

VOLUME 32, ISSUE 1, JANUARY - MARCH, 2025

ISSN 0972-5563

Journal of Peace Studies

A Peer-Reviewed Journal of the International Centre for Peace Studies (ICPS)



ISSN 0972-5563

Journal of Peace Studies

VOLUME 32, ISSUE 1, JANUARY - MARCH, 2025

Journal of Peace Studies

C	O	N	T	E	N	T	S
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

From the Editors' Desk 1

ARTICLES

Bhutan - China Boundary Dispute: Evaluating the Impact of a New Roadmap	<i>Nihar R Nayak</i>	3
Foreign Policy of Pakistan: A Case of Misplaced Priorities	<i>Mohmad Waseem Malla & Ashok Behuria</i>	22
Beyond Assad: The Syrian Civil War, Humanitarian Crisis, and the Path to an Inclusive Future	<i>Subhash Singh & Saleem Ahmad</i>	47
Pakistan's CPEC Gamble: Balancing Economic Needs Against the Cost of Dependence	<i>Mohmad Waseem Malla & Kazima Zargar</i>	66

OPINION

Navigating Afghan Refugee Dilemma in Pakistan, Post Taliban: 2021-2024	<i>Puspa Kumari</i>	85
Trump's Second Term: Recalibrating U.S. Policy Towards South Asia with a Focus on India	<i>Imran Khurshid</i>	99
Imagining a Nation: Muslim Political thought and identity in South Asia -1850-1950	<i>Taha Ali</i>	109

BOOK REVIEW

<i>Birth of the State: The Place of the body in Crafting Modern Politics</i> by Charlotte Epsteing	<i>Nazir Ahmad Mir</i>	123
<i>Azadi Ke Baad</i> by Danish Irshad	<i>Imran Khurshid</i>	128

Journal of Peace Studies

**FOUNDING EDITOR**

LATE PROF. RIYAZ PUNJABI

ADVISORY BOARD

T. K. OOMMEN
RENÉ WADLOW
G BALACHANDRAN

EDITORIAL BOARD

NOOR A. BABA
AJAY DARSHAN BEHERA
DIPTI RANJAN PATTNAIK

GUEST EDITOR (HONY)

SALEEM KIDWAI

CONSULTING EDITOR (HONY)

SMRUTI S. PATTANAIK

ASST. EDITORS

PRATEEK JOSHI
MOHMAD WASEEM MALLA

DESIGN

BRINDA DATTA

PRINTED & PUBLISHED BY

SHEIKH KHALID JEhangIR

International Centre for Peace Studies

Printed at:

A.M. Offsetters
Kotla Mubarakpur, New Delhi
PIN- 110 003, TEL: 2463 2395

Office Address:

157/9, Block 4, Second Floor,
Kishangarh, Vasant Kunj, New Delhi-
1110070

Regd. Address:

C-11 Jangpura Extension
New Delhi - 110 014

Tel: (91-11) 49989230, +91-9810317972

<http://www.icpsnet.org>

Emails: cpsndjps@gmail.com;

jps@icpsnet.org

SUBSCRIPTION

In India

This Copy	
(Two Issues):	Rs. 600.00
Annual	
(Individual)	Rs. 1200.00
(Institutional)	Rs. 1800.00

Overseas (Air Mail)

This Copy:	US\$ 15.00
	UK£ 9.00
Annual:	US\$ 60.00

From the Editors' Desk

Peacebuilding in a Fractured World

Amid rising global conflicts, the UN designation of 2025 as the International Year of Peace and Trust (IYPT) offers a beacon of hope. Resolution A/RES/78/266 calls on nations to foster peace and trust through dialogue, mutual understanding, and cooperation, reinforcing a shared commitment to peace.

Amidst escalating conflicts and geopolitical tensions in the first quarter of 2025, global and regional peacebuilding efforts have navigated a complex landscape, punctuated by cautious optimism for reform. The United Nations Security Council, regional organizations, and civil society have intensified their focus on conflict prevention and sustaining peace, offering crucial glimmers of hope even as the world grapples with over 120 armed conflicts – a grim peak not seen since World War II. This editorial reflects on the pivotal developments from January to March 2025 and urgently underscores the need for inclusive, locally led strategies to forge lasting peace.

