
英文要旨 (Summaries in English)

Western Europe, Universal Values, and Activation of the “Comprehensive” Security System: Focusing on the Mediterranean in the 1970s and 1980s

**ITO Nobuyoshi
National Institute for Defense Studies**

Western European security today has fulfilled its function of maintaining order by emphasising universal values such as freedom and democracy in addition to military aspects. This article discusses events from the late 1970s to the early 1980s, focusing on the Mediterranean, which became the focus of national policy coordination, while also referring to developments in international organisations such as the Western Alliance and European integration. The region was a strategic point of confrontation in the Cold War in Europe, and during this period, the political and economic agendas of the Western powers were also linked to security issues due to the political changes of the preceding period. The existence of such normative concepts, which also played a strong role in Cold War strategy and alliance cohesion, provided the ideological basis for the southern enlargement of European integration, which converged as an important policy objective of Western European security. In this sense, the broad alliance management in the Mediterranean and the deepening and widening of European integration during this period can be positioned as a milestone in the activation of the “comprehensive” Western European security that has continued to the present day.

Choosing a Military Option: Military and Civilian Advisors in the British Ministry of Defence and the 2003 Iraq Invasion

**SUKEGAWA Yasushi
National Institute for Defense Studies**

During the 2003 Iraq invasion, the United Kingdom faced significant challenges

due to its choice of a force package that potentially exceeded operational planning assumptions. This study examines why the force package was proposed to civilian leaders by analyzing the views of both military and civilian advisors in the Ministry of Defence.

Military officers emphasized the package's advantages, particularly its autonomous capability for the British armed forces; they downplayed associated risks as it turned out. Civil servants concurred with this assessment. The paper further explores how this shared representation of the military option emerged from institutional norms about how to work together. These norms, developed during organizational reforms in the 1980s and 1990s to integrate the military and the civil servant to produce better unified advice, facilitated coordination and minimized competition or conflict. Consequently, civilian advisors aligned with the military's viewpoint, while contributing to the management of policy processes.

Adoption of Mission Command by the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Air Force: Meaning of Decentralization/Centralization for Distributed Operations

**KIKUCHI Shigeo
National Institute for Defense Studies**

In the recent years, the U.S. Navy and the U.S. Air Force formally adopted mission command in their respective doctrine. It signified departure for both services, which allegedly centralized command and control (C2) to an excessive degree. Shifting to a more decentralized C2 was in part response to the growing threat of China, and, to a lesser degree, of Russia. The militaries of both countries are widely expected to attack and disrupt C2 of U.S. forces in an event of an armed conflict with the United States, and decentralizing C2 would make the U.S. military less likely to be paralyzed under such attacks. However, there are elements in the operational concepts being developed by each of the services, that requires centralization of C2. Besides, some advocate that the concept of mission command be expanded to incorporate “horizontal” coordination and synchronization of actions of participating units among commanders involved, based on shared understanding and higher commander's intent.

**Transformation of the Republic of China (ROC)'s Counterattack
the Mainland Strategy in the Late 1950s:
From the Perspective of the Global Cold War and Domestic Social Situation**
MI Duo
China University of Political Science and Law

According to previous research on the government of ROC (hereinafter, Kokufu)'s counterattack the mainland in Taiwan, it is said that the Kokufu, which was controlled by the U.S., has effectively abandoned the counterattack the mainland by force, and started to call for the counterattack the mainland by political means in the late 1950s. This paper empirically reexamines the transformation of the Kokufu's counterattack the mainland strategy, taking into account the changes in the international and social situation surrounding Taiwan.

In 1954, in response to the rise of neutralism in Asia, Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Kokufu, appealed for the unity of liberal countries centered on the U.S., and advocated a counterattack the mainland strategy based on the support and assistance of the U.S. After the Mutual Defense Treaty went into effect, the governments of the U.S. and the Kokufu committed themselves to establishing an anti-communist cooperation system in Asia to counter the Soviet Union's policy of peaceful coexistence and China's external aggression. However, as anti-American and anti-imperialist sentiments grew both inside and outside of Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek who faced with the loss of legitimacy of the counterattack the mainland strategy based on the support of the U.S., began to devise a plan for counterattack the mainland strategy by political means. After the outbreak of the Second Taiwan Strait Crisis, Chiang Kai-shek, who had effectively responded with the assistance of the U.S., and together with Dulles U.S. Secretary of State, they issued a joint communiqué in which they agreed to cooperate with the U.S. in resolving its domestic problems. Furthermore, after 1959, Chiang Kai-shek established a new counterattack the mainland strategy centered on special operations. At the same time, the Kokufu, under the leadership of Chiang Ching-kuo, independently supported the South Vietnam's special operations, while also carrying out special operations against the mainland with American arms support.

**Revisiting the Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea:
Southeast Asia amid the US-China Rivalry**

SHOJI Tomotaka
National Institute for Defense Studies

This paper discusses the territorial disputes in the South China Sea, mainly focusing on the situation in the 2020s. Military tensions in the South China Sea have become entrenched due to the escalating rivalry between the United States and China. In response to the increasingly tense situation in the South China Sea, ASEAN continues to pursue a Code of Conduct (COC). However, the COC talks have lost their momentum due to the COVID-19 pandemics, leading to a growing sense of stagnation. Consequently, ASEAN has come to pursue alternative measures, such as mini-lateral arrangements and joint exercises. The claimants of the disputes, Vietnam and the Philippines, are exhibiting contrasting movements. While Vietnam maintains a non-aligned stance, the Philippines under the Marcos administration has reversed the previous administration's policy and is strengthening cooperation with the United States and other US allies, Japan and Australia. The two countries are taking contrasting responses in terms of alliance policy, due to intensifying strategic competition between great powers and growing mini-lateral cooperation.

