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Five experts weigh in.

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9 Reducing the Russian Nuclear Danger: A Way Forward

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By Jez Littlewood and Filippa Lentzos

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Ukraine fired U.S.-supplied missiles deeper into Russia after the United States authorized such attacks.

30 U.S. to Supply Landmines To Ukraine

U.S. President Joe Biden's decision contradicts his administration's own policy barring such transfers.

31 Russia Revises Nuclear Use Doctrine

The document outlines a wider range of contingencies that might trigger nuclear weapons use and appears to lower the threshold for nuclear use.

32 Iran Activates Centrifuges After IAEA Rebuke

The IAEA Board of Governors censured Iran for failing to cooperate with the agency, despite Tehran signaling it would freeze its stockpile of uranium enriched to near-weapons grade levels.

33 Biden to Continue Arming Israel Despite Insufficient Aid to Gaza

The Biden administration signaled that it will not restrict U.S. arms transfers despite Israel's failure to permit increased humanitarian aid to Gaza as top U.S. officials had demanded.

34 North Korea Tests More Powerful Missile

North Korea also ratified a mutual defense treaty with Russia, as Japan, South Korea, and the United States announced a new mechanism for monitoring Pyongyang's sanctions evasion.

35 Biden Sets AI Rules for National Security

U.S. President Joe Biden also reiterated that a human should always remain "in the loop" for decisions on nuclear weapons use.

36 UN Reaffirms Outer Space Treaty

The push to reaffirm the 1967 treaty, which prohibits deployment of weapons of mass destruction in outer space, began when U.S. intelligence reported on a new Russian space capability in February.

37 UN Moves to Expand Autonomous Weapons Discussions

The UN General Assembly mandated new international consultations intended to advance slow-moving negotiations on a treaty or agreement that would regulate autonomous weapons systems.

38 UN Members Conclude Annual Disarmament Discussion

The UN General Assembly First Committee authorized three new initiatives concerning nuclear weapons issues.

40 News In Brief

Pentagon Releases Nuclear Employment Report

OPCW Finds Toxic Chemical Use in Ukraine

Floyd Reappointed to Head Test Ban Organization

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The Arms Control Association (ACA), founded in 1971, is a nonprofit membership organization dedicated to promoting public understanding and support for effective arms control policies. Through its media and public education programs and its magazine *Arms Control Today*, ACA provides policymakers, journalists, educators, and the interested public with authoritative information and analyses on arms control, proliferation, and global security issues.



Arms Control THE SOURCE ON NONPROLIFERATION AND GLOBAL SECURITY **TODAY** Volume 55 • Number 1 • January/February 2025

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12 Geopolitics and the Regulation of Autonomous Weapons Systems

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The widespread adoption of these weapons raises urgent
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18 Will There Ever Be a WMD-Free Zone in the Middle East?

By Almunaser Albalawi

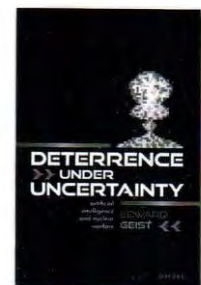
Despite the slow pace, a UN conference process is keeping
the zone initiative alive.

40 Book Review

*Deterrence Under Uncertainty:
Artificial Intelligence and
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Reviewed by Herbert Lin

This book offers rare insights
linking new information processing
technologies for battlefield awareness
to theoretical computer science.



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By Robert M. Blum

*A Farewell to Wars: The Growing
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By Hans Blix

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29 U.S. Says Pakistan Developing Long-Range Missiles

The United States accused Pakistan of developing long-range ballistic missiles and announced new sanctions on four Pakistani entities involved with the development of those systems.

30 Iran Ramps Up Nuclear Program Ahead of Trump's Return

The expanded production of uranium enriched to near weapons-grade levels appears to be a move to build leverage ahead of U.S. President-elect Donald Trump taking office.

32 South Korean President Impeached

Yoon Suk Yeol was impeached after his short-lived declaration of martial law sparked protests across the country, and less than two weeks later, his acting successor was ousted as well.

