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(By courtesy of the Foreign Affairs Office of Gansu Province)

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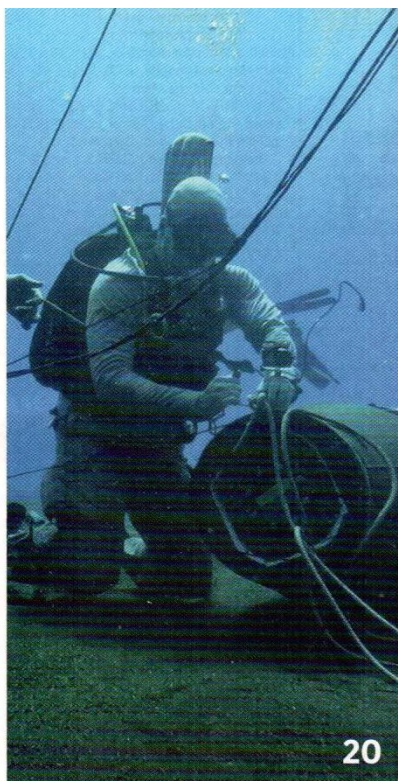
By Colonel Pat Garrett, USMC (Ret.), and Lieutenant Colonel Frank Hoffman, USMCR (Ret.)

Digital, physical, and biological technologies are reshaping militaries; the Navy must take charge.

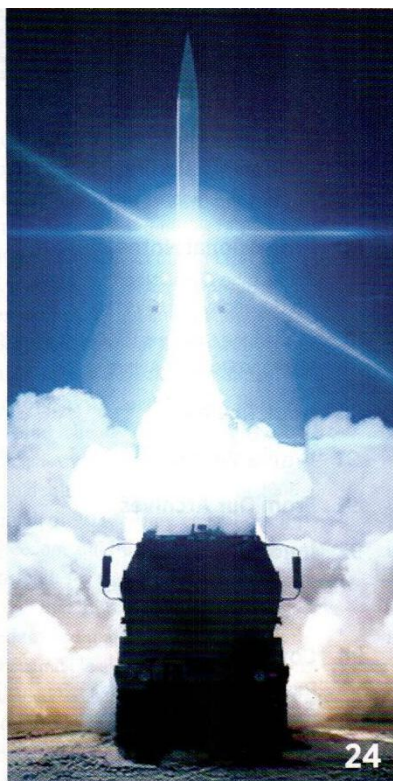
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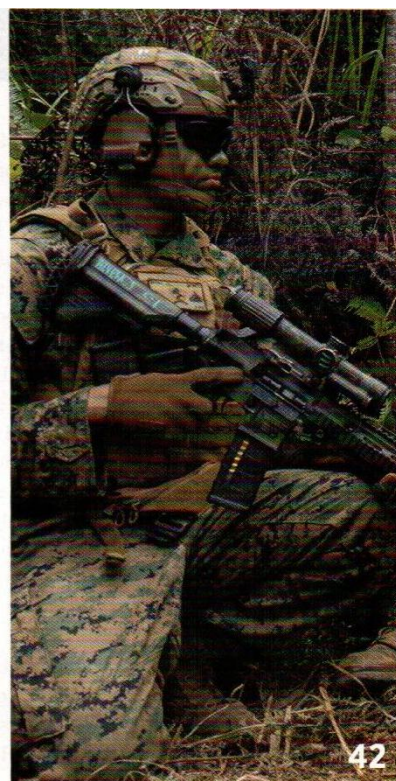
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U.S. Marine Corps (Staci Morris)

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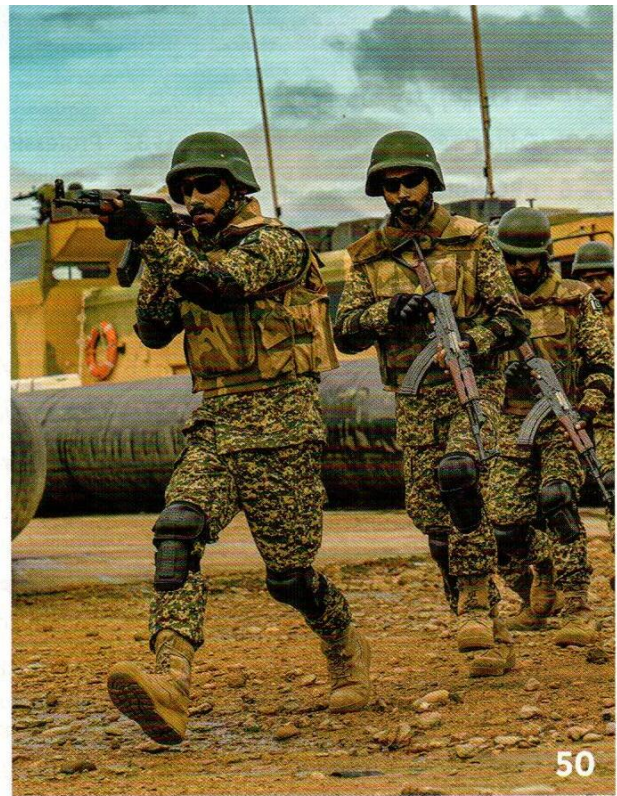
The United States must embrace a new doctrine and base resilience measures.

