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特集　日米同盟と自由で開かれたインド太平洋

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巻頭言

2019 年 6 月、米国防省から『インド太平洋戦略報告（Indo-Pacific Strategy Report）』が発表された。そこには、中国、ロシア、北朝鮮を今後の挑戦者としつつ、自由で開かれたインド太平洋の実現に向けた具体的な構想が描かれている。200 年以上にわたって太平洋国家としてインド太平洋地域と繋がってきた米国が、今後とも同地域に対して関与していく強い意思が読み取れる。また、同戦略報告では、同盟国、友好国との連携の強化を基軸としているところに特徴が見出せる。我が国は、その筆頭に書かれており、日米同盟は、インド太平洋地域の平和と繁栄の礎石と位置づけられている。

我が国が提唱している「自由で開かれたインド太平洋」構想では、同地域が国際公共財との認識のもと、米国、豪州、インド、ASEAN 諸国をはじめとし、多角的かつ多層的な協力が推進されている。前述の米『インド太平洋戦略報告』に見られる同盟の位置づけを踏まえれば、今後のインド太平洋地域の安全保障において、日米同盟の強化は最も重要な要素の一つといえよう。

さて、日米安全保障体制は、本年 9 月に 68 周年を迎えた。この日米の安全保障体制が軍事的意味合いを含む「同盟」と呼ばれるようになったのは、それほど昔のことではない。戦後、日米同盟は時代とともに変化し、時間的にも地理的にも、その役割は徐々に拡充されてきた。

1951 年に締結された旧日米安保条約では、我が国の米国に対する基地提供の義務が存在する一方で、米国の日本防衛の義務は明確ではなく、また、騒じょうの鎮圧援助のための基地使用が認められるなど、多くの課題があった。1960 年の新日米安保条約では、これらの多くが改善された。

1978 年の「日米防衛協力のための指針（以下「日米ガイドライン」）」では、日本の防衛に関する作戦構想が明記されたが、日本以外の極東における事態、いわゆる 6 条事態については、「情勢の変化に応じ随時協議する」との表現に止まった。その後、ソ連の軍事力増強などにより新冷戦と呼ばれる時代となり、シーレーン防衛の研究、相互運用性の研究など、日米の防衛協力は進展した。海上自衛隊は、1978 年から P-3C 対潜哨戒機の調達を開始し、1980 年からは米海軍が主催する環太平洋合同演習（RIMPAC）に参加、1988 年からはイージス艦の建造が始まった。

しかし、米ソ冷戦の終結は、日米同盟のあり方に再定義の必要性をもたらすこととなった。日米同盟が「漂流」という言葉で形容されたのもこの頃である。こうした中、1996 年の日米安保共同宣言では、日米同盟はアジア太平洋地域の地域秩序、安定を支えるものとして大きく規定し直され、1997 年 9

月の日米ガイドラインには、いわゆる周辺事態における日米の役割等が書き込まれ、日本は、日本周辺地域における事態においても米軍に協力して行動することが明確となった。

2001 年、9.11 米国同時多発テロが発生し、我が国はテロ対策特別措置法を整備し、海上自衛隊の艦艇をインド洋に派遣した。日米首脳会談で「世界の中の日米同盟」という言葉が使われたように、日米同盟の地理的概念はアジア太平洋を越えて広がった。他方で、北朝鮮の核・ミサイルなど新たな脅威への対応が問題となる中、2005 年には日米共通の戦略目標が発表され、両国の役割、任務、能力などが合意された。

そして、2011 年 3 月に発生した東日本大震災における米国による「トモダチ作戦」は、日米で実施された大規模な共同作戦であり、自衛隊の活動のみならず、日米の連携を国民に強く印象づけることとなった。

2015 年 9 月に、いわゆる平和安全法制が成立し、日米ガイドラインは 18 年ぶりに改訂された。この日米ガイドラインでは、平素からの同盟調整メカニズムの設置が明示され、平時から緊急事態までの切れ目のない形での協力体制が実現した。また、米国又は第三国に対する武力攻撃への対処行動、いわゆる集団的自衛権の限定的な行使について記述されたほか、地域にかかわらず日本の安全が脅かされる事態が起こった場合は、後方支援を中心に日本は米国と協力できることが定められた。

そして、2016 年のアフリカ開発会議で我が国が表明し、法の支配や航行の自由などの価値観の普及・定着、インフラ整備などを通じた連結性の強化による経済的繁栄、能力構築や人道支援・災害救難での協力による平和と安全の確保を目指した「自由で開かれたインド太平洋」構想は、国内外で高い関心を呼んだ。2017 年 12 月に発表された米国家安全保障戦略（National Security Strategy）では、この「自由で開かれたインド太平洋」の文言が明示的に盛り込まれ、2019 年 6 月に米国防省から冒頭の『インド太平洋戦略報告』が発表された。

