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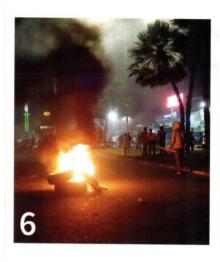
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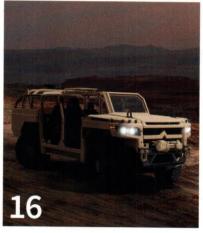
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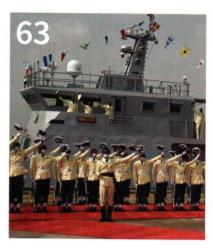
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A Ukrainian T-80BV tank performs manoeuvres on ripped-up terrain in the Donetsk Oblast in April this year. This month, *JDIR* examines the environmental effects of the war in Ukraine and looks to how future clean-up operations might be undertaken.

Muhammed Enes Yildirim/Anadolu Agency via Getty Images: 2043473

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VOL. 27 NO. 2 SUMMER 2023



END OF THE NEOLIBERAL ORDER?
NATIONALIST CONFLICTS AND REGIONAL SYSTEMS

CRISIS IN THE INTERNATIONAL LIBERAL ORDER OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES FOR RISING POWERS

10

History is the witness of the rise and decline of many international systems. A liberal international order was created to manage the international governance by the victorious powers post the Second World War. The Bretton Woods international political institutions were supplemented by the pro-liberal economic system. The United States' commitment to support and protect it weakened during President Donald Trump's administration, in the belief that the current International Liberal Order (ILO) was not fulfilling the American interests as compared to others, especially China. The COVID-19 pandemic deepened this crisis and rising powers, particularly China projected themselves as alternative models. The shift in the power balance is raising several challenges to the existing ILO. The emerging economic and political powers such as India, Brazil, South Africa, Russia, China—have regional leadership roles and desire to gain more autonomy. *Janardan* aseesses whether the US current leadership is willing to work with rising powers, particularly with China. He also outlines challenges and differences among the rising powers that have the potential to limit their cooperation.

ANALYSING THE FOREIGN POLICY MAKING PROCESS

22

Sukhwant Bindra surveys the main contemporary theories used to analyse the ways in which foreign policy is crafted and reviews five factors that influence it. He compares the traditional explanation of foreign policy (State-centric Realism) with the more recent methodology for studying the decision-making process that involves the assessment of the belief systems of decision-makers and the specific roles played by bureaucratic procedures and national cultures. Irrational impulses also influence decisions, even though they may be rationalised by the deciders in order to justify them. The author suggests that decision-making analysis tends to confirm the traditional understanding of foreign policy even though it challenges some of the latter's assumptions by giving a more complex, behavioural rather than purely Realist, interpretation.

HOW CHINA'S BRI HAS CHANGED THE GEOPOLITICS OF SOUTH ASIA

38

China announced a grand strategy named the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and is engaging the world with this grand strategy. China has good trade relations with First World states, but is now investing in many development projects in Third World states as well. South Asia is a critical region of the world. Two rival states of South Asia, India and Pakistan, have nuclear weapons, but most of South Asia is still struggling to overcome poverty. China does not belong to South Asia, but its influence in the region is undeniable. *Shahadat Hossain* notes that the BRI projects have impacted South Asia and its geopolitics. Most of the South Asian states, except for India and Bhutan, are getting investments from China under BRI. BRI investment also has geopolitical designs. On the other side, India is a partner of the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (QUAD) with the United State Japan and Australia in order to counterbalance China's using influence.

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REVISITING INDIA-ASEAN HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL LINKAGES

50

The relations between India and Southeast Asia have deep roots. Historically and culturally, Southeast Asia, now known as the ASEAN region comprising Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam, Indonesia, the Philippines and Brunei, has remained part of India's external outreach for more than 2,000 years. The historical and cultural links range from prehistoric maritime exchanges to the expansion of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam across the Bay of Bengal and travels undertaken in the early twentieth century by Indian intellectual and spiritual leaders like Rabindranath Tagore. C Sheela Reddy & P Krishnamohan Reddy outline the policies and initiatives currently at work between India ASEAN states to cultivate and enhance those links for mutual economic and geopolitical benefit.

STATES RESPONSES TO COVID-19 A THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING

62

COVID-19 has overwhelmed the whole world as it is not just a public health tragedy but a political problem too. The paper offers a critical understanding of state's response to COVID-19. It also reviews realism and liberalism in the COVID-19 context. Based on the study of several journals, news media, and incidents, and critical reviews of the relevant literature, *Md Niaz Morshed* finds that the state's response to COVID-19 made all the difference. Cooperation, interdependence, peaceful co-existence, and global governance have been wanting during COVID-19 in most cases. Thus, many states have faced the challenges to respond to COVID-19 in the liberal framework of international politics, while realist ideas are most effective in explaining recent developments. The author argues that COVID-19 has created an opportunity for academics to rethink the guiding principles of International Relations (IR) during a global pandemic like COVID-19.

