

# 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 22, NUMBER-6, June 2023**

**Journals covered in this issue**

Sl. No.	Journal Title	Volume (Issue No.) Date	Page No.
1	American Political Science Review	117 (2) May 2023	1
2	Arms Control Today	53 (4) May 2023	3
3	Asia Pacific Review	29 (3) Autumn/Winter2023	5
4	Asia Pacific Viewpoint	64 (1) April 2023	6
5	Asian Ethnicity	24 (3) June 2023	7
6	Australian Journal of International Affairs	77 (2) April 2023	8
7	British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies	50 (2) May 2023	9
8	China and World Economy	31 (1) Jan.-Feb. 2023	11
9	China and World Economy	31 (2) Mar.-Apr. 2023	12
10	China	21 (1) February 2023	13
11	Cooperation and Conflict	58 (2) June 2023	14
12	Current History	122 (844) May 2023	15
13	Defence & Peace Economics	34 (4) June 2023	16
14	Defence Studies	23 (2) June 2023	17
15	Diplomacy & Statecraft	34 (1) March 2023	18
16	Diplomatic History	47 (2) April 2023	19
17	East Asia	40 (2) June 2023	21
18	Europe-Asia Studies	75 (4) May 2023	22
19	European Security	32 (2) June 2023	24
20	Force	20 (10) June 2023	25
21	Foreign Affairs	102 (3) May-Jun. 2023	27
22	Himalayan and Central Asian Studies	27 (1) Jan.-Mar. 2023	30
23	Himalayan and Central Asian Studies	27 ( ) Apr.-Jun. 2023	31
24	International Journal of Intelligence and counterintelligence	36 (3) Fall 2023	32
25	International Journal of Middle East Studies	55 (1) February 2023	34
26	International Organization	77 (2) Spring 2023	35
27	Iranian Studies	56 (2) April 2023	36
28	Janes Defence and Intelligence Review	2 (6) 2023	38
29	Journal of Asian and African Studies	58 (4) June 2023	39
30	Journal of Contemporary China	32 (141) May 2023	40
31	Journal of East Asian Studies	23 (1) March 2023	41
32	Journal of Indian Ocean Studies	31 (1) Jan.-Apr. 2023	42
33	Journal of Military History	87 (2) April 2023	43
34	Journal of Peace Research	60 (2) March 2023	44
35	Journal of Peace Research	60 (3) May 2023	45
36	Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies	46 (4) Summer 2023	46
37	Journal of Strategic Studies	46 (2) April 2023	47
38	Middle East Critique	32 (1) 2023	48
39	Middle East Journal	76 (4) Spring 2023	49
40	Military Thought	32 (2) 2023	52

41	Modern Asian Studies	57 (1) January 2023	54
42	Modern Asian Studies	57 (3) May 2023	55
43	National Security	6 (1) Jan.-Mar. 2023	56
44	North Korean Review	19 (1) Spring 2023	57
45	Ocean Development & International Law	54 (1) Jan.-Mar. 2023	58
46	Pacific Affairs	96 (2) June 2023	59
47	Pacific Review	36 (3) May 2023	63
48	Science and Global Security	30 (1-3) 2022	64
49	Security Studies	32 (1) Jan.- Mar. 2023	65
50	Security Studies	32 (2) Apr.-May 2023	66
51	Small Wars & Insurgencies	34 (4) June 2023	67
52	South Asia Economic Journal	24 (1) March 2023	68
53	South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies	46 (2) April 2023	69
54	Washington Quarterly	46 (1) Spring 2023	71

# American Political Science Review

Volume 117, Number 2, May 2023

## Table of Contents

NOTES FROM THE EDITORS .....	v
ARTICLES	
The Democratic State and Redistribution: Whose Interests Are Served? <b>Mads Andreas Elkjær and Torben Iversen</b> .....	391
Weak, Despotic, or Inclusive? How State Type Emerges from State versus Civil Society Competition <b>Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson</b> .....	407
When Do Männerparteien Elect Women? Radical Right Populist Parties and Strategic Descriptive Representation <b>Ana Catalano Weeks, Bonnie M. Meguid, Miki Caul Kittilson, and Hilde Coffé</b> .....	421
Armed Violence and Patriarchal Values: A Survey of Young Men in Thailand and Their Military Experiences <b>Elin Bjarnegård, Anders Engvall, Srisompob Jitpiromsri, and Erik Melander</b> .....	439
Symbolic Refugee Protection: Explaining Latin America's Liberal Refugee Laws <b>Omar Hammoud-Gallego and Luisa Feline Freier</b> .....	454
Rationalizing Democracy: The Perceptual Bias and (Un)Democratic Behavior <b>Suthan Krishnarajan</b> .....	474
Can Elections Motivate Responsiveness in a Single-Party Regime? Experimental Evidence from Vietnam <b>Edmund J. Malesky, Jason Douglas Todd, and Anh Tran</b> .....	497
Foundations of a New Democracy: Schooling, Inequality, and Voting in the Early Republic <b>Tine Paulsen, Kenneth Scheve, and David Stasavage</b> .....	518
Does Political Representation Increase Participation? Evidence from Party Candidate Lotteries in Mexico <b>Mathias Poertner</b> .....	537
The German Trade Shock and the Rise of the Neo-Welfare State in Early Twentieth-Century Britain <b>Kenneth Scheve and Theo Serlin</b> .....	557
Electoral Systems and Gender Inequality in Political News: Analyzing the News Visibility of Members of Parliament in Norway and the UK <b>Gunnar Thesen and Tefik Murat Yildirim</b> .....	575
Facing Change: Gender and Climate Change Attitudes Worldwide <b>Sarah Sunn Bush and Amanda Clayton</b> .....	591
The Domestic Sources of International Reputation <b>Michael A. Goldfien, Michael F. Joseph, and Roseanne W. McManus</b> .....	609
Settler Empire and the United States: Francis Lieber on the Laws of War <b>Helen M. Kinsella</b> .....	629
Moderates <b>Anthony Fowler, Seth J. Hill, Jeffrey B. Lewis, Chris Tausanovitch, Lynn Vavreck, and Christopher Warshaw</b> .....	643
The Supreme Court as an Agent of Policy Drift: The Case of the NLRA <b>Warren Snead</b> .....	661
Competition in Congressional Elections: Money versus Votes <b>Danielle M. Thomsen</b> .....	675



Structural Domination and Freedom in the Labor Market: From Voluntariness to Independence	
<b>Alexander Bryan</b> .....	692
Whitman's Undemocratic Vistas: Mortal Anxiety, National Glory, White Supremacy	
<b>Jack Turner</b> .....	705
Political Solutions to Discriminatory Behavior	
<b>Thorbjørn Sejr Guul</b> .....	719
Rebel Motivations and Repression	
<b>Ethan Bueno de Mesquita and Mehdi Shadmehr</b> .....	734
LETTERS	
Affluence and Influence in a Social Democracy	
<b>Ruben B. Mathisen</b> .....	751
Gender and the Influence of Proportional Representation: A Comment on the Peripheral Voting Thesis	
<b>Dawn Langan Teele</b> .....	759
Analytical Democratic Theory: A Microfoundational Approach	
<b>Henry Farrell, Hugo Mercier, and Melissa Schwartzberg</b> .....	767
White Americans' Reactions to Racial Disparities in COVID-19	
<b>LaFleur Stephens-Dougan</b> .....	773
CORRIGENDA	
How Much is Majority Status in the U.S. Congress Worth? — CORRIGENDUM	
<b>Gary W. Cox and Eric Magar</b> .....	781
White Americans' Reactions to Racial Disparities in COVID-19 — CORRIGENDUM	
<b>LaFleur Stephens-Dougan</b> .....	782
BARP: Improving Mister P Using Bayesian Additive Regression Trees — CORRIGENDUM	
<b>Max Goplerud and James Bisbee</b> .....	785



# Arms Control TODAY

THE SOURCE ON NONPROLIFERATION AND GLOBAL SECURITY

Volume 53 • Number 4 • May 2023

## Features

**3 Focus**  
An Early Test for the TPNW  
By Daryl G. Kimball

**4 In Brief**  
Notable Quotable  
By the Numbers  
On the Calendar  
20 Years Ago in ACT

**32 Reports of Note**

**6 Biden's New Policy:  
Can Human Rights Reshape  
U.S. Conventional Arms Transfers?**

By Rachel Stohl, Loren Voss, and Elias Yousif

The new policy is a step in the right direction but implementation is the real test.

**12 The ATT at 10: The View From Mexico**

By Alejandro Alba Fernández

In its first decade, the Arms Trade Treaty has established itself but new memberships have slowed and the illicit arms market continues to flourish.

**17 OPCW at the Crossroads: A Talk With the  
Chair-Designate of the Fifth Chemical  
Weapons Convention Review Conference**

Despite accomplishments, CWC member states face serious challenges in the struggle to eliminate chemical weapons.



Cover photo: Saudi Arabia's poor human rights record, including the killing of Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi, has made U.S. arms sales to the kingdom, a major importer of U.S.-made weaponry, extremely controversial. Here, a worker stands on the wreckage of a store hit by Saudi-led air strikes in Sanaa, Yemen, on July 2, 2020. (REUTERS/Khaled Abdullah)



## News and Analysis

- 20 Russia Prepares Belarus to Host Nuclear Weapons**  
Russian President Vladimir Putin said Russia potentially could transfer tactical nuclear weapons as soon as July when a special storage facility in Belarus is constructed.
- 21 New U.S. ICBMs May Be Delayed Two Years**  
The new U.S. Sentinel intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) program may face a delay of two years due to supply chain issues and an absence of skilled engineers.
- 23 U.S. Scraps Purchase Of Hypersonic Boost-Glide Vehicle**  
The planned purchase of the Air Force's hypersonic boost-glide system was canceled due to a lackluster testing record.
- 25 U.S., South Korea Agree to Strengthen Nuclear Coordination**  
The allies announced steps to give Seoul more input into U.S. nuclear planning as support grows in South Korea for a domestic nuclear weapons program to counter North Korea.
- 26 China Deploys New Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missiles**  
Sooner than expected, China is equipping its nuclear-powered ballistic missile submarines with advanced JL-3 submarine-launched ballistic missiles that are capable of targeting the continental United States.
- 27 IAEA Begins to Reinstall Cameras in Iran**  
The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) began reinstalling cameras at certain nuclear facilities in Iran under an agreement the agency reached with Tehran in March.
- 28 IAEA Shifts Priorities for Zaporizhzhia**  
After months of negotiations with Russia and Ukraine to establish a protection zone around the Zaporizhzhia Nuclear Power Plant, the head of the IAEA is now focused on reaching a narrower agreement to protect certain areas of the facility that pose a greater risk.
- 30 Russian ICBM Test Raises Questions for Kazakhstan**  
Russia's launch of an intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) from its territory to a test site in Kazakhstan has raised questions about Kazakhstan's compliance with a 2017 treaty banning nuclear weapons.
- 31 G-7 Expected to Focus On Nuclear Dangers In Hiroshima**  
The leaders of the G-7 group of industrialized nations, set to convene this month in Hiroshima, are expected to emphasize measures to address rising nuclear dangers.

## Arms Control TODAY

Volume 53, Number 4

May 2023

A Publication of the Arms Control Association

1200 18th Street, NW, Suite 1175  
Washington, DC 20036

PHONE: 202-463-8270

FAX: 202-463-8273

E-MAIL  
act@armscontrol.org

WEBSITE  
www.armscontrol.org

**Publisher and Executive Director**  
Daryl G. Kimball

**Editor**  
Carol Giacomo

**Design and  
Production Editor**  
Allen Harris

**Director for  
Nonproliferation Policy**  
Kelsey Davenport

**Senior Policy Analyst**  
Shannon Bugos

**Research Associate**  
Gabriela Iveliz Rosa  
Hernández

**Director for  
Communications  
and Operations**  
Tony Fleming

**Chief Operating Officer**  
Kathy Crandall  
Robinson

**Senior Fellow for  
Conventional Arms  
Control and Transfers**  
Jeff Abramson

**Visiting  
Senior Fellow**  
Michael T. Klare

**Chemical Weapons  
Convention Coalition  
Project Coordinator**  
Mina Rozei

**Physicists Coalition  
for Nuclear Threat  
Reduction Policy &  
Communications  
Coordinator**  
Chris Rostampour

**Finance Officer**  
Merle Newkirk

### Board of Directors

**Thomas Countryman**  
Chair

**Michael T. Klare**  
Secretary

Lilly Adams  
Matthew Bunn  
Susan Burk  
Leland Cogliani  
William R. "Russ" Colvin  
Deborah C. Gordon  
Victoria K. Holt

**Paul Walker**  
Vice-Chair

**Christine Wing**  
Treasurer

Angela Kane  
Laura Kennedy  
Maryann Cusimano Love  
Randy Rydell  
Jayita Sarkar  
Rachel Stohl  
Greg Thielmann

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 Today** (ISSN 0196-125X) is published monthly, except for two bimonthly issues appearing in January/February and July/August. Membership in the Arms Control Association includes a one-year subscription to *Arms Control Today* at the following rates: \$25 Basic Membership (digital access only), \$75 Regular U.S. Membership (print and digital), and \$135 Regular International Membership. Subscriptions to *Arms Control Today* for institutions and individuals not interested in membership rates: A Domestic Professional (U.S.) subscription to the journal (print and digital) is \$130 and the International Professional subscription rate (print and digital) is \$150. Digital-only subscriptions are \$50. Please contact the Arms Control Association for more details. Letters to the Editor are welcome and can be sent via e-mail or postal mail. Letters should be under 600 words and may be edited for space. Interpretations, opinions, or conclusions in *Arms Control Today* should be understood to be solely those of the authors and should not be attributed to the association, its board of directors, officers, or other staff members, or to organizations and individuals that support the Arms Control Association. *Arms Control Today* encourages reprint of its articles, but permission must be granted by the editor. Advertising inquiries may be made to act@armscontrol.org. Postmaster: Send address changes to *Arms Control Today*, 1200 18th Street, NW, Suite 1175, Washington, D.C., 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington D.C., Suburban, MD and Merrifield, VA. © May 2023, Arms Control Association.

