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## Warfare in the Cognitive Domain: Narrative, Emotionality, and Temporality

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### Abstract

- The speech and conduct of the rioters who participated in the storming of the United States Capitol on 6 January 2021, showed the characteristics of narrative, emotionality, as well as temporality which connects past, present, and future, such as nostalgia. Hence, this paper examines the implications on warfare in the cognitive domain, based on these perspectives.
- A narrative is an information vector that maintains a certain quantity and direction, and tends to be processed mechanically in the information space. In reality however, it invades the psychology and cognitive domains of human beings through the virtual domain of information and communication networks. **The battle of narratives is no more than a part of the battles in the virtual and cognitive domains, in which invisible bullets fly by in all directions.**
- Security and defense encompass the preservation of the peace and security of Japan, fulfilment of its existence, as well as the protection of its people's lives, bodies, property, and territorial land, water, and airspace. In light of this, it is necessary to understand the basic nature of narrative, and to utilize it correctly and effectively.
- From the perspective of human emotions, **victimhood, nostalgia, and collective narcissism also have an impact on group behavior. In particular, in cases where state actors, terrorists, or extremist groups incorporate these into the narratives, there is a need to penetrate the intentions as well as to analyse the functions with great caution.**
- With regard to temporality, in the field of defense, there is a need to place the focus on the viewpoints of buying time on our end while simultaneously depriving the other party of their time, constant interference with the other party's decision-making and situational awareness, and imposing upon the other party temporal and spatial "friction" that originates from strategic delays in action.
- **In future warfare,** importance will be placed on fields such as space, cyberspace, and electromagnetic spectrum, which connect the physical and virtual domains. In addition, **it will be vital to take appropriate action with regard to approaches that connect the virtual and cognitive domains; that is, warfare in the cognitive domain.**

## Introduction: Warfare in the cognitive domain, and the “Three Turns”

On 6 January 2021, rioters, comprising members of the public, stormed the United States Capitol and left numerous casualties. The scenes of the riot had an impact both within and outside the US. While various viewpoints can be taken on this incident, we can say that the reports were highly suggestive of the following points.

Some examples are: the assembling of people with various attributes and backgrounds through social media; the angry woman who said, in response to a reporter’s question on why they were storming the Capitol, that “they weren’t storming, and that that was a ‘media narrative’”;<sup>1</sup> political victimhood as the basis for the action by the amassed crowd,<sup>2</sup> with the sentiment that “we are the victims of the urban folk, who are attempting to rob us of our democracy;” the presence of people in the mob who were holding up the old flag of the Republic of Vietnam (the flag of the former South Vietnam), and indications of how the radical nostalgia of nationalists, coupled with the desire for revenge against hatred and loss and the illusion of gaining victory, is gradually infecting the whole of US politics;<sup>3</sup> how the people, transformed into rioting mobs, had stormed the Capitol and escalated the incident to riot with casualties. These can be organized and summarized as follows.

- A large number of people congregated via social media, leading to a riot accompanied by casualties.
- The speech and conduct of the rioters showed characteristics of narrative and emotion (including anger and victimhood), as well as temporality which connects past, present, and future, such as nostalgia.

Security and defense ultimately encompass the protection of national interests (the lives, bodies, and property of nationals, and the country’s territorial land, water, and airspace) through the exercise of power and influence. In this process, various actions—as represented by deterrence and compellence—are used to coerce specific actions and perception onto the target in order to prevent the threat from spreading to the home country. This gives rise to the need to pay attention to the basic function of how to move the target, or how the target is moved. In other words, it is necessary to incorporate a study of narrative, emotionality, and temporality from the perspective of manipulating others.

Security and defense in the modern day are deployed in various domains. Of particular note are the three domains that the information environment can be classified into, as set out in the British Ministry of Defense’s Joint Doctrine Note on Defence Strategic Communication. These are the physical domain, the virtual domain, and the cognitive domain.<sup>4</sup> Narrative is, in many cases, discussed in conjunction with the development of information and communication technology and the influence of social media, and this is often captured from a technological perspective. While interest is currently growing in the field of cyberspace, this is, after all, based only on an awareness of the physical and virtual domains; it is difficult to say that sufficient attention is being given to warfare in the cognitive domain or “battle of narratives” as pointed out in the preceding paper.

<sup>1</sup> “Inside the mob that swarmed the US Capitol”, CNN, 8 January 2021 [<https://edition.cnn.com/2021/01/07/us/trump-supporters-capitol-riot/index.html>].

<sup>2</sup> “New research shows the connection between political victimhood and White support for Trump”, The Washington Post, 13 January 2021 [<https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/01/13/new-research-shows-connection-between-political-victimhood-white-support-trump/>].

“‘Vintage white rage’: Why the riots were about the perceived loss of white power”, NBC News, 8 January 2021 [<https://www.nbcnews.com/news/nbcblk/vintage-white-rage-why-riots-were-about-perceived-loss-white-n1253292>].

<sup>3</sup> “There’s a reason the South Vietnamese flag flew during the Capitol riot”, The Washington Post, 14 January 2021 [<https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2021/01/14/south-vietnam-flag-capitol-riot/>].

<sup>4</sup> The United Kingdom Ministry of Defence, *Joint Doctrine Note 1/12 Defence Strategic Communication: The Defence Contribution*, pp. 2-3–2-4.

I have now examined the narrative on three occasions, up till the preceding paper. In these studies, I pointed out that the emotions that all human beings possess, as well as the temporality that constitutes a part of the events that are talked about (narrated), both occupy an important position in narratives.<sup>5</sup> We can also identify similar characteristics in the storming of the US Capitol described above. The latest edition of the aforementioned Joint Doctrine Note issued by the British Ministry of Defence also establishes the need for one's narratives to appeal to the target audience while undermining opposing narratives. In this context, it sets out the following three elements from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*: trust ("ethos"), emotions ("pathos"), and logic ("logos").<sup>6</sup>

Hence, this paper focuses once again on the characteristics of narrative, emotionality, and temporality as the three turns in the field of defense, and attempts to organize the discussion. On top of that, based upon an analysis of the most recent case of China's preference and aversion of "*Jijuku*" or "the ripe time," this paper attempts to consider the implications of the three turns on warfare in the cognitive domain.

## 1. From the perspective of narrative turn

### (1) The essence of narratives, and countermeasures against the narratives by others

A narrative is an information vector that maintains a certain quantity and direction. A narrative that is a single fragment of information, and which tends to be processed mechanically in the information space, invades the psychology and cognitive domains of human beings through the virtual domain of information and communication networks. The battle of narratives, covered in the preceding paper, are no more than a part of the battles in the virtual and cognitive domains, in which invisible bullets fly by in all directions. Narratives include elements such as text, figures, illustrations, photographs, images, and music. This paper advances its study of narratives by focusing on textual information.

The narrative turn began to draw attention in the fields of security and defense about 20 years ago. The causes behind this can be broadly divided into two categories. First, as an example of a non-state actor, in undertaking military action against terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda and IS in Afghanistan, Iraq, and the Middle East, the focus had been placed on the perspectives of protecting civilians and getting the armed insurgents to surrender or disarm.<sup>7</sup> Examples for state actors include Russia and China. In view of the South Ossetia situation of 2008 and the Crimea situation of 2014, Russia's hybrid warfare has come under the spotlight. In the case of China, the examples include the development of the "Three Warfares" (Public Opinion Warfare, Psychological Warfare, and Legal Warfare/Lawfare) by the People's Liberation Army,<sup>8</sup> which was confirmed after 2010, and activities that make use of narrative in moves to grasp discourse rights.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> NAGANUMA Kazumi, "Narratives in security and defense," NIDS Commentary No. 155, 15 January 2021. Karin Wahl-Jorgensen, *Emotions, Media and Politics* (Cambridge, UK & Medford, MA: Polity Press, 2018), p. 77. Neville Bolt, Leonie Haiden, *Improving NATO Strategic Communications Terminology* (Riga: NATO Strategic Communications Centre of Excellence, 2019), p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> The United Kingdom Ministry of Defence, *Joint Doctrine Note 2/19 Defence Strategic Communication: An Approach to Formulating and Executing Strategy*, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> Koichiro Takagi, "From new domains to the 'Battle of Narratives': The future wars under the multidimensional environment, including new domains (Space, Cyberspace, and Field of Electromagnetic spectrum) and the psychological/cognitive domain," The Japan Society of Strategic Studies, ed., *The Journal of Strategic Studies 27 – Strategies in a Multidimensional Environment*, Fuyo Shobo Shuppan, 2020, pp. 49–71.

<sup>8</sup> Ministry of Defense, ed., *Defense of Japan 2010*, July 2010, pp. 58–59. Footnote 42 states that in China's military paper, *The People's Liberation Army Daily* in April 2010, it was reported that the East Sea Fleet, a multi-arms task force, comprising multiple submarines, destroyers, frigates, replenishment vessel, shipborne helicopters and others, has commenced out-of-area deployment exercises. In addition to actual combat training of OPFOR confrontations, they will also conduct other trainings such as the "Three Warfares" (Public Opinion Warfare, Psychological Warfare, and Legal Warfare/Lawfare), counter-terrorism, and anti-piracy.

<sup>9</sup> Refer to the following on discourse rights. Masaaki Yatsuzuka, "China's attempts to seize discourse rights in cyberspace," *Cyber Grid Journal Vol.*

As covered a number of examples of narratives to date, I will incorporate a brief study of the countermeasures against the narratives by other parties in this paper.

