancy Luxon
- 92 Archival Silence: How do We Write the History of the Subaltern Who Cannot Speak?
Kevin Olson
- 94 “Does It Matter...? Political Theory in the Archives of William F. Buckley Jr
Nicholas Buccola
- 96 Murder in the Archive
Alison McQueen
- 97 Conclusion: Working in a “Living” Archive
Peter J. Verovšek

THE TEACHER

- ARTICLES**
- 101 Training Computational Social Science PhD Students for Academic and Non-Academic Careers
Aniket Kesari, Jae Yeon Kim, Sono Shah, Taylor Brown, Tiago Ventura, and Tina Law
- 107 Applying Active Learning in Undergraduate Research Methods
Sanjay Jeram
- 113 Integrating Research Methods Training into Elective Courses in an Undergraduate Curriculum
Gizem Arikan and Đorđe Milosav

SYMPOSIUM

- China and the Campus**
Guest Editor: Sara A. Newland
- 119 Introduction to the Symposium: China and the Campus
Sara A. Newland
- 122 Teaching Chinese Politics in the “New Cold War”: A Survey of Faculty
Sara A. Newland
- 130 Sharing Collective Memories on Campus While Sharing History Gets Tricky
Ji Yeon Hong
- 133 China on Campus: A Conversation with China Scholars of Asian Heritage
Dan Chen, Rongbin Han, and John Yasuda
- 137 Higher Education Partnerships with China: US and European Responses to a Changing Context
Alexander Dukalskis
- 142 Researching China’s Development and Globalization in an Era of US-China Tensions
Roselyn Hsueh
- 146 Researching China in Hard Times
Rory Truex

Review of International Studies

VOLUME 50 · NUMBER 2 · MARCH 2024

Lead Editors: Soumita Basu, South Asian University
Andrew Hom, University of Edinburgh
Cian O'Driscoll, Australia National University
Editors: Priya Dixit, Virginia Polytechnic University
Sebastian Kaempf, University of Queensland
Maria Mälksoo, University of Copenhagen
Benjamin Martill, University of Edinburgh
Dahlia Simangan, Hiroshima University

CONTENTS

Research Articles

- Negotiating regime complexity: Following a regime complex in the making
ARNE LANGLET AND ALICE VADROT 231
- The power of interpersonal relationships: A socio-legal approach to international institutions and human rights advocacy
NINA REINERS 252
- International memories in global politics: Making the case for or against UN intervention in Libya and Syria
KATHRIN BACHLEITNER 271
- The double-helix entanglements of transnational advocacy: Moral conservative resistance to LGBTI rights
PHILLIP M. AYOUB AND KRISTINA STOECKL 289
- Beyond the numbers on women's representation: Recognition of women's leadership in global governance
HORTENSE JONGEN 312
- Actors, activities, and forms of authority in the IPCC
HANNAH HUGHES 333
- After states, before humanity? The meta-politics of legality and the International Criminal Court in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Palestine
JANIS GRZYBOWSKI AND FILIPE DOS REIS 354
- Conceptual politics and resilience-at-work in the European Union
JONATHAN JOSEPH AND ANA E. JUNCOS 373
- Violations of the heart: Parental harm in war and oppression
REBEKKA FRIEDMAN AND HANNA KETOLA 393
- Addendum**
- Violations of the heart: Parental harm in war and oppression – ADDENDUM
REBEKKA FRIEDMAN AND HANNA KETOLA 413

RUSI Journal

No.6, 2023

Contents

RUSI Journal

9	Editor's Note <i>Emma De Angelis</i>
10	In Memoriam: Christopher Coker <i>Terence McNamee</i>
	Concepts and Praxis in Contemporary Debate
14	Essay Who Does Deterrence? The Politics and Strategy of Integrated Deterrence Considering the challenges involved in integrating deterrence. <i>James Wirtz and Jeffrey Larsen</i>
22	Essay Geopolitics Since the Cold War The term geopolitics has been (mis)used in different ways in the past decades. <i>Jeremy Black</i>
	Electronic Warfare
32	Research Article Manoeuvre Warfare and the Electromagnetic Spectrum Looking at how manoeuvrist principles can be used in electronic warfare. <i>Thomas Withington</i>
	Projecting Power
42	Research Article The War in Ukraine: Explaining the Bayraktar Paradox The Bayraktar TB2 drone has been a commercial success despite its underperformance. <i>Spyridon Plakoudas and Vasileios Sofitis</i>
54	Research Article The Utility Knife Effect in Special Operations: The Missing Link Special operations forces can play an important role in combating terrorist activity. <i>Yair Ansbacher and Ron Schleifer</i>