## Contents

<i>NPI Special Seminar “Economic Security and Japan-US Relations”: Keynote Speech by NPI Chairman Aso Taro</i> ASO TARO	1
<i>Achievements by Abe Shinzo, Former Prime Minister of Japan</i> KITAOKA SHINICHI	10
<i>Japan’s Economic Security Promotion Act: Background and Overview</i> IZUMI KOYU, CHIHARA TAKAHIRO, HIROSAKI TAKUTO, KUNITO TAKAYUKI, MIYAKE YUTA, NAGANO HIROAKI, SHIMIZU RYOTA, SUDO SHUNSUKE, TAKAHASHI ISAO, UEDA RYUTA AND ZAKOJI TAKU	28
<i>Economic Security Perspective</i> KITAMURA SHIGERU	56
<i>The Essential Challenge of “Economic Security”</i> SHIRAISHI SHIGEAKI	78
<i>Economic Security 2021 Fiscal Year Report</i> ECONOMIC SECURITY STUDY GROUP	92
<i>Start of China’s “Japan Neutralization” Policy in the 1950s: Three Factors in the Formulation of the “Japan Policy Platform”</i> SUGIURA YASUYUKI	100
<i>Normalization of Diplomatic Relations and Private Trade between Japan and China</i> INOUE MASAYA	136
<i>The Inauguration of the Yoon Suk-yeol Government and Prospects for South Korea–Japan Relations</i> LEE WON DEOG	151



# Asia Pacific Viewpoint

Volume 64, Number 1, April 2023

## Contents

### *Research Articles*

- The impact of equalisation of basic public health and medical services on the long-term urban settlement intentions of internal migrants in China**  
*Chong Lu* 2
- Spatial cognition mechanism of health: The relationship between perceived accessibility of medical facilities and health and health behaviour**  
*Jun He, Xinxian Wang and Xiangdong Gao* 17
- A model of leisure involvement, residential satisfaction, and place attachment in passive older migrants**  
*Wenmin Jin, Hyejin Yoon and Seoki Lee* 32
- What drives university students to practice social distancing? Evidence from South Korea and Vietnam**  
*Hyeon Jo* 47
- Older Chinese and Korean migrants' experiences of the first COVID-19 lockdown in Aotearoa New Zealand: A qualitative study**  
*Anne Koh, Tessa Morgan, Janine Wiles, Lisa Williams, Jing Xu and Merryn Gott* 60
- Climate change education in the South Pacific: Resilience for whom?**  
*Anuantaeka Takinana and Roger C. Baars* 72
- Women in community-involved tourism enterprises: Experiences in the Philippines**  
*Eylla Laire M. Gutierrez and Kazem Vafadari* 85
- Who benefits from international tourism in small Pacific islands? Value capture in the hotel industry in Hawaii**  
*Tolga Ulusemre and Wendy Lam* 98
- Is ASEAN ready to move to multilateral cross-border electricity trade?**  
*Thang Nam Do and Paul J. Burke* 110
- Decoding Australia's China threat narrative during 2016–2021**  
*Kerry Liu* 126



**CONTENTS**

**Articles**

- 323 Tibetan women-in-exile in India: construction of the idea of the Tibetan nation and contributions to Tibetan nationalism  
*Amrita Saikia*
- 344 Reconstruction of Ethnicity and Production of Pu'er Tea in Post-Mao China: a Case Study of Bulang Ethnic Group in Mangjing Village, Yunnan Province  
*Xiao Han*
- 369 Popularizing racial discourse: the visual and verbal representation of Africans in Chinese social media  
*Yifan Cai*
- 390 Coexistence of the ethnic Chinese and Sundanese in the city of Bandung, West Java: a case study on Kampung Toleransi  
*Susi Yuliawati, Reiza D. Dienaputra and Agusmanon Yunaidi*
- 406 Education as a site of contestation among Nagas in Manipur: politics of language and cultural assertion in the school curriculum  
*Ch Job Chawang*
- 423 Tribalization in civic space: Locating civil society in the Naga context  
*Liangamang Robert and A. Wati Walling*
- 445 Social network, trust, and rural informalities: transfer of tribal land ownership in protected areas of Assam, Northeast India  
*Dola Borkataki and Chandan Kumar Sharma*
- 463 The Citizenship (Amendment) Act and the changing idea of Indian Citizenship  
*Amit Ranjan and Devika Mittal*

**Book Reviews**

- 482 *The primordial modernity of Malay nationality: contemporary identity in Malaysia and Singapore*, by Humairah Zainal and Kamaludeen Mohamed Nasir  
*Faris Bin Ridzuan*
- 484 *Traditional Communities in Indonesia: Law, Identity, and Recognition (Routledge Law in Asia)*, by Lilis Mulyani  
*Firmanda Taufiq*
- 486 *Vernacular politics in Northeast India: democracy, ethnicity, and indigeneity*, by Jelle J.P. Wouters  
*Vilibeinuo Medom*

**Film Review**

- 489 Return to Seoul (2022)  
*Kimberly D. McKee*

**CONTENTS**

**Research Articles**

- 107 East Asia's strategic positioning toward China: identifying and accounting for intra-regional variations  
*Jae Ho Chung and Hun Joon Kim*
- 129 Japan's infrastructure export and development cooperation: the role of ODA loan projects in the 2010s  
*Kei Endo and Nikolay Murashkin*
- 150 An embarrassment of changes: International Relations and the COVID-19 pandemic  
*Mathew Davies and Christopher Hobson*
- 169 The bioinformational dilemma: where bioinformational diplomacy meets cyberbiosecurity  
*Thom Andrew Dixon*
- 188 Australia, Korea and the entangled language of common strategic interests  
*Jeffrey Robertson*
- 213 Global IR and the middle power concept: exploring different paths to agency  
*Charalampos Efstathopoulos*

**CONTENTS**

**Research Articles**

- 219 'The question of the corset': fashion, health and identity in late Ottoman history  
*Berrak Burçak*
- 240 Active on the street but apathetic at the ballot box? Explaining youth voter behaviour in Tunisia's new democracy  
*Kirstie Lynn Dobbs*
- 262 The 'Officers Plot': the German fifth column during the Anglo-Soviet occupation of Iran in the Second World War  
*Shaul Bakhash*
- 281 Syrian refugees and other Syrian forced migrants in Jordan: forms of capital approach  
*Jussi S. Jauhiainen and Ekaterina Vorobeva*
- 300 Perceptions of the Committee of Union and Progress in the press of the Yishuv, 1909-1914  
*Selim Tezcan*
- 321 What does antisectarianism oppose? Lebanese communists' debates on sectarianism, 1975-1981  
*Hideaki Hayakawa*
- 340 'The Female Rumi' and Feminine Mysticism: 'God's Weaver' by Parvin I'tisami  
*Behnam M. Fomeshi*
- 351 At the Intersections of Populism, Nationalism and Islam: Justice and Development Party and Populist Reconfiguration of Religion in Politics  
*Bilge Yabancı*
- 376 The Israeli policing army – the gray arm of annexation  
*Yagil Levy*
- 397 Polygyny in Islam: a call for retrospection  
*Man Baker*
- 410 Disempowerment without expropriation: Egypt's old oligarchy under Sisi  
*Amr Adly*
- 436 Hedayat's rebellious child: multicultural rewriting of *The Blind Owl* in Porochista Khakpour's *Sons and Other Flammable Objects*  
*Cyrus Amiri and Mahdiyeh Govah*
- 450 The stories of rebellious children at the time of the 1979 revolution  
*Mina Khanlarzadeh*
- 465 Parallel Discursive Fields in Pre-Revolutionary Russia and Iran: The West as a Model or an Anti-Model  
*Ghoncheh Tazmini*
- 486 Institutional petitions in Morocco: opportunities and challenges of claiming rights in participatory arenas  
*Francesco Colin*

(Continues on next page)

(Continues from previous page)

**Book Reviews**

- 501 Turkey in turmoil: social change and political radicalization during the 1960s, edited by  
Berna Pekesen  
*Nikos Christofis*
- 503 Before the deluge: reforming Gulf states and its illusions in the shadow of an energy transition  
From Sheikhs to Sultanism. Statecraft and authority in Saudi Arabia and the UAE, by  
Christopher M. Davidson  
Rivals in the Gulf, by David H. Warren  
Low carbon energy in the Middle East and North Africa, edited by Robin Mills and Li-Chen Sim  
*Harry Verhoeven*
- 507 The evolution of the armed forces of the United Arab Emirates, by Athol Yates  
*Geraint Hughes*
- 508 Watermelon democracy: Egypt's turbulent transition, by Joshua Stacher  
*Engy Moussa*
- 511 Routledge handbook on contemporary Egypt, edited by Robert Springborg, Amr Adly,  
Anthony Gorman, Tamir Moustafa, Aisha Saad, Naomi Sakr, and Sarah Smierciak  
*Donald Malcolm Reid*

# China & World Economy

Volume 31

Number 1

January–February 2023

---

## Special Issue:

### Challenges and Structural Adjustments in China in the Aftermath of the Pandemic

Guest Editors: *Ligang Song, Yixiao Zhou*

Guest Editors' Words <i>Ligang Song, Yixiao Zhou</i>	1
Regaining China's Resource Reallocation Efficiency to Boost Growth <i>Fang Cai</i>	5
Structural Challenges to Sustained Economic Growth in China <i>Dwight H. Perkins</i>	22
China in the Global Response to Climate Change <i>Ross Garnaut</i>	44
The Future of Multilateralism in the Post-pandemic World <i>Ligang Song, Vishesh Agarwal</i>	62
National Concentration of High-tech Products: The Second Great Divergence? <i>Bing Lu, Jiandong Ju, Xinding Yu</i>	88
Financial Structure, Technology, and Economic Growth: A Structural Matching Perspective <i>Dezhu Ye, Yunjue Huang, Xian Ye</i>	119
Five Stylized Facts on Belt and Road Countries and Their Trade Patterns <i>Kaku Attah Damoah, Giorgia Giovannetti, Enrico Marvasi</i>	149
Bilateral Relations and Exports: Evidence from Google Big Data <i>Jing Li, Hongkui Liu, Qian Xie</i>	182
Table of Contents, 2022	211



# China & World Economy

Volume 31

Number 2

March–April 2023

---

Total Factor Productivity in China's Manufacturing Sector in the Aftermath of the Global Financial Crisis <i>Guangjun Shen, Jingxian Zou</i>	1
Longevity, Fertility, and the Real Exchange Rate <i>Xiaohui Liu, Zhihao Zhou, Jing Zhang</i>	26
Anti-dumping Policies and International Portfolio Allocation: The View from the Global Funds <i>Haoyuan Ding, Xiao Li, Jiezhou Ying</i>	58
The Spillover Effects of Environmental Regulations: A Perspective of Chinese Unregulated Firms' Tax Burden <i>Yong Geng, Wei Liu, Hanshu Chen, Xinyu Zou</i>	84
Impact of Outward Foreign Direct Investment on Chinese Manufacturing Firms' Financialization and Servitization <i>Fei Nie, Jian Li, Xiaoli Etienne, Gucheng Li</i>	112
From Villages to Urban Neighborhoods: Urbanization and Health <i>Yu Shen, Wenkai Sun</i>	137
More Rights but Less Gains: Relaxed Birth Control Policy and the Loss for Women <i>Ying Zhao, Lin Zhang, Yuanping Lu, Bo Wen</i>	159
Corporate Endowment Insurance Fee Reduction and Employee Wages: Evidence from China <i>Xufei Zhang, Hongsheng Fang, Lin Guo</i>	192
Asset Smoothing and Consumption Smoothing: Disaster-coping Strategies in Noncontiguous and Contiguous Destitute Areas <i>Li Zhou, Jie Sun, Wuyang Hu, Yu Zhang</i>	223

# China

Vol. 21, No. 1, Feb 2023

## Contents

### *RESEARCH*

- 1     **“Special Times Call for Special Measures”: China’s Regulation of COVID-19 through Criminal Justice Innovation**  
by LI Enshen, LIN Xifen and LIU Sihong
- 24    **Instrumentalisation of Local Knowledge? Unravelling the Patterns of China’s Discursive Foreign Policy Practices**  
by CHUNG Youngjune
- 45    **The “Party Branch Established in the Wat”: Social Cooperation between Local Authorities and Religion in the Theravada Buddhist Community of South-west China**  
by XIONG Hao
- 70    **China’s Hong Kong Affairs Bureaucracy: Factional Politics and Policy Consistency**  
by TSAI Wen-Hsuan and YU Chih-Wei
- 88    **Taiwan’s Think-Tank Diplomacy in the Trump–Tsai Era: Leveraging Intersocietal Networks and Increasing Government Support**  
by SUN Sibeï and WU Xiangning
- 114   **Beyond “Vaccine Nationalism”: China’s Cooperation with the Middle East in the COVID-19 Vaccine**  
by NIU Song and WU Rui
- 135   **Popular Perceptions of China’s Influence in Malaysia since the BRI: An Economic Perspective**  
by XI Jinrui
- 160   **Survival through Pragmatic Thinking: Revisiting the Untold Stories behind the Canada–China Grain Trade, 1960–63**  
by LIU Yun
- 177   **The Impact of Government Transfer Payments on Extracurricular Tuition Expenditure for Children in Urban China**  
by ZHANG Liyang, DONG An, LI Junlin, ZHU Peihua and SHAO Yan

### **CHINA–ASEAN RELATIONS**

- 204   **Chronology of Events: October 2022 to December 2022**  
compiled by Ryan HO
- 208   **Important Documents: October 2022 to December 2022**  
compiled by Ryan HO



## Contents

### Articles

- Rules of recognition? Explaining diplomatic representation since the Congress of Vienna 155  
*Jan Teorell*
- Spatialities of peace zones 175  
*Nerve V. Macaspac*
- The other side of resistance: Challenges to inclusivity within civil society and the limits of international peace mediation 194  
*Jamie Pring*
- The unspoken red-line in Colombia: Gender reordering of women ex-combatants and the transformative peace agenda 211  
*José A Gutiérrez and Emma Murphy*
- A processual framework for analysing liberal policy interventions in conflict contexts 231  
*Mariam Salehi*
- Better not talk? A mixed-methods experimental analysis of avoiding sensitive issues in post-conflict settings 250  
*Juan E Ugarriza, Diana C Acuña and Monica A Salazar*



# CURRENT HISTORY

May 2023

Vol. 122, No. 844

## CONTENTS

- 163 Citadels of Crisis: The Predicament of Nigerian Universities. . . . .** *Ebenezer Obadare*  
Academia held high prestige in the early post-independence years, but soon had its wings clipped by military rulers. Today, campuses are in disarray, and students and professors are fleeing abroad.
- 167 Namibia's Intractable Land Question. . . . .** *Ellison Tjirera*  
Colonial-era land ownership patterns persist, benefiting the politically well connected. The government's cautious approach to redistribution has spurred demands for radical measures.
- 172 The Expansion of Women's Rights in Africa . . . . .** *Aili Mari Tripp*  
Twenty years after a landmark agreement against gender discrimination, women have more economic and political clout. But family laws and cultural practices are still obstacles.
- 178 Mining and the Quagmire of Job Creation in Africa . . . . .** *Nelson Oppong*  
Reform plans designed to turn mineral extraction into an engine for employment and inclusive growth have proliferated across the continent, but implementation remains elusive.
- 185 External Relations and Local Agency in the Horn of Africa . . . . .** *Aleksi Ylönen*  
The influence of foreign powers is often discussed, yet local actors in the region, from government officials to community and group leaders, are the main determinants of stability there.
- PERSPECTIVE**
- 191 COVID-19 and Colonial Legacies in West Africa . . . . .** *Kalala J. Ngalamulume*  
Confronting epidemics, colonial authorities developed stereotypes about a tropical hotbed of disease that had to be strictly contained. Such notions resurfaced in the past three years.
- BOOKS**
- 193 Who Owns 'Black'? Decolonization and Its Aporias. . . . .** *Hlonipha Mokoena*  
A critique of the current movement for intellectual and cultural "decolonization" raises questions about its claims to racial spokespersonship and its valorization of nativism.
- 196 Misadventures of Soviet-Style Modernization. . . . .** *Joshua Lustig*  
In the 1950s, Moscow saw Ghana, Guinea, and Mali as ideal proving grounds for its model of state-directed development. African independence leaders had their own ambitions.
- FROM THE ARCHIVES**
- 200 France's Black Citizens in West Africa . . . . .** *W. E. B. Du Bois*  
Excerpts from a *Current History* essay published in 1925.

