Preface

This is the third volume in the NIDS Perspectives series, which analyzes global strategic trends from a perspective that transcends regions and policy areas and intersects the dimensions of time and space. Following the first volume, *The Shifting Dynamics of Great Power Competition*, published in March 2023, and the second volume, *New Horizons of the Nuclear Age*, published in March 2024, this volume examines how the Russo-Ukrainian War has impacted U.S.-China military confrontation in the Indo-Pacific.

The Russo-Ukrainian War that began in February 2022 offers numerous insights relevant for security in the Indo-Pacific where the U.S.-China strategic confrontation is unfolding. The Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) aims to build a "world-class military" by the middle of this century. Whether the lessons emerging from Ukrainian battlefields validate the PLA's military modernization efforts, or whether the lessons will require the PLA to make adjustments, is a key theme that directly affects not only those within the PLA but also our own security. Given that Taiwan is the most critical point of contention between the United States and China, it is also equally important to examine how Taiwan perceives the lessons learned from the Russo-Ukrainian War and how Taiwan will draw on those lessons to counter Chinese military pressure. In this war, Russia, a nuclear-weapon state, has openly hinted at the use of nuclear weapons. As such, we cannot disregard either the role of nuclear weapons in the war or their implications for a potential Taiwan contingency. Furthermore, while the United States is not participating in the Russo-Ukrainian War directly, it has played a major role in the Ukrainian resistance against Russia's aggression. In this regard, this war provides an important model for understanding how the United States may intervene in future external conflicts. Needless to say, it is essential to examine what military lessons the United States is learning from the Russo-Ukrainian War and how America intends to reflect those lessons in how it would fight wars.

The authors of this book, who conduct research at the National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), explore these issues from their respective areas of expertise. However, this book does not claim to answer all the questions our readers may have. Nevertheless, as I am sure, each chapter will certainly make an original intellectual contribution to the understanding of the subjects they address, and we will be looking forward to any feedback and inputs that you might have.

In writing this book, the authors—who specialize in Chinese and Taiwanese military strategies, nuclear strategies, and U.S. defense policy and military strategy respectively—conducted extensive discussions and analyses that delve into each other's fields of study. The authors are SUGIURA Yasuyuki (Chapter 1), AITA Moriki (Chapter 2), IGARASHI Takayuki (Chapter 3), MAEDA Yuji (Chapter 4), KIRIDORI Ryo (Chapter 5), and KIKUCHI Shigeo (Chapter 6). The introduction and conclusion were written by Kikuchi and Sugiura based on input received from all the authors. A project like this book could not have been completed by the authors alone. We are grateful for the support received from OSHITE Junichi, MOTOYAMA Isao, TSUJITA Yuki, and YAMAGUCHI Akihiro, in addition to the authors Sugiura, Kiridori, and Maeda who double-hatted as members of the editorial team. They provided indispensable assistance and support throughout the process from planning to completing this book, which was a major factor behind its successful publication.

Moreover, the content of this book has been greatly enriched by our work environment. NIDS is a think tank of the Ministry of Defense of Japan and the only national academic research institution dedicated to security studies in the country. Many researchers at NIDS specialize in defense and security, and it is not uncommon for daily chats with colleagues to develop into indepth scholarly discussions. NIDS researchers also have opportunities for regular interaction with Ministry of Defense and Self-Defense Force officials through which they can learn about pressing issues of Japan's defense policy. The vantage point of being able to observe a defense organization of a country from the inside, even if only partially, offers invaluable perspectives for analyzing foreign military organizations. Additionally, NIDS frequently hosts foreign visitors, including officials from defense ministries and security experts, allowing us to engage in international discussions here at our workplace. This book has drawn valuable insights from these interactions as well.

Nevertheless, the views expressed in this book represent the personal views of the authors. The responsibility for the analyses as well as any errors or omissions in this book squarely rest with them. This book does not necessarily represent the official position of NIDS, the Ministry of Defense, or the Government of Japan. We would be more than pleased if the discussions in this book contribute to a deeper understanding of the strategic competition between the United States and China and of the security environment surrounding Japan.

Finally, on behalf of the authors and the editorial team, I would like to extend heartfelt thanks to those who helped us make this publication possible.

> KIKUCHI Shigeo Director, Policy Studies Department National Institute for Defense Studies, Japan March 2025