	Failure and Radicalisation
64	Essay Afghanistan's Ill-fated National Strategy for Countering Violent Extremism Outlining the strategy and principles that guided countering violent extremism policy in Afghanistan. <i>Arian Sharifi</i>
76	Essay Afghanistan Under the Taliban: Classical Muslim Jurists on Rebellion and Contemporary Considerations Exploring historical precedents and juridical interpretations in relation to the Taliban. <i>HA Hellyer</i>
	International Maritime Cooperation
84	Research Article Submarine ARA <i>San Juan</i> International Search Operation: An Experience-Based Learning Detailing the phases and outcome of the search operation coordinated by the Argentine Navy. <i>Sebastián Vigliero</i>
	Reviews
98	The Insurgent's Dilemma: A Struggle to Prevail The Gardener of Lashkar Gah: The Afghans Who Risked Everything to Fight the Taliban

Small Wars & Insurgencies

Volume 35 Number 1 January 2024

CONTENTS

Research Articles

- 1 When Militias capture the state: evidence from Lebanon, Iraq, and Sudan
Federico Manfredi Firmian
- 27 Conflict in early medieval Ireland, Adomnán of Iona and the Law of the Innocents (697 AD): an early law of war
James W. Houlihan
- 51 Unholy alignment and boomerang civil conflicts: Examining how conflicts beget conflicts through external states support for rebels
Thomas Ameyaw-Brobby
- 80 Rwanda's War in Mozambique: Road-Testing a Kigali Principles approach to counterinsurgency?
Ralph Shield
- 118 Negotiating 'Hearts and Minds': conflict, infrastructure, and community support in Colombia
Clara Voyvodic
- 147 'A guide for measuring resiliency and resistance'
Robert S. Burrell and John Collison

Book Reviews

- 173 Uncivil war: the British army and the troubles, 1966-1975
Geraint Hughes
- 177 Memory Makers: The politics of the past in Putin's Russia, by Jade McGlynn and Russia against modernity, by Alexander Etkind
Paul B. Rich
- 181 Proxy War in Yemen
Melvyn Fookes
- 184 Zone of rebellion: Kurdish insurgents and the Turkish state
Berkan Özgür
- 186 Botha, Smuts and the great war
Paul B Rich

Small Wars & Insurgencies

Volume 35 Number 2 January–March 2024

CONTENTS

Research Articles

- 191 Conflict contagion via weapons proliferation out of collapsed states
Kerry Chávez and Ori Swed
- 228 The bandits' world: recruitment strategies, command structure and motivations for mass casualty attacks in northwest Nigeria
Oluwole Ojewale
- 256 Towards "modern" counterinsurgency in Sub-Saharan Africa: lessons learnt from Nigeria and Mozambique
Jakub Zbytovsky and Jan Prouza
- 284 The conceptual and doctrinal evolution on irregular warfare in Türkiye: 1919-1952
Arman Sert and Cenker Korhan Demir
- 312 Insurgent movements and paths to negotiation: a case study of the National Democratic Front of Boroland (NDFB) in India's northeast
Jimmy Sebastian Daimary and Pahi Saikia
- 338 The Catalan separatist insurrection armament of 1926 in the shadow of the Irish armed decade
Joan Esculies

Book Reviews

- 362 The Iranian revolutionary guard corps: defining Iran's military doctrine
Lawrence E. Cline
- 364 Atrocity labelling: from crimes against humanity to genocide studies
Paul B. Rich
- 368 The counterinsurgent imagination: a new intellectual history
Mujeeb Kanth
- 371 The Greek revolution: 1821 and the making of modern Europe
Marina Eleftheriadou

Small Wars & Insurgencies

Volume 35 Number 3 April 2024

CONTENTS

Research Articles

- 377 Urban warfare in the middle East: the battle of Mosul and the operations in Syria
Andrea Beccaro
- 399 Autonomous cooperation: types of alliances between communities and combatants in civil wars
Daniel Gómez-Uribe
- 430 Was Gerry Adams a transformational leader?
Michael Flavin
- 453 'Only a tree stands still to be cut down': discoursing legitimation in narratives of the Nigeria-Biafra war and the IPOB movement (1967 to present)
Adeiza Isiaka
- 478 *Parmanu: the story of Pokhran (2018)*- the saffronization of India's quest for a nuclear weapon
C. Christine Fair
- 507 Bollywood, Maratha imperialism and Hindu nationalism
Kaushik Roy

Book Reviews

- 536 Westphalia from below: humanitarian intervention and the myth of 1648
Paul B Rich
- 541 Mass atrocities and the police: A new history of ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Herzegovina
Lawrence E. Cline

CONTENTS

Articles

- MANISH TIWARI AND RAMA SHANKAR SAHU
*Social Change, Employment and Development in
Weekly Rural Markets in Odisha* 7
- ANAMIKA AJAY
*Transnational Labour Migration and the Renegotiation
of Masculinity by Left-Behind Men in Kerala* 24
- RAJU CHALWADI
*Caste Solidarity and Religiosity among Mumbai Dalits During
the Covid Pandemic* 41
- HARINATH SILVERU AND LAXMAN RAO SANKINENI
*Pottery in Telangana: Empirical Evidence of Current
and Future Challenges* 58
- MD. MAHMUDUL HASAN
*Climate Migration in Humayun Kabir's Men and Rivers:
The Padma and Faridpur* 75
- K. GULAM DASTHAGIR
Water Governance in Puducherry 90
- WERONIKA ROKICKA
*India in Bengali Travel Writing on Russia in the Twentieth Century:
Travelling the World, Writing about Home* 107