## (2) How to assess the narratives by others

As a narrative is only a fragment of information, it is necessary to transmit and receive information through various devices and social media tools in the physical domain. After that, information is disseminated in the information and communication network in the virtual domain, and reaches the recipient of the information. Each piece of this information is a narrative that influences the speech, conduct, behaviours, attitudes, and consciousness of the recipient who reads and interprets it.

**Figure 1: Narratives from the viewpoint of 5W1H**

Focus	Matters to be verified	Implications/Interpreted contents
When	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Temporality of the narrative (present, past, future)</li> <li>■ Time when the narrative was transmitted (morning, afternoon, night, etc.)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Temporal direction of the narrative</li> <li>■ Activity time of the actor</li> </ul>
Where	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Places that appear in the narrative</li> <li>■ Places where the narrative was transmitted</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Hint of the narrative's theme</li> <li>■ Place that is of interest to the actor</li> </ul>
Who	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Characters who appear in the narrative</li> <li>■ Characters (actors) who transmitted the narrative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Personality and behavioral patterns of the characters who appear in the narrative</li> <li>■ Characteristics and background of the actor</li> </ul>
What	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Target objects in the narrative</li> <li>■ Target objects of the characters who transmitted the narrative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Important objects in the narrative</li> <li>■ Objects perceived as important by the characters who transmitted the narrative</li> </ul>
Why	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Reasons for the actions by (presence of) the characters who appear in the narrative</li> <li>■ Background of the characters who transmitted the narrative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Causal relationship in the narrative</li> <li>■ Aims and purposes of the characters who transmitted the narrative</li> </ul>
How	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Means and aspect of characters who appear in the narrative</li> <li>■ Means and aspect of characters who transmitted the narrative</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Predictions of the behavior of characters who appear in the narrative</li> <li>■ Predictions of the behavior of the characters who transmitted the narrative</li> </ul>

(Prepared by the author)

In the battle of narratives, there is first a need to closely examine, and assess, existing narratives to find out what properties they have. Here, the above perspective is presented as a method that can be used in

daily life.

The characteristics of a narrative can be revealed by gaining an understanding of the 5W1H in that narrative, as well as an understanding of the 5W1H of the party sending out the information. For example, looking at a tweet that says “It has started to rain, so let’s bring the washing in,” if we were to assume that the actor introduced = the party sending out the message, then it can be possible to at least derive the following pieces of information: (i) The tweet was sent out at the point in time when the rain was falling; (ii) When the tweet was sent out, the transmitter was in region where it was raining, and was ready to bring in the washing; (iii) The transmitter has a life or job that involves handling washing; (iv) Washing is positioned at the center of the transmitter’s life or job; (v) The transmitter wishes to avoid getting the washing wet, or there are other reasons (for example, does not want to dry the washing indoors); (vi) Prediction of behavior—after bringing in the washing, the transmitter will put the washing away or put it up to dry indoors, or hang it out again when the rain stops.

It is possible to analyse a narrative from various perspectives. In particular, in the fields of security and defense, depending on the actions of organizations and/or individuals that are influenced by the narrative, significant progress can be made in the activity. Alternatively, there are also many cases where it gives rise to various constraints. The following table is a summary of this analytical viewpoint.

**Figure 2: Analytical viewpoint of narratives used for the interpretation of the characteristics of organizations and/or individuals**

Focus	Matters to be verified	Implications/Interpreted contents
Intentional assumptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ What would happen if the narrative were replaced with a different one?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Information transmitter's intentions or objectives in transmitting the information</li> </ul>
Unintentional reasons	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Why was it not touched on in the narrative?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Possibility of the presence of information that the information transmitter wishes to conceal</li> </ul>
Information sources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Are the information sources clearly disclosed?</li> <li>○ What are the characteristics of the cited information sources?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Confidentiality of information source → Involvement of organization/conspiracy theory</li> <li>● Infiltration/spread of influence by the subject of the information source</li> </ul>
Similarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Can similar assertions be identified?</li> <li>○ What are the characteristics of other actors making similar assertions?</li> <li>○ Are there strong/weak similarities?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Presence of similar assertions → Exercise of influence by other claimants</li> <li>● Personal or organizational intentions or objectives of other actors</li> <li>● Strong similarity → Bots/Persons related to other actors</li> </ul>
Propensity to be biased	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Are there any biases toward specific matters?</li> <li>○ If yes, what type of matters?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Organizational background, personal/ideological/thought characteristics, preferences, persistence/tenacity</li> </ul>
Synchronicity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Are there characters transmitting the assertion at the same time?</li> <li>○ What is the approximate timing of the period of assertions?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Influence on other actors, use of multiple accounts</li> <li>● Same timing → Organizational background/Bot</li> </ul>
Emotional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Are there any words related to emotions?</li> <li>○ Are there any emotional words used repeatedly?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Organizational background, personal characteristics</li> </ul>
Peculiarities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Is natural language being used?</li> <li>○ Is language that is not usually used being used?</li> <li>○ Are there any characteristics to the <i>kanji</i> characters or alphabets?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Bot/Non-native speaker</li> <li>● Organization, occupation, region of birth or ideological background</li> <li>● Non-native speaker of similar language</li> </ul>

(Prepared by the author)

The points that should be noted during warfare in the cognitive domain are the characteristics, intentions, and objectives of the information transmitter. In recent years, in addition to the emergence of individuals (terrorists) and groups (non-state actors) engaged in cross-border activities, there have also been successive cases in which so-called “bots” were used to spread information. In the case of China, various activities are being carried out as a part of United Front Work, while activities to manipulate public opinion by people commonly known as the “50 Cent Party” (*Wu Mao Dang*) have also been observed on social media.<sup>10</sup> The so-called conspiracy theories that emerged during the US presidential elections are also said to have had a certain degree of impact, and ultimately became a factor that led to the riot at the US Capitol mentioned at the start of this paper. According to reports, based on the flags of the various organizations that were held up during the riot, it is also possible to identify the attributes of these organizations.<sup>11</sup> While there are also various examples in Japan, I will not cover them in this section as domestic incidents are basically trends related to domestic security and policing.<sup>12</sup>

### (3) Countermeasures against the narratives by others, and familiar examples

Security and defense encompass the preservation of the peace and safety of Japan, fulfilment of its existence, as well as the protection of its people’s lives, bodies, property, and territorial land, water, and air space. In light of this, it is necessary to understand the basic nature of narrative, and to utilize it correctly and effectively.

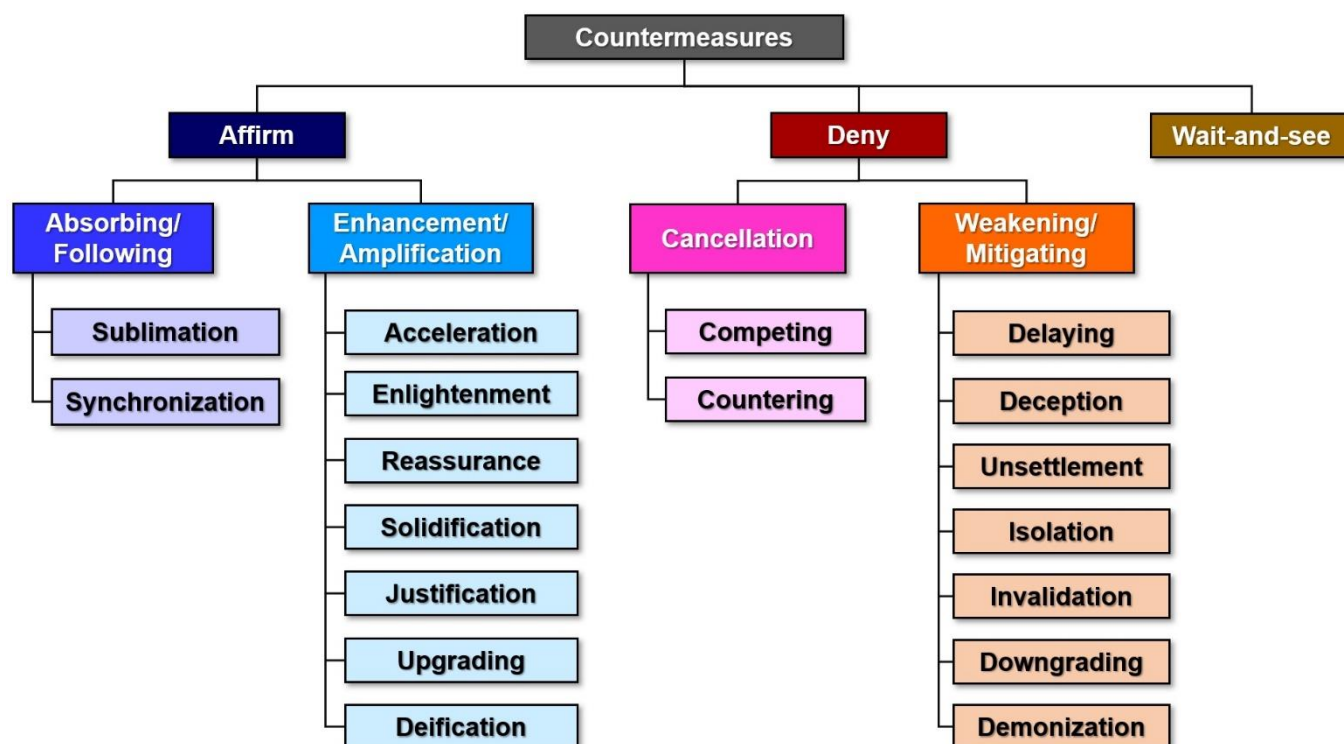
In communicating a narrative, it is desirable to set out a clear objective and target audience, and to clarify the final state that one wishes to arrive at (end state). At the same time, it is also vital to handle the transmission of information from sources other than oneself in an appropriate manner.