33 Questions Raised About UK Agreement on Mauritius Base

The UK agreed to cede the disputed Chagos Islands to Mauritius to ensure that the strategically important military base at Diego Garcia remains in UK-U.S. control.

35 Pentagon Says Chinese Nuclear Arsenal Still Growing

The arsenal likely exceeds 600 operational nuclear warheads as of mid-2024, part of a diversified buildup that is projected to continue after 2030.

36 Defense Policy Bill Sets Stage for Nuclear Expansion

Congress directed the nuclear path in a defense policy bill unveiled in early December, but offered little additional money for programs.

38 Fate of Syrian Chemical Weapons Uncertain After Assad's Fall

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Mandate for Leadership – Project 2025's principal document – to a degree accepts the power and influence of the entrenched Beltway establishment sardonically known as 'the Blob'.

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Most Lebanese blame the current war there, which they do not want, as much on Hizbullah's recklessness – including Hassan Nasrallah's miscalculations – as on Israel's brutality.
- 41 **Playing Defence: Europe and Democracy** *Elene Panchulidze and Richard Youngs*
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- 51 **How Evil? Deconstructing the New Russia–China–Iran–North Korea Axis** *Christopher S. Chivvis and Jack Keating*
Cooperation among the four countries in the supposed new 'axis of evil' is in fact modest overall, and treating them as a coherent bloc risks a self-fulfilling prophecy.
- 67 **Can the US and China Forge a Cold Peace?** *Andrew Byers and J. Tedford Tyler*
China must abandon its fantasy that the United States will exit the ranks of the great powers, and the United States must abandon the delusion of engineering political change in China.

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Transforming traditionally bilateral strategic arms control into a multilateral format is key to saving both 'vertical' nuclear-arms limitation and 'horizontal' non-proliferation.



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Secret Service agents remove an injured Donald Trump from a rally in Butler, Pennsylvania, after would-be assassin Thomas Matthew Crooks fired on him on 13 July 2024.

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

- 103 **Crisis and COVID in North Korea** *Victor Cha and Katrin Fraser Katz*
South Korea's direct appeal for unification to a North Korean citizenry disenchanted by the North Korean regime's dismal COVID-19 response deeply offends Pyongyang, which Russia has emboldened.

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- 131 **Israel in Gaza: The Quicksand of Societal War** *Ariel E. Levite and Jonatan (Yoni) Shimshoni*
Extensively harming or immiserating civilians is unlikely to yield favourable strategic results even in the short term unless the perpetrator is willing to engage in conquest by annihilation.

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In *Why Empires Fall: Rome, America and the Future of the West*, Peter Heather and John Rapley compare the Roman Empire's fall and the West's present situation to varying degrees of persuasiveness.
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- 193 **The Return of Donald Trump** *Dana H. Allin*
The international consequences of Trump's victory will be downstream of its effects on American domestic stability.



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5 PROVOCATIONS

7 History's Revenge: NATO's Nuclear-Conventional Debate Returns

■ *Sara Moller*

After Russia's invasion of Ukraine, facing questions about US security assurances before and after Trump's election, and unable to meet the requirements of a forward defense strategy on their own in the near term, Alliance strategists are likely to embrace nuclear deterrence, at least rhetorically. Yet, such a state of affairs could potentially lead to escalation risks and deteriorating security for all.

27 Burden Sharing for What? NATO Implications of Three US Visions

■ *Linde Desmaele*

With Trump's reelection to the US presidency, burden sharing once again promises to become a prominent issue for NATO. Yet, there are three distinct US visions for burden sharing competing for political influence today. Each vision has different costs, benefits, and risks for European allies, promising varying effects for the transatlantic alliance and European security more broadly.

45 Will Japan Have the Political Resolve to Use Counterstrike?

■ *Rintaro Inoue*

In December 2022, then-Prime Minister Kishida made a groundbreaking decision to introduce counterstrike capabilities,

but under what circumstances would Tokyo use them against China or any other actor? This article analyzes the decision-making process and four potential obstacles that would be involved to assess Tokyo's political resolve to conduct potential counterstrike missions.