## Defence and Peace Economics

Volume 34 Number 4 June 2023

---

### CONTENTS

#### Articles

- 385 Land for Peace? Game Theory and the Strategic Impediments to a Resolution in Israel-Palestine  
*Amal Ahmad*
- 410 Long-Term Effects of Yugoslav War  
*Aleksandar Kešeljević and Rok Spruk*
- 437 Civil War Outcomes and Egalitarian Democracy in Post-Civil War States: A Cross-National Analysis, 1946-2018  
*Mehmet Gurses and T. David Mason*
- 456 Military Operations Abroad in the Long Run: An Economic Approach  
*Josselin Droff, Julien Malizard and Maxime Menuet*
- 477 Distinct Asymmetric Effects of Military Spending on Economic Growth for Different Income Groups of Countries  
*Duygu Yolcu Karadam, Nadir Öcal and Jülide Yildirim*
- 495 The Effect of the US Macroeconomic Indicators on the International Geopolitical Risk  
*Osama D. Sweidan*
- 512 Costs and Prices of UK Military Aircraft in War and Peace  
*Keith Hartley*
- 527 Measuring Productivity of the Spanish Defence Industry  
*Mónica Domínguez Sánchez and Antonio Fonfría*



**CONTENTS**

**Articles**

- 153 Securitizing small arms and light weapons in support of regional security: perspective from West Africa  
*Daniel Kofi Banini*
- 177 "Phantom operators": special operations forces and asymmetric warfare in Northern Nigeria.  
*Folahanmi Aina*
- 198 Is Morocco operating a grey zone in Ceuta and Melilla?  
*Josep Baqués-Quesada*
- 215 Near-catastrophic victory: disregarded lessons from the six-day war  
*Phil Haun*
- 238 DYNAMIC CAPABILITIES: proposition of an analysis tool for a defense industry in Brazil  
*Marcus Vinicius Gonçalves da Silva and Jansen Maia Del Corso*
- 254 *Strategic Facts* as a Comprehensive Model for Defence Analysis  
*Gintautas Razma*
- 274 Conceptualizing doctrinal rejection: a comparison between Active Defense and Airland Battle  
*John Nisser*
- 292 The politics of military procurement: the F-35 purchasing process in Canada and Australia Compared  
*Alexander Howlett, Andrea Riccardo Migone and Michael Howlett*
- 313 Knowing your CJEF from your JEF: Europe's "Alphabet soup" of interstitial military cooperation-what relevance for cold war 2.0?  
*Brendan Flynn*
- 334 Resilience to cyber-enabled foreign interference: citizen understanding and threat perceptions  
*Rob Manwaring and Josh Holloway*

## Diplomacy & Statecraft

Volume 34 Number 1 March 2023

---

### CONTENTS

#### Articles

- 1 Charles Austin Beard's Economic Interpretation of the American Century through His Journalistic Writings  
*Richard Drake*
- 30 The American Success to Denuclearise South Korea: Global Bipolarity, Geographical Remoteness, and Nuclear Alliance Restraint  
*Sunwoo Paek and Dong Sun Lee*
- 57 Commitment to the Continent: The Foreign Office, the War Office, and the British Field Force, 1934-1938  
*B.J.C. McKercher*
- 86 'Each Wagon of Coal Should Be Paid for with Territorial concessions.' Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the Coal Shortage in 1918-21  
*Aliaksandr Piahanaŭ*
- 117 French Nuclear Policy Towards Iran: From the Shah to the Islamic Republic  
*Clément Therme*

#### Book Reviews

- 140 Britain Before Brexit: Historical Essays on Britain and Europe  
*Alasdair Blair*
- 142 Metternich, the German Question and the Pursuit of Peace, 1840-1848  
*Ambrogio A. Caiani*
- 143 International Law and the Politics of History  
*Francis Carroll*
- 145 Boundary Spanners of Humanity: Three Logics of Communication and Public Diplomacy for Global Collaboration  
*Nicholas J. Cull*
- 146 Euromissiles: The Nuclear Weapons That Nearly Destroyed NATO  
*David W. Kern, Jr*
- 148 After the Great War: Economic Warfare and the Promise of Peace in Paris, 1919  
*Gaynor Johnson*
- 150 Estimative Intelligence in European Foreign Policymaking: Learning Lessons for an Era of Surprise  
*Dan Lomas*
- 151 March of the Moderates: Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, and the Rebirth of Progressive Politics  
*Stephen Meredith*

## CONTENTS

---

*Diplomatic History* Volume 47, Number 2, April 2023

### ARTICLES

- Making the Contract State: Nathan Associates, Inc. and Foreign Aid Privatization 197  
*by Stephen Macekura*
- Politics of Beauty: Modernization, Comparativism, and the Empress of Iran 224  
*by Perin Gürel*
- The Tailings of Cold War U.S. Foreign Policy 252  
*by Joshua P. Howe*
- Chile, the United States, and the Korean War “Copper Problem” 279  
*by Glenn J. Dorn*
- Dividing the Northern World: The Arctic and the Alaska Purchase 304  
*by Janice Cavell*

### BOOK REVIEWS

- The Dearth of Liberalism 329  
*by David C. Engerman*
- Slaying the Global Coolie Myth 332  
*by Jane Hong*
- In Service to Empire: Rotarians on the World Stage 335  
*by Christopher Endy*
- Eternal Return? 339  
*by Giles Scott-Smith*
- Perhaps Ivan Illich Was Right? . . . 342  
*by Jason Parker*
- Centering Womanpower in U.S. Foreign Relations 345  
*by Amanda Boczar*
- Nicaragua’s Cold War 348  
*by Amy C. Offner*
- A Sporting Détente 351  
*by Bruce Kidd*
-

Realism and Empire	<i>by Jeremi Suri</i>	354
The Baghdad Triangle	<i>by Peter L. Hahn</i>	357
The Oil Obsession	<i>by Robert Vitalis</i>	360
The Trilateral Relationship	<i>by Andrew Johnstone</i>	363
	CORRECTION	
Correction to: A Human Rights Catalyst		367

## **East Asia**

**Volume 40 · Number 2 · June 2023**

***L'Ancien Régime* Legacy of the Chinese Governance: Grand Union and the Common Good**  
Y. Zhang 101

**Why Is the Political Regime of North Korea Tough? Comparison with the Market Economization of China, Vietnam, and Cuba**  
S. Miyamoto 133

**Japan's Advocacy for Human Security in Global Politics: Case Study of Japan's Grant Assistance for Grass-Roots Human Security Projects (GGP) in the State of Sabah, Malaysia, 2000–2021**  
R. Dollah · D. Peters · W.S.W. Hassan · M.A. Omar · M.S.A. Rahim · A. Jafar 151

**The Sustainable Development and Economic Impact of China's Belt and Road Initiative in Ethiopia**  
M.S. Bharti 175



# EUROPE-ASIA STUDIES

Volume 75  
Number 4  
May 2023

## CONTENTS

### Articles

*Victoria Leukavets, Andrey Makarychev & Giorgi Beridze*  
Electoral Campaigns in Times of Lockdown: Post-Soviet Experiences 545

*Martin Mölder & Eiki Berg*  
Conflicts and Shifts in the Kremlin's Political Discourse since the Start of the Putin Presidency (2000–2019) 564

*Jeremy Garlick & Fangxing Qin*  
China's Normative Power in Central and Eastern Europe: '16/17+1' Cooperation as a Tale of Unfulfilled Expectations 583

*Robert Mikecz*  
Neoliberalism Ingrained. The Rise and Consolidation of Neoliberalism in Estonia 606

*Alena Ledeneva & Adnan Efendic*  
There Is No Free Lunch: The Cost of Informal Networking for Entrepreneurs in Southeast Europe 625

*Tamta Gelashvili*  
Opportunities Matter: The Evolution of Far-Right Protest in Georgia 649

*Andrzej Turkowski*  
A Return to Prometheanism: The Space of Opinion on Polish–Russian Relations in Postcommunist Poland 675

### Reviews

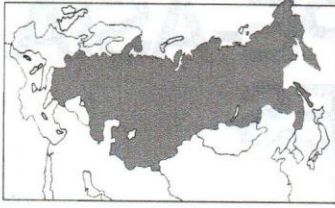
*Jie-Hyun Lim*  
Global Easts. Remembering, Imagining, Mobilizing —Nigel Swain 700

*Igor Davidzon*  
Regional Security Governance in Post-Soviet Eurasia. The History and Effectiveness of the Collective Security Treaty Organization —Ekaterina Muslimova 702

*Eliot Borenstein*  
Meanwhile, In Russia ... Russian Internet Memes and Viral Video —Jonathan Z. Ludwig 703



University  
of Glasgow



<i>Göktürk Tüysüzoğlu &amp; Arda Özkan (eds)</i> Conflict Areas in the Caucasus and Central Asia —Patrick Hein	705
<i>Ronan Hervouet</i> A Taste for Oppression. A Political Ethnography of Everyday Life in Belarus —Anna Shadrina	706
<i>Mikhail Minakov, Gwendolyn Sasse &amp; Daria Isachenko (eds)</i> Post-Soviet Secessionism. Nation-Building and State-Failure after Communism —Ohannes Geukjian	708
<i>James Pettifer</i> Greece and the New Balkans. Themes and Histories —Sabrina P. Ramet	710
<i>Jonathan Haslam</i> The Spectre of War, International Communism and the Origins of World War II —Michael Jabara Carley	711
<i>Josephine von Zitzewitz</i> The Culture of Samizdat. Literature and Underground Networks in the Late Soviet Union —Margarita Pavlova	712
<i>Susanne A. Wengle</i> Black Earth, White Bread. A Technopolitical History of Russian Agriculture and Food —Alexander Vorbrugg	714
<i>Susan Grant</i> Soviet Nightingales. Care under Communism —Garret J. McDonald	716
<b>Books Received</b>	719

**CONTENTS**

**Articles**

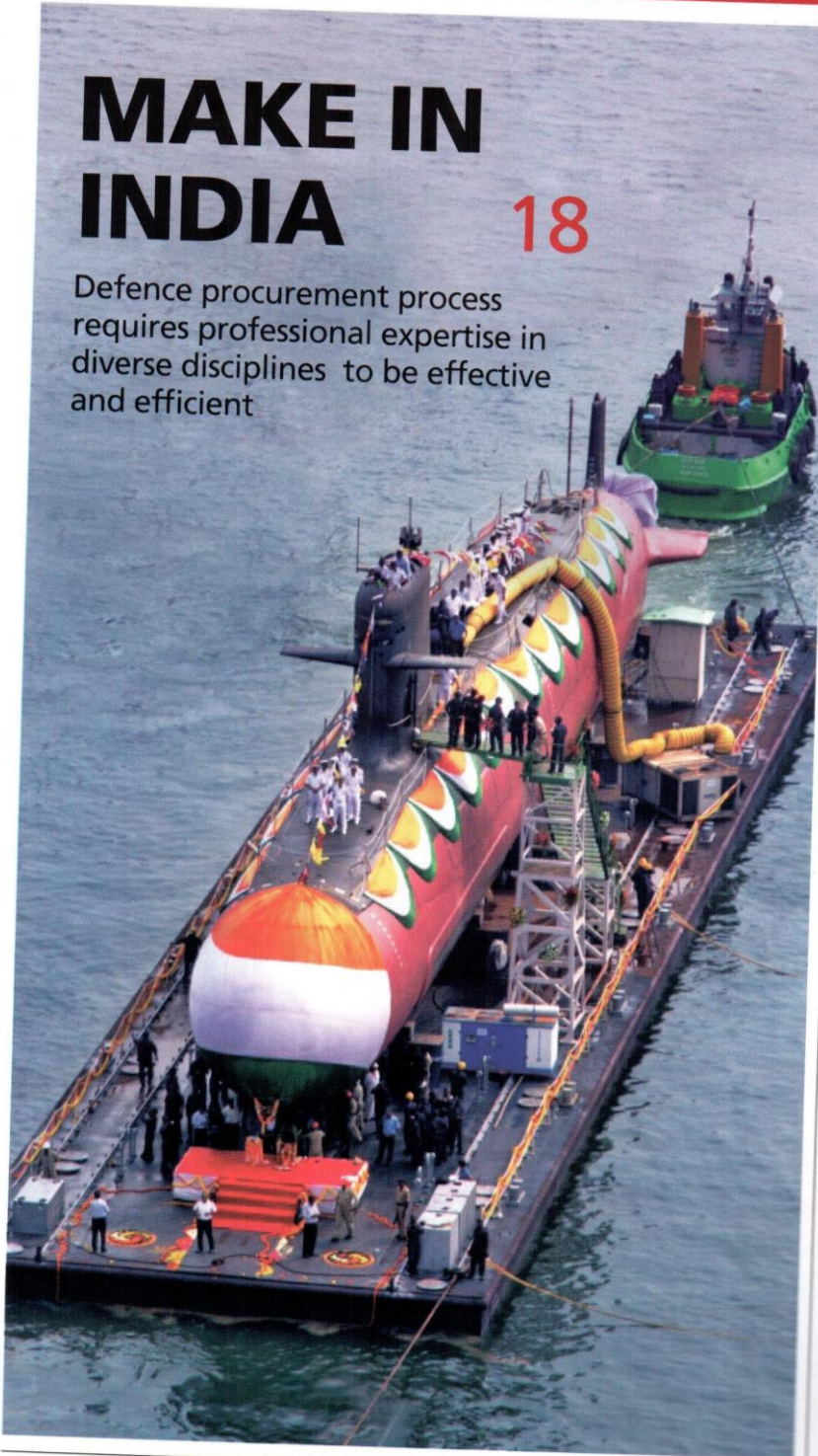
- 171 From Finlandisation and post-Finlandisation to the end of Finlandisation? Finland's road to a NATO application  
*David Arter*
- 190 "My trip to Europe is about America rallying the world's democracies" and the elephant in NATO's room  
*Christos Kollias and Panayiotis Tzeremes*
- 210 Norm localisation in the process of crafting national security strategies – the case of the Visegrád countries  
*Máté Szalai*
- 233 DREAMS Lab: assembling knowledge security in Sino-Dutch research collaborations  
*David Snetselaar*
- 252 Cooperating to *contrôle*: French senators as defence overseers and civil-military actors  
*Philippe Lagassé*
- 270 The underlying causes of strategic surprise in EU foreign policy: a post-mortem investigation of the Arab uprisings and the Ukraine–Russia crisis of 2013/14  
*Nikki Ikani and Christoph O. Meyer*
- 294 Contested statehood, complex sovereignty and the European Union's role in Kosovo  
*Alexandros Lefteratos*
- 314 Human security governance: the case of Syrians in Turkey  
*Burak Tangör and Alpay Alpaydin*