With regard to the countermeasures against the narratives communicated by other parties, the following three basic methods are conceivable: to affirm it, to deny it, or to adopt a wait-and-see attitude without any involvement. On top of that, when affirming a narrative, we can assume the cases of “absorbing/following” closely to a larger or similar narrative, and of “enhancement/amplification” to strengthen the effect of the narrative. When denying a narrative, we can assume the cases of “cancellation” to eliminate the effect of the narrative, and of “weakening/mitigating” to diminish the effect of the narrative. This paper also covers the counternarratives that are used to respond to the narratives of another party. This involves a direct denial of the other party’s claims, and is different from the competitive narrative, which involves presenting a more persuasive narrative in response. The details are set out in the following figure.

<sup>10</sup> Gary King, Jennifer Pan, Margaret E. Roberts, “How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument”, *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 111, No. 3, August 2017, pp. 484–501.

<sup>11</sup> “Decoding the extremist symbols and groups at the Capitol Hill insurrection”, CNN, 11 January 2021 [<https://edition.cnn.com/2021/01/09/us/capitol-hill-insurrection-extremist-flags-soh/index.html>].

<sup>12</sup> Refer to the following for examples in Japan. Public Security Intelligence Agency, *Review and Prospects of Internal and External Situations*, January 2021. National Police Agency Security Bureau, *Review and Prospects of Security* (2020), December 2020.

**Figure 3: Countermeasures against the narratives by others (Example)**

(Prepared by the author)

As I have introduced in the preceding paper, the psychologist Jerome Bruner has pointed out that there are two modes of human thought and cognition: paradigmatic mode (mode of logical proof), and narrative mode.<sup>13</sup> Information with a scientific basis is not necessarily superior to a narrative; as a narrative can be superior to a scientific claim in some cases, it is necessary to be sufficiently cautious and respond accordingly. In addition, when using the remarks of certain authority figures, experts in Discipline A sometimes pick up on remarks concerning Discipline B, but there are also many cases where the claims of scientists are not necessarily scientific (lacking in evidence). Hence, there is a need to pay close attention. Since this point corresponds to “transference” in propaganda research in the US, this point is covered in the next section.

In general, attention is drawn to expression techniques in reports where it is difficult to clearly distinguish between fact and opinion, such as “Likely to be criticized as ~,” “Likely to be controversial in the sense of ~,” “Being the focus of critical attention,” “Citizens’ lives are ~,” and “Isolated from the international community.” If we were to match these to the aforementioned methods for responding to the narratives by others, they would probably correspond to “anxiety,” “isolation,” “invalidating,” and “downgrading” under “Weakening/Mitigating” for denying a narrative. Even today, the media uses such expressions in their summaries and conclusions, especially in the print media. We could say that they indicate the clear intentions and direction of information by the media channel that is the source of the narrative.

One of the reasons why mass media, which is known as the “fourth estate,” has been able to maintain its influence till today derives from the fact that, apart from government agencies, the mass media has virtually monopolized the function of composing such narratives and enjoyed its status as a dominant narrative composer. Information and communication technology is advancing rapidly today, and social media tools

<sup>13</sup> Jerome Bruner (Kazuhiko Tanaka, trans.), *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*, Misuzu Shobo, 1998, pp. 16–22.



are made up of nodes and facets that widely connect information networks and individuals. In light of this, it is likely that the media, as a middleman or medium as its very name suggests, will have no choice but to see its monopolistic position diminish sooner or later. While the state of the mass media is not included in the scope of this paper, it is possible to point out generally that it is “the focus of critical attention” among many citizens.

#### (4) Classification methods based on propaganda research in the US

In discussing narratives in the preceding paper, I received comments about its similarities with propaganda and the manipulation of public opinion. There is certainly no doubt that narratives contain a considerable degree of such elements in cases where they are used based on a country’s policies.

With regard to propaganda during World War I, Harold Lasswell, the leading authority on political psychology, listed magazines and newspapers, books, pamphlets, leaflets, as well as posters, placards, and banners as the main forms of media.<sup>14</sup> In the US at the time, radio broadcasting had begun only after World War I, while television had only been in the research stages. Today, the virtual domain of information and communication networks has expanded in tandem with the advancement of information and communication technology. The consequent development of social media and decline in the relative influence of conventional mass media have given rise to a different situation from that time. However, while the times have changed, as long as there is intervention by human beings, we can say that the narratives themselves, which are communicated through media, remain essentially unchanged.

From this perspective, the classifications of propaganda drawn up by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (US) can also be considered useful in the battles over narrative. The details, based on existing research, are shown in the table below.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, Dorothy Blumenstock, *World Revolutionary Propaganda: A Chicago Study* (New York & London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939), pp. 58–71.

<sup>15</sup> Kazuhisa Kawakami, “Public Opinion Manipulation and Emotion,” Hikaru Sakamoto, Takayuki Sakagami, Keizo Miyasaka, Mitsuhiro Okada, Takayuki Tatsumi, eds., *Jyo no Gihou (The Techniques of Emotion)*, Keio University Press, 2006, pp. 152–156. “How to Detect Propaganda,” *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors (1915-1955)*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1938, pp. 49–55.

**Figure 4: Seven propaganda devices, based on research in the US**

	Classification	Method	Objective
1	Name-calling	Giving the other party a label to create a bad impression	To induce the information recipient to not support the other party
2	Glittering generalities	Associating the other party and/or its actions with universal values	To induce the information recipient to support the other party
3	Transfer	Taking sides with existing authority	To endow with authority, and justify, the information recipient and/or its actions
4	Testimonial	Making use of the testimony of a person who is recognized as being credible	To enhance the persuasiveness of the information transmitter
5	Plain folks	Emphasizing that one is in the same position as the other party	To secure a sense of affinity from the information recipient
6	Card stacking	Emphasizing only information that support the narrative, while concealing information that does not	To create a public opinion environment that is advantageous to the information recipient
7	Bandwagon	Publicizing that information as if it were a global trend	To induce the information recipient to support the other party

(Prepared by the author with reference to Kazuhisa Kawakami, “Public Opinion Manipulation and Emotion,” Hikaru Sakamoto, Takayuki Sakagami, Keizo Miyasaka, Mitsuhiro Okada, Takayuki Tatsumi, eds., *Jyo no Gihou (The Techniques of Emotion)*, Keio University Press, 2006, pp. 152–156.)

## 2. From the perspective of affective turn

### (1) Emotions in the fields of security and defense

While the basis of security and defense is ultimately politics itself, there is not necessarily much research in Japan that examines the relationship between politics and emotions. According to Toru Yoshida’s *Kanjo no Seijigaku (The Politics of Emotion)*, politics is not necessarily calculated rationally and cannot always be measured by cost or profit and loss. Rather, it is an act that is controlled by emotions and symbols.<sup>16</sup> He points out that while reason and emotions have different functions, they are an integral part of human beings that cannot easily be separated. In relation to the field of security, theories that place the focus on human emotions include the Drama theory, which was conceived based on a critical consideration of Game Theory,<sup>17</sup> as well as the Prospect Theory developed by Kahneman and Tversky in the field of behavioral economics, which is increasingly being applied also to the field of security.<sup>18</sup> In addition, there have been recent efforts to carry out pioneering research in evolutionary political science as a new area of political psychology.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Refer to Toru Yoshida, *Kanjo no Seijigaku (The Politics of Emotion)*, Kodansha, 2014, pp. 20–25, 42–46, 49–56 in particular.

<sup>17</sup> Kosaburo Nakashima, “Difference of Threat Recognition in National Security: Coalition for New International Response by Drama Theory,” *Yokohama Journal of Social Sciences Vol. 15 No. 3*, September 2010, pp. 55–75. With regard to drama theory, see Kyoichi Kijima, “An Invitation to Drama Theory,” *Communications of Operations Research of Japan Vol. 46 No. 2*, February 2001, pp. 87–92.

<sup>18</sup> Refer to Jitsuo Tsuchiyama, *Anzen Hosho no Kokusai Seijigaku – Aseri to Ogori (The International Politics of Security – Anxiety and Hubris)*, Yuhikaku Publishing, Second Edition, 2014, pp. 139–166.

<sup>19</sup> Refer to Ryuta Ito, *Evolutionary Political Science and International Relations theory: A New Analytical Approach to Human Mind and War*, Fuyoshobo Shuppan, 2020, pp. 133–166, 185–208 in particular.

Therefore, of the emotional trends that were revealed in the aforementioned incident at the US Capitol, this section places the focus on victimhood,<sup>20</sup> nostalgia, and collective narcissism, while incorporating a brief study of these aspects.

## (2) Victimhood

Concerning the victimhood that I pointed out at the beginning of this paper in relation to the incident at the US Capitol, since various research has been conducted so far in disciplines such as social psychology, criminology, and political science, I will present an overview in this section while relying on a number of previous studies.

I wish to first clarify that the focus of the study in this section is placed on how other parties are influenced in the fields of security and defense. It should be clarified that the scope of discussion does not include the humanitarian and ethical perspectives of how the human rights of the victims are protected and justice is achieved.