他方で、軍事戦略や作戦構想の議論も時代とともに変化してきた。

冷戦時代、米国の戦力投射能力は、ユーラシア大陸沿岸地域を含むほぼ世界中に自由に展開可能であったが、近年の沿岸国による、いわゆるアクセス阻止・エリア拒否（Anti Access/Area Denial : A2/AD）能力の発展は、米軍、とりわけ海軍の自由な展開に対する挑戦となった。2018 年 1 月の米国家防衛戦略（National Defense Strategy）では、力による米国の軍事的優位性の回復が重視されている。

周知のとおり、この A2/AD 能力に対しては、「エアシー・バトル（Air-Sea Battle：ASB）構想」に関する多様な議論があった。国防省の公文書が同構想に初めて言及したのは、2010 年の『4 年毎の国防計画の見直し（Quadrennial Defense Review：QDR）』である。その 3 ヵ月後に戦略予算評価センター（Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments：CSBA）が発表した『Air-Sea Battle』では、中国本土への縦深攻撃を含む中国との高烈度の通常戦争を想定した構想が詳述されていた。これに対して、2012 年頃の「オフショア・バランシング（Offshore Balancing）」や「オフショア・コントロール（Offshore Control）」といった構想は、いずれも ASB 構想に対する批判でもあった。

2012 年 1 月に統合参謀本部から発表された『Joint Operation Access Concept：JOAC』では、ASB 構想は JOAC の下位構想であると定義され、潜在的敵対者によって阻害されたアクセスを回復することが構想の中心であった。また、「領域横断的な相乗作用（Cross Domain Synergy）」として、その後のクロス・ドメインの議論に繋がる要素が見られた。そして、2013 年 5 月に国防省 ASB オフィスから ASB 構想の要約版が陸・海・空軍及び海兵隊の統合の文書として公表されたが、2015 年 1 月には、「Joint Concept for Access and Maneuver in the Global Commons：JAM-GC）」に名称が変更となった。米海軍が同年 2015 年に発表した改訂版『21 世紀のシーパワーのための協力戦略（A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower）』（初版は 2007 年）では、米海軍の普遍的な機能である「抑止（Deterrence）」、「シーコントロール（Sea Control）」、「戦力投射（Power Projection）」よりも前に「全作戦領域へのアクセス（All Domain Access）」が、領域横断的な作戦能力を統合任務部隊に提供する機能として記述された。2019 年 5 月には CSBA から『Tightening Chain: Implementing a Strategy of Maritime Pressure in the Western Pacific』が発表され、現在、A2/AD 能力への対応は、主としてクロス・ドメインを中心に議論されている。

このように、米国にとってこの 10 年間は、革新的な科学技術の進展が急速に進む中で、相手に対する軍事的優位性を確保するために新たな戦略や作戦構想を模索してきた時期といえよう。その過程で窺い知れるのは、既に米国一国では世界の安定を維持できないとの認識に基づく同盟国、パートナー国に対する期待である。

我が国では、2018 年 12 月に閣議決定された「平成 31 年度以降における防衛計画の大綱」において、「多次元統合防衛力（Multi-Domain Defense Force）」の構築を目指すことが示された。海上自衛隊としては、米海軍と戦

略、作戦構想を一致させるとともに、宇宙・サイバー・電磁波といった新領域を含む A2/AD 環境下において、米海軍とともに作戦を遂行できる能力を維持することは、同盟を下支えする上で極めて大きな意味を持つ。

同時に、我が国の生命線である海上交通の保護はもちろんのこと、海洋安全保障を確保し、より安定した安全保障環境を創出するための同盟国、友好国等との連携、協力関係の強化は、我が国の「自由で開かれたインド太平洋」構想の実現に寄与するとともに、長期にわたる大国間競争の時代を勝ち抜く上でも重要である。これは、米国の戦略とも合致する。

さて、今次号では、「日米同盟と自由で開かれたインド太平洋」を特集し、次の 6 篇を集めた。

まず、現在、米海軍大学で勤務している尾藤の論文は、米国の公刊戦略文書及び指揮官の発言等を考察することにより、今後における米軍の能力向上の方向性を明らかにする。

次の東京大学の中村論文は、近年注目を集めている「インド太平洋」という多義的な概念について、類型化による整理の上で、そのメリットとデメリットの双方を政治学的観点から明らかにする。