**National Defense Policy at the 20th National Congress of the Communist
Party of China and Personnel Reshuffles in PLA**

SUGIURA Yasuyuki
National Institute for Defense Studies

At the 20th National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Xi Jinping failed to achieve the institutionalization of a one-man rule. Therefore, Xi Jinping placed the highest priority on strengthening control over the PLA in the defense policy at the Party Congress. At the same time, he aimed to speed up the modernization of the armed forces, strengthen nuclear deterrence and the ability to respond to Intelligitized Warfare, and perfect the integrated operational command system. Xi also ordered the strengthening of training, personnel development and national defense technology capabilities as urgent tasks.

Such defense policy was reflected in personnel appointments in the military's upper echelons, where Xi Jinping prioritized political loyalty to himself. At the same time, emphasis was also placed on military expertise in terms of strengthening joint operational capabilities and national defense technology capabilities in view of the Taiwan contingency. These series of senior military appointments was Xi Jinping's best and brightest to strengthen his power base and respond to the crisis at the same time.

However, these senior appointments broke down with the ouster of Defense Minister Li Shangfu and personnel changes in the Rocket Command. Therefore, Xi reasserted control over PLA and aimed to stabilize its most important power base.

**The Duality of the Saudi-Emirati Relations:
Transition to the Competition over the Yemeni Civil War and the Policies for
a Stronger Country**

YOSHIDA Tomoaki

National Institute for Defense Studies

Since the 2011 Arab uprisings, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) have coordinated against both the internal and external threats represented by Islamism and expansion of Iran, which became imminent on the occasion of regional disturbance. Previous bilateral relations have been characterized by disharmony due to the border conflict and the different views on the regional integration through the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Thus, it is pointed out that the new security threats brought 'détente' to the two countries.

Though Saudi Arabia and the UAE built strong ties even evaluated as 'alliance,' the deterioration of the relationship was reported in July 2021 due to the economic friction on oil production quota at OPEC, along with the political split.

This paper argues that Saudi-Emirati relations have a duality of cooperative and competitive dimensions, and the latter came to surface by 1) calming down the threats of 2011 Arab uprisings, 2) different stance and performance on the intervention in the Yemeni Civil War, 3) political and military rise of the UAE and intensification of economic competition. The latter two are new factors ramping up competitive dimension, harming the Saudi Arabia's status as the regional power.

Resurgence of Coups d'état and the War on Terror in Africa

JINGUSHI W. Akira

National Institute for Defense Studies

In recent years, coups d'état have frequently occurred in Africa, particularly in the Sahel region, and have disrupted peace and stability in the region. This paper first points out that the “resurgence of coups d'état” has three characteristics: (1) a high frequency comparable to that during the Cold War, (2) an increase in the number of coups in a sudden reversal of the previous downward trend, and (3) a high success rate. Next, since half of the coups in recent years have occurred in countries engaged in the war on terror, this paper examines the impact of the war on terror on the military's “disposition” to engage in coups and its “ability” to carry them out. Specifically, the prolonged war on terror and the ever-increasing number of casualties have increased the military's dissatisfaction with and distrust of the government, and this has facilitated the “disposition” to stage a coup. The military assistance and engagement of the U.S. and other external powers to the local government forces as part of the war on terror contributed to improving “ability” of the coup plotters, creating a situation that could lead to an increase in the frequency and success rate of coups d'état.

Military Cyber Forces (MCF) as Integrator of Offensive Cyber in Democracies:

Comparative Studies of the ‘Dual Integration’ mechanism through the U.S. and Netherlands MCF

SETO Takashi

National Institute for Defense Studies

This paper explores the distinctive functions of military cyber forces (MCF) in the development and operational deployment of offensive cyber capabilities (OCC). Based on the previous research on MCF and OCC, the paper follows the hypothesis that MCF, which is under a military command structure and distinct from existing intelligence services, contributes to a ‘dual integration.’ involving (1) the integration of OCC into military operational planning and (2) the operation-intelligence fusion of

capabilities and subsequent organizational-cultural shifts between military operational branches and intelligence services in order to achieve and maintain the readiness of OCC in the democratic governance system. To test this hypothesis, comparative case studies of the US and Netherlands MCF, including the USCYBERCOM's Joint Task Force ARES, Dutch Defense Cyber Command, as well as the Royal Netherlands Army Cyber and Electromagnetic Company. The conclusion of the studies supports the 'dual integration' mechanism through MCF and indicates their role in enhancing the readiness of OCC. It also highlights how the development and deployment of OCC by MCF is constrained by inherent limitations stemming from each country's strategic objectives, domestic political processes, legal systems, and other factors.

**Japan's Defense Cooperation with the Philippines under the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) Initiative:
The Emergence of a Quasi-Alliance as a New Chapter in Japan–Philippines Relations**

**YAMAZAKI Amane
Toyo University**

The Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) initiative is a driving force for Japan to deepen defense cooperation with Southeast Asian countries in the Indo-Pacific region. This article highlights defense cooperation between Japan and the Philippines, a subject that has been inadequately studied. In response to China's maritime expansion and its assertive posture in the South China Sea, defense cooperation between Japan and the Philippines has been progressing. This study mainly examines defense cooperation in Japan–Philippines relations after 2016 to characterize the strengthened partnership between the two governments. The research aims to answer a question about how the bilateral ties have evolved by focusing on Japan's regional activities under the FOIP. The article argues that a quasi-alliance is gradually emerging between Tokyo and Manila and suggests the future prospects that this movement will accelerate, due to the global and structural factors related to the international order as a whole, such as the US–China rivalry and the Ukraine war.