Victimhood in the fields of security and defense is important because it is an important theme for national policy. It is not only a shared social belief, but is also a subject used by leaders to influence others as the claims of a victim—that is, victim narratives—allow the victim to enjoy the beneficial status of a victim, while also helping him or her acquire the profits that are associated with this victimhood.<sup>21</sup> In particular, whenever state actors incorporate victim narratives in their messages, there is a need to be cautious about this form of politicized “ideology of victimization.”<sup>22</sup>

In an armed conflict, victimhood is an extremely important element in both the cause and resolution of the conflict. The research group led by political scientist, Daniel Bar-Tal of Tel Aviv University, is engaged in detailed research on a sense of self-perceived collective victimhood in intractable conflicts.<sup>23</sup> According to this research, victimhood is a psychological state based on the premise of an individual perceiving themselves as a victim and feeling that they are a victim, or the premise of an individual holding “victim beliefs.” In particular, the research points out that a sense of victimhood consists of beliefs, attitudes, emotions and behavioral tendencies, and it also mentions that societies tend to internalize past harms and to transform them into powerful cultural narratives which become an integral part of the social identity. There also cases in which groups encode important experiences, especially extensive suffering, in their collective memory, which can maintain a sense of woundedness and past injustice through generations. What collective memory contains are the narratives, the symbols, the models, the myths, and the events that mould the culture of the group. When collective memory creates a socially constructed narrative—even though this narrative is based on actual events to a certain degree—it has the characteristic of being biased, selected, and distorted in ways that meet the needs of the society in the present day.

<sup>20</sup> The term “victimhood” indicates the state of being a victim, and it is necessary to consider its Japanese translation in a way that matches the context. *The Rise of Victimhood Culture: Microaggressions, Safe Spaces, and the New Culture Wars* is a well-known study by Campbell and Manning; here, “victimhood culture” can be interpreted as “被害者文化.” On the other hand, if “victimhood” were to be translated as “被害者意識,” it may be difficult to express the differences in the nuances of “a sense of victimhood” and “a sense of being victimized.” Translations such as “被害性” and “被害感” have also been used in previous research, while the field of journalism has also used translations such as “被害者根性” and “犠牲者根性.” This paper focuses on the semantics of “-hood,” and therefore translates “victimhood” provisionally as “被害者状態.”

<sup>21</sup> Tadek Markiewicz, Keren Sharvit, “When Victimhood Goes to War? Israel and Victim Claims,” *Political Psychology*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 2021, pp. 111–126.

<sup>22</sup> Philip Cunliffe, “Dangerous duties: power, paternalism and the ‘responsibility to protect’,” *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 36, Special Issue, October 2010, pp. 79–96.

<sup>23</sup> Daniel Bar-Tal, Lily Chernyak-Hai, Noa Schori, Ayelet Gundar, “A sense of self-perceived collective victimhood in intractable conflicts,” *International Review of the Red Cross*, Vol. 91, No. 874, June 2009, pp. 229–258.

Furthermore, the research pointed out that a victim's position is regarded as morally superior, entitled to sympathy and consideration and protected from criticism, so it often becomes a powerful one. Once a group regards itself as a victim, it makes an active effort to persuade other groups and the whole international community of its victim status. This status sometimes even used to justify violence against other groups. Groups with a self-perceived sense of victimhood hold negative emotions against their perpetrators, or against people or groups that do not recognize them as victims. Emotionally, the sense of victimhood is usually associated with anger, fear and self-pity, and leads to various behavioural intentions such as the desire to prevent future harm and to avenge the harm already done. It has been pointed out that if the sense of victimhood is maintained, elaborated and activated frequently in the collective memory, it can be labelled as a syndrome of victimhood.

On the other hand, various critical viewpoints have also been presented with regard to this form of victimhood. Victimhood nationalism is a general phenomenon observed in the political arena, but there is room for a reexamination of the debate on victimhood in previous research on case studies in the Baltic States.<sup>24</sup> This relates specifically to the following points: groups that one-sidedly claim victimhood assert their own position; the dichotomy of victims/victimizers replacing the evil/innocent dichotomy; modern people's memory of the past strongly influenced by the modern situation of the society rather than the historical fact, and embracing the fictional feature of memory reconstruction.

There is another study that examines enmity and victimhood in the financial crisis in Greece.<sup>25</sup> Taking the standpoint of "mythscape," which are the temporally and spatially extended discursive realm in which the myths of the nation are forged, transmitted, negotiated, and reconstructed constantly,<sup>26</sup> this research emphasizes how historical analogies on the past give meaning to, and politicize, events and phenomenon that are happening in the present day. For example, in the Greek financial crisis, the construction of an external enemy was seen who is blamed for the economic and social consequences of the crisis, and in particular, it resulted in an emphasis on the anti-German discourse that uses memories and symbols of the Second World War of Germany occupation of Greece. During this process, the government's decision was announced to appeal to the International Court of Justice in Hague on the issue of the compensations for the massacre in Distomo, creating an emotional narrative. Furthermore, in the wake of reminiscences on the past era of collective poverty, which had been forgotten until then amidst the focus on moving toward prosperity, a photograph of Athens in the 1960s had been published alongside a column mentioning "Nostalgia is pain." While these trends have been changing over the past few years through elections and changes in the government regime, the deterioration of socioeconomic conditions and limitations on national sovereignty imposed by the European Union continue to stir expressions of discomfort among the masses. The topic of nostalgia will be addressed in the next section.

In addition to the above, there is also critical research on the use of victimhood for political purposes in times of conflict.<sup>27</sup> For example, the latest research that compares, from among the military actions undertaken by Israel, the Yom Kippur War of 1973 with the 2012 Operation Pillar of Defense, establishes that collective victimhood tends to be context dependent in the promotion of political action, as it is a means

<sup>24</sup> Kentaro Okawara, "A Critical and Theoretical Re-imagining of 'Victimhood Nationalism': The Case of National Victimhood of the Baltic Region," *Baltic Journal of European Studies*, Vol 9, No. 4, 2019, pp. 216–217.

<sup>25</sup> Zinovia Lialiouti, Giorgos Bithymitris, "A nation under attack: perceptions of enmity and victimhood in the context of the Greek crisis," *National Identities*, Vol. 19, No. 1, 2017, pp. 53–71.

<sup>26</sup> Duncan S. A. Bell, "Mythscape: Memory, mythology, and national identity," *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 54, No. 1, 2003, pp. 63–81.

<sup>27</sup> Tadek Markiewicz, Keren Sharvit, "When Victimhood Goes to War? Israel and Victim Claims."

of not only the group's *modus vivendi* but also states' *modus operandi*. In reality, in extreme situations, such as a life-or-death equation, victim claims not only cripple the morale of belligerent's forces but also boost the enemy's frame of mind. For this reason, victim claims are avoided. On the other hand, victim claims are proactively employed in limited military operations, in cases where there is little risk of the nation as a whole or its citizens becoming involved, or of their survival being threatened. Hence, victim narratives are used strategically and selectively for the purposes of achieving the group's coherence, political mileage, legitimacy of the nation, and gaining support from the international community.

In this way, victimhood can be used politically by the state. In such cases, past events and the perception of these events, referenced from the collective memory, evoke emotions such as enmity, anger, and hatred. In the case of Greece, nostalgia was also touched on, along with victimhood. The next section offers a brief study of nostalgia and collective narcissism, taking clues from existing research. In addition, as the associated elapsed time from past to present when we focus on victimhood is related to temporality, I will also include a consideration of this point later.

### (3) Nostalgia

Nostalgia, when translated as “郷愁” (*kyoshu*; homesickness), probably brings to mind the hometown or an imagined landscape related to the hometown. However, in the fields of security and defense, it is necessary to capture nostalgia from a historical and geopolitical perspective, in the form of the past events and sphere of influence of a state actor in international relations. At the same time, there is also a need to pay attention to the aspect of temporality, which connects past, present, and future.

For example, “A Future of the English-Speaking Peoples,” published in *Foreign Affairs*, establishes that nationalism underpinned by nostalgia is spreading widely around the world, from “MAGA” in the US, “Global Britain” in the United Kingdom, and “Great rejuvenation of the Chinese people” in China, to Russia and Turkey.<sup>28</sup> It also points out that this nostalgia promotes cooperation between countries through a sense of yearning for the past, and that Britain's long-held dream of the “re-emergence of an Anglosphere” is becoming increasingly likely in this context.

Among the wide range of research conducted on nostalgia in recent years, apart from a feature on nostalgia in Asia in the latest issue of a journal published by the University of Cambridge,<sup>29</sup> there has been a rapid increase in the number of studies about post-Brexit UK in the past recent years. There are several reasons behind this, and it is well known that various discussions have taken place in the UK. For example, then-Foreign Minister Johnson (incumbent Prime Minister) who resigned from Theresa May's Cabinet had said that the Brexit deal between May and the European Union would “doom the United Kingdom to the status of a colony.”<sup>30</sup> In particular, politicians and journalists used the expression “Empire 2.0” to make successive remarks that bring to mind the British Empire of the past, drawing attention to the issue once again.<sup>31</sup> The leftist British paper, *The Guardian*, published an article titled “Empire 2.0 is dangerous

<sup>28</sup> Edoardo Campanella and Marta Dassù, “A Future of the English-Speaking Peoples—Lie Back and Think of the Anglosphere,” *Foreign Affairs Report*, April 2017 issue, pp. 32–39.