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By Captain Garrett Miller and Commanders Kyle Fullerton and Srđan Samardžić, USN

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By Captain James E. Fanelli, USN (Ret.)

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By Eric Wertheim

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A Swedish CB90-class fast assault craft approaches the well deck of the *Whidbey Island*-class dock landing ship *USS Gunston Hall* (LSD-44) during NATO exercise Steadfast Defender 24.
U.S. Navy (Danielle Serocki)

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THE WASHINGTON QUARTERLY

5 PROVOCATIONS

7 “Friendly” Nuclear Proliferation and its Discontents

■ *Toby Dalton*

Some officials and analysts are recently touting the potential merits of “friendly” proliferation in Seoul, Tokyo, or Warsaw, among others, to serve US interests by enhancing allies’ ability to protect themselves. Yet, the increased risks of nuclear crises, arms racing, and nuclear use would cause severe damage to US interests, those allies themselves, and the rest of the world.

25 More Is Not Better: The Risks of a US Nuclear Buildup for Extended Deterrence

■ *Timothée Albessard*

Calls for new US nuclear capabilities to strengthen extended nuclear deterrence have expanded, especially with the New START Treaty expiring in February 2026. However, significant delays and cost overruns in existing US modernization plans as well as counterforce targeting choices would undermine both crisis and arms race stability with China and Russia rather than strengthen extended deterrence. The problem is political—allies fear US abandonment—not nuclear.

45 The Real US Energy Security Problem—And How to Fix It

■ *Rosemary Kelanic*

Surprisingly, the US has an oil security problem because the oil intensity of its economy is greater than its peers, including

China, meaning a major supply disruption or price shock would hurt the US more. Unfortunately, two of the principal policy tools the US has adopted since the 1970s—including US military presence in the Persian Gulf—are deeply flawed. If policy-makers really want to heighten energy security, their best bet is to electrify the US vehicle fleet.

69 Achieving Burden-Shifting Through a European Security Patchwork

■ *Gesine Weber*

Given Russia's invasion of Ukraine, Trump's reelection, and the long-term likelihood of US disengagement, European powers must accelerate beyond burden-sharing to burden-shifting alliance responsibilities toward Europe. But how? The cornerstone of burden-shifting should be to systematically redesign the European security order's institutional framework toward a comprehensive patchwork interlocking the assets of different existing institutions.

87 REASSESSING CHINA

89 Why Getting China Half Right Risks Getting It All Wrong

■ *Andrew Scobell and Kai He*

By focusing solely on capabilities, many scholars and analysts only get China half right. Overemphasizing growing capabilities while extrapolating maximalist ambitions and projecting worst-case scenarios is downright dangerous, inviting a self-fulfilling prophecy filled with escalating tensions and unintended conflict. Managing the China challenge requires full US understanding of Chinese intentions—which are remarkably parochial and inwardly focused—and how they combine with capabilities.

109 Re-pegging the Hong Kong Dollar: The Looming Challenge to US Financial Power

■ *Andrew J. Sinclair*

For over a decade, Beijing has been laying the groundwork for an alternative China-led global financial system, but dollar dependency remains a principal obstacle. For China, the solution lies in re-pegging the Hong Kong dollar to the

renminbi—likely to be a sudden and surprise event—challenging the dollar’s central role in US power and posing one of the defining strategic questions of the 21st century.

123 The China-Russia Nexus: Rethinking the “Authoritarian Axis”

■ *Eray Alim*

Despite a Western narrative about an “authoritarian axis,” a systematic assessment of Beijing’s behavior, particularly what it has *not* done, during two Moscow-centric crises reveals the narrative has limited utility. China’s conduct during the Ukraine war in particular cautions against overstating the depth of Russia-China ties, let alone the coherence of the broader axis.

141 Enduring Constraints on China’s Influence in Southeast Asia

■ *Susannah Patton*

Drawing on a new Lowy Institute study, mapping a network of factors and actors beyond the United States that constrain China’s influence in Southeast Asia across four primary domains of influence—economic, diplomatic, defense, and cultural—the author concludes that maritime Southeast Asia will remain outside a Chinese sphere of influence for the foreseeable future.

159 The Elusive Consensus: Diverging US Views on Competition against China

■ *Alex Yu-Ting Lin and Robert Ralston*

Conventional wisdom suggests that, for about a decade, there has been a consensus within the US about China, but does it actually exist? The authors conducted an original survey among US foreign policy experts and the public, finding weak evidence of a so-called consensus, masking important differences in views, risking groupthink, and obscuring the potential for healthy debate to better understand and help create a better strategy toward China.

World Focus

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3	Asian Security	http://www.informaworld.com
4	Asian Survey	as.ucpress.edu/
5	China and World Economy	http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/
6	China Information	http://cin.sagepub.com/
7	Cooperation and Conflict	http://cac.sagepub.com/
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12	Far Eastern Affairs	www.eastviewpress.com/Journals/FarEasternAffairs.aspx
13	Foreign Affairs Journal	http://www.foreignaffairs.org
14	India Review	http://www.informaworld.com
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