Book Reviews

- NANJANI GANDHI
Diana Dimitrova (Ed), *Rethinking the Body in South
Asian Traditions* 120

MUNEEB YOUSUF	Raziuddin Aquil, <i>History in the Public Domain</i>	122
V. RATNAMALA	Jagdish Lal Dawar, <i>Food in the Life of Mizos: From Precolonial Times to the Present</i>	124
ABHISHEK SARKAR	Swati Ganguly, <i>Tagore's University: A History of Visva-Bharati, 1921–1961</i>	127
N. SAFRINE	Arundhathi Subramaniam, <i>Women Who Wear Only Themselves: Conversations with Four Travelers on Sacred Journeys</i>	129
NASIR IQBAL	Sara Rizvi Jafree, <i>Social Policy for Women in Pakistan</i>	131
SHARMILA NARAYANA	Francis Fukuyama, <i>Liberalism and its Discontents</i>	134
WASEEM AHMAD BHAT	Simi Mehta, Vibhuti Patel and Satyam Tripathi, <i>Advocating a Feminist Foreign Policy for India</i>	136
V. KALYANI	Ajeet Kumar Pankaj, <i>Dalit Migrants: Assertion, Emancipation, and Social Change</i>	139
SHEETALA BHAT	Nikhil Govind, <i>The Moral Imagination of the Mahabharata</i>	141
VANI KRISHNAN	Akshya Saxena, <i>Vernacular English: Reading the Anglophone in Postcolonial India</i>	144

South Asian Survey

Volume 30 Number 2 September 2023

Contents

Special Issue: Peacebuilding and Security Dilemmas in South Asia

Guest Editor: Nalanda Roy

Editorial	151
Articles	
China's Belt and Road Initiatives (BRI) in South Asia and Its Policy Challenges to India in the Region <i>Mukesh Shankar Bharti</i>	154
State of the Regional Integration Within South Asian Association for Regional Organisation (SAARC): Assessment of India's Leadership <i>Saroj Kumar Aryal and Simant Shankar Bharti</i>	175
Online Radicalisation: How Social Media Is Promoting Islamist Militancy <i>Shudipta Sharma</i>	189
'Taliban's Rise' and the South Asian Anxiety: India's Strategic Recalibration <i>Ipshita Bhattacharya</i>	210
Book Review	
Amit Ranjan and Diotima Chatteraj (Eds), <i>Migration, Regional Autonomy, and Conflicts in Eastern South Asia: Searching for a Home(land)</i> Reviewed by <i>AKM Ahsan Ullah</i>	223

Studies in Conflict & Terrorism

Volume 47 Numbers 1–3 January–March 2024

CONTENTS

Volume 47 Number 1 2024

Articles

- 1 Defining and Illustrating “Extremism” Using the Largest Investigation into Islam in Prison
Matthew L. N. Wilkinson and Muzammil Quraishi
- 36 Hospital Attacks Since 9/11: An Analysis of Terrorism Targeting Healthcare Facilities and Workers
János Besenyő, Krisztina Márton, and Ryan Shaffer
- 60 On Theory and Practice of No-Fly Zones in Humanitarian Intervention
Tadeusz Zieliński
- 78 Contracting Blowback?: The Use of Violence by Private Security Companies and Insurgents during the Iraq War
Scott Fitzsimmons

Research Note

- 98 Discussing Terrorism in the Classroom – Adopting an Empathizing and Historical Perspective: A Research Note
Beatrice de Graaf, Nikki Sterkenburg, Jorin Dijkstra, and Tessa Glas

Volume 47 Number 2 2024

Articles

- 115 The Age of Ambiguity: Art and the War on Terror Twenty Years after 9/11
David Martin Jones and M. L. R. Smith
- 135 Nobody More Terrible than the Desperate: Conflict Conditions and Rebel Demand for Foreign Fighters
Victor Asal and David Malet
- 154 The COVID-19 Pandemic: Catalyst or Complication for Bioterrorism?
Gregory D. Koblenz and Stevie Kiesel
- 181 Inter-Secular Party Competition and the (Non-)Formation of Salafi-Jihadist Milieus: Evidence from Tanzania and Kenya
Jannis Saalfeld

Research Note

- 199 Terrorism Studies and the Far Right – The State of Play
Yasmine Ahmed and Orla Lynch

Volume 47 Number 3 2024

Articles

- 221 Counterterrorism and Modern White Supremacy
Daniel Byman
- 249 Bombing It: The Meaning and Sources of Suicide Bombing Failure
Jason Warner, Ellen Chapin, and Quinn Sorenson

278 How War in Yemen Transformed the Iran-Houthi Partnership
Thomas Juneau

301 Legitimation through Collectivization: Al Qaeda and US Discourses on the Use of Force
Bárbara Motta and David P. Succi Junior

Research Note

321 Silesia to Sinjar: The Export and Adaption of *Einsatzgruppen* Mobilized Killing Tactics from Eastern Europe to the Middle East
Cooper Vardy

Contents

Two Years On

- 7 **Making Attrition Work: A Viable Theory of Victory for Ukraine** *Franz-Stefan Gady and Michael Kofman*
The most effective way for Ukraine to rebuild its advantage is to mount an effective defence in depth, which will reduce Ukraine's losses and ammunition requirements.
- 25 **America Needs a Realistic Ukraine Debate** *Christopher S. Chivvis*
The American debate is unhelpfully polarised between supporting Ukraine for 'as long as it takes' and withdrawing support altogether.