# MAKE IN INDIA

18

Defence procurement process requires professional expertise in diverse disciplines to be effective and efficient



**Turbulence Ahead** 22  
As India falters, Indian Ocean Region is seeing increasing Chinese subsea activity

**Losing Fight for Fighters** 24  
Make in India policy and bureaucracy stalling procurement of modern jets

**Situational Awareness** 28  
Re-evaluate air defence system during peace time to meet challenges of newer missiles

**FEATURE/ REPORT**

**Silver Shower** 6  
BrahMos Aerospace completes 25 years



**A Journey of 25 Years** 8  
How BrahMos Aerospace has come a long way since its inception

**Change and Continuity** 10  
What BrahMos Aerospace leaders told FORCE over the years

**India Faces Strategic Isolation** 14  
Recent Quad decisions on 5G and 6G telecom will adversely impact free flow of data, trade and capital

**Shifting Military Preferences** 31  
Malaysia, Indonesia among countries moving away from Russian-origin weapon systems



# Contents



**Flight to Sustainability** 34  
Indian carriers moving ahead to accelerate adoption of green fuel in future

**Small Aircraft, Big Need** 36  
Tactical transport planes critical for regular maintenance of troops in remote areas

**Disaster Management** 38  
ITBP has been first responder during many natural disasters, it is also trained to tackle chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear fall-out

**'The IRRPL is Ready to Fully Equip the Personnel of Any Indian Law Enforcement Agencies'** 44  
President, Kalashnikov Concern, Alan Lushnikov

**Industry News** 45  
HAL and IICA Sign MoU for Academic and Research Collaboration

**News in Picture** 64  
From inauguration of new Parliament to

G-20 tourism meet in Srinagar and G-7 Summit in Hiroshima, May has been an eventful month

**Service News** 66  
CNS Adm. Hari Kumar Visited Singapore

## BOOKS

**'Xi Jinping Has Already Been Prepared to Take High Strategic Risks in the South China Sea and Along the Northern Indian Border'** 72  
Ross Babbage, author of the new book *The Next Major War: Can the US and its Allies Win Against China?*

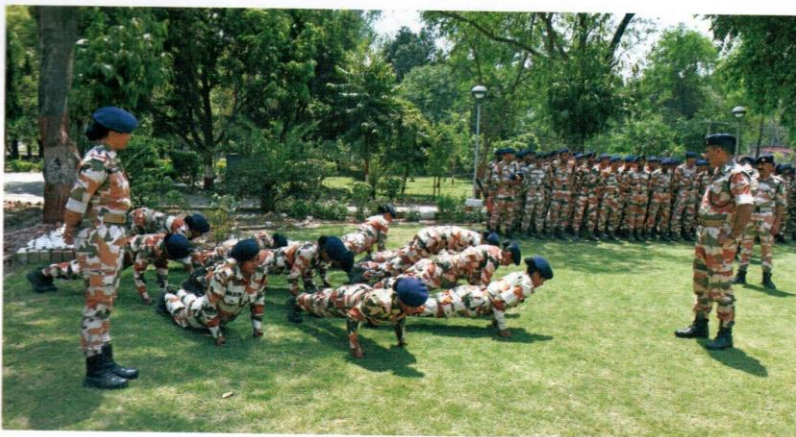
## COLUMNS

**Different Standards** 58  
Col Narinder Singh Dahiya (retd)

**Bite the Bullet** 61  
R.C. Sharma

**Stop Identity Politics** 74  
Nandita Haksar

**Bottomline** 78  
Pravin Sawhney





# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Volume 102, Number 3

## *The Nonaligned World*

---

- In Defense of the Fence Sitters 8  
*What the West Gets Wrong About Hedging*  
MATIAS SPEKTOR
- The Upside of Rivalry 17  
*India's Great-Power Opportunity*  
NIRUPAMA RAO
- Order of Oppression 24  
*Africa's Quest for a New International System*  
TIM MURITHI
- How to Survive a Great-Power Competition 30  
*Southeast Asia's Precarious Balancing Act*  
HUONG LE THU
- The World Beyond Ukraine 36  
*The Survival of the West and the Demands of the Rest*  
DAVID MILIBAND

Cover illustration by Ed Johnson

1



## Essays

---

- Blundering on the Brink 44  
*The Secret History and Unlearned Lessons of the Cuban Missile Crisis*  
SERGEY RADCHENKO AND VLADISLAV ZUBOK
- Postimperial Empire 64  
*How the War in Ukraine Is Transforming Europe*  
TIMOTHY GARTON ASH
- The Myth of Multipolarity 76  
*American Power's Staying Power*  
STEPHEN G. BROOKS AND WILLIAM C. WOHLFORTH
- The Perils of the New Industrial Policy 92  
*How to Stop a Global Race to the Bottom*  
DAVID KAMIN AND REBECCA KYSAR
- The Age of Energy Insecurity 104  
*How the Fight for Resources Is Upending Geopolitics*  
JASON BORDOFF AND MEGHAN L. O'SULLIVAN
- Israel's One-State Reality 120  
*It's Time to Give Up on the Two-State Solution*  
MICHAEL BARNETT, NATHAN J. BROWN,  
MARC LYNCH, AND SHIBLEY TELHAMI
- Iraq and the Pathologies of Primacy 136  
*The Flawed Logic That Produced the War Is Alive and Well*  
STEPHEN WERTHEIM
- Kagame's Revenge 153  
*Why Rwanda's Leader Is Sowing Chaos in Congo*  
MICHELA WRONG

## *Reviews and Responses*

---

The Forty-Year War <i>How America Lost the Middle East</i> LISA ANDERSON	164
Keeping the World at Bay <i>Does Globalism Subvert Democracy—or Strengthen It?</i> MARK MAZOWER	172
Is India’s Rise Inevitable? <i>The Roots of New Delhi’s Dysfunction</i> MILAN VAISHNAV	179
Recent Books	186
Letters to the Editor	209
The Archive	212



# HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Vol. 27, No. 1

January-March 2023

## CONTENTS

Abhinavagupta's Scripture Theory	Dr. Bhaskar Roy Barman	1-14
In search of Linguistic Connections between Kashmiri and Khasi language	Dr. Afaq Aziz Yattoo	15-26
Myths in Kashmiri Society	Dr. Ali Mohammad Rather	27-41
Crafts of Kashmir	Dr. Sakshi Sahni Dr. Rawal Singh Aulakh Zarnain Fatima Ashfaq	42-61
Promotion of Folklore Literature as an Augmented Tourism Product in Jammu and Kashmir	Dr. Aijaz Ahmad Khaki Annum Makhdoomi Aaqib Bashir	62-78
HRCF File THE SACRED ALTAI (Report of panel discussion at IIC, 21 February 2023)		79-81

# HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Vol. 27, No. 2

April-June 2023

## CONTENTS

Development of India's Mountainous Regions Revisited: Re-assessing the Present, Re-imagining the Future	<i>K.C.Ratha</i>	1-17
Temporality and Personhood Among Nagas of Northeast India	<i>Kekhrongu-u Dazo</i>	18-42
Compulsive Migration Tendencies in Mountainous Region of Pauri Garhwal District: An Investigation into Depleting Socio-Economic Phenomenon	<i>Ar. Piyush Srivastava</i> and <i>Shashikant Kumar</i>	43-68
Role of National Green Tribunal in prevention and Control of Air Pollution in India	<i>Diksha</i> and <i>Alok Kumar Yadav</i>	69-89

# International Journal of Intelligence and CounterIntelligence

Volume 36, Number 3

Fall 2023

---

## ARTICLES

- Hezbollah and the Internet in the Twenty-First Century  
*János Besenyő, Attila Gulyas, and Darko Trifunovic* 669
- The Rise of ISIS as a Partial Surprise: An Open-Source Analysis  
on the Threat Evolution and Early Warnings in the United  
Kingdom  
*Aviva Guttman* 686
- Data-Driven Security and Democratic Intelligence: Key Role of  
Critical Engagement by Academia  
*Silviu Cristian Paicu* 711
- Cyber Intelligence: Strategic Warning Is Possible  
*John A. Gentry* 729
- Perestroika of the KGB: Chekists Penetrate Politics  
*Sanshiro Hosaka* 755
- “An Ominous Talent”: Oleg Griбанov and KGB  
Counterintelligence  
*Filip Kovacevic* 785
- Innovators, Copycats, or Pragmatists? Soviet Industrial  
Espionage and Innovation in the Military Aerospace Sector  
during the Cold War  
*Tony Ingesson* 816
- Playing to Extremes: Russia’s Choices to Support Western  
Political Extremists and Paramilitary Groups  
*Paul N. Hodos* 847
- The Language of Nuclear Security: Language Diversity in  
Open-Source Internet Searches  
*Zenobia Homan, Yara Shaban, and Shraddha Rane* 870
- Beijingology 2.0: Bridging the “Art” and “Science” of China  
Watching in Xi Jinping’s New Era  
*Bjørnar Sverdrup-Thygeson and Stig Stenslie* 892

Threats and Opportunities: Intelligence Analysis for Managing and Exploiting Uncertainty <i>Yakov Ben-Haim</i>	912
Sempill, Japan, and Pearl Harbor: Traitor or Spy-Myth? <i>Alex Hardie</i>	932
<b><u>PERSPECTIVE</u></b>	
How Good Is Norwegian Intelligence? <i>Bright Harr Vaage and Stig Stenslie</i>	968
<b><u>BOOK REVIEWS</u></b>	
Kim and Jim Redux <i>Benjamin B. Fischer</i>	980
Divine Jigsaw Puzzle <i>Erik J. Dahl</i>	985
Ebb and Flow of Wartime Intelligence <i>Carl Anthony Wege</i>	988
Reconceptualizing Intelligence on Asia <i>Sara B. Castro</i>	994
Targeting Nazi Spies <i>Jefferson Adams</i>	997
Behind the Curtain <i>Andrew Bickford</i>	1001
Exploiting Intelligence: Enigma of the Battle of Britain <i>Gwilym Hughes</i>	1006
Rational Agony <i>Michael Skerker</i>	1012
Inferences and Consequences <i>James J. Wirtz</i>	1015
Digital Guns for Hire <i>Thomas C. Bruneau</i>	1020
Intelligence for Everyone <i>Bowman H. Miller</i>	1023
Another Bite at the Cold War? <i>Carolyn Halladay</i>	1027
Counterterrorism Wars: Did We Learn Anything? <i>Olga Bertelsen</i>	1031



## CONTENTS

## ARTICLES

- SHAMIM HOMAYUN Unearthing Rabi'a's Grave: Placemaking, Shrines, and Contested Traditions in Balkh, Afghanistan 1–24
- TAMARA MAATOUK On the Heels of 1967: Chahine, Cinema, and Emotional Response(s) to the Defeat 25–42
- SARA PURSLEY Political Sociality in the Narrowing of Time: Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani and the Late Ottoman Najafi Revival 43–66
- ORÇUN CAN OKAN Competing to Protect: Repatriation and Legal Protection of Syrians in Istanbul under Allied Occupation (1918–1923) 67–83
- TALHA KÖSEOĞLU *Mukaddesatçılık*: A Cold War Ideology of Muslim Turkish Ressentiment 84–105

## ROUNDTABLE: ARABIC AS A SOUTH ASIAN LANGUAGE

- NILE GREEN Introduction: Arabic as a South Asian Language 106–121
- JYOTI GULATI BALACHANDRAN Writing in Arabic in Gujarat and the Hijaz: Some Reflections from the Early Modern Period 122–127
- HINESH SHAH Al-Ghazali and his Interpreters: The Case of the Emperor Aurangzeb 128–133
- MOHSIN ALI The Growth of Arabic Biographical Writing in South Asia from the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Century 134–138
- SOHAIB BAIG Editing and Printing the Arabic Book: Perspectives from South Asia 139–145
- ROY BAR SADEH Nahda-izing India: The Urdu-Hindi Debate and its Arabic Alternative, c. 1860s–1947 146–151
- MICHAEL O'SULLIVAN The Multiple Registers of Arabic in the Daudi Bohra Da'wa and South Asian Public Life, c. 1880–1920 152–158
- ADA PETIWALA Of Echoes and Utterances: A Brief Sketch of Arabic Hauntings in Hindi Cinema and Song 159–164
- MUHAMMAD QASIM ZAMAN Afterword: Reassessing Arabic in South Asia 165–170

## BOOK REVIEWS

## Arts/Renditions

- DOMENICO ARTURO INGENITO, *Beholding Beauty: Sa'di of Shiraz and the Aesthetics of Desire in Medieval Persian Poetry* (Reviewed by Ali-Asghar Seyed-Gohrab) 171–173
- ISTVÁN ORMOS, *Cairo in Chicago: Cairo Street at the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893* (Reviewed by Brian L. McLaren) 173–175
- ANNEKA LENSSEN, *Beautiful Agitation: Modern Painting and Politics in Syria* (Reviewed by Judith Naeff) 175–177
- REBECCA C. JOHNSON, *Stranger Fictions: A History of the Novel in Arabic Translation* (Reviewed by Lital Levy) 178–180







## ROUNDTABLE: WRITING CAPITALISM INTO IRAN

BITA MOUSAVI AND KAVEH EHSANI	Writing Capitalism into Iran: A Roundtable Discussion	387
KEVAN HARRIS	Capitalism as a Concept of Difference in the Historiography of Iran	391
MOHAMMAD MALJOO	A Capitalist Economy without Robust Capitalist Production	395
KAMRAN MATIN	Writing Capitalism into Iran through the International	399
RUDI MATTHEE	Writing Capitalism into Iranian History	403
MAZIAR SAMIEE	Capitalist Lineages of Early Modern Iran	409

## REVIEWS

MUNAZZA EBTIKAR	Alla Ivanchikova, <i>Imagining Afghanistan: Global Fiction and Film of the 9/11 Wars</i>	413
ELHAM NAEIJ	Liora Hendelman-Baavur, <i>Creating the Modern Iranian Woman: Popular Culture between Two Revolutions</i>	415
ERIC LOB	Annie Tracy Samuel, <i>The Unfinished History of the Iran-Iraq War: Faith, Firepower, and Iran's Revolutionary Guards</i>	418
SHIRIN SAEIDI	Mateo Mohammad Farzaneh, <i>Iranian Women &amp; Gender in the Iran-Iraq War</i>	420
FARSHID EMAMI	Ali Mozaffari and Nigel Westbrook, <i>Development, Architecture, and the Formation of Heritage in Late Twentieth-Century Iran: A Vital Past</i>	423
NIMA NAGHIBI	Laetitia Nanquette, <i>Iranian Literature after the Islamic Revolution: Production and Circulation in Iran and the World</i>	426

## IN MEMORIAM

ASGHAR SEYED-GOHRAB	J. T. P. de Bruijn (1931–2023) The bird of Time completes its round	429
---------------------	---	-----

## ADDENDUM

Publisher's Note	435
------------------	-----

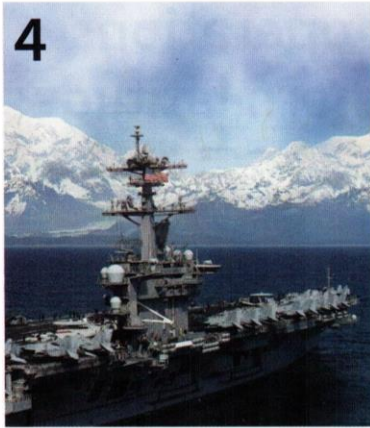


# Janes Defence and Intelligence Review

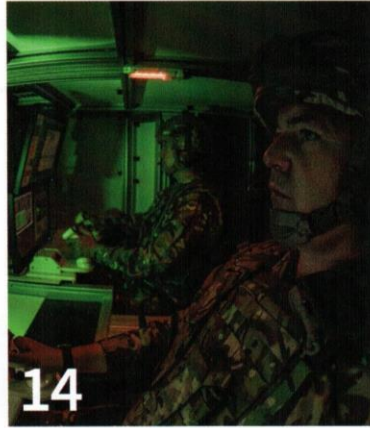
Vol. 2, No. 6, 2023

Volume 02 • Issue No 06 • June 2023

**CONTENTS**



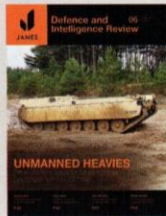
4



14



77



## On the cover

A Milrem Robotics Type-X robotic combat vehicle during British Army trials at Bovington Tank Range in February this year. This month *JDIR* assesses the United Kingdom's progress towards fielding a heavy unmanned ground vehicle capability.

