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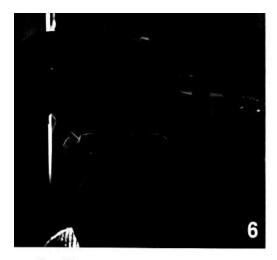
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By Kerry Chávez

Ukraine has held the line in the war by harnessing commercial drones but Russia is now doing that too.

12 Reducing Strategic Risks of Advanced Computing Technologies

By Lindsay Rand

Facing competition from China on advanced computing technologies, the United States must accelerate domestic research and development to maximize the benefits of these technologies while curtailing potential national security risks.

18 Assessing the Ninth BWC Review Conference: An Interview with Conference President Leonardo Bencini

Although the outcome was modest, the conference produced one of the few international agreements of 2022, he says.

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#### 23 Congress Boosts Defense Budget Beyond Biden's Request

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#### 26 Pentagon: Chinese Nuclear Arsenal Exceeds 400 Warheads

A senior U.S. defense official described China's effort to modernize, expand, and diversify its nuclear arsenal as rapid and substantial.

#### 27 UN Diplomats Spar Over Iranian Drone Sales

The United States expressed regret over the UN secretary-general's failure to initiate an investigation into evidence that Iran is supplying Russia with drones for its war against Ukraine.

#### 29 Putin Denies Wielding Nuclear Threats

After raising the nuclear temperature with his recent comments, the Russian president denied issuing any threats of possible nuclear weapons use.

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The Biden administration has not rejected Ukraine's request for U.S. cluster munitions to defend against Russian forces, according to CNN.

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Photo by JULIA KOCHETOVA

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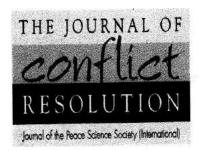
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The United States failed to integrate Women, Peace and Security (WPS) concepts and theories into security and policy decisions in Afghanistan. Yet lessons learned, and better incorporation of WPS strategy, can provide a strategic edge in great power competition.

- The Road Not Yet Taken: Regionalizing US Policy Toward Russia
  - Anna Ohanyan

Fixation on Moscow has overburdened the US-Russia relationship. American strategic thinking should instead work from the margins inward, seeking to strategically build and engage four regions around Russia, creating favorable opportunities for market economies and democratic breakthroughs.

#### 49 REBUILDING US ALLIANCES IN EAST ASIA

- A Model Alliance? The Strategic Logic of US-Australia Cooperation
  - Andrew Carr

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## 67 The Case Against Nuclear Sharing in East Asia

■ Joshua Byun and Do Young Lee

Analysts and policymakers on both sides of the Pacific are debating "nuclear sharing," or devolving US nuclear assets and responsibilities to allied territory, to address strategic anxiety in East Asia. The authors argue it would likely prove strategically counterproductive, exacerbating discord within the US alliance system and potentially triggering aggressive responses from regional adversaries.

### 89 LEADING ON EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES

- 91 Leading in Artificial Intelligence through Confidence Building Measures
  - Michael C. Horowitz and Lauren Kahn

How should the United States simultaneously pursue artificial intelligence (AI) swiftly, while reducing the risk of unintentional conflict or escalation? The answer may lie in US leadership to promote responsible norms and standards of behavior for AI through four confidence-building measures.

## 107 Updating Dollar Diplomacy: Leading on Digital Currency Standards

■ Tim Marple

The transition to a global digital economy, complete with digital currencies, is underway. Yet it is occurring at a time when the US is facing twin crises of economic and political power in setting non-military norms across the world. In the coming months and years, the Biden administration has a unique opportunity to begin solving both problems with a single move: leading on standards with the digital dollar.

## 121 REASSESSING CHINA

- 123 Bipolarity is Back: Why It Matters
  - Cliff Kupchan

Because the international system is once again bipolar and will be for the foreseeable future, policymakers and analysts should reset their expectations for both US-China relations and China itself. That does not mean a new Cold War is emerging, and prospects for conflict are less than commonly recognized, but it does mean nuanced effects on seven different subsections of international order.

# 141 From Affirmative to Assertive Patriots: Nationalism in Xi Jinping's China

Suisheng Zhao

Chinese nationalism has historically been driven both by the state (top-down) and by populist forces (bottom-up). Xi Jinping has intensified the patriotic education campaign and information control, producing a state-led nationalism shifting from affirming a positive "us" in China to assertively combating a negative "them," raising anxiety about wider geopolitical conflicts.

