CENTRO STUDI PER I POPOLI EXTRA-EUROPEI "CESARE BONACOSSA" - UNIVERSITÀ DI PAVIA



# **ASIA MAIOR**

Vol. XXXV / 2024

# Asia in 2024: Fragile democracies amid global turmoil

# Edited by Michelguglielmo Torri Filippo Boni Diego Maiorano Elena Valdameri

viella

CENTRO STUDI PER I POPOLI EXTRA-EUROPEI "CESARE BONACOSSA" - UNIVERSITÀ DI PAVIA

# ASIA MAIOR

The Journal of the Italian think tank on Asia founded by Giorgio Borsa in 1989 Vol. XXXV / 2024

# Asia in 2024: Fragile democracies amid global turmoil

Edited by Michelguglielmo Torri Filippo Boni Diego Maiorano Elena Valdameri

viella

Asia Maior. The Journal of the Italian Think Tank on Asia founded by Giorgio Borsa in 1989. Copyright © 2025 - Viella s.r.l. & Associazione Asia Maior

ISBN 979-12-5469-681-1 (Paper) ISBN 979-12-5469-682-8 (Online) ISSN 2385-2526 (Paper) ISSN 2612-6680 (Online) Annual journal - Vol. XXXV, 2024

This journal is published jointly by the think tank Asia Maior (Associazione Asia Maior) & the CSPE - Centro Studi per i Popoli Extra-europei «Cesare Bonacossa», University of Pavia

*Asia Maior. The Journal of the Italian Think Tank on Asia founded by Giorgio Borsa in 1989* is an open-access journal, whose issues and single articles can be freely downloaded from the think tank webpage: www.asiamaior.org. The reference year is the one on which the analyses of the volume are focused. Each *Asia Maior* volume is always published in the year following the one indicated on the cover.

Paper version	Italy	€ 50.00	Abroad	€ 65.00
Subscription	abbónam	enti@viella.it	www.viella.it	

## EDITORIAL BOARD

**Editor-in-chief** (direttore responsabile): Michelguglielmo Torri, University of Turin.

#### **Co-editors:**

Filippo Boni, The Open University. Diego Maiorano, The University of Naples «L'Orientale». Elena Valdameri, ETH Zürich

# Associate editors:

Axel Berkofsky, University of Pavia; Giulio Pugliese, University of Oxford and European University Institute; Emanuela Mangiarotti, University of Pavia; Pierluigi Valsecchi, University of Pavia.

#### **Consulting editors:**

Elisabetta Basile, University of Rome «Sapienza»; Kerry Brown, King's College London; Peter Brian Ramsay Carey, Oxford University; Rosa Caroli, University of Venice; Jaewoo Choo, Kyung Hee University (Seoul, South Korea); Jamie Seth Davidson, National University of Singapore; Ritu Dewan, Indian Association for Women Studies; Laura De Giorgi, University of Venice; Kevin Hewison, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; Lucia Husenicova, University Matej Bel (Banská Bystrica, Slovakia); David C. Kang, Maria Crutcher Professor of International Relations, University of Southern California: Rohit Karki, Kathmandu School of Law; Jeff Kingston, Temple University – Japan Campus; Mirjam Künkler, Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study – Uppsala; Noemi Lanna, University of Naples «L'Orientale»; James Manor, School of Advanced Studies - University of London; Aditva Mukheriee, Jawaharlal Nehru University: Mridula Mukherjee, Jawaharlal Nehru University; Parimala Rao, University of Delhi; Guido Samarani, University of Venice; Marisa Siddivò, University of Naples «L'Orientale»; Eswaran Sridharan, Institute for the Advanced Study of India, University of Pennsylvania; Arun Swamy, University of Guam; Akio Takahara, University of Tokio; Edsel Tupaz, Harvard University alumnus, Ateneo de Manila University and Far Eastern University; Sten Widmalm, Uppsala University; Ather Zia, University of Northern Colorado;

#### **Book reviews editors:**

Elena Valdameri, ETH Zürich; Marco Zappa, University of Venice; Teuku Reza Fadeli, Universitas Indonesia

#### **Editorial secretary:**

Chiara Benini

## Graphic project:

Nicola Mocci.

Before being published in Asia Maior, all articles, whether commissioned or unsolicited, after being first evaluated by the Journal's editors, are then submitted to a double-blind peer review involving up to three anonymous referees. Coherently with the spirit of the double-blind peer review process, Asia Maior does not make public the name of the reviewers. However, the reviewers' names – and, if need be, the whole correspondence between the journal's editors and the reviewer/s – can be disclosed to interested institutions, upon a formal request made directly to the Editor in Chief of the journal.

