ABSTRACTS

Making Grand Strategy in an Era of Turbulence and Change
SONG Dexing

ABSTRACT: In an era of turbulence and change, international power has become decentralized among, above, and below countries, and the widespread anxiety it has spawned has made this the "age of strategic anxiety". Meanwhile, the evolution of the basic international attitude of the United States and the West, characterized by populism, and the strategic tendency of self-interest, directly impact the relations between countries. America's primary geostrategic concerns, which have undergone a historic shift from land to sea in the 21st century, have promoted the formation of a united front of maritime countries against China. The changes in the above strategic environment have determined that the making of China's grand strategy must attach great importance to domestic development, which is the basis for its success, and at the same time, attach great importance to the optimization of the external strategic environment, effectively enhance strategic thinking, objectively and rationally grasp the relationship between China and the world, and master the art of using power. Therefore, in the making of grand strategy, Beijing need to pay enough attention to both domestic and international dimensions, and regard it as a process that needs constant adjustment and optimization to ensure internal dynamic balance.
KEYWORDS: era of turbulence and change, China, grand strategy, geopolitics, international power

Germany's National Security Strategy Under a Triple Strategic Logic
ZHENG Chunrong and LIN Zhuoran

ABSTRACT: Germany's first National Security Strategy (NSS) has attracted widespread attention and discussion. This paper systematically examines Germany's first NSS through the lens of three political logics of strategy-making: grand strategy, opportunism, and risk management. Germany's NSS is a statement of broad principles of action, and the detailed plan of action derived from which remains to be seen. As Germany's security policy centers around the

prevention of risk factors, its risk perception is significantly affected by the Russian-Ukrainian conflict and great power rivalry, and risk management in military, economic, and institutional terms will be the focus of Germany's national security policy. Germany's NSS is also characterized by opportunism, but the degree of this characteristic is limited, indicating that Germany's national security policy is more stable. In short, German NSS is characterized by a mixture of grand strategy, opportunism, and risk management. Guided by this national security strategy with mixed characteristics, the binding force of Germany's culture of restraint will be further weakened, the transatlantic partnership will be further consolidated, and European strategic autonomy will be hard to materialize under the NATO framework in the foreseeable future. However, the implementation of Germany's current NSS will be affected by a combination of factors, such as destabilizing internal affairs and possible changes in U.S. grand strategy.

Pluralized Balancing: Australia's Foreign Strategy in the Shifting Indo-Pacific Dynamics

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ABSTRACT: Abstract: As the United States increasingly shifts its strategic resource to the Indo-Pacific, Australia has taken on a more prominent role in regional order and world affairs. The relationship between Australia and China has also experienced major setbacks and adjustments since 2016. Australia believes that China's rise and the diminution of U.S. leadership pose structural challenges to the international system. Amid intensifying security challenges, evolving international order, and unbalanced economic interdependence, Australia's national interests is facing great uncertainties. Therefore, Australia is advancing its cooperation with other regional actors, while adjusting its relations with United States and China, so as to balance the challenges in a pluralized way. On the security front, Australia builds on the U.S.-centered alliance system to strengthen its deterrence capacity. On the political front, Australia tries to advance its leadership for a "rules-based order" under minilateral mechanisms with like-mined partners. In economic terms, Australia attempts to sustain trade ties with China, while pursing economic integration with other Asian countries.

The implementation of Australian foreign strategy still faces limitations, due to its policy dependency on United States and domestic political environment. China needs to address its differences as well as its common interests with Australia. It also needs to incorporate Australia into the process of reforming the international political and economic order, so as to relieve Australia's strategic anxiety, and further advance the bilateral relations.

KEYWORDS: China-Australia relations, U.S.-Australia alliance, Australian foreign policy, middle power, Asia-Pacific order

Global Digital Governance Deficits: Manifestations, Causes, and China's Practices

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ABSTRACT: With the rapid development of digital technology and digital economy, the current global digital governance system is far from being able to meet the needs of the international community, and a global digital governance deficit has emerged. The global digital governance deficit is centered on two aspects: first, the deficit on the supply side, i.e., capabilities, institutions, and ideas, manifested in the further widening of the global digital divide, the lack of institution building, and the paucity of viable ideas; second, the deficit in governance effectiveness, which is undermined by digital hegemony, digital protectionism, and digital imperialism. The global digital governance deficit results from a confluence of factors: governance environment, governance subjects, and governance objects. In the face of the severe global digital governance deficit, China has taken up the responsibility to enhance global connectivity and bridge the global digital divide by deepening cooperation in digital infrastructure, digital economy, digital trade, and digital talent. China is also enhancing the level of global digital institution construction by taking the initiative to create governance mechanisms, exploring governance norms, and actively participating in the alignment of international digital rules. By advocating the ideal of global governance based on broad-based negotiation, joint efforts, and shared benefits, and by promoting the construction of a digital community of shared future, China contributes its wisdom to the global digital governance.

