
英文要旨 (Summaries in English)

Does “Taiwan Can Help” Apply to Taiwan Itself? Taiwan’s Assessment of the People’s Liberation Army’s Joint Operations against Taiwan and the Development of the Taiwan’s National Defense System

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This paper provides an overview of Taiwan’s assessment of joint operation capabilities of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) and analyzes Taiwan Army’s defense system, exercises, capabilities, and challenges. The analysis shows that Taiwan is fears of PLA’s joint operations, cognitive operations, and gray zone attacks. China has the capability to seize Taiwan’s remote islands, but the Taiwan is also preparing for a possible invasion of Taiwan by the PLA. However, Taiwan's military power seems inadequate due to its weakness in defending remote islands, lack of enemy base counterattack capability, and low reliability on reserve force. Taiwan is making efforts to improve its joint operation capabilities to counter the PLA’s military reforms. These efforts include building asymmetric warfare capabilities, acquiring long-range missiles, conducting exercises and drills, building an all-out defense system, and establishing the Information, Communications and Electric Force Command.

China as the “Pacing Threat”: Evolving U.S. Operational Concepts and Joint All-Domain Command and Control (JADC2)

KIKUCHI Shigeo
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Since a National Defense Panel warned in 1997 that U.S. forward deployed forces were increasingly vulnerable to possible attacks by China’s military, the heart of its military challenge, as conceived by U.S. defense planners and experts, had been its “anti-access, area denial” (A2/AD) capability, in particular, its massive missile

arsenal. However, in the recent years, they are becoming more focused on other aspect of China's military capability known as "System Destruction Warfare," which seeks to paralyze and destroy operational capability of enemy "operational system." Given changing perception on the nature of China's military challenge, the U.S. military is developing a Joint All-Domain Command and Control (JADC2) concept, along with other operational concepts designed for fighting under "contested environment" within adversaries' threat zones.

**The Creation of the Space Force and the Space Command in the United States:
Background and Intent of the Creation and Assessment of the Stand-up Status**
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The creation of the United States Space Force (USSF) and the United States Space Command (USSPACECOM) in 2019 was driven by a common understanding among U.S. government officials that outer space had moved into the warfighting domain. While the launch of the USSF has progressed in line with the goals set by the Department of Defense in terms of creating a unique organizational culture, leveraging Air Force infrastructure for efficiency, and emphasizing speed, agility, and partnerships, there has not been sufficient progress in streamlining the acquisition of space systems. On the other hand, the launch of the USSPACECOM has progressed in a way that reflects the unanimous recognition by U.S. government officials of the need to enhance combat capabilities in the space domain, including the establishment of the Joint Task Force – Space Defense.

**Reassessing the “Nuclear Winter” Theory:
Current Research on the Climate Effects of Nuclear War and Its Implications
for Security and Nuclear Deterrence**

ICHIMASA Sukeyuki

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This paper attempts to re-evaluate the research on the climate effects of nuclear war since the 1980s from a security perspective. The “nuclear winter” theory, epitomized by the work of Turco, Sagan, and the others, warned of the possibility that the dust and smoke generated by a nuclear attack on a city could rise to and linger in the stratosphere. The dust and smoke cause a significant drop in surface temperatures, blocking sunlight and leading to a long period of global cooling. While the study was regarded as contributing to the end of the nuclear arms race, it was also widely criticized for its political impact. In addition, since the end of the Cold War, attention to the “nuclear winter” theory has declined. However, research has developed along with advances in climate modeling. Many published papers show that even a limited nuclear war would significantly impact climate and food production. As much academic debate exists, the “nuclear winter” theory still has important implications for international security and nuclear deterrence. Therefore, it will be necessary for all states possessing nuclear weapons to scientifically reassess the theory in light of their nuclear war plans and reconsider their approaches to nuclear risks.

China and the Liberal International Order

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Promoting reforms of the international system had been a foreign policy objective of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) until China’s fifth generation of leadership came into power in 2012. From the late 2000s PRC strategists began to discuss the bounds of reform within US- and Western-led existing international institutions. Xi Jinping, the core of the fifth generation leaders, calls for China to lead the reform of the global governance system with Chinese-led initiative, including the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). On one hand,

Chinese leadership makes unceasing efforts to strengthen Party leadership by raising new doctrines and theories. Xi Jinping asks the people to gain confidence in China's own path, theory, system, and culture of socialism with Chinese characteristics. On the other hand, Beijing attempts to increase China's discourse power and influence in the international community. China's attempts at globalizing its preferred political discourse have been openly combative to liberal norms and values.

**ASEAN Political Security Community:
Development of Multilateral Cooperative Frameworks and Further
Challenges**

**SHOJI Tomotaka
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This paper examines the ASEAN Political Security Community (APSC), with a particular focus on multilateral frameworks for security cooperation. Behind the establishment of the APSC were changes in the strategic environment inside and outside the region, such as the enlargement of ASEAN, the Asian financial crisis in 1997, and the emergence of non-traditional security challenges. In the early 2000s, Indonesia took the initiative to form the APSC. However, other member states were reluctant to positively respond to Indonesia's ambitious proposals. Consequently, the establishment of the APSC according to the 2003 Second Bali Declaration and the 2004 Vientiane Action Program was a product of ASEAN's traditional style of security cooperation. However, the formation of the APSC promoted the institutionalization of ASEAN's external relations in political security cooperation. Following the APSC concept, the East Asia Summit (EAS), the ASEAN Defense Ministers' Meeting (ADMM) and the ADMM Plus were launched. Interestingly, the ADMM and ADMM-Plus, two closely related frameworks, have followed different paths of development: facilitating intra-regional confidence building for ADMM and strengthening capacity-building support within and outside the region for ADMM Plus.

