
英文要旨 (Summaries in English)

Security and Strategic Challenges in New Domains

Cislunar Security: U.S. and Chinese Activities in Cislunar Space and Future Issues

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Discussions about cislunar security have begun to gain momentum. This is due to the growing possibility that cislunar space will become a sustainable area of human activity, especially as both the U.S. and China see implications beyond science and technology. The U.S. Department of Defense is launching technology demonstration programs and a unit related to cislunar space, with a focus on space domain awareness. On the other hand, the Chinese People's Liberation Army indicates in its textbook that the military domain is extending into deep space. It implies that a related mission may have been assigned to the military. In a preliminary consideration of future cislunar security, three possible military activities can be identified: (1) support of military activities on Earth and in outer space within the geosynchronous orbit, (2) protection of national interests in cislunar space, and (3) defense of communications lines and transit points into deep space. In addition, governance issues in cislunar space could include space debris, space situational awareness, space traffic management, resource development and military activities on the Moon.

Hypersonic Weapons of the U.S., China, and Russia: Implications for Nuclear Deterrence and Arms Control

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Hypersonic weapons, flying at speeds of at least Mach 5, are expected to be highly maneuverable during flight and have unpredictable trajectories as well as unknown destination, making it very hard for existing air and missile defense systems to

detect and intercept them. This article examines potential implications of hypersonic weapons being developed by the U.S., China and Russia for nuclear deterrence and arms control. On nuclear deterrence, there will be little possibility that the development and deployment of hypersonic weapons per se destabilize the trilateral nuclear deterrence relationship, unless the three countries deploy large numbers of weapons enough to neutralize each other's nuclear retaliatory forces. However, use of even small numbers of hypersonic weapons might create a risk of destabilizing nuclear deterrence if it were misinterpreted as a preemptive attack against their national command authorities. On arms control, it is desirable that the three countries can foster momentum for a trilateral arms control talk on hypersonic weapons, while taking measures to reduce the risk of misunderstanding concerning their use. This article also explores what implication an enhanced U.S. counter-hypersonic posture will have for nuclear deterrence and arms control.

Verification of International Agreements: From Arms Control to Climate Change
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The issue of compliance with international agreements has long been a point of contention in international political theory. Still, in actual international politics, verification systems have been established to ensure compliance with agreements between states. Verification systems are expected to have a deterrent effect against violations and has been regarded as a measure to maintain the credibility of treaties. In particular, since the Cold War, verification systems have evolved in nuclear arms control treaties. The concept of 'trust but verify' has been shared based on balancing adequacy and intrusiveness.

On the other hand, the recent United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) has also introduced a verification system for compliance with agreements under the concept of 'what cannot be measured cannot be improved.' Although different from the verification and inspection methods used in the arms control treaties, the UNFCCC's verification mechanism is based on reporting and evaluation, being elaborated year by year. However, with the recent pursuit of carbon

neutrality by 2050 and the growing debate on climate security, a more rigorous verification system may be required. In this context, the challenge for the future is how to encourage a shift to a ‘trust but verify’ approach in verifying climate change measures.

**Diffusion and Diversification in Public Attribution of Cyber Operations:
Comparative Politics of Attribution in the US Instrumentalization and EU
Judicialization**

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Public attribution of cyber operations to states-backed threat actors has diffused among Western allies and partners for the last five years. The US and UK-led coordinate attribution, along with the market dynamics of cyber threat intelligence, have invigorated this current. Governments and other political actors, however, have “diversified” their target, timing, and approach to public attribution. Although hypotheses on diversification have been theorized, empirical case studies to test their assumption remain limited.

Thus, this article examines factors and processes of diversification by comparing the development of the US Department of Justice (DOJ) attribution by indictment and the EU’s de-facto attribution by its sanction regime, as both entail similar procedural constraints vis-à-vis the judiciary. Despite their institutional similarity, different strategic motives and political dynamics have made the development of attribution policies diverge between DOJ and EU, where the former can be phrased as “Instrumentalization” and the latter as “judicialization.” DOJ has leveraged capabilities and authority for criminal justice to broader policy objectives beyond the court. EU, in contrast, institutionalized its sanction-based attribution policy to alleviate member states’ political concerns. Each approach influenced the degree of freedom in their policy implementation vis-à-vis intelligence collection capabilities to meet the procedural requirement of attribution.