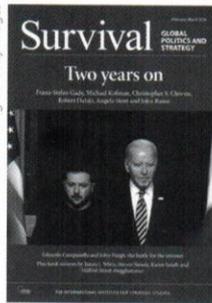
Commentary

- 41 **Ukraine's Fate and Europe's Future: A View from Sweden** *Robert Dalsjö*
The West's task is to support Ukraine for long enough to destroy Vladimir Putin's hopes of outlasting Russia's adversaries.
- 49 **Argentina's Foreign Policy Under Milei: Limited Disruption?** *Irene Mia*
Despite Javier Milei's dramatic rhetoric, the political imperative of stabilising the domestic situation in the face of a fragmented Congress and powerful labour unions is likely to constrain major changes in foreign policy.
- 57 **From Quad to Quint? Vietnam's Strategic Potential** *James Adams, David C. Gompert and Thomas Knudson*
With a containment strategy that leavens military with economic power, a grouping that includes Vietnam alongside Australia, India, Japan and the US could more easily confront China without military escalation.

- 66 **Noteworthy**

Pitfalls of Progress

- 69 **The Battle for the Internet** *Edoardo Campanella and John Haigh*
It is in the West's interest to engage China in dialogue to avoid the internet's costly fragmentation.



On the cover

Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy and US President Joe Biden meet at the White House in Washington DC on 12 December 2023.

On the web

Visit www.iiss.org/publications/survival for brief notices on new books on Politics and International Relations, Russia and Eurasia, Africa, and Deterrence and Arms Control.

Survival editors' blog

For ideas and commentary from *Survival* editors and contributors, visit <https://www.iiss.org/online-analysis/survival-online>.

85 **How to Think About Risks in US Military Innovation** *Kendrick Kuo*

In betting on new capabilities and concepts of operation to improve efficiency, the US military is taking the risk that new ways of war might not compensate adequately for the loss of current ones.

99 **The Green Transition and European Industry** *Nicholas Crawford*

While European governments will instinctively want to prop up energy-intensive industries and encourage investment to keep them in Europe, the strategic case for doing so is weak.

Plus

- 125 **The United States, China and the Dispersal of Power** *Baocheng Liu and Hilton L. Root*
Chinese assessments of how mutual dependencies created by globalisation imply changes in the political, economic and technological domains have proven more accurate than US assumptions.

Review Essay

- 139 **The US Navy and the Western Pacific** *James J. Wirtz*
In *U.S. Naval Power in the 21st Century*, Brent Droste Sadler revives the Mahanian notion of 'naval statecraft' to deal with today's security challenges, but does not sufficiently address organisational shortcomings.

Book Reviews

- 145 Politics and International Relations *Steven Simon*
153 Russia and Eurasia *Angela Stent*
159 Africa *Karen Smith*
166 Deterrence and Arms Control *Målfrid Braut-Hegghammer*

Closing Argument

- 173 **Ukraine vs Gaza** *John Raine*
The Gaza war has fuelled geopolitical trends that compromise Ukraine's position, and with which Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy must contend if Ukraine is to survive.

World Affairs

CONTENTS

VOL. 28 NO. 1 SPRING 2024



INDIA'S TROUBLED NEIGHBOURS

ENGAGING WITH THE 'NEW POLITICS' OF TALIBAN FOR THE REGIONAL PEACE INDIA, PAKISTAN AND IRAN 10

Two decades after its removal from power in 2001, the Taliban regained its control on Afghanistan with the withdrawal of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) forces led by the United States. Although the Taliban continued its armed resistance against NATO forces for two decades, the “peaceful” negotiations between them and the United States paved the way for them to regain power. This political change shifted the power dynamics within Afghanistan, but it equally raised questions about regional stability and peace in the region. However, after coming to power in 2021, the Taliban exhibited a “new politics”. *Khalid Wasim Hassan* and *Mohmad Maqbool Waggy* trace the trajectory of the Taliban from the early 1990s to its re-emergence in recent times. By looking into the engagement of regional powers, such as India, Pakistan and Iran, the paper aims to evaluate the new politics of the Taliban and its attempts to reach out to the neighbouring states.