また、米海軍大学のドンブロウスキ教授とキャバリー准教授による共同論文は、海洋における大国間競争に対して、冷戦時代（1980 年代）の「海洋戦略」を踏まえ、今後の米海軍の戦い方、艦隊構想について考察する。

ドバフル米空軍中佐の論文は、新軍種である宇宙軍創設の必要性と宇宙領域に係る米国防省の今後の活動及び日本との協力について考察する。

第 77 期幹部高級課程学生であったインド海軍マゴン大佐の論文は、国家のシーパワーの主要機関としてインド海軍がインド洋地域の安全を保障するために担う役割について論じる。

また、第 66 期指揮幕僚課程学生であったオーストラリア海軍アセツーノ少佐は、ギラード政権における軍関係職員の人的交流が、どのようにオーストラリアの国家戦略を支えたかについて論じる。

なお、特集外として、第 66 期指揮幕僚課程の学生であった野並論文を掲載する。本論文は、昨年度、英国第一海軍卿から優秀論文として表彰を受けたものであり、軍隊を取り巻く環境が大きく変化する中で、現代の軍人に求められる職業的専門性を明らかにすることを試みる。

英国の歴史学者ニッシュ（Ian Hill Nish）は、「日英同盟は軍事同盟というよりも海軍同盟だった」と評した。当時、世界の海を支配する英国との同盟

は、日本の安全保障のみならず、東アジア地域の安定、経済発展にとっても重要な役割を果たしていた。しかし、英国の外相パーマストンが、「英国にとって、永遠の同盟もなければ永遠の敵もない。あるのはただ一つ、永遠の英国の国益のみ」と語ったとおり、同盟は永遠ではない。日英同盟は、当時の国際秩序構築の過程において、日英相互の認識ギャップの拡大による揺らぎと、米国を含めた列国の思惑と干渉の中、21 年で終焉を迎えた。

同盟の維持、強化には、双方の弛まぬ努力が必要である。海上自衛隊は、創設以来、米海軍との共同訓練や装備の共通化等を通じて、相互運用性の向上、戦術技量の向上を図ってきた。それは冷戦期における日米同盟を支え、西側勝利の一翼を担った。また、冷戦後は、ペルシャ湾への掃海部隊派遣により、自衛隊の海外任務拡充の先駆けとなるとともに、9.11 米国同時多発テロ後のインド洋での補給支援活動や海賊対処行動等は、米海軍の世界的な活動を補完するものとして「世界の中の日米同盟」を支えてきた。そして現在、海洋安全保障の分野においては、我が国の主たる海上交通路が通るインド太平洋地域において、長期的展開であるインド太平洋方面派遣訓練や日米印共同訓練マラバールをはじめとした米豪印英仏等との二国間、多国間訓練等により戦術技量の向上と連携の強化を図るとともに、能力構築支援等を通じて「開かれ安定した海洋」の実現に向けた実質的な協力を続けている。

世界の海洋では多くの摩擦が発生しており、現在の大国間競争は、海洋を巡る競争ともいえよう。日米同盟は、「海洋国家同盟」と呼ばれることがある。世界の海を自由に行動し、国際性や部隊運用に多様性と柔軟性を有する海上自衛隊と米海軍が、自由で開かれたインド太平洋、あるいは、世界の安定のために果たす役割は極めて大きい。世界情勢が混迷の度合いを深めている今こそ、日米は同盟を時代に適合させ、常に新鮮で強固な状態に維持しておく必要がある。2015 年、安倍総理が米国連邦議会上下両院合同会議において「希望の同盟」と表現した日米同盟が、その名のとおり地域と世界の新たな希望となるように。

今回の特集が、読者にとって日米関係を中心にインド太平洋地域及び世界の安定を考える上での参考となれば幸甚である。

（海上自衛隊幹部学校副校長　戦略研究会会長　海将補　大町克士）

新たな大国間競争における米海軍の知的能力改革

― Education as Offensive Weapons ―

尾藤　由起子

歴史および理論への興味も知識も持ち合わせない指揮官は、見かけだけの指揮官である。戦争の術と科学の自己学習は、少なくとも体調管理と同じく重要だ。このことは、特に士官の間では真実であり、士官の最も重要な武器は、結局は、その知性なのである[1]。