63 Remote Sanctions-Busting: A Post-COVID New Normal?

■ *Aaron Arnold and Daniel Salisbury*

New technologies sped up by the COVID-19 pandemic have created opportunities for sanctions evaders to essentially "work from home" without a geographic location. While this "remote sanctions-busting" may seem like just another adaptation, its implications may actually be quite significant. How should sanctions which are increasingly unenforceable be calibrated?

79 Social Media Influencers and Diplomacy's Evolution

■ *Juan Luis Manfredi, Ricardo Arredondo and Leesa Danzek*

The diplomatic world is learning in real time to converse with new online influencers who are activists as well as sources of both open-source intelligence but also misinformation. So how does diplomacy function in this new world?

EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES: NUCLEAR IMPACT

99 Emerging Technologies and Southern Asian Nuclear Deterrence

■ *Rabia Akhtar and Manpreet Sethi*

Although every emerging technology may not necessarily disrupt strategic stability among Southern Asia's three nuclear states, dialogues are needed to better understand each other's threat perceptions and capability developments while collaboratively using relevant ETs to deal with shared security challenges like climate change, food security, and public health.

117 Emerging Tech and the Israel-Iran Nuclear Relationship

■ *Doreen Horschig*

Emerging technologies have both enhanced Iran's threat to Israel but also improved Israel's counterproliferation capabilities, delaying Iran's nuclear weapons acquisition without necessitating a preemptive strike. If Iran eventually acquires nuclear capabilities, however, the deterrent effect of ET could shift, potentially destabilizing the relationship further.

137 Russia's Drive for AI: Do Deeds Match the Words?

■ *Anna Nadibaidze*

Russia has declared its objective of becoming an AI leader by 2030, but various social, economic, and technological challenges even before Moscow's invasion of Ukraine mean a clear gap has appeared between its rhetoric and capabilities. This gap, however, increases risks of misperceptions and threats to strategic stability.

155 Recalibrating Arms Control for Emerging Technologies

■ *Anna Péczeli*

Arms control's utility is highly contested today, but it includes a rich variety of mechanisms which can be recalibrated to help manage competition in emerging technologies. Conceiving of arms control today as a competitive process, seeking not to limit the development of emerging technologies but constraining their most destabilizing applications, is a more useful framework.

177 Arms Control Lessons from Latin America

■ *J. Luis Rodriguez*

Latin American countries have a tradition, refined in nuclear governance, of using international humanitarian law to regulate arsenals to protect civilians and try to limit armed conflicts. Yet despite this general regional consensus, different countries have different views about the appropriate fora and partners with whom to craft arms control for emerging technologies.

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GEOPOLITICS, INTERNATIONAL LAW AND LESSONS FROM THE PRESENT

COMPARING THE IMPACT OF THE ICC AND ICJ ASSESSING ACCOUNTABILITY FOR INTERNATIONAL CRIMES

10

Sakkecham Singh Parmaar investigates and evaluates the roles of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as instruments in the fight against crime. The ICC, founded in 2002, deals with individuals who commit serious international crimes for which they should be held accountable. It is known for upholding the principle of personal accountability and justice for affected parties but suffers from limitations, due in part to political pressures. The International Court of Justice, also known as the ICJ, was founded in 1945 to settle disputes involving the Westphalian concept of state sovereignty or other jurisdictional matters. It cannot try or convict an individual criminal but can greatly help in crystallising legal principles. Though each institution has its own way of doing things, both are tasked to serve justice throughout the world, based on full observance of laws by all parties. International accountability mechanisms may be improved by admitting that these two entities complement each other and by confronting their predicaments.