WAR CRIMES IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT 30

The International Criminal Court's (ICC) engagement in the Afghanistan case has been marred by confusion and the proliferation of inaccurate information, predominantly emanating from the ICC's internal decision making processes. At times, the ICC has misconstrued the nuances of the Afghan context and the array of stakeholders involved, particularly in its endeavours to interact with victims, leading to unintended and adverse consequences. As a result, the spotlight has disproportionately shifted towards the United States' role in the investigation, overshadowing the circumstances within Afghanistan. Nonetheless, the ICC's participation remains promising, contingent upon effective measures to communicate with and engage the victim communities. *Jackson Simango Magoge* and *Suresh M Benjamin* critically underscore the imperative of rectifying these issues to harness the ICC's potential to serve justice and facilitate reconciliation.

ANALYSING THE SINO-PAKISTAN AXIS CONTINUITY AND CHANGE 52

Sukhwant S Bindra reviews the history of the cooperative alliance between Pakistan and China since the fifties and discusses the reasons that have hitherto motivated the two countries to maintain close relations. The primary motive is Pakistan's existential fear of India, consonant with China's design to expose New Delhi to a two-front war in case of an armed confrontation on the Himalayan borders.

The One Belt One Road (OBOR)-Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) project and its critical component the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) are seen by India as harmful to her national interests. In recent years, Pakistan's growing economic and political problems, Islamabad's need to repair its relations with the USA and the changing international situation have made Beijing hesitant to carry out the ambitious development projects planned in Pakistan as part of the CPEC project, even though the bond between the two governments remains strong.

**THE CONUNDRUM FACING MYANMAR
THE CONSEQUENCES FACING INDIA**

70

Rami Niranjana Desai surveys the current situation in Myanmar, a country at risk of disintegration due to a civil war that opposes a number of ethnic regional and political groups to the military government (Tatmadaw). The author points out that the widening internal conflict, fostered by US and western support for the insurgents, benefits China's growing penetration of the country's economy while posing a major challenge to India's troubled northeastern border region that abuts Myanmar.

FACTORS OF CONFLICT AND STRATEGIES TO ADDRESS THEM

**THE POVERTY DISCOURSE IN STATE DEVELOPMENT POLICY
INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE**

80

The journey of democracy and development in the post-independent Indian state under the Congress-led government had conceptualised poverty and unemployment as a phenomenon of unsatisfied individual needs that could only be met through external material support for the economic survival of the poorer masses. In this context, *Shibsankar Jena* argues that "Skill India" is a counter-discursive approach to the statistical understanding of poverty and transforms an individual's abstract labour into concrete labour through developing his/her skills and capabilities to become a productive and innovative agent of the global economy.

PARADOXES OF MIGRATION AND THREAT PERCEPTION

90

In a climate of worldwide instability the growing masses of migrants and refugees moving across countries and usually heading for more prosperous and peaceful nations, pose a major problem in terms of regulations, law and order, economic resources and security. *Sudhir Hindwan* analyses the evolution of the migrant and refugee phenomenon, its diverse causes and circumstances and suggests some policy changes and social reforms to help address the crisis humanely and effectively.

**UNDERSTANDING THE CAUSES OF THE 2012 CONFLICT
IN MALI**

104

AN ANALYSIS OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS

This article provides a comprehensive analysis of the causes of the 2012 Malian conflict, using a combination of document review and semi-structured interviews. It is based on the responses of 15 participants, including academicians, community leaders, community representatives and top government officials, who were interviewed. The study focused on the role of the National Movement for the Liberation of Azawad

(MNLA), a predominantly Tuareg military group aligned with religious forces, in the uprising and the subsequent combats in the country since then. The study identified several internal factors that contributed to the conflict, such as socio-cultural, economic, political and religious militancy, as well as issues related to governance and access to land. *Issa Diabate*, *Mahfooz Ahmed* and *El Fatih Abdullahi Abdelsalam* also examined external factors, such as the Libyan crisis and French colonialism and intervention, significantly impacting the conflict. The study concludes with recommendations for Malian policymakers and the international peace community to facilitate good governance, address socio-economic and cultural grievances and facilitate dialogue and reconciliation.

BRICS AND CLIMATE CHANGE SECURITY CONCERNS

128

Climate change's adverse effects, such as lack of drinkable water resources, frequent extreme weather events, forced migration and displacement, increasing conflict over natural resources, loss of livelihood, environmental catastrophes, rising sea levels and so on, are adding to the security concerns of developing countries. The acronym BRICS denotes the five rising economic powers: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa that founded it. *Vaishali Jain* aims to assess the concept of Climate Security and the evolution of the BRICS as a powerful grouping in international politics. She examines the climate security concerns confronting BRICS nations, such as Arctic warming, deforestation of the Amazon, Himalayan glacier depletion, air pollution in major cities and African droughts. This article provides an analysis of the mitigation and adaptation strategies of BRICS nations.

PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE FROM THE LENS OF JUS AD BELLUM (LAW OF WAR)

144

This scholarly inquiry delves into the intricate nexus between warfare, ethical considerations and the framework of international law. It commences by tracing the evolutionary trajectory of laws governing warfare, delineating the transition from religiously underpinned justifications to secular rationales that took place during the era of European colonial expansion. Subsequently, *Yashawardhana* explores the conceptual domain of ethical warfare, elucidating the precepts of the Just War theory, which delineates stringent criteria for the moral legitimacy of armed conflict. A significant focal point pertains to the United States' National Security Strategy of 2002, emblematic of a pronounced shift in American foreign policy towards pre-emptive military interventions. Critiques are levied against this approach for its perceived deviation from established norms of international legality. Furthermore, the study examines Israel's strategic predilection for pre-emptive military strikes, underscored by its geopolitical compulsions. In its denouement, the inquiry focuses on the doctrine of anticipatory self-defence within the contemporary global milieu, while advocating for steadfast adherence to the cardinal principles of necessity, proportionality and immediacy to forestall the misuse or misappropriation of this prerogative.

CONTRIBUTORS

160

World Focus

Vol. 45, No. 529, January 2024

COP28 at UAE: Climate Change and Global Warming

Content

Cop28 Summit—Global Climate Change: India Factor Prof. R.G.Gidadhubli	5
COP28 and Action Points for India Prof. Umesh Chandra Kulshrestha	8
Climate Change - Global Warming -COP 28 Dr. Manas Chakrabarty	11
Catalysing Climate Resilience: Indo-US Collaboration in Climate Change Technology and Innovation Prof. Rajesh Kumar and Sharanpreet Kaur	17
Exploring India's Climate Action and COP28 Prof. Snehalata Panda	21
Climate Talks: India's Evolving Climate Stance and Sino-Indian Relations Dr. Gouri Sankar Nag and Ajay Majumder	27
Auditing COP28: Optimism and Pessimism Dr. Alok Kumar Gupta	33
From Policy to Action: India's Commitment to Climate Change at COP 28 Prof. Bindhy Wasini Pandey, Divya and Dr. Om Jee Ranjan	40
Decentralized Water Governance: Mobilising Community towards Sustainable Development Goal-6 by 2030 Dr. Debasri Mukherjee and Dr. M.N. Roy	46
Navigating the Anthropocene: India's Role in Shaping Global Climate Action at COP28 Prof. Abhik Ghosh, Muzamil Rashid and Irfan Ali Banka	52
COP28: India's Concerns, Commitments and Climate-Actions Kaushiki Parihar	58
Climate Change, Environmentalism and Development: Indigenous Cosmologies as the Way Forward Prashant Khattri	65
Food Systems and COP28 in the face of Climate Change: A Global Perspective and Context Prof. Bindhy Wasini Pandey, Dr. Om Jee Ranjan and Ritika Chitlangia	73
Climate Resilience in South Asia: Assessing India's Crucial Role in Mitigating Global Warming Rishav Shukla and Rupesh Kumar	79
Climate Change and Global Warming in South Asia: India's Role Jyoti Kumari	85
Developing Countries Looking at Environment: Challenges Sustainable Future Shivanshi Nehria and Prof. Abhik Ghosh	90
Urgent and Critical Issues Related to Climate Change Dr. Ranil Senanayake	96

World Focus

Vol. 45, No. 530, February 2024

Churnings in Indo-Pacific

Content

Great Game in the Indo-Pacific -Geo-Economic Strategy of Japan	5
Prof. R.G. Gidadhubli	
ASEAN – Regionalism and Beyond	8
Dr. Manas Chakrabarty	
Houthi Attacks in Red Sea: Strategic Implications for India and the Indo-Pacific	14
Dr. Alok Kumar Gupta	
The QUAD Initiative in the Indo-Pacific: Strategic Imperatives and Regional Dynamics	20
Prof. Vinod Mohan Mishra and Sanjeev Kumar	
Beyond Borders: An In-Depth Look at the Strategic Churning Across the Indo-Pacific	28
Dr. Sanjit Pal	
India and Indo –Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity (IPEF): Prospects and Challenges	36
Dr. Aditaya Narayan Mishra	
The Quad- Politics in the Indo-Pacific	41
Dr. Divya Mishra	
Churnings in Indo-Pacific Political Transformations in Maldives: Implications for India in Indo-Pacific	46
Dr. Biswaranjan Mohanty	
Quad- A Mechanism of Peace in the Indo-Pacific	52
Dr. Ruchita Chakraborty	
Geopolitical Dynamics and Connectivity Initiatives in the Indo-Pacific Region	59
Anuj and Brijesh Chandra Srivastava	
APEC and Sino-US Relations	65
Rajan Jha	
Great Power Competition in the Indo-Pacific	71
Dr. Raj Kumar Sharma	
Charting India’s Course: Unravelling Maritime Geo-strategic Dynamics in the Indo-Pacific Region	79
Rishav Shukla and Rupesh Kumar	
Indo-Pacific Geopolitics: Korean Nuclearization and Shifting Indian Strategies	86
Akhilesh Mishra	
India-China Multilateral Engagements: Challenges and Prospects	93
Ngipwem Rebecca Chohwanglim	