<sup>29</sup> Ryoko Nakano, “Introduction: mobilizing nostalgia in Asia,” *International Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 2021, pp. 1–5.

<sup>30</sup> “Boris Johnson says Brexit deal will make Britain an EU colony,” Reuters, 13 November 2018 [<https://jp.reuters.com/article/us-britain-eu-johnson/boris-johnson-says-brexit-deal-will-make-britain-an-eu-colony-idUSKCN1N116D>].

<sup>31</sup> Tomohito Baji, “The Strange Idea of Empire 2.0 Lurking Behind Brexit,” *Gendai Business*, 13 March 2019 [<https://gendai.ismedia.jp/articles/-/63316>].

nostalgia for something that never existed,”<sup>32</sup> and criticized the narrative for fueling divisions within the Conservative Party on Britain’s withdrawal from the European Union.<sup>33</sup> In fact, even senior officials of the British government had acknowledged that there has been continuing concerted efforts to ensure that the “Global Britain” vision, which encompasses the strengthening of trade relations with countries of the British Commonwealth, is not regarded as “Empire 2.0.”<sup>34</sup> Despite this, there have also been harsh criticism stating that “Nostalgia is no substitute for a post-Brexit foreign policy,”<sup>35</sup> while Reuters has even published a commentary titled “No, Brexit Britain doesn’t want its empire back.”<sup>36</sup> Other research points out that this series of trends is a mixture of imperialism, nationalism, and exceptionalism.<sup>37</sup>

Even while this may not be clearly related to the notion of nostalgia, attention is also being drawn to the fact that unlike Germany and France, the Anglosphere centered around the US and UK is adopting a common hardline stance toward China.<sup>38</sup> As I have explained in a separate paper, British Prime Minister Johnson’s mention of Japan’s participation in the “Five Eyes,” as well as India’s membership in QUAD, which is an informal dialogue formed by Japan, the US, Australia, and India, are noteworthy points in this context. Other research has also pointed out that an over-emphasis on the UK’s relationship with the US poses the risk of creating differences with the US over relations with China and Russia.<sup>39</sup>

With regard to nostalgia, much research has also been conducted on the US presidential elections and reports by the conservative media under the former Trump administration. A certain study posits that researchers tend to miss the point that people often interpret outrageous stories as evidence of a broader phenomenon, and notes that attention should be paid to stories about the way the world used to be often conflate history and nostalgia, to the influence of media commentators, and to stories with political impact that remind people of which side they are on rather than persuade them.<sup>40</sup>

From the perspective of domestic security and policing, nostalgia is positioned as a part of the driving force that enables the rallying of far-right figures within the country, as we have seen in the US Capitol incident mentioned at the start of the paper. For example, a research clarifies it that in a number of far-right groups in Australia, identity narratives are created against the backdrop of ethnocentrism and nostalgia over myth and legend about white supremacy, while threat narratives that fuel racial peril and conspiratorial peril are also created. For this reason, the security authorities need to challenge them with effective and nuanced counter-narratives.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>32</sup> “Empire 2.0 is dangerous nostalgia for something that never existed,” The Guardian, 19 March 2017 [<https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/mar/19/empire-20-is-dangerous-nostalgia-for-something-that-never-existed>].

<sup>33</sup> “Empire 2.0: the fantasy that’s fuelling Tory divisions on Brexit,” The Guardian, 8 November 2018 [<https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/08/empire-fantasy-fuelling-tory-divisions-on-brexit>].

<sup>34</sup> “Ex-colonies to UK: Forget Brexit ‘Empire 2.0,’” Politico, 26 February 2018 [<https://www.politico.eu/article/commonwealth-summit-wont-be-empire-2-0-for-brexit-uk/>].

<sup>35</sup> “Nostalgia is no substitute for a post-Brexit foreign policy,” Financial Times, 26 November 2020 [<https://www.ft.com/content/a033e560-7b2a-4725-9cf0-28d499cfb249>].

<sup>36</sup> “Commentary: No, Brexit Britain doesn’t want its empire back,” Reuters, 12 January 2019 [<https://www.reuters.com/article/brexit-commentary/idUSKCN1P521N>].

<sup>37</sup> Caroline Koegler, Pavan Kumar Malreddy, Marlina Tronicke, “The colonial remains of Brexit: Empire nostalgia and narcissistic nationalism,” *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, Vol. 56, No. 5, 2020, pp. 585–592.

<sup>38</sup> “Why the Anglosphere sees eye to eye on China,” Financial Times, 8 February 2021 [<https://www.ft.com/content/ed2d9c00-c8df-4efc-a1ad-63bc8e97bd25>].

<sup>39</sup> Abelardo Rodriguez, “Imperial Nostalgia and Bitter Reality: The United Kingdom, the United States and Brexit, Implications for Regional Integration,” *Journal of Strategic Security*, Vol. 13, No. 2, 2020, pp. 19–47.

<sup>40</sup> Francesca Polletta, Jessica Callahan, “Deep stories, nostalgia narratives, and fake news: Storytelling in the Trump era,” *American Journal of Cultural Sociology*, Vol 5, No. 3, 2017, pp. 392–408.

<sup>41</sup> Kristy Campion, “Australian right wing extremist ideology: exploring narratives of nostalgia and nemesis,” *Journal of Policing, Intelligence and Counter Terrorism*, Vol. 14, No. 3, 2019, pp. 208–226.

#### (4) Collective narcissism

A similar degree of attention is paid to collective narcissism as to nostalgia. While there are many relevant preceding studies, recent research explains that collective narcissism is a belief that one's own group or the in-group is exceptional but not sufficiently recognized by others.<sup>42</sup> According to this study, collective narcissism is a form of in-group love robustly associated with out-group hate, and in contrast to private collective self-esteem, gives rise to prejudice, retaliatory intergroup aggression, and schadenfreude. Focusing on its mechanism, the predictors include low individual self-esteem, individual narcissism, and intergroup threats. The mediators include hypersensitivity to in-group's criticism, in-group overexclusion, siege mentality, conspiratorial thinking, hostile intergroup attribution bias and revengefulness. It is a mechanism that is linked to outcomes such as prejudice toward minorities, sexism, intergroup hostility, retaliatory aggression, support for terrorist violence and extremism, nationalism, support for populist parties, politicians and policies, and vulnerable narcissism. It also points out that the association between collective narcissism and intergroup hostility is weakened by experiences that fortify emotional resilience.

Another study captures collective narcissism from the viewpoint of nationalism. It points out that while collective narcissism is associated with support for national populist parties and policies, it just helps manage psychological needs of the individual and accordingly might undermine social cohesion both within and between groups.<sup>43</sup> Collective narcissists tend to be convinced not only that others undervalue the in-group, but also that they purposefully seek to undermine it while they are especially sensitive to any signs of disrespect or criticism. According to this study, conspiracy beliefs seem to provide collective narcissists with an accessible explanation for the alleged disadvantage of their in-group. In order to maintain a positive image of their in-group, they not only react aggressively to threats to in-group image, but also distance themselves from any accusations of in-group atrocities and deny historical accounts that challenge the positive image of the in-group. However, this concern for the image of the group does not necessarily translate into in-group loyalty or a concern for the well-being of in-group members.

As I have touched on above, research is being conducted on Britain's withdrawal from the European Union from the perspective of nostalgia. Concerning this trend, research is also being advanced from the perspective of collective narcissism. Particularly in recent research, studies have been carried out from the three viewpoints of collective narcissism, right-wing authoritarianism, and social dominance orientation. As these variables are independently related to the perceived threat of immigrants, they have been linked to movements that support the national referendum determining Britain's departure from the European Union.<sup>44</sup> While a number of studies have also been conducted on the social dominance orientation within the field of social psychology, they will not be included here due to constraints of space.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Agnieszka Golec de Zavala, Dorottya Lantos, "Collective Narcissism and Its Social Consequences: The Bad and the Ugly," *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 2020, pp. 273–278.

<sup>43</sup> Aleksandra Cichocka, Aleksandra Cislak, "Nationalism as collective narcissism," *Current Opinion in Behavioral Sciences*, Vol. 34, 2020, pp. 69–74.

<sup>44</sup> Agnieszka Golec de Zavala, Rita Guerra, Cláudia Simão, "The Relationship between the Brexit Vote and Individual Predictors of Prejudice: Collective Narcissism, Right Wing Authoritarianism, Social Dominance Orientation," *Frontiers in Psychology*, Vol. 8, November 2017, pp. 1–14.

<sup>45</sup> Examples of recent research are as follows. Nobuhiro Mifune, Kunihiro Yokota, "The external validity of the relationship between social dominance orientation and political or discriminatory attitudes toward foreigners using a Japanese sample," *Japanese Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 34, No. 2, 2018, pp. 94–101. Hitomi Sugiura, Kiriko Sakata, Hiroshi Shimizu, "Effects of intergroup and intragroup status on Social Dominance Orientation," *ibid.*, Vol. 30, No. 2, 2014, pp. 75–85.

### 3. From the perspective of temporal turn

#### (1) The theory of temporality in the fields of security and defense

The theory of temporality is an aspect that was not necessarily covered adequately in my previous studies of narrative. This section places the focus on the fields of security and defense. Its intention is not to address general temporality in the humanities or physics, with the exception of changes in the behavior and perception of the actors, as well as the nature of temporality and how it is captured (in particular, Heidegger's concept of *sich zeitigen* or "the ripe time"). Hence, I would first like to take an overview starting from the relationship between temporality and politics, which is positioned at the top of security and defense.