HEAD OF STATE IMMUNITY AND THE PURSUIT OF GLOBAL JUSTICE THE ICC PARADIGM IN INTERNATIONAL LEGAL LANDSCAPES

26

This paper delves into the intricate question of Head of State immunity in international law, a principle designed to shield sitting heads of state from prosecution or legal actions in foreign jurisdictions. Rooted in the concept of sovereign equality among states, this immunity is intended to enable heads of state to execute their duties without the encumbrance of legal proceedings. However, a contentious discourse surrounds the question of whether sitting heads of state should enjoy immunity from prosecution for egregious crimes. The establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) has significantly challenged the conventional understanding of head of state immunity, presenting a potent mechanism for holding individuals accountable. The substantive scope of international criminal law encompasses offences such as genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and the crime of aggression. The evolution of international criminal law has been shaped by law-making processes that challenge the conventional positivist state-centric perspective. In light of these developments, **Suresh M Benjamin** and **Sayed Quadrat Hashmy** critically examine the delicate balance between upholding sovereign equality and ensuring accountability for major crimes within the evolving landscape of international law.

REBUILDING "CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY" INDEXES

52

HOW TO BREAK WITH FINANCIAL TOTALITARIANISM

This article draws a comparison between the modern global guidelines intended to promote "Diversity, Equity and Inclusion" according to current Western liberal notions and the traditional principles of respect for the customs and rules of other societies usually practised by traders across Eurasia during past centuries. This analysis was presented at the Tashkent International Forum of Central Asia in May of 2024. **Hervé Juvin** concludes that the best way to create and foster peace and mutual understanding between peoples and nations is not to try to change or erase local identities and political systems.

NATO'S 2011 INTERVENTION IN LIBYA AND ITS IMPACT

62

The popular "Arab Spring" revolt spread rapidly from Tunisia to Egypt, and then from Egypt to Libya, toppling or threatening entrenched regimes and the status quo. Libya's revolt in 2011 turned into a bloody civil war. In Tunisia, the Islamic movement (Nahda Party) led the country into social unrest. In Egypt the revolt spawned major Christian-Muslim confrontations. While many observers have drawn connections to the US control of the International Order, the domination of the Western alliance, and its major role in the eastward spread of liberal democracy to Eastern Europe, the outcome of the Arab revolts was nowhere near bringing political and social stability. Libya, in particular, offers proof that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was involved in the regime change.

Milad Elharathi focuses on the analysis of NATO's role in Libya:

- What role did NATO play in supporting Libya's uprising?
- Why did NATO take this action, particularly in Libya, and not in Egypt or Tunisia's revolts?
- Did NATO succeed in its campaign in Libya, with the purpose of establishing democracy and bringing social stability?

THE FACTORS BEHIND THE US FAILURE IN AFGHANISTAN IMPENDING CHALLENGES UNDER TALIBAN RULE

72

The article gives an account of the factors that led the United States armed forces to exit Afghanistan as and when they did in August 2021 after twenty years of presence, leaving the country at the mercy of the Taliban whom successive US governments had tried to eradicate. *Manoj Kumar Mishra* explains why various American strategies failed to pacify the country and why the NATO-supported regime in Kabul collapsed immediately after the withdrawal of foreign troops.

UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION

90

The article reviews the history of the UN-sponsored peace-keeping operations throughout the world from their inception and highlights India's major contributions to this long-standing programme and to its evolution which reflects the changes that have taken place since the early years after Second World War. *S Subba Rao* points out that India is the second largest contributor to the global peace keeping undertakings in terms of troops deployed and it is gaining greater influence on the international decision-making in this area.

IS NON-VIOLENCE A VIABLE POLICY IN GLOBAL AFFAIRS?

106

The article contains a reflection on the ongoing global transformation and on India's evolving role in the international system. *Robit Srivastava* argues that India should derive inspiration for its foreign policy from its ancient philosophy which is broader than Mahatma Gandhi's non-violent approach. The concept of non-violence is not always viable in the context of the human condition as history and contemporary events demonstrate time and again. Traditional Indian political science is realistic and acknowledge the inevitability of war to prevent even greater harm in certain circumstances.

DEFENCE COLLABORATION BETWEEN RUSSIA AND INDIA CHANGING ASPECTS

116

Defence cooperation holds a unique place among the important features of bilateral relations between India and Russia. Russia has made a special contribution to Indian military empowerment. However, in the current strategic perspective, the diversification of Indian defence partners is based on quality. New Delhi is increasing bilateral defence relations with countries like the USA, France, Israel and others. As a consequence, the Indo-Russian partnership is being challenged. *Rakhi Kushwah* and *Deepika Gupta* carry out an exploratory study of the bilateral defence-related foreign policy during the tenure of Prime Minister Narendra Modi and point out the challenges and opportunities in the evolving strategic context. Apart from this, the article reviews the factors that support the enhancement of long-term relations between the two countries such as the ongoing joint development and production of new weapons related systems.