World Focus

Vol. 45, No. 532, April 2024

Changing Geopolitics in the Middle East

Content

Geo Politics - Middle East- And India: A Look into the Domain Prof. Manas Chakrabarty	5
Changing Geopolitics in the Middle East and Bharat's Response Anil Kamboj	11
India and Middle East Strategic Conundrum Prof. Arunoday Bajpai	16
Saudi Arabia: Recalibrating Economy and Its Results Dr. Alok Kumar Gupta	22
Evolving Geo-Politics In West Asia! Prof. Sudhanshu Tripathi	25
Can War Solve The Israel- Palestine Conflict? Professor Jitendra Sahoo	29
India and UAE: Bilateral Initiatives For Sustainable Energy Resources Dr. Sanjay Kumar Pradhan	36
Middle East And International Relations – Iran As Determinant Raviprasad Narayanan	42
(Current Affairs)Anxiety grips China as Japan strengthens defence capabilities & outreach Dipanjn Roy Chaudhury	46
India-Israel Relations: Nurturing A Strategic Partnership Prof. Ramakrushna Pradhan, Dr. Ram Babu and Rahul Tiwari	47
India's Stand In The Middle East: Modi's Skillful Economic & Political Entrepreneurship Kishore Kumar Behera	52
Indo-Israeli Strategic Relations - From Rhetoric To Substance Dr. S. Subbarao	57
India In The Middle East amid Sino-US Rivalry Dr. Ajay Kumar Mishra and Dr. Shraddha Rishi	63
Silk Road vs Spice Route: India's Evolving Strategies in the Middle East Prof. Ramakrushna Pradhan and Dr. Amit Kumar Gupta	68
Geopolitics and Middle East Conflicts Dr. Biswa Ranjan Mohanty	74
Russia's Middle Eastern Engagements amid Ukraine Conflict Dr. Manabhanjan Meher	79
India And Central Asia In The 21st Century: New Geopolitics And New Dimensions Dr. Gitesh Kumar	83
Unveiling The Geo-Economic Dynamics Shaping India's Relations With Central Asia Dr. Sujeet Kumar Sharma	88
The Battle For The Middle East's Geopolitics Prof. Suraj Kumar Mishra	94
India-Israel Relations: From Friends to Strategic Partnership Dr. Niranjan Chichuan	99
India's Soft Power Diplomacy: Shaping The Geopolitics Of West Asia Prof. Bharti Chauhan And Saurabh Singh	104
Changing Geopolitics In The Middle East Abhishek Yadav	110
"Navigating Geopolitical Currents: An Analysis of The Fate of India's Economic Corridor Through The Middle East" Dr. (Prof.) Arun Kumar Dixit And Sanjeev Kumar	114
India's Central Asian Policy: New Diplomacy of Trade And Commerce. Arfat Ahmad Bhat	120
Indian Diplomatic Decision: Addressing Israeli Settlements In Palestinian Territories Dr.Gedam. Kamalakar	125
India-Palestine Relations: Recent Development Post Gaza War Syed Mohammad Raghil	130
Book Review S. Narendra, India's Tipping Point: The View From 7 Race Course Road (India: Bloomsbury, 2023),	134
Mapping Kurdish Geopolitical Landscape in the Middle East: Histories, Challenges and Prospects Dr. Nazia Khan	139

World Today

Vol. 79, No. 6, Dec. 2023-Jan. 2024

December 2023/January 2024

Contents



From the Editor

The year 2024 is being billed as the biggest exercise in global democracy as billions of people have the opportunity to cast their vote in elections around the world. The outcomes will shape geopolitics for years to come.

While many expect to see the United States presidential election pit President Joe Biden against Donald Trump, what is at stake is democracy itself, writes Leslie Vinjamuri, with American electoral choices causing ripples beyond its borders.

The race in Mexico between the two female frontrunners will send the country's first woman to the presidency. Vanessa Rubio-Márquez looks at the economic and political opportunities for America's southern neighbour.

Across the pond, Britain is expected to hold general elections. As the opposition Labour Party has consistently led by 20 points in polls, former Conservative MP Justine Greening tells me that the future for the Tories looks bleak.

Indians have been known to follow anti-incumbency patterns, yet Prime Minister Narendra Modi's Hindu nationalist BJP party is favoured for a third term, buoyed by strong governance and a desirable position in Asia, writes Chietigj Bajpae.

The ANC in South Africa is likely to continue the dominance it has enjoyed for the past 30 years, but a new tendency for coalitions can be felt reaching up from local and municipal level, writes Mohamed Cassimjee.

As the rise of far-right politics sets off alarms in Europe, Nathalie Tocci sees a future of continuity rather than disruption in EU elections. In Russia, Ben Noble and Nikolai Petrov lay out the lessons that can be found lurking in sham elections.