Articles meant for publication should be sent to Michelguglielmo Torri (mg.torri@gmail.com), Filippo Boni (filippo.boni@open.ac.uk), Diego Maiorano (dmaiorano@unior.it); book reviews should be sent to Elena Valdameri (elena.valdameri@gess.ethz.ch). Associazione Asia Maior



Steering Committe: Filippo Boni, Marzia Casolari, Matteo Fumagalli, Michelguglielmo Torri (President).

Scientific Board: Guido Abbattista (Università di Trieste), Domenico Amirante (Università «Federico II», Napoli), Elisabetta Basile (Università «La Sapienza», Roma), Luigi Bonanate (Università di Torino), Claudio Cecchi (Università «La Sapienza», Roma), Alessandro Colombo (Università di Milano), Anton Giulio Maria de Robertis (Università di Bari), Thierry Di Costanzo (Université de Strasbourg), Max Guderzo (Università di Siena), Giorgio Milanetti (Università «La Sapienza», Roma), Paolo Puddinu (Università di Sassari), Adriano Rossi (Università «L'Orientale», Napoli), Giuseppe Sacco (Università «Roma Tre», Roma), Guido Samarani (Università «Ca' Foscari», Venezia), Filippo Sabetti (McGill University, Montréal), Gianni Vaggi (Università di Pavia).



CSPE - Centro Studi per i Popoli extra-europei "Cesare Bonacossa" - Università di Pavia

Steering Committee: Axel Berkofsky, Arturo Colombo, Antonio Morone, Giulia Rossolillo, Gianni Vaggi, Pierluigi Valsecchi (President), Massimo Zaccaria.



*libreria editrice* via delle Alpi, 32 I-00198 ROMA tel. 06 84 17 758 fax 06 85 35 39 60 www.viella.it

viella

## Contents

### IX Foreword

MICHELGUGLIELMO TORRI, Asia Maior in 2024: Under the sign of a declining democracy

Articles

- 1 FLORA SAPIO, China 2024: Preparing for future challenges through self-reliance
- 27 STEFANO PELAGGI, China's Foreign Policy 2024: Strategic assertiveness and diplomatic adaptation
- 53 MARCO MILANI & ANTONIO FIORI, Korean peninsula 2024: A year of political and social upheaval
- 83 RAYMOND YAMAMOTO & MARCO ZAPPA, Japan 2024: Striving for security amidst political turmoil
- 125 THAN KIŪ, Hong Kong 2024: Adjusting to the National Security Law
- 143 RIWANTO TIRTOSUDARMO & PETER B.R. CAREY, Indonesia 2023-24: Jokowi's endgame and the politics of dynasty
- 191 CHRISTINE CABASSET, Timor-Leste 2024: In a changing geopolitical environment, reconciliation as a central pillar
- 207 EMANUELA MANGIAROTTI & MARSHELAYANTI MOHAMAD RAZALI, Malaysia 2024: Trials and trajectory of Anwar Ibrahim's political leadership
- 223 RICHARD QUANG-ANH TRAN, Vietnam 2024: Continued economic growth, change in leadership, and «Bamboo Diplomacy»
- 235 EDOARDO SIANI, Thailand 2023-2024: A general election and its contested aftermath
- 251 MATTEO FUMAGALLI, Myanmar 2024: Whose tide has turned?
- 267 SILVIA TIERI & RAIAN HOSSAIN, Bangladesh 2023-2024: From democratic backsliding to the Monsoon Revolution, towards democratic transition
- 291 JAMES MANOR, India 2024: Authoritarianism checked, then reasserted
- 315 IAN HALL, India 2024: Challenges and contention in foreign policy
- 335 CHULANEE ATTANAYAKE & RAJNI GAMAGE, Sri Lanka 2024: Political, economic, and geopolitical transformations
- 355 MARCO CORSI, Pakistan 2024: Political turmoil and economic instability
- 377 SARA BERLOTO & NICOLÒ FASOLA, Kyrgyzstan 2021-2024: Japarov's seizure of power amidst structural challenges
- 399 CARLO FRAPPI, Armenia 2024: Quo Vadis Yerevan? The difficult path out of the Russian trap