Digital Transformation of the Chinese Air Force: Initiatives Observed in the PLAAF's Introduction of a New Maintenance Management System

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The People's Liberation Army Air Force (PLAAF) is significantly changing its aircraft maintenance and management procedures, raising the question of why it is doing so and what its significance is.

To answer these questions, this article examines authoritative Chinese sources concerning PLAAF logistics and support work that is otherwise hard to observe, and reveals how similar the efforts observed in China are to the Digital Transformation (DX) of the U.S. Air Force (USAF).

In this paper, I posit the hypothesis that "the efforts observed in China are indicative of a PLAAF process of imitating the USAF's DX and I develop my assessment from four perspectives.

The first perspective is the Chinese aviation experts' view of the USAF's DX, the second is the underlying factors facilitating the Chinese domestic industry's DX efforts, the third is the status of the Chinese aerospace industry's DX efforts, and the fourth is the impact of new systems and new inspection devices introduced to the PLAAF's maintenance management.

Transformation of Regional Security

Security of ASEAN: From Neutrality to Centrality

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This paper attempts to capture ASEAN security in the context of the transition from neutrality to centrality. During the Cold War, ASEAN believed that limiting the influence of external powers and increasing regional autonomy would lead to regional security. This idea was reflected in the Bangkok Declaration at its foundation, and later became to fruition as a concept of neutrality in ZOPFAN. ASEAN's neutrality

was a mixture of ideas of neutrality guaranteed by external powers, non-aligned neutralism during the Cold War, and ASEAN Way.

In the post-Cold War era, ASEAN sought to adapt to the new strategic environment by pursuing multilateral security cooperation based on inclusiveness. Centrality was the core idea. The shift from neutrality to centrality was a response to changes in the strategic environment following the end of the Cold War. The way of thinking regarding neutrality was maintained in terms of limiting the influence of external powers and increasing regional autonomy. In this way, the ZOPFAN gene was incorporated into ASEAN's pattern of behavior, which builds multilateral frameworks in multiple layers.

Revisiting China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Focusing on Ramifications of its Commerciality

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Pakistan's economic turmoil since 2017 has widely been seen as a result of China's "debt trap", installed by Beijing with geopolitical objectives through the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC). However, it is the commercial nature of CPEC that played an important role in materializing the current economic condition in Pakistan. Whereas CPEC is likely to have entailed Beijing's motives not limited to economic interests, Chinese enterprises in charge of the implementation of respective CPEC projects on the ground have actively tried to maximize their commercial gains, which has been aided by the Chinese government. Such a practice by Chinese stakeholders in Pakistan, a country not necessarily suitable for profitable investment projects, exacerbated Islamabad's longstanding problems of fiscal and current account deficit and circular debt in the power sector, and thus became an important factor in causing Pakistan's current economic ordeal. That said, it is not likely that China intentionally sought to ensnare Pakistan into this situation to expand its political influence toward the country.

NATO Reform and its Implications for the Defense of the Baltic Sea Region: 2014 and 2022 as Tipping Points

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This paper examines North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) reform since 2014 and how it relates to NATO's defense plan for the Baltic Sea region, it then draws implications of the possible impact of NATO's changes following Russia's aggression against Ukraine since 2022 on the future defense of the Baltic Sea region. The first section of this paper reviews post-2014 NATO reforms including from the perspective of the readiness posture and command structure as well as the force structure and operations, defense plans, and the new military strategy. In addition to that, by considering the public comments of politicians and military officers, it argues that NATO's defense plan for the Baltic Sea region, which is classified, can be elucidated to some extent. Next, the second section discusses the conceivable new defense posture in the Baltic Sea region and the geopolitical implications for NATO's defense planning which would stem from the changes NATO decided to pursue in 2022, namely the new strategic concept, new defense and readiness posture, and the start of the accession processes of Finland and Sweden. Finally, the conclusion of this paper highlights that the changes NATO decided in 2022 can be characterized as promoting the post-2014 NATO reforms and removing destabilizing factors that existed during that period.