Roxanne Escobales
rescobales@chathamhouse.org
Twitter: @roxy_esco

Cover story	14	2024: the year of elections Democratic norms come under attack as Biden and Trump square up <i>Leslie Vinjamuri</i> Justine Greening, the former Tory minister, tells <i>Roxanne Escobales</i> this is not the time for a politics of division. India has its own kind of democracy but governance has improved under the BJP <i>Chietigj Bajpae</i> South Africa's election could see the ANC forced into coalition <i>Mohamed Cassimjee</i> Mexico must decide if it wants change or another autocratic regime <i>Vanessa Rubio-Márquez</i> What shocks are in store for the EU? <i>Nathalie Tocci</i> Slovakia's presidential vote could curb PM Robert Fico's excesses <i>Lubica Pollakova</i> Russia's election may be a one-bear race but lessons can be learnt from it <i>Ben Noble</i> and <i>Nikolai Petrov</i>
Features	8	The Big Picture The Israel–Hamas war
	12	Issues to watch in 2024 Experts who have contributed to <i>The World Today</i> over the past year cite the issues they think will be prominent in 2024
	30	Taiwan Taipei can learn lessons from Ukraine's war against Russia <i>Helen Fitzwilliam</i>
	32	Bhutan Concern in India as China and Bhutan edge towards border deal <i>John Pollock</i> and <i>Damien Symon</i>
	36	Culture conversation Author <i>Noo Saro-Wiwa</i> and journalist <i>Danny Vincent</i> share experiences of being black in China
	44	Interview Former US general and CIA director David Petraeus talks to <i>Lynne O'Donnell</i> about Ukraine, the threat posed by China and the relevance of Nato
Regulars	4	Contributors
	5	The world in brief
	7	Beijing briefing China's diplomacy put to the test <i>Yu Jie</i>
	40	Date with history Hugo Chávez's ruinous reign begins in Venezuela <i>Francisco Toro</i>
	42	Postcard A mother and son's desperate flight from Ecuador to escape the gangsters' guns <i>Dan Collins</i>
	47	Review A roadmap is needed to implement a Female Foreign Policy <i>Eirliani Abdul Rahman</i> Harnessing the forces of capitalism to fight climate change <i>Ann Pettifor</i>
	50	Eagle View Why elections worry foreign policy analysts <i>Daniel Drezner</i> <i>Cover by Tim Enthoven</i>

The World Today is also at www.theworldtoday.org



THE WORLD TODAY | DECEMBER 2023 & JANUARY 2024 | 3

Sl. No.	Name of Journals	Web Address
1	Asia Pacific Viewpoint	http://www.wiley.com/journal
2	Asian Perspective	www.asianperspective.org
3	Asia-Pacific Review	http://www.informaworld.com
4	Australian Journal of International Affairs	www.tandfonline.com
5	Cambridge Review of International Affairs	http://www.informaworld.com
6	Central Asian Survey	http://www.informaworld.com
7	China and World Economy	http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/
8	Civil Wars	http://www.informaworld.com
9	Comparative Strategy	http://www.informaworld.com
10	Contemporary Islam	link.springer.com/journal/11562
11	Contemporary South Asia	www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccsa20
12	Diplomatic History	www.onlinelibrary.wiley.com
13	European Journal of International Security	https://www.ejis.eu/
14	Force	http://www.forceindia.net
15	Foreign Affairs	www.foreignaffairs.com
16	Geopolitics	http://www.informaworld.com
17	Indian Foreign Affairs Journal	http://www.associationdiplomats.org/
18	International Journal of Middle East Studies	http://journals.cambridge.org
19	International Organization	http://journals.cambridge.org
20	International Security	http://mitpress.mit.edu
21	International Spectator	www.tandfonline.com
22	International Studies	onlinelibrary.wiley.com
23	Journal of Strategic Studies	http://www.informaworld.com
24	Korean Journal of Defense Analysis	http://www.tandfonline.com/
25	Maritime Affairs	http://www.tandfonline.com/
26	Millennium	mil.sagepub.com
27	Nationalism and Ethnic Politics	http://www.informaworld.com
28	Nonproliferation Review	www.tandfonline.com
29	ORBIS	www.journals.elsevier.com/orbis/
30	Pacific Affairs	http://www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca/
31	Political Science and Politics	journals.cambridge.org/psc
32	Review of International Studies	http://journals.cambridge.org

33	RUSI Journal	http://www.rusi.org/publications/journal
34	Small Wars and Insurgencies	www.tandfonline.com/loi/fswi20
35	South Asia Research	http://sar.sagepub.com/
36	South Asian Survey	http://www.sagepub.com
37	Studies in conflict and Terrorism	http://www.informaworld.com
38	Survival	http://www.iiss.org/
39	World Affairs	https://www.worldaffairsjournal.com/
40	World Focus	www.worldfocus.in/
41	World Today	www.chathamhouse.org/The-World-Today



MANOHAR PARRIKAR INSTITUTE FOR
DEFENCE STUDIES AND ANALYSES
मनोहर पर्रिकर रक्षा अध्धयन एवं विश्लेषण संस्थान

MANOHAR PARRIKAR INSTITUTE FOR DEFENCE STUDIES AND ANALYSES

1 Development Enclave, Rao Tula Ram Marg,

Delhi Cantt. New Delhi-110 010

Telephone: (91-11) 26717983 Fax: (91-11) 26146833, 26154191

E-mail: idsa@vsnl.com Website: www.idsa.in