THE WEST, UKRAINE AND PALESTINE SIMILAR STORY, DIFFERENT TREATMENT

80

The ongoing war in Ukraine has engendered numerous effects. For example, it has put EU integrity, NATO, and world energy supply to test. The most significant effect of the war in Ukraine has, however, been the fact that it has unmasked the West's double-dealings like never before. The West's commitment to democracy has been laid bare. Using the treatment of Palestine as a template, *Attar Rabbani* undresses the West's double-dealings—one standard for itself and its allies, partners and friends and other standard for the rest of the world. The central argument is that the West summons egalitarian principles (rule of law, human rights and democracy) to shield itself and its allies, partners and friends; but, shows little empathy when others are similarly affected.

APPLYING INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL LAW TO THE ARTSAKH CONFLICT THREAT OF A SECOND GENOCIDE?

92

5

George S Yacoubian notes that the Artsakh War is an ethnic, religious, and territorial conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh (Artsakh), an Armenian-populated enclave within Azerbaijan. The modern conflict began in the late 1980s and escalated into a full-scale war in the early 1990s. A ceasefire signed three decades ago provided for a period of relative stability, but escalations in April 2016, and most recently since October 2020, have renewed the antagonism. Actions by Azerbaijan within the past year may be construed as a coordinated genocidal attempt, as measured against the Genocide Convention, to eradicate Artsakh Armenians from their homeland. Implications for international criminal prosecution are discussed.

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PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN TUSSLE OVER DURAND LINE

100

The Durand Line (DL), which separates Pakistan from Afghanistan, is home to the Pashtuns on both sides of the border. Afghanistan has continuously rejected the Durand Line and upheld the right to self-determination for Pashtuns included within Pakistan by that line since 1947. Pakistan denies this claim, upholding the legality of the Durand Line, and considers the Afghan claim illegal under international law. Although it has been the official border between the two countries for more than a century, the Durand Line has been controversial for the local people. Pakistan has been pursuing an ambiguous policy towards Afghanistan and the international community for a long time. *Sayed Qudrat Hashimy* examines the implication of the Durand Line, and highlights the strategies of both Pakistan and Afghanistan. The present study employs doctrinal research and is limited to the positions of Afghanistan and Pakistan over the Durand Line.

NEOLIBERALISM AND STATE TRANSFORMATION IN TÜRKIYE AN INTERPLAY OF POLITICS, RELIGION AND GLOBALISATION

112

Asif Mobiuddin attempts to trace the multiple trajectories of neoliberal politics in Türkiye (Turkey). Focusing on the crisis of secularism, it examines the dialectical relationship between the state, neoliberalism, Islamism and authoritarianism. The integration of liberal market economy norms into an Islamic framework for state reconstruction in Türkiye shows that Islam had long been a part of the political restructuring of the world economy. The other argues that in order to create a partnership across social classes, the AKP (Adalet ve Kalkinma Partisi or Justice and Development Party) has reframed an Islamic moral position to meet its Third Way party image. However, the AKP's pursuit of authoritarian neoliberalism bears certain resemblance to other developing market economies. It is argued that the AKP's political project embodies spatially and temporally distinct characteristics, fusing long-standing authoritarian institutional structures and practices with neoliberal ideology, potent political alliances, Islamic values and repressive practices that are facing mounting resistance.

INDIAN HIGHER EDUCATION CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES OF QUALITY

150

Higher Education (HE) has an important role in the task of building a nation as it paves the way for its overall development. The twentieth century has witnessed several revolutions like the Green Revolution, White Revolution, IT Revolution, et al. At the start of twenty-first century, a lot of importance was given to higher education. Every country realises the value of higher education and the benefits that accrue from it. The social demands for higher education continue to increase. *Gedam Kamalakar & Kandi Kamala* argue that the inability of the state to support this growing demand result in new financing arrangements for higher education. The recent reforms in this area could be broadly divided into two categories: the privatisation of public institutions and the establishment of private institutions of higher education. Privatisation implies the application of market principles in the operation of public institutions, while ownership rests within the public domain. Both of these measures have paved the way for business penetration of higher education.

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1	African Affairs	https://www.jstor.org/journal/africanaffairs
3	African Security Review	http://www.tandfonline.com/
4	AGNI	http://fsss.in/agni-volume.htm
5	Air Power	http:/capsindia.org/APJ
6	Asian Survey	as.ucpress.edu/
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