In recent years, research on chronopolitics, which is an inquiry into the relationship between time and politics, has become increasingly popular in Japan. In the past, Paul Virilio has published *Speed and Politics: An Essay on Dromology* (1977) under the same discipline, while Yonosuke Nagai, a leading authority in the field of international politics, has authored *Jikan no Seijigaku (The Politics of Time)* (1979), which attempts to shed light on the US defeat in the Vietnam War from the perspective of its relationship with time and space, that is, chronopolitics.

This section first takes an overview of chronopolitics research in Japan before addressing China's preference for, and aversion to, "*Jijuku*."

#### (2) The rise of chronopolitics

In his pioneering research, Ryosuke Takahashi examines chronopolitics in relation to "Politics in Time" and "Politics of Time" through the contrast between timeframe and time determination, while touching on the non-linear quality of time, timeframes, elasticity of time, and time determination.<sup>46</sup> Takahashi and Nozumu Yamazaki, while citing Proust, point to the non-linear quality of the internal time of human beings. At the same time, they focus on Thomas Mann's concept of time elasticity, which is time's property of expanding and contracting corresponding to the human activity that one is focused on.<sup>47</sup> Not only are time wars being intensified by the increasing scarcity of time resources; they are also battles over the friction of differing timeframes and the initiative for time determination.<sup>48</sup>

According to Nagafumi Nakamura, certain countries and leaders suffer from the shortness of their "time limit" as well as the length of their "time of responsibility." While the latter can be shortened by shifting responsibilities to other actors, he points out that it is extremely difficult to create such time actively.<sup>49</sup> This time is a form of time that is measured by the clock, but is also a form of time that is accompanied by an awareness that is closely linked to the responsibility of maintaining security in regional areas of intervention as well as for domestic and foreign politics.

Various studies have been conducted on the relationship between politics and time. These can be traced back to Nagai's *Jikan no Seijigaku (The Politics of Time)* published in 1979.<sup>50</sup> In his work, Nagai identified asymmetry in the Vietnam War in the form of the contrasting relationship between developed industrialized

<sup>46</sup> Ryosuke Takahashi, "The Scope of Chronopolitics—Toward the Temporal Turn of International Politics," Aya Kuzuya and Atsushi Shibasaki, eds., *The End of International Relations? Reply from Japan*, Nakanishiya Shuppan, 2018, pp. 149–172.

<sup>47</sup> Ryosuke Takahashi, Nozomu Yamazaki, "Horizons of Chronopolitics— Temporal Turn of Political Analysis," Ryosuke Takahashi, Nozomu Yamazaki, eds., *The Challenge to Chronopolitics—Temporal Turn of Political Research*, Minerva Shobo, 2021, pp. 7–9.

<sup>48</sup> Ryosuke Takahashi, "The Scope of Chronopolitics," *ibid.*, pp. 161–162.

<sup>49</sup> Nagafumi Nakamura, "Time for the Countries leading the Intervention—Exit Strategy from the War on Terrorism," Ryosuke Takahashi, et. al., *The Challenge to Chronopolitics*, pp. 99–118.

<sup>50</sup> Refer to Yonosuke Nagai, *The Politics of Time*, Chuokoron-sha, 1979, pp. 49–82 in particular.



countries and agricultural societies, and between metropolitan forces and indigenous forces.<sup>51</sup> The contrasting relationships are summarized in the figure below.

**Figure 5: Strategic asymmetry in the Vietnam War**

	US/South Vietnam	North Vietnam
Forces	Metropolitan forces	Indigenous liberation forces
Era	Modern	Primitive
Social infrastructure	Industry/Technology	Agricultural production
Format of fight	Fight based on “capabilities”	Fight based on “will”
Objective of fight	Military victory	Destruction of the will to continue with war
Nature of fight	Spatial/Quantitative	Endurance/Sacrifices measured by “time”
Time and space	Shortening of time (increased efficiency) Spatial expansion of military power	Time in the daily lives of human beings Jungles
Selection of time Sacrifice of time	For the “present” Sacrificing the “future”	For the “past” and “future” Sacrificing the “present”
<p>Expansion of information space on TV, etc.: Extension of the battle front to the interior part of human’s deep psyche.</p> <p>Jungle battles vs. battles in the living room of the home country ⇒ Temporalization of the feeling of war-weariness</p>		

(Prepared by the author with reference to Yonosuke Nagai, *Jikan no Seijigaku (The Politics of Time)*, Chuokoron-sha, 1979, pp. 49–82.)

Some particularly notable points in Nagai’s research are the increase in human, economic, and political costs in proportion to time, as well as the concept of “a ‘ripe time’ strategy” in the psychological aspect, as represented by the feeling of war-weariness. *Sich zeitigen* (meaning “to come into being” or “take shape”) is a concept put forward by Heidegger. Depending on the researcher, it is translated into Japanese as “時

<sup>51</sup> Naoto Yagi, “Time in Asymmetric Conflict Theory—The Possibilities of Time Strategy,” Ryosuke Takahashi et. al., *The Challenge to Chronopolitics*, pp. 185–206.

熟” (*Jijuku*; the ripe time) as well as “時間化” (*Jikanka*; temporalization (that arises naturally)).<sup>52</sup> Heidegger eschews the notion of “past, present, and future” that is generally applied to the perception of time, asserting that it is based on a non-intrinsic understanding of time. On the other hand, he applies his own unique expressions to the modes of time—*Gegenwart* (present or presence), *Gewesenheit* (“having-been”), and *Zukunft* (future; depending on the researcher, it is also translated as “到来” (*Torai*; arrival) in Japanese). These are not separated but are mutually linked to create a unique and united entity. He expresses this formation of temporal unity as “the ripening of time,” and attempts to show the dynamic state of the three dimensions of time, which create unity naturally while becoming linked with one another.<sup>53</sup> This perspective lies in the *Zukunft* (future) as a possibility where oneself may be sent to; it has also been pointed out that temporality is united around *Zukunft* (future) in the original temporality.<sup>54</sup> Heidegger explains that in addition to the ripening and maturing of time, the various possibilities of oneself also ripen and mature. He points out that as the fundamental and intrinsic temporality evokes the present for the first time while already existing in the future, it matures from the intrinsic future.<sup>55</sup>

In this context, if the concept of “*Jijuku*” as used by Nagai were perceived only in the sense of fixed fait accompli, it would create a somewhat different understanding from the original definition of the term. In any case, as “*Jijuku*” is considered to hold important implications for the theory of time, the next sections separately consider the recent trends in China from this perspective.

With this rise of chronopolitics came the renewed recognition of the importance of many elements related to “Politics in Time,” such as the given term of the leaders of countries in their political systems,<sup>56</sup> the deadline for mandates in the arena of international cooperation, the emphasis on calendars in making domestic requests,<sup>57</sup> the various anniversaries of communist countries, and the age and lifespan of national leaders.

Today, with the dramatic advancement that we have achieved in information and communication technology, many hints can be gleaned in the “Politics of Time,” such as the formation and dissolution of information networks, the synchronization and asynchronization of the military actions of one’s own country and other countries, deprivation of time from or indulgence of time to the other party, and the role of positioning satellites equipped with atomic clocks.

### (3) China’s preference for and aversion to “*Jijuku*”

Here, based on the above viewpoints on “*Jijuku*,” I will compare the large-scale and rapid land reclamation project by China in the South China Sea, and the enactment of the Law on Safeguarding National Security that was linked to the situation in Hong Kong.

Since 2014, China has been implementing large-scale land reclamation projects on the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea, even going as far as constructing long-ranged runways and large-scale military

<sup>52</sup> Takao Todoroki, *Introduction to Heidegger’s “Being and Time,”* Kodansha, 2017, pp. 338–340.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.* Heidegger, (Tasuku Hara, Jiro Watanabe, trans.), *Being and Time* (Japanese translation published by Chuokoron-sha, 2003, pp. 58–64 of the third volume).

<sup>54</sup> Masaki Nakamasa, *Introduction to Heidegger’s Philosophy—Reading “Being and Time,”* Kodansha, 2015, pp. 186–189.

<sup>55</sup> Heidegger, *Being and Time*, pp. 65–73.

<sup>56</sup> For example, even in countries with a presidential system, there are differences on the duration of a term and whether or not re-election is permitted. In communist countries, the term generally lasts for five years, and importance is placed on the party congress presided over by the communist party.

<sup>57</sup> In the case of Japan, of the past 26 House of Representatives elections held under the existing Constitution, the balloting and counting were held on “unlucky days” in the Buddhist calendar only on two occasions—6 July 1986 (second Nakasone Cabinet), and 25 June 2000 (Mori Cabinet). Regardless of whether or not the government believed in the auspicious days of the Buddhist calendar, it can be said to be a manifestation of the emphasis on the practice of acting superstitiously even in the modern times.

facilities, and it is highly improbable that it will renounce this position.<sup>58</sup> The US, in the second term of the Obama administration, received Chairman Xi Jinping's commitment toward non-militarization in the Spratly Islands at the US-China Summit Meeting held in September 2015.<sup>59</sup> Despite that, China soon broke this pledge and commenced the use of the islands as a substantial military facility.

At this time, China's narrative had followed the line of a "self-defense" measure, as described by State Councilor Wang Yi to US Secretary of State Pompeo.<sup>60</sup> However, many studies have pointed to the relationship between China's territorial/domain views, including the South China Sea issue, with the emotional aspect of national humiliation.<sup>61</sup> National humiliation can also be found when capturing the aforementioned concept of nostalgia from temporality.