Milrem Robotics: 2043466

## SPOTLIGHT

- 4 Cold front**  
Expanded US naval operations and increased funding for northern latitudes
- 6 Fentanyl factories**  
Small-scale clandestine synthetic opiate production in Mexico
- 8 Pushing the envelope**  
South Korea's KF-21 fighter programme achieves milestones
- 10 Power grip**  
The Communist Party of China sets out its new cabinet for 2023–28
- 12 Investment pledge**  
NATO strives for member spend of at least 2% of GDP on defence

## DEFENCE

- 14 Tech refresh**  
British Army simulation capabilities

- 20 Need for speed**  
Rotary wing speed-enhancement programmes
- 25 Red air**  
US Air Force adversary air training programmes
- 30 Theory of evolution**  
The Evolved SeaSparrow Block 2 programme
- 36 Trials and tribulations**  
British Army heavy UGV trials
- 40 Strange patterns**  
Chinese activity in Taiwan's ADIZ
- 47 Diving in deep**  
Lightweight torpedo programmes
- 54 Gone adrift**  
US sealift 'surge' capacity capability shortfalls

## SECURITY

- 60 Existential threat**  
Climate change risks in the South Pacific
- 66 Holding fire**  
Ceasefire agreements in Colombia's peace process
- 72 Electoral reform**  
Renewed clashes between Shi'ite parties in Iraq
- 77 Fragile peace**  
Mali's armed group dynamics

## INTERVIEW

- 82 Air Vice-Marshal Carl Newman**  
US Pacific Air Forces Deputy Commander

### Subscriptions

Email: [help@shop.janes.com](mailto:help@shop.janes.com), Tel: +44 (0) 844 543 0074

### Customer Care

Europe/Middle East/Africa: UK +44 (0) 203 997 6594. North and South America/Canada + (1) 437 266 9530. US + (1) 703 574 7580. US Toll free + (1) 888 977 1519. Asia Pacific: Australia +61 (1) 272 274 619. Singapore +65 685 676 40. Email: [customer.care@janes.com](mailto:customer.care@janes.com)

**Copyright** © Janes, 2023. All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, or be stored in any retrieval system of any nature, without prior written permission of Janes. Any views or opinions expressed do not necessarily represent the views or opinions of Janes or its affiliates.

**Disclaimer of liability:** Whilst every effort has been made to ensure the quality and accuracy of the information contained in this publication at the time of going

to press, Janes and its affiliates assume no responsibility as to the accuracy or completeness of and, to the extent permitted by law, shall not be liable for any errors or omissions or any loss, damage or expense incurred by reliance on information or any statement contained in this publication.

**Trade Marks:** Janes Defence and Intelligence Review is a trade mark of Janes. Registered in England under company number 12199785. Registered office: Janes Group UK Limited, 69 Park Lane, Croydon, Surrey CR0 1JD.

Printed in the UK by Warners Midlands plc. ISSN: 2754-8759.

Janes Defence and Intelligence Review, is published monthly, by Jane's Group UK Limited, 69 Park Lane, Croydon, Surrey CR0 1JD. The US annual subscription price is \$800. Airfreight and mailing in the USA by agent named WN Shipping USA, 156-15, 146th Avenue, 2nd Floor, Jamaica, NY 11434, USA. Periodicals postage paid at Jamaica NY 11431. US Postmaster: Send address changes to Janes Defence and Intelligence Review, WN Shipping USA, 156-15, 146th Avenue, 2nd Floor, Jamaica, NY

11434, USA. Subscription records are maintained at Janes, Jane's Group UK Limited, 69 Park Lane, Croydon, Surrey CR0 1JD.

Air Business Limited is acting as our mailing agent.



**JANES**

## Contents

**Special Issue: South Asian Impulses in the Middle East:  
An Asymmetrical Transregionalism  
Guest Editors: Gürol Baba and Amit Ranjan**

### Introduction

- Introduction: Middle East -South Asia Relations 491  
*Amit Ranjan and Gürol Baba*

### Original Articles

- Middle East–South Asia Relations: Transregional Minilateralism  
Cemented with Bilateralism 500  
*Gürol Baba*
- The Taliban and Their Machiavellian Moment 518  
*Mohsen Solhdoost*
- India's National Role Conception and Relations with GCC  
Countries under Modi: A Focus on Saudi Arabia 535  
*Sujata Ashwarya*
- Foreign Policy Choice or Domestic Compulsion? Maldives'  
Deep Ties With Saudi Arabia 556  
*Amit Ranjan*
- Pakistan: A Client in Search of Patronizing Ummah 570  
*Farooq Sulehria and Sabur Sulehria*
- The 'New Quad' in the Middle East: Opportunities and Implications  
for Sri Lanka's Middle Eastern Relations 590  
*Chulanee Attanayake and Menik Wakkumbura*
- Understanding the Legacy of the Gulf Cooperation Council  
and Turkey on Bangladesh Politics 607  
*Paulami Sanyal*

# Journal of Contemporary China

Volume 32 Number 141 May 2023

## International Relations Theory and China-India Relations (Guest Editors: Brandon K. Yoder and Kanti Bajpai)

Introduction: Explaining Cooperation and Rivalry in China-India Relations  
*Brandon K. Yoder and Kanti Bajpai* 353

Balancing, Threats, and Wedges in International Political Economy: The Origins and Impact of the Sino-Indian Alliance at the WTO  
*Kristen Hopewell* 369

Rising Powers and Normative Resistance: China, India, and the Responsibility to Protect  
*Courtney J. Fung* 386

Explaining Chinese Military Coercion in Sino-Indian Border Disputes  
*Ketian Zhang* 399

China-India Face-offs: How Does Reputation Matter in Crisis Management?  
*Deepa M. Ollapally* 417

## The BRI and Chinese Foreign Aid Policy

The Belt and Road Initiative in Southeast Asia: A Mixed Methods Examination  
*Angela Tritto and Alvin Camba* 436

Public Opinion on Chinese Foreign Aid Policy: Calculated Opposition or General Discontent?  
*Hongying Wang and Andrew F. Cooper* 455

Remaking China's Global Image with the Belt and Road Initiative: Is the Jury Out?  
*Jianhong Qi, Kam Ki Tang, Da Yin, and Yong Zhao* 473

## Research Articles

Infrastructural Imaginaries of Region and Nation in the Pearl River Delta's Express Railway Link  
*Dylan Brady* 495

Pinpointing the Chinese Nomenklatura: An Index to Rank China's Leadership Positions  
*Shu Keng, Lingna Zhong, and Baoqing Pang* 510

# Journal of East Asian Studies

---

VOLUME 23

NUMBER 1

MARCH 2023

## Review Essay

- The Domestic Political Economy of Japan's New Geoeconomic Strategy ■ *Hiroki Takeuchi and Keely McNeme* 1

## Articles

- External Threats and Public Opinion: The East Asian Security Environment and Japanese Views on the Nuclear Option ■ *Naoko Matsumura, Atsushi Tago and Joseph M. Grieco* 23
- Korean NGOs and Reconciliation with Japan ■ *Leif-Eric Easley* 45
- Public Opinion in a Rising Power: National and International Orientations among the Chinese Public ■ *Yida Zhai* 71
- Authoritarian Successor Parties, Supporters, and Protest: Lessons from Asian Democracies ■ *Myunghye Lee* 95
- Fragmented Labor Regime: FDI, Labor Regulation, and Workers' Protests in China ■ *Taeyun Lim* 125

## Book Review Roundtable

- Roundtable on Rick Doner, Gregory Noble, and John Ravenhill. *The Political Economy of Automotive Industrialization in East Asia*  
Reviewed by Stephan Haggard and Thomas B. Pepinsky (editors), Natasha Hamilton-Hart, Roselyn Hsueh, Eun Mee Kim, Robert Wade 151
- Response from the Authors: The Enduring Salience of East Asia's Automotive Experiences  
Reviewed by Richard F. Doner, Gregory W. Noble and John Ravenhill 175

## Book Reviews

- Shelley Rigger. *The Tiger Leading the Dragon: How Taiwan Propelled China's Economic Rise*  
Reviewed by Sara Newland 179



# Journal of Indian Ocean Studies

Vol. 31, No. 1

January-April, 2023

## CONTENTS

<b>Editorial</b>	<b>(i-iv)</b>
SUDHIR T. DEVARE	
<b>ARTICLES</b>	<b>1-46</b>
GURJIT SINGH	1-13
<i>India and the African Countries on the Indian Ocean Littoral</i>	
BRIAN GICHERU KINYUA	15-25
<i>The Building Blocks to a Non-Paternalistic Indo- African Partnership</i>	
MAKARIUS PETER ITAMBU	27-38
<i>Transoceanic Interconnectivities Between India-Tanzania Coastal Communities from the Antiquity to Contemporaries: The Archaeologic Perspectives from the Ancient Maritime Trade Connections via the Indian Ocean</i>	
SANKALP GURJAR	39-46
<i>Bringing the Western Indian Ocean into the Indo-Pacific Geopolitics</i>	
<b>BOOK REVIEW</b>	<b>47-48</b>
NEETA M. KHANDPEKAR	47-48
<i>Ashok B Rajeshirke, Translated and Edited, Malam-Ni-Pothi: The Pre-Modern Kutchi Navigation Manuals Vol I, Maritime History Society, Mumbai, 2021, 395 pages, Rs. 2500/-.</i>	
<b>Regional News and Views</b>	<b>49-61</b>

# Journal of Military History

Vol. 87, No. 2, April 2023

---

---

## Contents

---

---

### ARTICLES

- THE 2023 GEORGE C. MARSHALL LECTURE IN MILITARY HISTORY  
*The Rise and Fall of the Grand Alliance: The U.S. Airmen behind Stalin's Lines, 1944–1945*  
Serhii Plokhly .....297
- Military Engineers as Combat Support Forces in the Armies of Edward III*  
Ronald W. Braasch III .....308
- No Settled Principles? Military Law in the Late Victorian Army*  
Ian S. Kelly .....322
- The Staff of the 1st Australian Division: A Study in the Composition of the Divisional and Brigade Staff from Assembly to Armistice*  
Zacharia Bruckner .....345
- From Mobile Fleet to Mobile Force: The Evolution of U.S. Navy Logistics in the Central Pacific during World War II*  
Trent Hone.....367
- Neither Apathetic nor Empathetic: Investigating and Prosecuting the Rape of German Civilians by U.S. Servicemen in 1945*  
R. M. Douglas .....404
- From Deception to Mass Murder: Operation Mole and the Kafr Qasim Massacre Reconsidered*  
Yagil Henkin and Danny Orbach .....438

# Journal of Peace Research

Volume 60 / Number 2 / March 2023

## Contents

### REGULAR ARTICLES

- *Victor Asal, Nazli Avdan & Gary Ackerman* – Breaking taboos: Why insurgents pursue and use CBRN weapons 193
- *Jordan Adamson & Erik O Kimbrough* – The supply side determinants of territory 209
- *Lucia Bird* – Motivations of diaspora support in homeland civil conflict 226
- *Kien Le & My Nguyen* – The impacts of armed conflict on child health: Evidence from 56 developing countries 243
- *Eamon Aloyo, Geoff Dancy & Yvonne Dutton* – Retributive or reparative justice? Explaining post-conflict preferences in Kenya 258
- *Omar García-Ponce, Lauren E Young & Thomas Zeitzoff* – Anger and support for retribution in Mexico's drug war 274
- *Hollie Nyseth Nzitatira, Jared F Edgerton & Laura C Frizzell* – Analyzing Participation in the 1994 Genocide in Rwanda 291
- *M Christian Lehmann* – Foreign interests and state repression: Theory and evidence from the Armenian genocide 307
- *Michael Cohen* – Different fears, same alliance: Multilateralism, assurance and the origins of the 1951 United States–New Zealand–Australia alliance 322
- *Kyungwon Sub* – Nuclear balance and the initiation of nuclear crises: Does superiority matter? 337

### SPECIAL DATA FEATURES

- *Benjamin Acosta, Reyko Huang & Daniel Silverman* – Introducing ROLE: A database of rebel leader attributes in armed conflict 352
- *Angharad Smith, Monti Narayan Datta & Kevin Bales* – Contemporary slavery in armed conflict: Introducing the CSAC dataset, 1989–2016 362
- *Alexander Baturo & Jakob Tolstrup* – Incumbent takeovers 373

# Journal of Peace Research

Volume 60 / Number 3 / May 2023

## Contents

### REGULAR ARTICLES

- *Travis Curtice* – Co-ethnic bias and policing in an electoral authoritarian regime: Experimental evidence from Uganda 395
- *Amélie Godefroidt & Arnim Langer* – What drives attitudes towards the reintegration of former fighters? Insights from a conjoint experiment in Nigeria 410
- *Andreas Juon & Livia Robrbach* – Say my name: The effects of ethnofederalism on communal violence 428
- *Yuichi Kubota* – Remaining behind in the community: Rebel service provision and internal (non-)displacement of civilians in the former FATA, Pakistan 444
- *Yusaku Horiuchi & Yoshikuni Ono* – Susceptibility to threatening information and attitudes toward refugee resettlement: The case of Japan 459
- *Matthew DiGiuseppe & Roos Haer* – The wedding bells of war: The influence of armed conflict on child marriages in West Africa 474
- *Jason Klocek, Hyun Jeong Ha & Nathanael Gratias Sumaktoyo* – Regime change and religious discrimination after the Arab uprisings 489
- *Alon Yakter & Mark Tessler* – The long-term electoral implications of conflict escalation: Doubtful doves and the breakdown of Israel's left-right dichotomy 504