#### Special articles

- 421 CLAUDIO CECCHI, China and India: Cooperation and rivalry in the global landscape and within the BRICS
- 441 DAVID SCOTT, Maritime Asia: A «theatre of consequence»
- 459 LORENZO KAMEL, Gaza and the Demographic Question
- 477 Reviews
- 509 Appendix

## AN ISLAND IN BETWEEN: HISTORY AND GEOPOLITICS OF TAIWAN

#### Livia Anna Gatti

#### Roma Tre University LiviaAnna.Gatti@uniroma3.it

Stefano Pelaggi, *Lisola sospesa: Taiwan e gli equilibri del mondo*, Rome: LUISS University Press, 2022, 231 pp. (ISBN: 9788861058453)

Stefano Pelaggi's book offers a thorough yet concise geopolitical and historical analysis of Taiwan's position in the contemporary international system, exploring both political and social dimensions. Pelaggi covers a wide historical spectrum, tracing Taiwan's indigenous origins and its socio-political transformations through a few key historical phases: the Japanese Occupation, the return of the Kuomintang, the party's retreat to the island after its defeat in the Chinese Civil War, the White Terror years, and Taiwan's democratization process, which has led it to become one of the most efficient and stable democracies in the world. Beyond this, the author addresses Taiwan's ongoing diplomatic, economic and political challenges. Its clarity and accessibility make the book suitable for a broader audience, extending beyond purely academic circles. Moreover, its interdisciplinary approach, which integrates geopolitical, historical, and political perspectives, provides a rich and multifaceted analysis of Taiwan's evolving role in the world.

The book is divided into fourteen chapters. The author has adopted a chronological and thematic structure that spans from the 16th century to contemporary times in just 230 pages. The narrative begins with Taiwan's early encounters with European colonization (Dutch and Spanish) and concludes with an exploration of the most recent grassroots movements opposing rapprochement with the People's Republic of China, as promoted by the Kuomintang (KMT) leadership in the past decade. Each chapter focuses on a specific phase of Taiwan's history or a critical aspect of its cultural, social, or political environment, offering readers a nuanced understanding of the island's complex evolution. In the introduction and the first chapter, Pelaggi situates Taiwan within the current international system, analysing its geopolitical significance in the Taiwan Strait dispute, and exploring the island's role in US-PRC relations. This section provides a comprehensive background for understanding Taiwan's precarious position in global geopolitics, highlighting its strategic importance in the East Asian region. The second chapter delves into Taiwan's history prior to the Japanese occupation, with a focus on the island's indigenous heritage and its interactions with the early European colonial powers, such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and Spanish. The chapter also explores the influence of the Chinese Qing Dynasty, which shaped Taiwan's early socio-political structures. This discussion is crucial to understanding the heritages of Taiwan's shifting identity, which continues to influence its internal development and its responses to external affairs. The discussion then moves into the third chapter, that analyses the fifty years of Japanese rule (1895-1945), highlighting its transformative impact on Taiwan's infrastructure, economy, and society. This chapter focuses on how this period laid the background for Taiwan's earlier modernization, including developments in agriculture and infrastructures.

The return of the Kuomintang and its retreat to Taiwan following their defeat in the Chinese Civil War are examined across thematic chapters - from the fourth to the ninth - which explore the political and sociological trajectories undertaken by Taiwan's civil society during this transformative period, particularly after the establishment of the martial law. These indepth thematical analyses are seamlessly integrated into the book's overarching historical narrative, adding interdisciplinary dimensions that deepen the reader's understanding. The political and historical legacy of Chiang Kai-shek is explored through the issue of his monumental political statues, alongside the White Terror era and the tensions between the authoritarian governance and civil society (chapter 4). Additionally, Taiwan's transformation into the industrial and entrepreneurial hub we recognize today is explored through the role of family-led small and medium enterprises in driving the island's growth during that period (chapter 6). Furthermore, the diplomatic role of Song Meiling – Chiang Kai-shek's wife – and the political legacy of his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, in shaping Taiwan's subsequent democratization and reforms are discussed in chapters 5 and 9, respectively, contributing to a more in-depth description.