## 163 The Strategic Implications of the Evolving US-China Nuclear Balance

Brian Radzinsky

China is significantly expanding its nuclear forces, while Beijing's nuclear posture and strategy are increasingly moving targets. What does this mean for the United States? The unfolding debate has introduced complexity but not clarity as China will soon overcome long-standing strategic dilemmas and US advantages, raising two fundamental questions for US and international security.

## 183 How to Defend Taiwan: Leading with Economic Warfare

Michael O'Hanlon

While the US debate over "strategic ambiguity" toward Taiwan has heated up, a strategy of economic punishment is a more credible deterrent prior to escalating to military combat. The United States needs advance preparation now, with allies, to develop the elements of a capability to wage economic warfare against China if Beijing seeks to forcibly coerce Taiwan.



## 5 Provocations

## 7 Adapting NATO to Great-Power Competition

Henrik Larsen

The invasion of Ukraine has enhanced NATO's ability to face great-power competition as a cohesive and properly calibrated defense alliance. But the alliance must address two potential maladaptations as it makes its transition through the summer 2023 Vilnius summit and beyond.

### 27 Governing the Final Frontier: Risk Reduction in Outer Space

■ Naomi Egel and R. Lincoln Hines

With more state and private actors, space is becoming increasingly crowded with greater risk of accidental collisions. In seeking solutions, the US faces important choices: should it pursue legally binding measures? Unilaterally or with others? Which others? Three multilateral risk reduction measures proposed here can promote a more stable and sustainable space environment.

### 45 The Real Challenge of China's Nuclear Modernization

Evan Braden Montgomery and Toshi Yoshihara

China is engaged in a significant quantitative and qualitative nuclear buildup. That could increase regional instability—not necessarily because its strategic nuclear forces will backstop its conventional military power, but because its theater nuclear capabilities might be used to keep the United States out of a regional conflict, with major implications for extended deterrence.

## 61 A Finely Fractured Consensus: American Motivations for Rules-Based Order

■ Benjamin Tze Em Ho

An ongoing schism within the United States exists over what the rules of an ideal international order should be. Fieldwork interviews conducted by the author revealed three competing schools of thought with implications for America's global role and policies toward China.

## 77 INDO-PACIFIC COALITION REALITIES

## 79 Still Getting Asia Wrong: No "Contain China" Coalition Exists

David C. Kang

For decades, scholars have been claiming that Chinese power is, will, or should cause East Asian countries to balance it. Yet, these countries have steadily reduced their proportional defense spending, are increasing their economic relations with China, and are building regional multilateral institutions with Beijing. US strategy needs to be rethought: there is little evidence any East Asian country would join even an incipient containment coalition against China.

#### 99 Maritime Coalitions and Deterrence: Beware the Melian Choice

Michael S. Malley and James J. Wirtz

Existing US deterrence strategy unrealistically assumes that allies and partners will do three things they have not done in the past and show few signs of being willing to do today. Much US thinking about deterrence is shaped by deterring a land war in Central Europe, but the incentives and opportunities faced by members of a maritime coalition are different.

### 113 The Ideology Barriers to Anti-China Coalitions

Mark L. Haas

The goal of creating partnerships against China akin to the Cold War will be difficult to achieve. In the past, almost every US ally in Europe and Asia was either a liberal democracy or right-wing dictatorship hostile to Soviet communism. In Asia today, no such unifying ideological force exists and key potential US partners are ideologically closer to China

## 133 India's Radical Reimagination: No More Bandwagoning, for Real

Yogesh Joshi

India has historically been averse to balance of power politics, but not for ideological, moralistic, or even principled reasons. The 2020 Galwan crisis was thus an inflection point when India realized the conditions for bandwagoning no longer applied, and began to abandon the strategy with surprising ease, embracing the logic of balancing China and aligning closely with the US.

## 157 Getting ASEAN Right in US Indo-Pacific Strategy

■ Kei Koga

New US-centric frameworks, such as AUKUS, risk further marginalizing ASEAN, always a "second order" priority in US strategy. Although ASEAN is particularly vulnerable after the 2021 Myanmar coup, the US and its allies can clarify an institutional division of labor to help maintain ASEAN unity, regional stability, and prevent member states from aligning with China.

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## Subhash, Savarkar, Sardar

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