INDIA'S ECONOMIC CORRIDOR THROUGH THE MIDDLE EAST

130

India's pursuit of economic connectivity through the Middle East region has garnered significant attention in recent years. *Gedam Kamalakkar* and *Kandi Kamala* offer a strategic analysis of India's efforts to establish an economic corridor spanning the Middle East, examining the geopolitical, economic, and diplomatic dimensions involved. By leveraging its historical ties and strategic partnerships with countries in the region, India aims to create a seamless network of trade, investment, and infrastructure development. Announced at the 2023 G20 New Delhi Summit, the India-Middle East-Europe Economic Corridor (IMEC) opened new prospects for the area. Less than a month later, war erupted on the Middle East's Mediterranean shores, destroying the status quo exactly where a maritime connection to Europe was planned. Whereas the peace table is quasi deserted at the time of writing, IMEC provides a rare multilateral basis for dialogue. Its parties know that their shared interests – resilient and efficient supply chains – will only be within reach when political and armed violence is overcome.

MAURITIUS AND CHINA DIPLOMATIC, CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION

146

Despite being a small island country, Mauritius has developed considerably in comparison to the majority of other African nations. Its strategic location between Asia and Africa in addition to the liberal trade regime, makes it attractive to various big economies. China has had a presence in Mauritius since the latter's independence in 1968. Most of the existing research on Mauritius and China revolves around their trade and investment relations. *Shonyothem Ng* delves into the largely sidelined aspects of their engagement, involving diplomatic, cultural and educational cooperation. The study provides an in-depth analysis of the nature, magnitude and characteristics of the lesser known ties between Mauritius and China.

	Name of Journals	Web Address
1	African Affairs	https://www.jstor.org/journal/africanaffairs
2	Arms Control Today	https://www.armscontrol.org/
3	Asia Pacific Viewpoint	http://www.wiley.com/journal
4	Asian Security	http://www.informaworld.com
5	Asian Survey	as.ucpress.edu/
6	China Report	http://www.sagepub.com
7	Civil Wars	http://www.informaworld.com
8	Comparative Strategy	http://www.informaworld.com
9	Contemporary Security Policy	http://www.informaworld.com
10	Current History	http://www.currenthistory.com/
11	Defence and Intelligence Review	https://shop.janes.com/janes-defence-and-intelligence-review-654-ma-shop2024b
12	Diplomacy and Statecraft	http://www.informaworld.com
13	Far Eastern Affairs	www.eastviewpress.com/Journals/FarEasternAffairs.aspx
14	Foreign Policy	http://www.foreignpolicy.com
15	Global Governance	https://www.jstor.org/journal/globgove
16	India Quarterly	http://iqq.sagepub.com/
17	International Affairs (UK)	http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/
18	International Journal	ij.sagepub.com
19	International Studies	onlinelibrary.wiley.com
20	Journal of Conflict Resolution	http://jcr.sagepub.com/
21	Journal of Current Chinese Affairs	http://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/jcca/
22	Journal of Palestine Studies	http://www.ucpress.edu/journal/jps
23	Journal of Southeast Asian Economies	https://www.jstor.org/journal/jsouthasiaeconom
24	Journal of Strategic Studies	http://www.informaworld.com
25	Korean Journal of Defense Analysis	http://www.tandfonline.com/
26	Millennium	mil.sagepub.com
27	National Security	https://www.vifindia.org/category_conferences/362
28	Naval War College Review	https://www.usnwc.edu/Publications/Naval-War-College-Review.aspx
29	New Zealand International Review	www.questia.com/Journals
30	Pacific Affairs	http://www.informaworld.com

31	Science and Global Security	http://www.informaworld.com
32	Security Dialogue	http://journals.sagepub.com/home/sdi
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