

shaping public opinion at home and abroad. The author regularly touches on the features—cheapness, vivid colors, and simple yet powerful story lines—that made the books an ideal medium for American propaganda. The pulp magazines were also so ubiquitous that they could be easily distributed by means other than official channels. American service personnel carried them wherever they went—Hirsch likens them to “plague carriers” (p. 158). Private corporations such as Coca-Cola also helped pay for and dispense some issues (p. 230), giving the government plausible deniability.

Two of Hirsch’s chapters set up an interesting dichotomy. In Chapter 2, Hirsch writes about how lack of censorship led the comic book industry to push the boundaries of decency with stories that were hyper-violent, sexist, and racist, which presented American culture in an ugly manner. This eventually led to congressional scrutiny and industry self-censorship. Juxtaposed with that, Chapter 7 discusses how Marvel Comics navigated the new constraints placed on content to create the superheroes that have dominated not only the comic books, but also American film in recent decades. Captain America, Iron Man, and Thor, along with many other characters in the genre, were overtly patriotic and presented the U.S. in a positive light.

Although Hirsch does not make the connection explicitly, he also notes that many of the men in charge of making the comics that gave the medium (and the nation) a bad name were accused, rightly or wrongly, of being communists (p. 162). The wildly popular Marvel superheroes were solidly anti-communist, and characters such as Thor (p. 248) and Iron Man (p. 261) even fought alongside American soldiers in Vietnam.

Pulp Empire is well written, logically arranged, and accessible. The book is printed on fine paper, with numerous colorful images from comic book covers. Historians of the Cold War should find this a useful companion to other works about how the CIA influenced many features of American culture that traveled abroad. Hirsch has added a popular turn to those studies examining how high culture was used to battle communism. Hirsch also does a good job of putting the “story” into history. For instance, Bill Gaines, frustrated over navigating the post-1954 censorship, left the industry and published *Mad Magazine* instead (p. 189). Such popular culture references are a natural appeal for students of all ages.

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Colonizing Kashmir: State-Building Under Indian Occupation, by Hafsa Kanjwal. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2023. 348 pages. \$95.00, cloth. \$32.00, paper. \$32.00, electronic.

In her cogent and persuasive book, *Colonizing Kashmir*, Hafsa Kanjwal, “attempts to understand the forms colonialism takes today within (post)colonial nation-states” (p. 14). Her attempt to understand these forms of colonialism is centered on the colonization of Kashmir by India, a nation-state that often comes

to exemplify decolonization in the post-war period. By retheorizing India's decolonization, Kanjwal raises necessary and important questions for scholars and teachers of decolonization more broadly. How do we examine self-determination and decolonization when decolonization engendered new forms of colonialism? How were state-building projects of newly emergent nations caught up in forms of colonialism including settler occupation?

Kanjwal grapples with these questions and the colonizing force of India in Kashmir by examining Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad (1907-1972), the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir from 1953 to 1964. To understand Bakshi's policies and the Indian occupation of Kashmir, she centers a colonial modality of control deployed by India—the politics of life. Following Neve Gordon's analysis of Israel's colonial policies in Palestine, Kanjwal argues that "the early decades of India's colonial occupation were marked by...a 'politics of life,' in which the Indian government and Kashmir's client regimes propagated development, empowerment, and progress to secure the well-being of Kashmir's population and to normalize the occupation for multiple audiences" (p. 9). A politics of life, Kanjwal contends, pivoted questions in Kashmir from Kashmir's political future and self-determination to governance and development. It was a change that sought to domesticate and naturalize Kashmir into the Indian nation-state (p. 71).

Yet this process to naturalize the colonial occupation of Kashmir was no easy task. It required international cooperation and state propaganda. Here, Kanjwal radically undoes our narratives of Third Worldism by demonstrating how India's emergence as a bastion of anti-colonialism and a leader of the Non-Aligned Movement required crushing Kashmiri claims to self-determination—a task made easier with Soviet and, eventually, U.S. support, especially in the media. Kashmir was significant not only to India's international standing, but also to its own identity as a nation. As Kanjwal details, tourism and film crafted a Hindu sacred geography for a secular India. Tourism, moreover, produced a notion of "Indian benevolence" as tourism became a sign of granting economic opportunity to Kashmiris.

Economic opportunity was indeed central to the politics of life, but this opportunity also produced paradoxes by enabling forms of subjectivity that led to contradictions between the political aspirations of Kashmiris and their desire for economic stability (p. 271). The chapters ably detail these paradoxes that emerged from financial integration, infrastructure projects, educational policy, food aid, and more. These policies and projects were not merely an Indian imposition, however. Instead, there was collaboration. For example, Bakshi's desire for legitimacy sanctioned these various undertakings—a legitimacy he hoped to gain by improving economic conditions through development and aid. Thus, Kanjwal writes, we see "the provision of aid and abundance *under India* was intended to remake sentiments *toward India* and provide legitimacy to Bakshi's government" (p. 145).

To understand the remaking of sentiments, Kanjwal undertakes a forceful critique of standardized understandings of identity framed around the secularity of India and Kashmiri culture. Kanjwal explains that the very desire for a syncretic Kashmiri identity—*kashmiriyat*—was cultivated by India and Bakshi's government, especially as they sought to construct both a "secular modern

Kashmiri subjectivity” and a secular national heritage (p. 161). Yet, in so doing, Kanjwal demonstrates that secular policies further exacerbated the very religious difference they sought to eliminate.

Although Kanjwal centers the politics of life, she ends by noting how India also utilized surveillance, violence, and repression to stifle dissent. These interventions, including emergency laws, restricted the political possibilities available to Kashmiris even as the politics around the plebiscite kept—and continues to keep—alive the prospect of self-determination.

Kanjwal’s attention to India’s colonialism offers a powerful revision to curriculum around national independence that can often track India’s decolonization as liberatory and celebrate India’s early role in shaping a “Third Way,” especially in the Non-Aligned Movement. Following Kanjwal’s challenges, when we teach, we are compelled to ask: what violent and colonial policies did India’s “anti-colonial, socialist, third-world positionality” globally enable and sanction (p. 89)? How does our search for identities and politics in the past—including composite and shared ones—further legitimate colonial occupations? It is by raising such important questions that *Colonizing Kashmir* is essential reading for teachers and scholars of South Asia, especially as we grapple with ongoing violence in what are, nominally, post-colonial nations like India.

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Convoys: The British Struggle Against Napoleonic Europe and America, by Roger Knight. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2023. 416 pages. \$35.00, cloth. \$16.99, paper. \$16.99, electronic.

Roger Knight, curator emeritus of the Royal Maritime Museum, Greenwich, has already contributed a great deal to scholarship of Great Britain during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. *Convoys* is Knight’s effort at filling a long-neglected gap in the historiography of the period; the only article examining Napoleonic-era convoys prior to his own work was published in 1959, and other historians have treated convoys as a secondary concern to the great naval battles of the day. Knight, however, asserts that convoys allowed Great Britain to remain financially solvent through two decades of war, and thereby laid the foundation for victory over Napoleon in 1815. In simplest terms, “Without the safety afforded by convoys, the British could not have paid for the war” (p. 277). For the classroom, chapters and passages would be helpful to student discussions of the economic impact of wars.

The book opens with a chapter examining maritime commerce protection in the years following the English Civil War. Initially, English warships patrolled the most heavily used trade routes. As English (and eventually British) trade expanded, warship-escorted convoys were established for the English Channel and Mediterranean Sea to protect merchantmen from French privateers, Barbary corsairs, and other adversaries. These convoys would be adopted during every