KEYWORDS: global digital governance, governance deficit, good digital governance, digital community of shared future

Global Climate Governance and China's Strategic Options in the Context of Great Changes: An Analysis of the First Global Stocktake
LI Huiming and XIANG Wenjie

ABSTRACT: The 2023 Dubai Climate Conference completed the first global stocktake of the Paris Agreement, clearly stating that significant collective progress has been made under the Paris Agreement, but Parties are not yet collectively on track to achieving the purpose of the Paris Agreement and its long-term goals, and there is still a huge gap to achieve the goals. This climate conference has also established a roadmap of transitioning away from fossil fuels in energy systems and reaching net zero carbon dioxide emissions by 2050, which marks the beginning of the end of the fossil fuel era and indicates that the global trend of green transition is not only irreversible, but the pace of transition will continue to accelerate in this critical decade. The world is currently facing great changes unseen in a century, and the urgency of global climate governance is significantly increasing. As a responsible great power in the international community and a key actor in global climate governance, China needs to firmly promote the achievement of its own carbon peaking and carbon neutrality goals, actively promote and take a lead in the global low-carbon transition, and contribute greater efforts to achieving global climate governance goals, starting from the strategic perspective of building a community with a shared future for mankind and taking advantage of the clear signal sent by the first global stocktake.

KEYWORDS: Dubai Climate Conference, global climate governance, global stocktake, Paris Model, China

Ecological Civilization Institutional Alignment in China's Foreign Relations
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ABSTRACT: The Earth is grappling with an unprecedented ecological crisis marked by a surge in extreme weather events, environmental degradation, and loss of biodiversity. The international arena of climate governance has long been characterized by political discord and challenges, including the dilemma of collective action and disparities in governance status among participants. Urgent action is needed to establish a fair and effective multilateral cooperative governance mechanism. In response, China has proposed a global initiative to jointly construct an ecological civilization and reform the global environmental and climate governance system, which has become an integral component of

China's foreign policy. Since the 18th CPC National Congress, China has emerged as a significant participant, contributor, and leader in global ecological civilization construction. Central to this endeavor is institutional alignment, a critical element for China and the international community to collaboratively pursue ecological civilization construction. This paper identifies three key aspects of this institutional alignment: firstly, multilateral collaboration anchored by the United Nations; secondly, bilateral and regional cooperation between China and other nations; and thirdly, alignment with international initiatives independently proposed by China. China's leadership in promoting ecological civilization, underpinned by green principles, serves as a pivotal force driving institutional alignment in foreign relations and bolstering international contributions in this realm. China should seize strategic opportunities to enhance alignment and foster global ecological civilization based on principles of extensive consultation, joint contribution, and shared benefits.

KEYWORDS: global ecological civilization, green leadership, institutional alignment, Global Governance

The Fetters of Alliance System: The Interactive Logic of Asia-Pacific Minilateral Security Cooperation

LI Dejie

ABSTRACT: Amid profound changes in the Asia-Pacific region, the United States and its allies have promoted the multilateralization of the traditional "hub-and-spoke" alliance system in order to cope with the rise of China, and the result is the formation of minilateral security cooperation. The current theoretical frameworks that center around state-actors' strategic motives are inadequate in explaining the emergence of minilateral security cooperation stemming from the multilateralization of alliance system. Therefore, it is necessary to explicate this dynamic both externally and internally, i.e. the United States' relations with its allies inside the alliance and its interactions with outside partners. Under the hierarchical structure of the alliance system, the lopsided dependence of allies on the United States for security and the closure of the system itself have a fettering effect on its multilateralization. On the one hand, closer cooperation on security issues weakens the unipolarity of the alliance system, while the "critical mass" of the participation in the issues highlights the exclusiveness of the system, thus forming an integrated minilateral security cooperation. On the other hand, the extensive security cooperation between the alliance system and its external

security partners leads to the weakening of the exclusiveness, but also maintains the lopsided security dependence due to the strategic autonomy of security partners, thus forming an expanded minilateral security cooperation. By examining the characteristics of trilateral security cooperation between the United States, Japan, and South Korea, as well as the quadrilateral security cooperation between the United States, Japan, India, and Australia, the interactive logic of these two types of cooperation is verified.

KEYWORDS: minilateral security cooperation, "hub-and-spoke" alliance, fettering effect, security dependency, strategic autonomy

Reshaping the Security Role of Paramilitary Forces: A Comparative Analysis of Türkiye, Poland, and Ukraine
WANG Siyu

ABSTRACT: Paramilitary forces are early manifestations of the nation-state concept and the modern Western military system. They represent a semi-military force, sharing similarities with traditional armies in terms of organizational structure, culture, and functions, while also possessing significant political attributes. The emergence of fragile nation-states and radical nationalism from the 19th to the early 20th century collectively expanded the scope and moral dimensions for the utilization of informal force, thereby reinforcing the influence and impact of military elites on national political dynamics and agendas. This phenomenon established a social and cultural foundation for paramilitarism, which persisted in the institutional memory and symbolic representation of national identity in certain countries until the end of the Cold War. The onset of the 21st-century global era of nontraditional security challenges has prompted adjustments in security strategies across various nations, offering paramilitary forces fresh opportunities for redefining their security roles. A comparative analysis of the formation, evolution, and contemporary role adjustments of different paramilitary forces in Poland, Türkiye, and Ukraine, shows that the "gray attributes" associated with paramilitary forces in these countries have diminished under the influence of institutional frameworks and norms. Moreover, a clearer delineation of roles between the military and law enforcement agencies has emerged, marking a transition from cultural artifacts to institutional mechanisms.

KEYWORDS: paramilitary forces, nontraditional security, Ukraine, Poland, Türkiye