Conciliatory Measures as Counter-Terrorism: Present Attainments and Future Ways

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There are two purposes of this study; one is to survey preceding papers and the other is to suggest future ways about conciliatory measure studies as counter-terrorism. In these years, peace agreement through negotiation has become the major method for conflict resolutions. At the same time, the knowledge and outcome about conciliatory measure has been gotten entangled. That is why reviewing and overviewing the

important results are necessary. This paper assumes four elements as the analytical frameworks about conciliatory measures. (1) Situation: There are good conditions for negotiation agreement. What are they and what is famous Ripeness Theory by William I. Zartman? (2) Agent: There are three main actors; concerned people, mediator and public people. What are their characteristics and preferences? (3) Issue: Is it possible to divide it, and realize it? (4) Post-Agreement: What are the problems of the execution of agreement? Does conciliatory resolution make peace period become shorter than belligerent measure? I concluded the paper with the future directions of conciliatory studies.

Evolution of Japan's National Security

Japan's Security Policy Making after Political Reforms: Centralization and Constraints since the First Abe Administration

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Recent research on Japanese politics suggests that institutional reforms in the 1990s have led to the increased power of the Kantei (the Prime Minister's office) and top-down policy making, including security policy. The centralization of power, however, offers limited explanations of policy making processes after the political reforms: especially, powerful leadership seemed absent from 2006 to 2012, during which prime ministers changed every year. Focusing on constraints as well as centralization, this article analyzes how security policy had been shaped since the first Shinzo Abe administration until his second tenure. While most of the prime ministers and some cabinet members attempted to lead security policy throughout this period, their initiatives were sometimes significantly curtailed by institutions that remained unchanged despite the reforms, coalition politics, and political turmoil due to the enhanced authority of the prime minister. Moreover, there were variations in top-down policy making processes, and the roles of actors in the Kantei-led politics were not fixed.

**Revisiting the ‘Cap-in-the-Bottle’ Thesis:
Negotiations and Disagreements among Japan, China, and the U.S.
in the early 1970s**

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The cap-in-the-bottle thesis posits that East Asian countries, including China, accepted the U.S. security presence and especially its forward-deployed forces based on the Japan-U.S. security treaty for a long time as a main measure to restrain and prevent Japan’s potential resurgence. Scholars and policy makers assume that this shared idea stabilised the relations among Tokyo, Beijing, and Washington and underwrote the regional order for more than two decades since the Sino-US rapprochement and the Japan-China normalisation. This paper scrutinises the validity of this historical assumption by examining Japan-China-U.S. discussions and their respective internal deliberations in the early 1970s. Based on archival materials and key secondary literature, it shows that, while empirical evidence does indicate that the cap-in-the-bottle thesis emerged as an idea and subject of discussions in this period, the three powers had differing views on its exact purpose and content while maintaining a significant degree of ambiguity about the existence of their disagreements. Such underdevelopment of the cap-in-the-bottle thesis as a clearly-defined idea would resurface as an underlying source of regional tensions, as East Asian geopolitics has been undergoing significant transformations in the post-Cold War period, and today.

[Research Note]

Research on “Major Students” at Army War College

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This paper answers the following questions: First, Kazunari Ugaki “proposed” the establishment of a new educational program at the Army War College, which later became the “Major Student” program, based on the analysis of his long-accumulated speculations; second, the establishment of the “Major Student” program was part of the modernization of the Army through the disarmament of Yamanashi; and third,

after the establishment of the school, the “major student” program was left unattended due to the unclear positioning of the curriculum since its establishment, and the significance of allowing outstanding graduates in important positions to rejoin the school after graduation from the main course was not appealed to.