### SPECIAL DATA FEATURES

- *Henry Thomson, Karim Bahgat, Henrik Urdal & Halvard Bubaug* – Urban Social Disorder 3.0: A global, city-level event dataset of political mobilization and disorder 521
- *Nicole Jenne* – Who leads peace operations? A new dataset on leadership positions in UN peace operations, 1948–2019 532
- *Vanessa Meier, Niklas Karlén, Therése Pettersson & Mihai Croicu* – External support in armed conflicts: Introducing the UCDP external support dataset (ESD), 1975–2017 545



# Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies

---

1. **Oil MENA's Challenges and the Policy Response:  
Addressing the Institutional and Trust Deficits** ..... 1  
*Mohammed Akacem, John L. Faulkner, and Dennis D. Miller*
2. **Israel, The Syrian Crisis, and the Unbreakable Lebanese  
Syndrome** ..... 33  
*Yusri Hazran*
3. **Salisbury's Policy Toward Egypt, 1875-1880**..... 52  
*Yousef Hussein Omar*
4. **The Impact of Mubarak's Personality Traits on Egypt's  
Foreign Policy Decision-Making**..... 77  
*Marwa Mamdouh-Salem*
5. **Book Reviews:**  
**A Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: The Saudi Struggle for Iraq** .. 108  
by Katherine Harvey  
*Reviewed by Eric Davis*  
**Republics of Myth: National Narratives and the  
US-Iran Conflict** .....115  
by Hussein Banai, Malcolm Byrne, and John Tirman  
*Reviewed by Nader Entessar*  
**Reinventing the Sheikdom: Clan, Power and Patronage  
in Mohammed Bin Zayed's UAE** .....118  
by Matthew Hedges  
*Reviewed by Andrew Leber*

**CONTENTS**

**Editorial**

- 221 From the editors  
*The Editors*

**Original Articles**

- 227 Loyalty, hedging, or exit: How weaker alliance partners respond to the rise of new threats  
*Jasen J. Castillo and Alexander B. Downes*
- 269 How leaders exercise emergent strategy? Lessons from Moshe Dayan  
*Eitan Shamir*
- 293 Israel's inter-war campaigns doctrine: From opportunism to principle  
*Itamar Lifshitz and Erez Seri-Levy*
- 319 Why Israel launched a preventive military strike on Iraq's nuclear weapons program (1981): The fungibility of power resources  
*Steven E. Lobell*
- 345 The shift to defence in Israel's hybrid military strategy  
*Oren Barak, Amit Sheniak and Assaf Shapira*
- 378 Imagining total onslaught: South African military threat scenarios and doctrinal change, 1953–1975  
*Alon Posner*
- 404 The limits of regional power: South Africa's security strategy, 1975–1989  
*Noel Anderson and Mark S. Bell*

**Review Essays**

- 427 Organizational strategy and its implications for strategic studies: A review essay  
*Jeffrey Hughes, Martin Kornberger, Brad MacKay, Phillips O'Brien and Sneha Reddy*
- 451 The maritime perspective: Placing the oceans in the study of the Second World War  
*Th. W. Bottelier*
- 469 Which way to turn? Recent directions in writing about the American Civil War  
*Brian Holden Reid*

**Book Review**

- 494 Protecting China's interests overseas: Securitization and foreign policy  
*David Brewster*

# Middle East Critique

Volume 32 Number 1 2023

## Editorial

Editor's Note

*Eric Hooglund*

1

## Articles

The European Union's Policies in Historic Palestine: Two-Step Securitisation, Differentiation and Its Discontents

*Itxaso Domínguez de Olazábal*

5

The Neoliberal Cage: Alternative Analysis of the Rise of Populist Tunisia

*Carmen Fulco and Mattia Giampaolo*

27

Remembering Defeat in Counter-Revolutionary Egypt

*Judith A Naeff*

53

Intergenerational Transmission of Social Movement Activism in Bahrain

*Luke G. G. Bhatia*

71

Right-Wing Populism and Turkey's Post-Hegemonic Populist Moment

*Omer Tekdemir*

91

Modified J-Curve Theory, Iran's Socio-Economic Bottlenecks and the 1979 Fall of the Pahlavi Monarchy

*Gholam Reza Vatandoust and Maryam Sheipari*

111

Emergence of Palestine as a Global Cause

*Sune Haugbolle and Pelle Valentin Olsen*

129

# Contents



The Middle East Journal

Spring 2023 ★ Volume 76 ★ Number 4

<i>EDITOR'S NOTE</i>	439
Dueling Legacies: Which Sultan Deserves Credit for Oman's Oil-Driven Development? <i>Jim Krane</i>	441
Egyptian State Media in Opposition: <i>Al-Ahram</i> under Morsi, 2012–2013 <i>Limor Lavie</i>	466
The Mo'talefeh (Islamic Coalition Society): From Revolutionary Allies to Challengers of Ayatollah Khomeini's Policies, 1979–1989 <i>Meir Javedanfar</i>	487
The Oil Thief of Baghdad: Understanding Saddam's Motives for Invading Iran <i>Kenneth M. Pollack</i>	507
<i>BOOK REVIEWS</i>	
The Blocked Road to Democracy: Culture Wars in the Arab World and the End of Politics <i>Review Article by Shadi Hamid</i>	531
AFGHANISTAN	
Afghan Crucible: The Soviet Invasion and the Making of Modern Afghanistan, by Elisabeth Leake <i>Reviewed by Thomas Barfield</i>	538
EGYPT	
Tahrir's Youth: Leaders of a Leaderless Revolution, by Rusha Latif <i>Reviewed by Sarah Anne Rennick</i>	539

MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL ★ VOLUME 76, NO. 4, SPRING 2023



PALESTINE AND PALESTINIANS

- The Bride:  
An Illustrated History of Palestine, 1850–1948,  
by Roger Hardy  
*Reviewed by Gabriel Polley* 542

SAUDI ARABIA

- Charity in Saudi Arabia:  
Civil Society under Authoritarianism,  
by Nora Derbal  
*Reviewed by Jonathan Benthall* 543

- Wahhabism and the World:  
Understanding Saudi Arabia's Global Influence on Islam,  
edited by Peter Mandaville  
*Reviewed by David Commins* 545

SYRIA

- Revolutions Aesthetic:  
A Cultural History of Ba`thist Syria,  
by Max Weiss  
*Reviewed by Alexa Firat* 547

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

- Reinventing the Sheikhdom:  
Clan, Power and Patronage in Mohammed bin Zayed's UAE,  
by Matthew Hedges  
*Reviewed by Kristian Coates Ulrichsen* 549

LEVANT AFFAIRS

- In Search of Greater Syria:  
The History and Politics of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party,  
by Christopher Solomon  
and  
The Rise and Fall of Greater Syria:  
A Political History of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party,  
by Carl C. Yonker  
*Reviewed by Thomas Pierret* 550

MODERN HISTORY AND POLITICS

- Rebuilding Arab Defense:  
US Security Cooperation in the Middle East,  
by Bilal Y. Saab  
*Reviewed by David Des Roches* 552

Islam, Justice, and Democracy,  
by Sabri Ciftci  
*Reviewed by Deina Abdelkader* 554

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION, AND SCIENCE

Islam and the Arab Revolutions:  
The Ulama between Democracy and Autocracy,  
by Usaama al-Azami  
*Reviewed by John O. Voll* 556

*RECENT PUBLICATIONS* 558

# MILITARY THOUGHT

VOLUME 32

NUMBER 2, 2023

## CONTENTS

### GEOPOLITICS AND SECURITY

---

- Nonmilitary Measures for Ensuring  
Russia's Military Security** *L.A. Prudnikov, A.V. Kuzmenko* 1

### MILITARY ART

---

- Logistical Support in Combat and Operations:  
A Problem and Potential Solutions** *A.V. Toporov, M.S. Bondar, R.V. Akhmetyanov* 17
- Methodology for Assessing the Combat  
Potential of Troop (Force) Groupings  
in Strategic Sectors** *A.V. Smolovy, A.V. Pavlovsky* 32
- Combat in an Aerospace Theater  
of Operations** *A.G. Semyonov, Yu.V. Krivitsky, V.G. Chekhovsky* 47
- Development of Assets to Counter Unmanned  
Aerial Vehicles** *G.A. Lopin, G.I. Smirnov, I.N. Tkachov* 58
- Use of Russia's Strategic Missile Forces  
in Future Wars** *S.V. Karakayev* 68
- Use of Aerospace Forces' Strike Aviation  
in Future Military Conflicts** *O.V. Yermolin, N.P. Zubov, M.V. Fomin* 81
- Forecasting the Course and Outcome  
of Combined Arms Combat as a Method  
of General Tactics Theory** *P.A. Dulnev, A.V. Kotov, N.P. Pedenko* 94

FORCE CONTROL

---

<b>Research on New Approaches to Developing Methods for Detecting Vulnerabilities in Military Automated Systems</b>	<i>G. Ye. Panamaryov</i>	106
---	--------------------------	-----

MILITARY DEVELOPMENT

---

<b>Basic Principles of a Scientific and Methodological Apparatus for Assessing the Combat Capabilities of Weapons and Military Equipment</b>	<i>V.I. Ostankov, N.A. Krasnyanchuk</i>	116
<b>Computational Complexity of Modern Military Tasks</b>	<i>O.V. Maslennikov, F.K. Aliyev, S.A. Bepalov, Ye.S. Mitroshin</i>	126
<b>Development Prospects for Small Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and the Problem of Detecting Them</b>	<i>A.V. Kogtin, G.Ya. Shaidurov</i>	142
<b>Prospects of Using Aviation Artillery Weapons on Sixth-Generation Aircraft</b>	<i>A.V. Nikolayev</i>	147
<b>Prospects for Developing Medium-Range Surface-to-Air Missile Systems</b>	<i>V.S. Novikov</i>	157



# Modern Asian Studies

Vol. 57, No. 1, January 2023

VOLUME 57 PART 1 JANUARY 2023

## CONTENTS

### FORUM: The Politics of Death in Contemporary Asia.

Guest editor: Jieun Kim

- LINH D. VU: Commemorative contention: The Taipei National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine and the politics of death 1
- HEEKYOUNG KIM: Everyday rehearsal of death and the dilemmas of dying in super-ageing Japan 32
- SUJIN EOM: Bulldozing the dead: Chinese, citizenry, and cemetery in post-colonial South Korea 53
- ANGMA D. JHALA: Dam(n)ing the hills: Indigeneity, American aid, and Cold War politics in the Kaptai Dam, East Pakistan, 1957–1964 70
- SETH KOVEN: Brahman wives and pedagogies of conscience in mid-nineteenth century British India 100
- KASHI GOMEZ: Sanskrit and the *labour of gender* in early modern South India 167
- KASHI GOMEZ: Sanskrit and the *labour of gender* in early modern South India – CORRIGENDUM 195
- YIN CAO: Chen Mengzhao's storeroom in Park Street, Calcutta. Wartime India-China smuggling, 1942–1945 196
- ADAM RUNACRES: Relocated tigers and relocated villagers: Ferality and human–animal entanglement in Indian conservation 222
- SEAN S. HAN: Informal diplomacy in Chosŏn Korea and new engagement with the West and Westernized Japan, 1873–1876 252
- CHRISTOPH EMMRICH, JOSEPH McQUADE, SANA AIYAR AND THIBAUT D'HUBERT: Towards a Burma-inclusive South Asian Studies: A Roundtable 283

## CONTENTS

MIKIYA KOYAGI: An Eastern hero: Biographies of Muhammad in imperial Japan	693
PURNIMA DHAVAN AND HEIDI PAUWELS: Crafting literary Urdu: Mirza Hatim's engagement with Vali Dakhani	711
RINKU LAMBA: Revisiting Rabindranath Tagore's critique of nationalism	740
CHUI-JOE THAM: The transnational historiography of a dynastic transition: Writing the Ming-Qing transition in seventeenth-century China, Korea, and Japan	776
ANAND A. YANG: The prison-handicraft complex: Convict labour in colonial India	808
YUTING DONG: Flagstone empire: Materiality and technical expertise in Japanese road construction in northeast China (1905–1945)	835
RAFIULLAH KHAN: The grey zones of antiquarian pursuits: The 1938 Barger expedition to the princely state of Swat	866
JOHN D. WONG: 'Made in Hong Kong': Deriving value from the place-of-origin label, 1950s and now	895
RAKESH ANKIT: Delinking 'the two rupees': The devaluation dilemma and economic divergence in the decolonized subcontinent, September 1949–February 1951	918
YINGHONG CHENG: Taiwanese DNA versus Chinese DNA: Genetic science and identity politics across the Taiwan Straits	940
BILL HAYTON: Strategic forgetting: Britain, China, and the South China Sea, 1894–1938	966
JAYING SHEN: Free sea or territorial waters? The Sino-Japanese Xiongyue fishing dispute, 1906–1912	986
JOSEPH SCALICE: A region in dispute: Racialized anticommunism and Manila's role in the origins of Konfrontasi, 1961–63	1004
ASEEMA SINHA AND MANISHA PRIYAM: 'Willing' ethnic-nationalists, diffusion, and resentment in India: A micro-foundational account	1027



**National Security**  
A Quarterly Journal of the VIF,  
Volume 6 Issue 1 January - March 2023

**Contents**

**Editor's Note**

**Engaging a Troubled Neighbourhood** (i-viii)  
Sujit Dutta

**Essay**

**Xi's Foreign Policy Options and Evolving Strategy** 1-12  
Pankaj Saran

**Articles**

**Organisational Restructuring for Defence Planning and  
Capability Acquisition** 13-24  
Amit Cowshish

**Regional Cooperation to Preserve the Himalayan System** 25-45  
Shailesh Nayak

**Dealing with the New Taliban Regime in Afghanistan** 46-68  
J. Jeganaathan

**Geo-economics of India's Trade with its South Asian Neighbours** 69-92  
Nikita Singla

**Book Review**

**India's Development Diplomacy in Africa—  
Through Western Lenses** 93-103  
Samir Bhattacharya

# North Korean Review

Vol. 19, No. 1, Spring 2023

## Contents

MANAGING EDITOR'S COMMENTS ( <i>Lonnie Edge</i> )	3
ISSUE ARTICLES	
"Ignorantly Arrogant Souls": Looking Back at U.S./UN Control Over North Korea in the Autumn of 1950 ( <i>Adam Cathcart and Luke Thrumble</i> )	5
The Language of Dynasty: Quantitative Discourse Analysis of Kim Il-sung, Kim Jong-il, and Kim Jong-un, 1930–2020 ( <i>Lawrence Kuznar</i> )	22
The Pragmatic Nationalist: Assessing Japan's North Korea Policy Under Abe Shinzō ( <i>Oliver Jia</i> )	42
The Role of Economic Sanctions in Promoting North Korea's Denuclearization Revisited ( <i>Man Fung Yeung</i> )	57
Public Diplomacy with North Korea: Reviewing a Policy Proposal ( <i>David Hall</i> )	80
ESSAYS, NOTES, AND COMMENTARIES	
North Korean Hackers: Vigilance Against Better Than Underestimation Of ( <i>Liang Tuang Nah</i> )	91
A Preemptive Strike: Will It Resolve the North Korean Nuclear Standoff? ( <i>Changsop Pyon, Suk Hi Kim, and Min Xu</i> )	99
Book Reviews	112
Call for Papers and Style Guide	116