The Modernization of U.S. Nuclear Command, Control, and Communications

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The U.S. Nuclear Command, Control, and Communications (NC3), consisting of command centers, early warning and communications systems, is planning to be modernized as its architecture and subsystems become obsolete. Its modernization is urgent and critical because the U.S. NC3, as a fundamental component of nuclear deterrence, must keep functioning and be able to address contemporary and future threats. In 2018, the commander of U.S. Strategic Command was appointed as the enterprise lead for NC3 modernization. This paper discusses what challenges U.S. NC3 modernization should address in three points. First, the dual-use functionality of the U.S. NC3 across nuclear and conventional operations, which is expected to increase in the process of modernization, should not lead to nuclear deterrence instability. Second, the robustness and resiliency of the overall U.S. NC3 system against space, cyber, and electromagnetic threats should be enhanced to ensure the reliability of U.S. nuclear deterrence. Third, it should be noted that the current U.S. NC3 modernization might be subject to change due to disputes over presidential sole authority to use nuclear weapons.

The Anti-aircraft Artillery Units' Subordination Issue of the Japan Air Self Defense Force in Its Initial Phase

NISHIDA Hiroshi

Japan Air Self Defense Force

Difficulties confronted by the JASDF in its initial phase included an issue of anti-aircraft artillery (AAA) units' subordination between the JASDF and the JGSDF in the mood that missiles would be all-around in the near future. There was little information on the political process of the issue except for some recollections by the Internal Bureau's former officials involved with the process. This paper will examine and consider this issue from various perspectives based on many recollections by the officials/staff of Internal Bureaus, Joint Staff Council, JGSDF, and JASDF which recently became available to us. In short, the actual state of the AAA units'

subordination issue was like putting a decision on the back burner constantly. The final decision was that the JGSDF, which took a role in the foundation of the units, would have Low Altitude SAM (HAWK) and that the JASDF, which would be responsible for the overall air defense system, would have High Altitude SAM (Nike Ajax), which was a compromise. The Director General of the Defense Agency decided this, though both services claimed their superiority in the operation of AAA units.

A Study of the 2019 Pulwama Crisis between India and Pakistan

KURITA Masahiro

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The Pulwama crisis, which occurred as the first outright military crisis between India and Pakistan in nearly two decades, suggests several important points about the latest status of the overall deterrence stability between the two nuclear armed neighbors. First, a Pulwama-like terror attack, which is serious enough to provoke India's conventional retaliation, is still rare, but it is distinctly possible even if Pakistan tries to avoid its occurrence. Second, both Delhi and Islamabad currently seem to be inclined toward avoiding escalation in a Pulwama-style limited conventional exchange; however, the repetition of such a crisis will lead to India's more significant initial response at some point in the future. Third, it has increasingly become possible that a limited military engagement between the two countries takes the form of an exchange of conventionally-tipped accurate missiles, which raises the risks of an inadvertent nuclear use. Fourth, the effectiveness of the US mediation as the "honest broker" is likely to wane further in the future. What all these suggest is that, while the overall deterrence relationship between the two countries is not immediately as dangerous as it seems, its stability will be eroded as a Pulwama-style crisis recurs.

Roles and Performance of the Sierra Leone Military during the Ebola Crisis
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Involvement of the military in response to public health crises such as the pandemic of infectious diseases is widely seen in countries around the world. Sierra Leone military, despite that its domestic roles had been severely limited through the security sector reform after the civil war, similarly played wide and crucial roles during the Ebola crisis in 2014-16. Namely, treatment of patients, collection and burial of corpses, building Ebola treatment units, guarding health workers and facilities, and the management of the National Ebola Response Centre among others. Overall, these activities by the Sierra Leone military were highly regarded, as it brought discipline to the government's response and contributed to saving many lives. The reputation that the Sierra Leone military obtained through the Ebola crisis led to its deep involvement in the ongoing response to the COVID-19.

Chinese Nationalist Government's Defense Posture during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1938-1941): Centered on the Combination of Political Work and Military Operation in Central and South China

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From 1938, after the devastating defeat in the early stages of the war, the Chinese Nationalist Government was need to recover its military posture and to defend itself against Japan's political manoeuver and military offensive. Therefore, the leadership of the Nationalist Government put a strong effort into the political work of the military. This paper examines the position of political work and the role it played in the Nationalist Army through outlines the organizational structure and main activities of the Political Department of the Military Affairs Commission, which is the main institutional organ in the Nationalist Army. And also, in order to understand the role of the political work in the defense posture of Nationalist Government, this paper discusses its combinations with the military operations for the defense of Central and South China. In conclusion, the paper assessed that the Nationalist Army's tactics

developed on the basis of the combination of political work and military operations achieved a certain degree of success in the defensive operations in Central China.

Competition over Cyber Norms Processes between a Norm Entrepreneur and a Norm Protector

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In the wake of advancement in information technologies, norms of actors' responsible behavior in cyberspace have become issues not only in terms of its contents, but also in terms of who leads processes of norms developments (cyber norm processes) and how. Indeed, the latter issue has become controversial with increasing complexity in cyber norm processes as shown in the emergence of dual-processes (GGE and OEWG) in UN. To explain recent developments of the processes, previous studies highlight a norm entrepreneur's role aiming to create new norms in cyberspace, namely Russia. Nonetheless, through applying constructivism theory in International Relations, this paper argues that dynamics of the developments can be more precisely understood in the light of competition between a norm entrepreneur (Russia) and a norm protector (western countries). Russia has surely been playing a notable role pursuing new norms in cyberspace, but its activities have been forced to alter by western countries' countering efforts putting more importance on preserving existing international law. Through highlighting the interaction, this paper aims to fill a gap in previous studies and present future research areas in terms of applying constructivism theory to cyber norm processes.

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