The subsequent section, covering chapters 10 to 14, addresses the events of the last thirty years, characterized by Taiwan's gradual democratization and its evolving role within the global political landscape. These chapters provide a dual focus. On the one hand, they analyse Lee Tenghui's presidencies and his pivotal role in steering Taiwan's democratisation process (chapters 9 to 12). On the other, they delve into economic and geopolitical issues, including Taiwan's critical role in the global semiconductor industry (chapter 10) and the dynamics of cross-Strait relations following the deaths of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo (chapters 12 to 14). As for the economic perspective, the author emphasizes the island's pivotal role in the global technology supply chain, particularly as a critical player in the US-PRC competition over technological dominance. Furthermore, this analysis is framed within a broader discourse on national identity and civil society, approaching them both from an historical and geopolitical perspective. He examines the role of Hakka and Hokkien indigenous minorities in shaping the identity of native Taiwanese people, particularly in the context of the predominance of Han people in public office following the Kuomintang's retreat in 1949. From a political and geopolitical standpoint, Pelaggi explores the contrast between the island's democratic stance and the authoritarian governance of the Communist party in the mainland. Chapter 14 focuses on the most recent grassroots civil movements, analysing their implications within the context of the Taiwan Strait dispute. These events, such as the 2014 «Sunflower Movement», underscore the growing importance of Taiwan's evolving political and social identity. The author provides a detailed account of the «Sunflower Movement» and its reception by Taiwanese civil society, illustrating how ideological concerns, particularly among younger generations, play a critical role in shaping Taiwan's domestic and international policies. This analysis aims at highlighting how Taiwan's identity and values are increasingly becoming decisive factors in discussions about potential rapprochement between the two sides of the Strait.

Pelaggi's research methodology is synthetic, as his goal seems looking to analyze the major events that have shaped Taiwan's history. His approach integrates geopolitical perspectives with historical accuracy. While relying primarily on existing academic literature rather than archival research, Pelaggi successfully constructs a comprehensive and cohesive narrative. He offers a broad overview of the pivotal phases in Taiwan's history and its evolving role within the contemporary international system – an issue of critical importance in today's international dynamics.

The book stands out for its comprehensive scope and its ability to merge historical, geopolitical and cultural dimension of Taiwan into a single, concise narrative, despite being no longer than 230 pages. Indeed, one of the book's key strengths is its interdisciplinary approach, which enables the author to connect Taiwan's internal developments with its external relations in the context of cross-Strait relations with the People's Republic of China and, more broadly, with the United States and Europe. The book examines the evolution of Taiwan's civil society, offering a multidimensional perspective on the island's journey from the «White Terror» era to democratization. A noteworthy example is the thematic exploration of Taiwan's business sector, which was driven by civil society actors who were excluded from the bureaucracy during Chiang Kai-shek's presidency. Furthermore, the chapter dedicated to Taiwan's semiconductor industry is seamlessly integrated into the historical narrative, emphasizing its vital role in the contemporary economic and political international system. Finally, the thematic chapters that delve into political and cultural elements, such as the monumental political statues of Chiang Kai-shek (chapter 4), the diplomatic of Madame Chiang (chapter 5), and the days of the Yuan occupation during the 2014 Sunflower Movement (chapter 14) – to name just a few – skilfully intertwine historical events with the personal stories of key historical figures.

On the other hand, a few weak points can be detected. Firstly, the historical narrative ends with the Sunflower Movement of 2014 and his consequences both nationally and internationally but does not delve into the developments of Tsai Ing-wen's first and second administrations. The author only mentions about recent events in the introductory chapter, where

he had briefly summarized the island's latest history, focusing primarily on its international relations disregarding its internal dynamics. Secondly, the sources Pelaggi relies on are predominately from Italian and Anglo-American scholars. While these provide a valuable basis, incorporating Chinese-language sources would have significantly enriched the work, offering a more nuanced perspective on Taiwan's history and its complex identity. Finally, the author's informative approach broadens the book's appeal beyond the Italian academic sector, but the absence of original source research represents a missed opportunity. Taiwan's history, its geopolitical significance in the current international system, and the emergence of a new political and social identity - particularly across the younger generation - are critical areas that need deeper investigations. A more detailed exploration of these elements would provide a better understanding of Taiwan's role as a pivotal actor in contemporary global affairs, especially in the context of its complex relationships with key players such as the People's Republic of China, the United States and, by extension, the European Union.

Nevertheless, *Eisola sospesa, Taiwan e gli equilibri del mondo* is an appreciable contribution to the Italian field literature. While it does not rely on original archive research and instead draws on pre-existing works – primarily from Western scholars – the book's structure and the themes it explores make it a valuable starting point for engaging with Taiwan's history. *Eisola sospesa, Taiwan e gli equilibri del mondo* serves as a well-crafted foundation for further developing a debate on Taiwan's history, culture and politics.