**CONTENTS**

**Original Articles**

- 1 Reviving the *Monetary Gold* Principle? A Case Note on the Judgment of Preliminary Objections in the *Mauritius/Maldives* Case  
*Xu Qi*
- 26 Maritime Delimitation Between China and South Korea in the South Yellow Sea  
*Huaigao Qi*
- 63 Back to the USSR: The Consequences of the 1965 Soviet Decree No. 331-112 “On the Procedure for Navigation of Foreign Ships in the Straits Along the Track of the Northern Sea Route” on Today’s Navigation Through the Russian Arctic Straits  
*Pierre Thévenin*
- 92 Ship Surveys and Certification During Global Health Pandemics; Challenges and Opportunities Presented by COVID-19  
*Dawoon Jung*

# Pacific Affairs

Vol. 96, No. 2

JUNE 2023

Globalization of Arms Production and Hierarchical Market Economies: Explaining the Transformation of the South Korean Defense Industry	<i>Chonghyun Choi and Soul Park</i>	229
The Geographic Scope of Opposition Challenges in Malaysia's Parliament	<i>Sebastian Dettman</i>	253
— <i>Perspectives on the 2022 Malaysian Election</i> —		
Decline, Fall, and Resurrection of a Dominant-coalition System: Malaysia's Tortured Partisan Path	<i>Meredith L. Weiss and Ibrahim Suffian</i>	281
Social Media and Malaysia's 2022 Election: The Growth and Impact of Video Campaigning	<i>Ross Tapsell</i>	303
Moderation of Sarawak Regionalism in Malaysia's 15th General Elections	<i>Ik Tien Ngu</i>	323
— <i>Review Essay</i> —		
Climate Change and the Production of Knowledge	<i>Anna-Karina Hermkens</i>	343
Critical Dialogue		351
Books Reviewed (listed on pp. 224–226)		362

BOOKS 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.

**Critical Dialogue**

- ACCIDENTAL HOLY LAND: The Communist Revolution  
in Northwest China. By Joseph W. Esherick. *Benno Weiner* 351
- THE CHINESE REVOLUTION OF THE TIBETAN FRONTIER.  
Studies of the Weatherhead East Asian Institute.  
Columbia University. By Benno Weiner. *Joseph W. Esherick* 357

**Asia General**

- DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY IN ASIA. Edited by  
Baogang He, Michael Breen, and James Fishkin. *Kanishka Jayasuriya* 362
- OPPOSING POWER: Building Opposition Alliances in  
Electoral Autocracies. By Elvin Ong. *Yoonkyung Lee* 364
- MOBILIZING FOR DEVELOPMENT: The Modernization of  
Rural East Asia. By Kristen E. Looney. *René Trappel* 366
- PRECARIOUS ASIA: Global Capitalism and Work in Japan,  
South Korea, and Indonesia. By Arne L. Kalleberg,  
Kevin Hewison, and Kwang-Yeong Shin. *Teresita Cruz del Rosario* 368
- ASIA-PACIFIC FISHING LIVELIHOODS. By Michael  
Fabinyi and Kate Barclay. *Robert Winstanley-Chesters* 371
- JAPAN IN AUSTRALIA: Culture, Context and  
Connection. Edited by David Chapman and Carol Hayes. *Chris Burgess* 373
- SKATEBOARDING AND URBAN LANDSCAPES IN ASIA:  
Endless Spots. By Duncan McDuie-Ra. *Stephanie Geertman* 376

**China and Inner Asia**

- CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY CONTRADICTIONS: Lessons  
from China's R2P, Hong Kong, and WTO  
Policy. By Tim Nicholas Rühlig. *Omar Ramon Serrano Oswald* 378
- CHINA'S RISE IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH: The Middle East,  
Africa, and Beijing's Alternative World Order.  
By Dawn C. Murphy. *Joshua Eisenman* 380
- RIVERS OF IRON: Railroads and Chinese Power in  
Southeast Asia. By David M. Lampton, Selina Ho,  
and Cheng-Chwee Kuik. *Chen Li* 382
- THE CHINESE COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE: Juniority and  
Responsiveness in a Party Youth Organization.  
By Konstantinos D. Tsimonis. *Wen-Hsuan Tsai* 384
- THE COMMUNIST JUDICIAL SYSTEM IN CHINA, 1927–1976:  
Building on Fear. By Qiang Fang. *Yang Feng* 386
- DREAMS OF FLIGHT: The Lives of Chinese Women  
Students in the West. By Fran Martin. *Christina Ho* 388
- MAO'S BESTIARY: Medicinal Animals and Modern China.  
By Liz P. Y. Chee. *Scott Hurley* 390



### Northeast Asia

SOCIAL CHANGE IN JAPAN, 1989–2019: Social Status, Social Consciousness, Attitudes and Values. Edited by Carola Hommerich, Naoki Sudo, and Toru Kikkawa.	<i>Ian Neary</i>	392
SUPERCORPORATE: Distinction and Participation in Post-Hierarchy South Korea. By Michael M. Prentice.	<i>Olga Fedorenko</i>	394
BETTING ON THE FARM: Institutional Change in Japanese Agriculture. By Patricia L. Maclachlan and Kay Shimizu.	<i>Leonard Schoppa</i>	397
DREAM SUPER-EXPRESS: A Cultural History of the World's First Bullet Train. By Jessamyn R. Abel.	<i>Ulrike Schaede</i>	399
HEALING LABOR: Japanese Sex Work in the Gendered Economy. By Gabriele Koch.	<i>Kaoru Aoyama</i>	401
JAPAN ON AMERICAN TV: Screaming Samurai Join Anime Clubs in the Land of the Lost. By Alisa Freedman.	<i>Michal Daliot-Bul</i>	403
ADMINISTERING AFFECT: Pop-Culture Japan and the Politics of Anxiety. By Daniel White.	<i>John Ostermiller</i>	406
THE PRISONER: A Memoir. By Hwang Sok-yong; Translated by Anton Hur and Sora Kim-Russell.	<i>Seung Hee Jeon</i>	408

### South Asia and the Himalayas

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS OF INDIA: Chipko Narmada Bachao Andolan Navdanya. By Krishna Mallick.	<i>Surajkumar Thube</i>	410
ORDERING VIOLENCE: Explaining Armed Group-State Relations from Conflict to Cooperation. By Paul Staniland.	<i>Shivaji Mukherjee</i>	413
FROM RAJ TO REPUBLIC: Sovereignty, Violence, and Democracy in India. By Sunil Purushotham.	<i>Oliver Godsmark</i>	416
COLONIAL INSTITUTIONS AND CIVIL WAR: Indirect Rule and Maoist Insurgency in India. By Shivaji Mukherjee.	<i>Paul Staniland</i>	419
HINDUTVA AS POLITICAL MONOTHEISM. By Anustup Basu.	<i>Shefali Jha</i>	421
THE JUDICIALIZATION OF POLITICS IN PAKISTAN: A Comparative Study of Judicial Restraint and Its Development in India, the US and Pakistan. By Waris Husain.	<i>Sadaf Aziz</i>	423
VILLAGE TIES: Women, NGOs, and Informal Institutions in Rural Bangladesh. By Nayma Qayum.	<i>David Lewis</i>	425

### Southeast Asia

SHARIA TRANSFORMATIONS: Cultural Politics and the Rebranding of an Islamic Judiciary. By Michael G. Peletz.	<i>Arskal Salim</i>	428
ALLURING MONSTERS: The Pontianak and Cinemas of Decolonization. By Rosalind Galt.	<i>Adam Knee</i>	430
STRIKE PATTERNS: Notes from Postwar Laos. By Leah Zani.	<i>Erin Lin</i>	432
CHRISTIAN CIRCULATIONS: Global Christianity and the Local Church in Penang and Singapore, 1819–2000. By Jean DeBernardi.	<i>Daniel P. S. Goh</i>	434
THE FILIPINO MIGRATION EXPERIENCE: Global Agents of Change. By Mina Roces.	<i>Pauline Gardiner Barber</i>	436

225



*Pacific Affairs: Volume 96, No. 2 – June 2023*

- MOUNTAINS OF BLAME: Climate and Culpability in the Philippine Uplands. By Will Smith; Foreword by K. Sivaramakrishnan. *Maria F. Mangahas* 439
- TOWARDS A NEW MALAYSIA?: The 2018 Election and Its Aftermath. Edited by Meredith L. Weiss and Faisal S. Hazis. *Chan Xin Ying* 442
- PERFORMING POWER: Cultural Hegemony, Identity, and Resistance in Colonial Indonesia. By Arnout van der Meer. *Muhammad Yuanda Zara* 444
- RELIGIOUS PLURALISM IN INDONESIA: Threats and Opportunities for Democracy. Edited by Chiara Formichi. *Saskia Schäfer* 446

**Australasia and the Pacific Islands**

- WAYFINDING AND CRITICAL AUTOETHNOGRAPHY. Edited by Fetaui Iosefo, Stacy Holman Jones, Anne Harris. *Emily C. Donaldson* 449
- BECOMING A GARAMUT PLAYER IN BALUAN, PAPUA NEW GUINEA: Musical Analysis as a Pathway to Learning. By Tony Lewis. *Michelle Ladwig Williams* 451
- COCONUT COLONIALISM: Workers and the Globalization of Samoa. By Holger Droessler. *Paul Shankman* 453
- MUSIC WORLDING IN PALAU: Chanting, Atmospheres, and Meaningfulness. By Birgit Abels. *Donald H. Rubinstein* 455
- TEARS OF RANGI: Experiments Across Worlds. By Anne Salmond. *Doug Dalton* 457

## The Pacific Review

Volume 36 Number 3 May 2023

---

### Editors

Shaun Breslin

Christopher W. Hughes

### CONTENTS

#### Articles

- 433 Propaganda beyond state borders: the deployment of symbolic resources to mobilize political support among the Chinese diaspora  
*Yan Xiaojun and Li La*
- 463 The political economy of agricultural trade liberalization in Northeast Asia: comparisons with the West and between Japan and Korea  
*Wanki Moon and Takumi Sakuyama*
- 494 Riding the tide: assessing South Korea's hedging strategy through regional security initiatives  
*Yaechan Lee*
- 521 Justifying economic coercion: the discourse of victimhood in China's unilateral sanctions policy  
*Enrico V. Gloria*
- 552 Lessened allied dependence, policy tradeoffs, and undermining autonomy: focusing on the US-ROK and US-Philippines alliances  
*Jiyun Kih*
- 581 Overconfidence, missteps, and tragedy: dynamics of Myanmar's international relations and the genocide of the Rohingya  
*Enze Han*
- 603 "Patriarchal reset" in the Asia Pacific during COVID-19: the impacts on women's security and rights  
*Melissa Johnston, Sara E. Davies, Jacqui True, and Yolanda Riveros-Morales*
- 631 Reinvigorating India's 'Act East' Policy in an age of renewed power politics  
*Chietigj Bajpae*
- 662 The political economy of US maritime strategy in the Indo-Pacific  
*Thomas Furse*

CONTENTS

Volume 30 Numbers 1–3 2022

<b>Issue 1</b>	1
Editors' Note	
<b>Articles</b>	
Assessing Uncertainty in Plutonium Production Estimates Based on the Isotope Ratio Method <i>Benjamin Jung and Malte Götttsche</i>	3
Capabilities of Commercial Satellite Earth Observation Systems and Applications for Nuclear Verification and Monitoring <i>Igor Moric</i>	22
<b>Issue 2</b>	51
Editors' Note	
<b>Research Note</b>	
The Long-Term Global Health Burden from Nuclear Weapon Test Explosions in the Atmosphere: Revisiting Andrei Sakharov's 1958 Estimates <i>Frank N. von Hippel</i>	54
<b>Articles</b>	
Radiation Exposures and Compensation of Victims of French Atmospheric Nuclear Tests in Polynesia <i>Sébastien Philippe, Sonya Schoenberger, and Nabil Ahmed</i>	62
Document-Based Nuclear Archaeology <i>Ole Reistad, Alex Glaser, Rebecca D. Frank, and Sindre H. Kaald</i>	95
<b>Book Review</b>	
Dark Skies: Space Expansionism, Planetary Geopolitics, and the Ends of Humanity <i>Ian A. Crawford</i>	108
<b>Issue 3</b>	115
Editors' Note	
<b>Articles</b>	
Computational Fluid Dynamics Analysis of the Infrared Emission From a Generic Hypersonic Glide Vehicle <i>Graham V. Candler and Ivett A. Leyva</i>	117
Mining for the Bomb: The Vulnerability of Buried Plutonium to Clandestine Recovery <i>Cameron L. Tracy and Rodney C. Ewing</i>	131

## Security Studies

VOLUME 32 NUMBER 1 JANUARY–MARCH 2023

---

China and the Logic of Illiberal Hegemony	<i>Darren J. Lim and G. John Ikenberry</i>	1
How Peacekeepers Fight: Assessing Combat Effectiveness in United Nations Peace Operations	<i>Paul D. Williams</i>	32
<hr/>		
<b>Political Violence</b>		
Social Origins of Modern Terrorism, 1860–1945	<i>Joshua Tschantret</i>	66
Blood Revenge in Civil War: Proof of Concept	<i>Emil Aslan Souleimanov, David S. Siroky and Roberto Colombo</i>	101
Conceptualizing Civil War Complexity	<i>Johan Brosché, Desirée Nilsson and Ralph Sundberg</i>	137
<hr/>		
<b>Public Opinion and the Nuclear Taboo Across Nations: An Exchange</b>		
The Nuclear Taboo and the Inevitability of Uncertainty	<i>Mark S. Bell</i>	166
Birds of a Feather? Probing Cross-National Variation in Nuclear Inhibitions	<i>Målfrid Braut-Hegghammer</i>	172
Who Is Getting Nuked? Nuclear Taboo, Adversary Types, and Atomic Dispositions	<i>Yogesh Joshi</i>	180
Thinking about What People Think about Nuclear Weapons	<i>Benoît Pelopidas and Kjølw Egeland</i>	188
The Authors Reply	<i>Janina Dill, Scott D. Sagan and Benjamin A. Valentino</i>	195