The UN Peacebuilding Architecture Review (PBAR), formally launched in January 2025, has become a cornerstone of global peace efforts. Initiated by a Security Council presidential statement led by Algeria, the PBAR aims to strategically strengthen the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) through a more inclusive approach. This commitment is reinforced by the Pact for the Future, adopted in September 2024, which emphasizes conflict prevention and greater coherence across all UN pillars. However, a critical challenge remains the PBC's funding; the Peacebuilding Fund (PBF) is still far from reaching its \$500 million annual target, especially as peacebuilding aid experienced a drop to \$3.1 billion in 2023. The Informal Interactive Dialogue on May 8th strongly advocated for the inclusion of local peacebuilders and the establishment of predictable financing mechanisms, urging a fundamental “paradigm shift” towards prioritizing human rights and national ownership.

Regionally, the African Union (AU) and the UN have deepened their partnership through Resolution 2719, adopted in December 2023, focusing on financing AU-led peace support operations. The joint AU-

UN roadmap, finalized in October 2024, gained momentum in early 2025, providing support for missions such as the Southern African Development Community Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (SAMIDRC). Nevertheless, despite SAMIDRC's deployment, the M23 rebellion's continued advances in North Kivu highlight the persistent need for better-resourced missions capable of effectively addressing civilian displacement and violence."

In Southeast Asia, the Principles for Peace initiative continued to build on its 2023 launch, bolstering the Bangsamoro Peace Process in the Philippines. By March 2025, stakeholder dialogues facilitated by the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) had strengthened local leadership, emphasizing interfaith cooperation and the economic empowerment of Bangsamoro women.

At the Security Council, an open debate in March, chaired by Denmark's Foreign Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen, addressed the need for adaptability in UN peace operations. With Denmark, Pakistan, and South Korea forming a "peacekeeping trio," discussions previewed the 2025 Peacekeeping Ministerial in Berlin, focusing on agile mandates and ceasefire monitoring. However, the operational constraints faced by missions like MONUSCO (an acronym based on its French name which means United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo or DRC) and UNIFIL (United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon) underscored the persistent gap between ambition and execution.

These developments reveal a troubling reality: even as peacebuilding frameworks advance, underfunding and geopolitical tensions impede meaningful progress. The 2025 PBAR's success hinges on prioritizing local voices, as GPPAC insists, and securing predictable funding through assessed contributions to the PBF. Regional missions urgently require robust support to confront transboundary threats, and global summits must convert pronouncements into concrete action. In a world spiraling towards greater instability, peacebuilding demands a transformative and bold investment in prevention, inclusion, and resilience—an investment essential to forge enduring peace from fragile sparks of hope.



Note for readers and subscribers

We are happy to inform you that from January 2009 we have introduced the system of peer review of articles to ensure quality of publications and improve the scholarly value of our journal. We have a renowned group of scholars and academicians associated with our Centre and they are helping us in this process. We are grateful to them for their kind support and cooperation.

We would request our readers and subscribers to take note of these changes and we would, as ever, encourage them to send in research articles for publication to us. The manuscripts of research papers submitted for publication should be neatly typed in double space and the length of the papers should be ideally between 3,000-5000 words including the references. They should contain an abstract and a short introduction of the author. The authors should use Chicago Manual Style for their references. The articles can be sent to us in an electronic format, preferably Ms Word. For detailed guidelines they may send their queries to us in the following address.

Journal of Peace Studies Research Section

Emails: cpsndjps@gmail.com, jps@icpsnet.org



INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR PEACE STUDIES

C-11, Jangpura Extension,
New Delhi – 110 014, INDIA

Tel: (91-11) 49989230, +91-9560126157, 9810317972

Websites: <http://www.icpsnet.org> (Main),
www.icpsorg.com (Kashmir chapter)

Emails: cpsndjps@gmail.com, jps@icpsnet.org