With regard to these trends, former Chief of Staff of the Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force, Admiral (ret.) Takei Tomohisa, points out that China's land reclamation, construction of port facilities and airport facilities, as well as militarization in the South China Sea, are gradually securing its effective control over the reefs, and it is already entering a phase of "*Jijuku*" or "the ripe time." He also points out astutely that in the new security environment, in which revisionist powers ingeniously adjust and rebalance the status quo, states must plan for an opponent's initiatives, maintain the ability to act, and be sure of the political will to use force in a crisis, despite the risks of escalation. Above all, the key to calming a crisis before it escalates is to return to the original state of affairs before the revisionist power enters the waiting-game phase of a ripening-time "*Jijuku*" strategy.<sup>62</sup>

While this strategy of "*Jijuku*" works to China's advantage in the South China Sea, the same strategy puts China and the Communist Party of China at a disadvantage when it comes to the issue of Hong Kong. From the perspective of the Communist Party, China is a force for maintaining the status quo in the Hong Kong issue, while democracy activists and supporters are forces seeking to change the status quo. In other words, "*Jijuku*" for China is for Hong Kong to break away from the yoke of the Communist Party's leadership and become a democratic city state before the Sino-British Joint Declaration becomes invalid in 2047; this is equivalent to the re-emergence of the abovementioned "national humiliation" for China. Through official government reports, we can identify the basic format of China's narrative with regard to the return of Hong Kong and Macau—that it has washed of centuries of shame of the Chinese people and opened up a new epoch in history.<sup>63</sup>

Therefore, we can say that China has a preference for "*Jijuku*" with regard to the South China Sea issue,

<sup>58</sup> Oriana Skylar Mastro, "What are China's leaders saying about the South China Sea?" The Interpreter, The Lowy Institute, 24 February 2021 [https://www.loyyinstitute.org/the-interpreter/what-are-china-s-leaders-saying-about-south-china-sea].

<sup>59</sup> "Xi denies China turning artificial islands into military bases," Reuters, 26 September 2015 [https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-china-pacific-idUSKCN0RP1ZH20150925].

<sup>60</sup> "Pentagon uninvites China from major U.S. military exercise," Reuters, 24 May 2018 [https://www.reuters.com/article/cnews-us-usa-china-military-exercise-idCAKCN1102W4-OCATP].

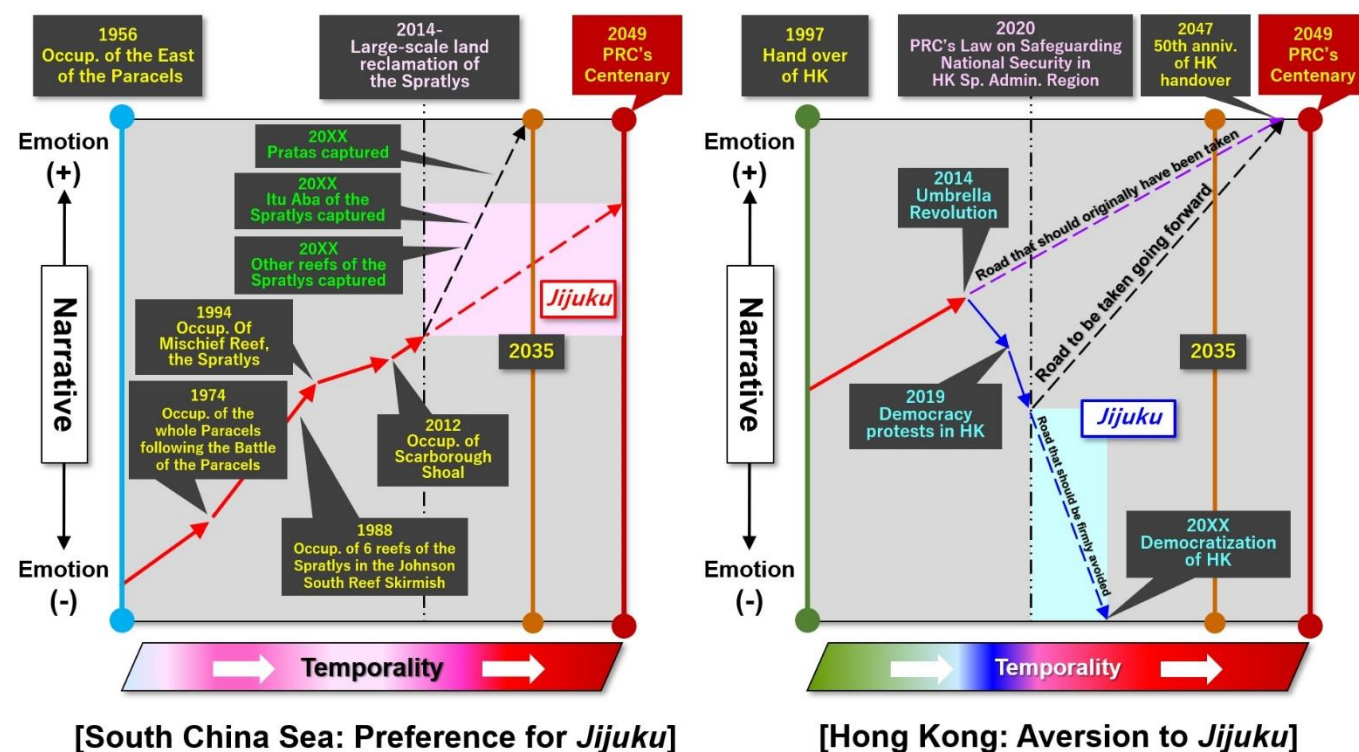
<sup>61</sup> Refer to the following research, for example. Shin Kawashima, "The Memory of the National Border in Modern and Contemporary China: China's Imagined Original Territory," *Japan Border Review* No. 1, 2010, pp. 1–17. Christian Wirth, "Emotions, international hierarchy, and the problem of solipsism in Sino-US South China Sea politics," *International Relations*, Vol.34, No. 1, 2020, pp. 25–45. Mark Tischler, "China's 'Never Again' Mentality," *The Diplomat*, 18 August 2020 [https://thediplomat.com/2020/08/chinas-never-again-mentality/]. Colin Raunig, "A Sense of Sovereignty: How China's 'Century of Humiliation' Affects U.S. Policy in the South China Sea," The US Naval History and Heritage Command, 31 July 2018 [https://www.history.navy.mil/content/history/nhnc/get-involved/essay-contest/2017-winners/additional-essay-contest-submissions/a-sense-of-sovereignty---how-chinas-century-of-humiliation-affect1.html].

<sup>62</sup> Tomohisa Takei, "The New Time and Space, Dimensions of a Maritime Defense Strategy," *Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force Command and Staff College Review*, Special Issue, November 2016, pp. 2–15.

<sup>63</sup> For example, "1997年7月1日、1999年12月20日，饱经沧桑的香港、澳门先后回到祖国怀抱，洗雪了中华民族的百年耻辱，开启了历史的新纪元。" "历史大势不可挡——'一国两制'重要制度为什么完全行得通？," 人民日报, 17 August 2020, 6th Edition. Also, refer to the following on the expression "历经百年沧桑的香港终于回到祖国怀抱，中国人民终于洗雪香港被侵占的百年国耻。" "新中国峥嵘岁月 | 洗雪百年耻辱," 新华网, 2 November 2019 [http://www.xinhuanet.com/politics/2019-11/02/c\_1125184257.html].

through its land reclamation projects, but has an aversion to “*Jijuku*” with regard to Hong Kong. The South China Sea situation and the Hong Kong situation are diametrically opposed from the perspective of whether the future, as an extension of the present, is positive or negative.

**Figure 6: China’s preference for, and aversion to, “*Jijuku*” from the perspectives of the South China Sea and Hong Kong situation**



(Prepared by the author with reference to Hakkı Taş, “The chronopolitics of national populism,” *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 2020, p. 6.)

However, if we do not regard the centenary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 2049 as a celebratory event, but as a “having-been that is still to come” and the final deadline on the risk of the Communist Party losing its position as the ruling party, then the series of actions in the South China Sea and Hong Kong could be described as the manifestation of the sense of impending crisis accompanying its Heidegger-style of *vorlaufende Entschlossenheit* (resolution anticipation) (here, it does not refer to the personal mortality, but the fatality of the Chinese Communist Party’s ruling system), and it is possible to identify a commonality in the principles. In the past, then-General Secretary Hu Jintao had said at the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, marking the 30th anniversary of the Party, that the advancement of the Communist Party of China and the status of the ruling party is not a matter of gaining a long period of repose just by working hard once, and it does not necessarily remain unchanged once it has been established. He cautioned that the advancement of the Communist Party of China and the status of the ruling party are not necessarily assured from the past to the present, and from the present to eternity.<sup>64</sup> General Secretary Xi Jinping has also said, in the context of law-based governance, that they will adhere to the constitution that guarantees that the status of the Communist Party as the leading party remains unshaken. This can be taken as a clear indication of an awareness of this sense of crisis.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> 「胡锦涛在纪念党的十一届三中全会召开 30 周年大会上的讲话」、中央政府门户网站 [http://www.gov.cn/test/2009-10/13/content\_1437699\_6.htm].