## Security Studies

VOLUME 32 NUMBER 2 APRIL–MAY 2023

---

Perceptions of Leadership Importance: Evidence from the CIA's President's Daily Brief	<i>Michael A. Goldfien</i> <i>Michael F. Joseph</i>	205
Military Regimes and Resistance to Nuclear Weapons Development	<i>Lisa Langdon Koch</i>	239
Madman or Mad Genius? The International Benefits and Domestic Costs of the Madman Strategy	<i>Joshua A. Schwartz</i>	271

---

<b>Getting to Yes in Global Politics</b> Empathy, Risk-Taking, and Concession-Making: Gorbachev's Bold Proposals at Reykjavik to End the US-Soviet Arms Race	<i>Shabin Berenji</i>	306
Fears of Revolution and International Cooperation: The Concert of Europe and the Transformation of European Politics	<i>Chad E. Nelson</i>	338

---

<b>Progressivism and Grand Strategy: An Exchange</b> Wishful Strategies	<i>Tarak Barkawi</i>	371
Delineating Progressive Grand Strategies	<i>Daniel Bessner</i>	377
Stuck on the Left with You: The Limits of Partisanship in US Foreign Policy	<i>Emma Ashford</i>	382
Searching For Progressive Foreign Policy in Theory and in Practice	<i>Rachel Myrick</i>	389
Domestic Legitimacy and Progressive Grand Strategies in US Foreign Policy	<i>C. William Walldorf Jr.</i>	396
Progressivism and Grand Strategy: An Exchange – The Author Replies	<i>Van Jackson</i>	404

## Small Wars & Insurgencies

Volume 34 Number 4 June 2023

---

### CONTENTS

#### Articles

- 747 'The Fall of Afghanistan: An American Tragedy'  
*Robert S. Snyder*
- 759 Power projection of Middle East states in the Horn of Africa: linking security burdens with capabilities  
*Federico Donelli and Brendon J. Cannon*
- 780 Non-state actors and modern technology  
*Andrea Beccaro*
- 803 'Shaping hearts and minds: claret operations in Borneo, 1965–1966'  
*Christopher Tuck*
- 828 The strategic logic of policing in British India  
*Harrison Akins*
- 853 'Destructors' in action, support for insurgents: case study of the Third Silesian Uprising  
*Hubert Królikowski*

## Contents

### Research Articles

- The Nexus Between Foreign Direct Investment, Informal and Formal Sectors in Sri Lanka  
*T. Bhavan* 7
- How Much Technically Efficient Is The South Asian Region? An Intra-Regional Comparison Among Its Affiliates  
*Nitin Arora and Ishfaq Ali Ganaie* 20
- An Econometric Analysis of Revenue Diversification Among Selected Indian States  
*J.S. Darshini and K. Gayithri* 41
- Consumer Disutility from Assorted Referrals in Diagnostics Services  
*Dinabandhu Bag* 64
- Does Rising Energy Prices Lead to Production Fragmentation? An Example from Indian Manufacturing Industries  
*Supratik Guha* 78



---

**CONTENTS**

**Articles**

- 265 Populism in Pakistan: The Exclusionary-Inclusionary Divide in the Politics of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Imran Khan  
*Fizza Batool*
- 283 'Songs of the Lake': Understanding Cultural Expressions of Nature through Dwindling Folk-Songs and Mythologies in Bengaluru  
*Amrita Sen and Harini Nagendra*
- 303 Film and Caste Anxieties in Early Twentieth-Century India  
*C. Yamini Krishna*
- 318 Inspectors of the Raj: A Pedagogy of Critical Conservatism in Odisha  
*Umasankar Patra*
- 336 Theorising Marginality: Discourses on the Making of Modern Adivasi Communities in Kerala  
*Rajesh K.P.*
- 353 From Communist Internationalism to a 'New Humanism': On M.N. Roy's Confrontation with Fascism  
*Christopher Balcom*
- 370 Famine in a Rice Economy: Natural Calamities, Grain Scarcity and the Company-State in Bengal, 1770–1803  
*Baijayanti Chatterjee*
- 388 'Why Can't Our *Bhuta* Have a Mask?' Caste Contestations and Ritual Practice in Tulunadu  
*Vijayashree C.S.*
- 407 Leaving Comrades to Die: *Shahadat*, Soldiering and Accidental Death on the Siachen Glacier  
*Sanaullah Khan*
- 425 Leaving the Hindu Far Right  
*Felix Pal and Neha Chaudhary*
- 445 The Indo-Myanmar Borderlands: Border Trade, Urbanisation and Ethnic Politics in Mizoram, India  
*Snehashish Mitra*
- 464 Of Loss, Belonging and Remembrance: Indian Poetic Responses to World War I  
*Argha Kumar Banerjee*
- 481 Consuming Students: Advertisements and the Indian Youth Market, 1935–65  
*Tom Wilkinson*

**Book Reviews**

- 512 *Reordering Adivasi Worlds: Representation, Resistance, Memory*, by Sangeeta Dasgupta  
*Nilamber Chhetri*
- 514 *New Lives in Anand: Building a Muslim Hub in Western India*, by Sanderien Verstappen  
*Aishani Khurana*



- 516 *The Brief History of a Very Big Book: The Making of the Tamil Encyclopaedia*, by  
A.R. Venkatachalapathy  
Veena Naregal
- 518 *Waiting for Dignity: Legitimacy and Authority in Afghanistan*, by Florian Weigand  
Kanak Rajadhyaksha



**THE  
WASHINGTON  
QUARTERLY**

## 5 PROVOCATIONS

### 7 The Geopolitics of Energy after the Invasion of Ukraine

■ *Morena Skalamera*

Putin's war on Ukraine has combined with preexisting energy trends to create three significant effects transforming the geopolitics of energy: a new understanding about the dangers of energy interdependence; "homegrown" clean energy becoming a tool of energy security; and China's sharpening energy alignment with Russia, particularly their increasing leadership in nuclear power.

### 25 A New Concert for Europe: Security and Order After the War

■ *Karsten Jung*

Whenever the Ukraine war ends, new arrangements will be needed that go far beyond the immediate conditions of a peace deal to restore European order and security. A fresh look at the 19<sup>th</sup> century Concert of Europe provides a possible answer to the vexing question of how to protect vulnerable states *from*, while building a sustainable continental order *with*, today's Russia.

### 45 Embedded Nationalism in a Fragmented World: Lula's Brazil

■ *Vinícius Guilherme Rodrigues Vieira*

Having been re-elected, Lula seems to be aware that Brazil's internal strife demands a new and strategic foreign policy which will look very different this time around. How might a democracy best recover from internal challenges to its rule of law? By pursuing

an approach to economic development and international diplomacy the author calls “embedded nationalism.”

## 61 JAPAN'S CHANGING SECURITY CALCULUS

### 63 Kishida the Accelerator: Japan's Defense Evolution After Abe

■ *Adam P. Liff*

What do Japan's December 2022 strategic documents and January 2023 US-Japan meetings tell us about Tokyo's changing perspectives on its security environment? Do they really mark a fundamental disjuncture in Japan's defense posture? And what do they tell us about Japan's trajectory after former prime minister Shinzo Abe was shockingly assassinated last July?

### 85 Japan's Emerging Security Strategy

■ *Takuya Matsuda*

Japan's new security documents indicate a critical transformational juncture. Major shifts have been designed to reflect a dramatic change in Japan's national security thinking and to untangle the peculiar political and legal hurdles in its alliance politics. There are, however, important ways that policymakers could further refine these ideas for the coming decades.

## 103 ECONOMIC WARFARE AFTER UKRAINE

### 105 Lessons in Sanctions-Proofing from Russia

■ *Caileigh Glenn*

After Russia's 2014 annexation of Crimea, Moscow attempted to “sanctions-proof” its economy. Although sanctions alone remain unlikely to compel a change in behavior, the strength of the US dollar, the reach of multilateral sanctions, and the speed with which sanctions were imposed made it difficult for sanctions-proofing efforts to insulate Russia from sanctions' effects.

### 121 China's Economic Statecraft: Lessons Learned from Ukraine

■ *Audrye Wong*

Relative to Moscow, Beijing is arguably both more sensitive to and more resilient against US economic pressure. While China is vulnerable to US financial power, and is likely to remain so

for the near to medium term, Beijing is likely to take three steps, based on its lessons drawn from the war in Ukraine, to attempt to weaken US and allied leverage in any potential future crisis.

**137 The Devil's in the Differences: Ukraine and a Taiwan Contingency**

■ *William J. Norris*

While there are some similarities between Ukraine and some future Taiwan scenario, US economic statecraft in a Taiwan contingency may prove more challenging, and attention ought to be more focused on areas where they diverge. It is all the more imperative that the US begin enhancing its capability today to successfully conduct economic statecraft in a crisis.

**153 Curbing China's Resilience to US Coercive Economic Statecraft**

■ *Aaron Arnold*

How can Washington curb China's growing resiliency, including "sanctions-proofing," to US coercive economic statecraft? In addition to maintaining a strong dollar, the US must move beyond unilateral sanctions. In the event of a conflict, building regional partnerships and coalitions which can move quickly against China's financial system may prove far more consequential.



	<b>Title And Periodicity</b>	<b>Web Address</b>
1	American Political Science Review	<a href="http://journals.cambridge.org/psr">journals.cambridge.org/psr</a>
2	Arms Control Today	<a href="http://www.armscontrol.org">http://www.armscontrol.org</a>
3	Asia Pacific Review	<a href="http://www.informaworld.com">http://www.informaworld.com</a>
4	Asia Pacific Viewpoint	<a href="http://www.wiley.com/journal">http://www.wiley.com/journal</a>
5	Asian Ethnicity	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/caet20">https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/caet20</a>
6	Australian Journal of International Affairs	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/caji20">https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/caji20</a>
7	British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/cbjm20/current">https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/cbjm20/current</a>
8	China and World Economy	<a href="http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/">http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/</a>
9	China and World Economy	<a href="http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/">http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/</a>
10	China	<a href="https://muse.jhu.edu/article/884127/summary">https://muse.jhu.edu/article/884127/summary</a>
11	Cooperation and Conflict	<a href="https://journals.sagepub.com/home/cac">https://journals.sagepub.com/home/cac</a>
12	Current History	<a href="http://www.currenthistory.com/">http://www.currenthistory.com/</a>
13	Defence & Peace Economics	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/">https://www.tandfonline.com/</a>
14	Defence Studies	<a href="http://www.tandfonline.com/">www.tandfonline.com /</a>
15	Diplomacy & Statecraft	<a href="http://www.informaworld.com">http://www.informaworld.com</a>
16	Diplomatic History	<a href="https://academic.oup.com/dh">https://academic.oup.com/dh</a>
17	East Asia	<a href="https://www.springer.com/journal/">https://www.springer.com/journal/</a>
18	Europe-Asia Studies	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/">https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/</a>
19	European Security	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/">https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/</a>
20	Force	<a href="https://forceindia.net/">https://forceindia.net/</a>
21	Foreign Affairs	<a href="http://www.foreignaffairs.org">http://www.foreignaffairs.org</a>
22	Himalayan and Central Asian Studies	<a href="https://www.himalayanresearch.org/journal.php">https://www.himalayanresearch.org/journal.php</a>
23	Himalayan and Central Asian Studies	<a href="https://www.himalayanresearch.org/journal.php">https://www.himalayanresearch.org/journal.php</a>
24	International Journal of Intelligence and counterintelligence	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/ujic20/">https://www.tandfonline.com/toc/ujic20/</a>
25	International Journal of Middle East Studies	<a href="https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-journal-of-middle-east-studies">https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-journal-of-middle-east-studies</a>
26	International Organization	<a href="https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization">https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization</a>
27	Iranian Studies	<a href="http://www.informaworld.com">http://www.informaworld.com</a>
28	Janes Defence and Intelligence Review	<a href="http://jir.janes.com/">http://jir.janes.com/</a>
29	Journal of Asian and African Studies	<a href="http://jas.sagepub.com/">http://jas.sagepub.com/</a>
30	Journal of Contemporary China	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/">https://www.tandfonline.com/</a>
31	Journal of East Asian Studies	<a href="https://www.jstor.org/journal/jeastasianstudie">https://www.jstor.org/journal/jeastasianstudie</a>

32	Journal of Indian Ocean Studies	<a href="https://sios.org.in/journal.html">https://sios.org.in/journal.html</a>
33	Journal of Military History	<a href="http://www.smh-hq.org/jmh.html">http://www.smh-hq.org/jmh.html</a>
34	Journal of Peace Research	<a href="http://jpr.sagepub.com/">http://jpr.sagepub.com/</a>
35	Journal of Peace Research	<a href="http://jpr.sagepub.com/">http://jpr.sagepub.com/</a>
36	Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies	<a href="http://miar.ub.edu/">http://miar.ub.edu/</a>
37	Journal of Strategic Studies	<a href="http://www.informaworld.com">http://www.informaworld.com</a>
38	Middle East Critique	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/">https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/</a>
39	Middle East Journal	<a href="http://www.mei.edu/middle-east-journal">www.mei.edu/middle-east-journal</a>
40	Military Thought	<a href="http://eastviewpress.com/">http://eastviewpress.com/</a>
41	Modern Asian Studies	<a href="https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/modern-asian-studies">https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/modern-asian-studies</a>
42	Modern Asian Studies	<a href="https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/modern-asian-studies">https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/modern-asian-studies</a>
43	National Security	<a href="http://www.usni.org/">http://www.usni.org/</a>
44	North Korean Review	<a href="http://www.northkoreanreview.net">www.northkoreanreview.net</a>
45	Ocean Development & International Law	<a href="http://www.tandfonline.com">www.tandfonline.com</a>
46	Pacific Affairs	<a href="http://www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca/">http://www.pacificaffairs.ubc.ca/</a>
47	Pacific Review	<a href="http://www.informaworld.com">http://www.informaworld.com</a>
48	Science and Global Security	<a href="https://scienceandglobalsecurity.org/">https://scienceandglobalsecurity.org/</a>
49	Security Studies	<a href="http://www.informaworld.com">http://www.informaworld.com</a>
50	Security Studies	<a href="http://www.informaworld.com">http://www.informaworld.com</a>
51	Small Wars & Insurgencies	<a href="https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/fswi20">https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/fswi20</a>
52	South Asia Economic Journal	<a href="https://journals.sagepub.com/home/sae">https://journals.sagepub.com/home/sae</a>
53	South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies	<a href="http://www.tandfonline.com/">http://www.tandfonline.com /</a>
54	Washington Quarterly	<a href="http://www.twq.com/">http://www.twq.com /</a>



MANOHAR PARRIKAR INSTITUTE FOR  
DEFENCE STUDIES AND ANALYSES  
मनोहर पर्रिकर रक्षा अध्ययन 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](mailto:idsa@vsnl.com) Website: [www.idsa.in](http://www.idsa.in)