<sup>65</sup> 习近平「中国共产党领导是中国特色社会主义最本质的特征」《求是》，Issue 14 of 2020, 15 July 2020

## Conclusion: Implications of the three turns for warfare in the cognitive domain

This paper focused on the characteristics of narrative, emotionality, and temporality as the three turns in the field of defense, and attempted to organize the debate in this subject matter. I have pointed out that while a narrative is an information vector that maintains a certain quantity and direction, and tends to be processed mechanically in the information space, it invades the psychology and cognitive domains of human beings through the virtual domain of information and communication networks. The battle of narratives is a part of those in the virtual and cognitive domains, in which invisible bullets fly by in all directions.

Turning the focus on the emotions and behaviour of human beings, we see that victimhood, nostalgia, and collective narcissism also have an impact on group behaviour. In particular, when state actors, terrorists, or extremist groups incorporate these elements into the narratives, there is a need to penetrate the intentions as well as to analyse the functions with great caution. We must not forget that these actors creep up on groups and individuals through various means, both in times of peace and emergency, and regardless of whether it is their own country, a partner country, or a third country.

Temporality is not only a political resource, but is also an element that should be viewed with especial importance in the fields of security and defense. Decision-centric warfare (DCW), which has drawn attention in recent years, constitutes a part of the warfare in the cognitive domain. At the same time, we can describe it as a fight of initiative over our time and the time of others, in relation to decision-making.<sup>66</sup> In the field of defense, the emphasis is likely to be placed on various approaches that place the focus on temporality, from the perspective of buying time on our end while simultaneously depriving the other party of their time, constant interference with the other party's decision-making and situational awareness, and imposing upon the other party temporal and spatial "friction" that originates from strategic delays in action.

Hence, the three turns in the field of defense are directly related to warfare in the cognitive domain. Progress is being made in related research overseas. For example, in the US, research conducted by the military colleges<sup>67</sup> as well as columns written by thinktanks on China's activities in the cognitive domain have been published.<sup>68</sup> In addition, a recent study by the influential thinktank, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CSBA), looks at the cognitive domain while comparing the information environments of the US, China, and Russia.<sup>69</sup> The Australian Army, too, has shown strong interest in the subject, such as adding commentaries on warfare in the cognitive domain into its e-education curriculum.<sup>70</sup>

In China, a wide range of studies have been conducted on "制脑权"(zhinaoquan) or "brain supremacy." Recently, the official bulletin of the military, *People's Liberation Army Daily*, published an article titled "Operations in the Cognitive Domain Have Entered the Era of the Fight Over Brain Supremacy."<sup>71</sup> In Japan,

[[http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2020-07/15/c\\_1126234524.htm](http://www.qstheory.cn/dukan/qs/2020-07/15/c_1126234524.htm)].

<sup>66</sup> Hideyuki Takahashi, "Comparative Analysis of the New and Old Military Decision-making Concepts—From the Perspective of U.S. 'Mosaic Warfare,'" *Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force Command and Staff College Review* Vol. 10 No. 2 (Volume No. 21), December 2020, pp. 48–76.

<sup>67</sup> Michael J. Cheatham, "Wars of Cognition: How Clausewitz and Neuroscience Influence Future War-Fighter Readiness," *Air & Space Power Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 4, Winter 2018, pp. 16–30.

<sup>68</sup> Nathan Beauchamp-Mustafaga, "Cognitive Domain Operations: The PLA's New Holistic Concept for Influence Operations," *China Brief*, Vol. 19, No. 16, The Jamestown Foundation, September 2019.

<sup>69</sup> Bryan Clark, Daniel Patt, Harrison Schramm, "Mosaic Warfare: Exploiting Artificial Intelligence and Autonomous Systems to Implement Decision Centric Operations," Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 2020, pp. 21–25.

<sup>70</sup> Emily Bienvenue, Zac Rogers, Sian Troath, "Cognitive Warfare," Cove, The Australian Army, 14 May 2019 [<https://cove.army.gov.au/article/cognitive-warfare>].

<sup>71</sup> 「認知域作战进入制脑权争夺时代」、解放军报, 2 June 2020, 16th edition.

too, there are examples of research comparing “brain supremacy” with “mind wars” in the US.<sup>72</sup> At the end of 2020, the Taiwanese thinktank, Institute for National Defense and Security Research, released a report about China that raised caution on how China is making use of its edge in campaigns in the cognitive domain.<sup>73</sup> For example, it pointed out that China’s cognitive war is, conceptually, the pouring of aged wine into a new bottle, but that it poses a threat to Taiwan’s national security.

Japan currently places the focus on the areas of space, cyberspace, and electromagnetic spectrum, with a view to the aspect of wars in the future. Needless to say, of the three domains—physical, virtual, and cognitive, this is based on the premise of an approach to the nodes and facets that connect the physical and the virtual domains.

On the other hand, there are also future issues related to the nodes and facets that straddle the virtual and cognitive domains. With regard to China’s operations in its intelligentized warfare, including activities using artificial intelligence (AI), it has also been pointed out that the battleground will be expanded to the virtual space that includes the cognitive domains of the country’s leaders and commanders.<sup>74</sup> Concerning the battle of narratives, which I have covered from the preceding paper to this paper, there is a need to include renewed evaluation in the field of defense while giving full consideration to these conditions. It is vital to approach the various aspects of battles in the new domains appropriately, including warfare in the cognitive domain. It is hoped that the relevant organizations will address this going forward.

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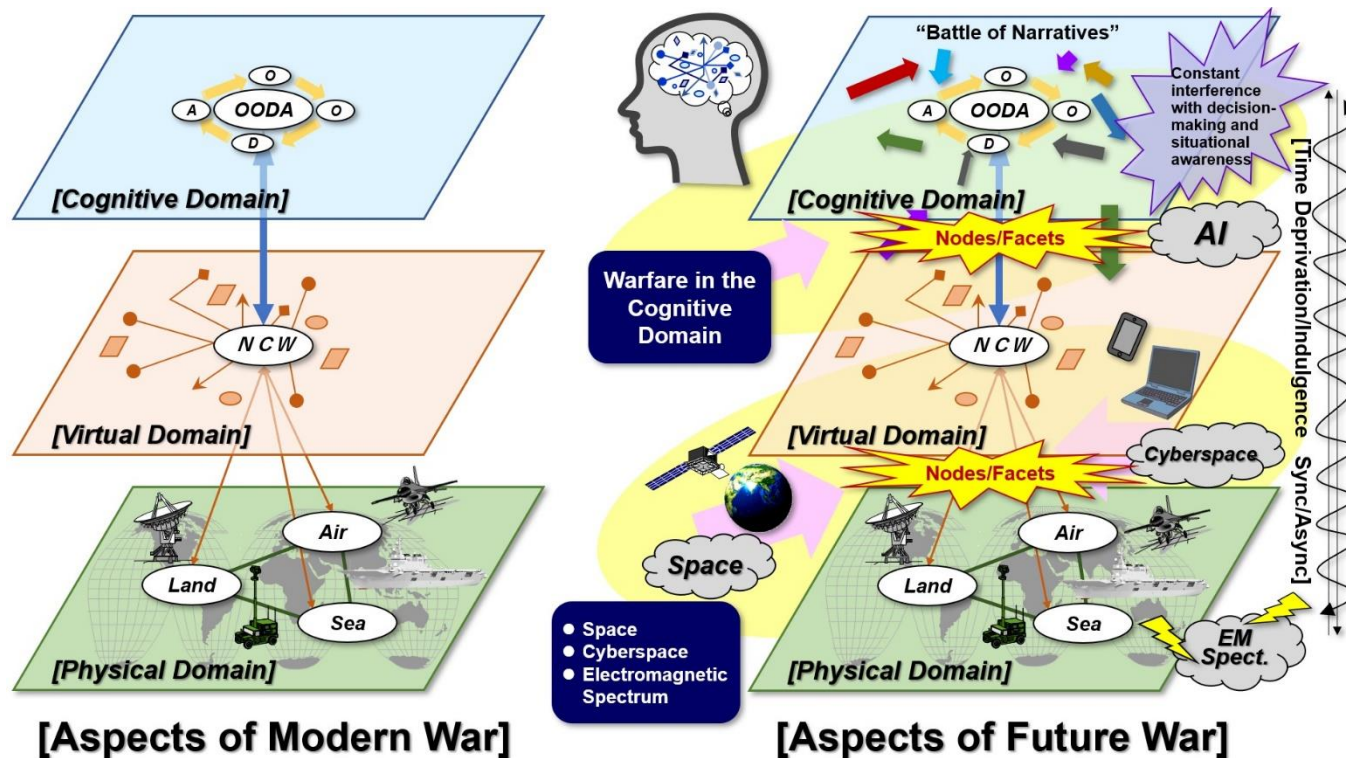
<sup>72</sup> Takahiro Tsuchiya, “Neuro Security – ‘Brain Supremacy’ and ‘Mind Wars,’ *KEIO SFC JOURNAL*, Vol. 15, No. 2, 2015, pp. 12–31.

<sup>73</sup> 曾怡碩「中共認知作戰」、洪子傑、李冠成編『2020 中共政軍發展評估報告』國防安全研究院, December 2020, pp. 217–228.

<sup>74</sup> Masafumi Iida, “Impact of Artificial Intelligence on Military Affairs Based on the Case of the People’s Liberation Army,” *Security & Strategy*, Vol. 1 No. 2, 2020, pp. 1–14.



**Figure 7: Aspects of modern war and future war—Warfare in the cognitive domain (Image)**



(Prepared by the author)

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