－第 29 代米海兵隊司令官　海兵隊大将（退役）　アル・グレイ

はじめに

近年、米国とその同盟国及び友好国は、極めて複雑な安全保障上の課題に直面している。その舞台は、インド太平洋地域である。インドのモディ（Narendra Modi）首相が 2018 年 6 月に開催されたアジア安全保障会議シャングリラ・ダイアローグ（Shangri La Dialogue）で言及したとおり、インド太平洋とは、本来、自然の過程で生成した地域である一方、莫大な数の世界的な好機と課題の発祥地となっている[2]。そして、近年、このインド太平洋地域における安全保障環境は、めまぐるしく変化し続け、協力と衝突が入り乱れることにより、極めて複雑になっている。その大きな要因の一つは、中国の台頭である。この現実にどのように向き合うかということは、関係諸国の重要な課題である。

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[1] 米海軍省が 2018 年に発刊した『シーパワーのための教育―最終報告書―』の巻頭に記された第 29 代米海兵隊司令官グレイ（Alfred M. Gray Jr.）大将（退役）の言葉である。Department of the Navy, *Education for Seapower: Final Report,* December 2018, https://www.navy.mil/strategic/E4SFinalReport.pdf。 その他、オーストラリア陸軍将官のレポートでも PME の観点から、グレイ大将の言葉を引用し、指揮官自身が知的能力を磨き続ける重要性を訴えている。Mick Ryan, "The Art of Leading Unit-Based Professional Military Education," Modern War Institute at West Point, March 29, 2017, https://mwi.usma.edu/art-leading-unit-based-profesional-military-education/。

[2] Ministry of External Affairs, "Government of India, Prime Minister's Keynote Address at Shangli la Dialogue (June 01, 2018)," June 1, 2018, https://mea.gov.in/Speeches-Statements.htm?dtl/29943/Prme+Ministers+Keynote+Address+at+Shangri+La+Dialogue+June+2018.

このような情勢の中、米国は、2017 年 12 月の米国家安全保障戦略（The National Security Strategy of the United States of America）、2018 年 1 月の米国防戦略（Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America: Shaping the American Military's Competitive Edge）に引き続き、2019 年 6 月にインド太平洋戦略報告書（Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Region）を発表した[3]。米国家安全保障戦略では、世界での米国優勢を取り戻すための積極的戦略の方向を位置づけた。中国とロシアに対しては、テクノロジー、プロパガンダ、強制などを駆使し、米国の利益と価値と相反する世界を形成しようとする現状変更主義者であると言及した[4]。米国防戦略では、米国防省の優先課題を設定した。これまでの対テロ戦略から、中国およびロシアの台頭による大国間の競争戦略に再転換することを示したのである。インド太平洋戦略報告書では、インド太平洋地域の安定と繁栄への米国の永続的なコミットメントを断言した。その３つの方策が、「備え（Preparedness）」、「パートナーシップ（Partnership）」、「ネットワーク化された地域の促進（Promotion of Networked Region）」である。

しかしながら、これらの戦略には、いくつかの問題点が指摘されている。例えば、米国家安全保障戦略、米国防戦略およびインド太平洋戦略を通じて言及されている「パートナーシップ」や「ネットワーク化された地域の促進」の関係諸国は決して一枚岩ではない。ASEAN 諸国は当初から、米国によるインド太平洋戦略に懸念を抱いてきた[5]。そもそも関係諸国のインド太平洋概念や価値が一致していない問題もある。更に、米国が言及してきた同盟国と

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[3] The White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, December 2017, https://www.whitehouse.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/NSS-Final-12-18-2017-0905-2.pdf;
Department of Defense, *Summary of the 2018 National Defense Strategy of the United States of America: Shaping the American Military's Competitive Edge*, January 2018, http://dod.defese.gov/Portals/1/Documents/plus/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf;
The Department of Defense, *Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Region,* June 1, 2019, https://media.defense.gov/2019/Jul/01/2002152311/-1/-1/1/DEPARTMENT-OF-DEFENSE-INDO-PACIFIC-STRATEGY-REPORT-2019.PDF.

[4] National Security Council, Fact Sheet, "President Donald. J. Trump Announces a National Security Strategy to Advance America's Interests," December 18, 2017, https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefigs-statements/presdent-donald-j-trump-announces-national-security-strategy-advance-americas-interests/.

[5] 庄司智孝「ASEAN が考える「インド太平洋」－アメリカ戦略文書への回答」、笹川平和財団、2019 年 7 月 12 日、https://www.spf.org/iina/articles/shoji_07.html。

の連携については、韓国と日本の関係悪化に代表されるように、日米韓の多国間協力が困難になっている事例もある[6]。また、インド太平洋戦略文書については、真新しい主張に欠けている上、その文言上の方策にどのように現実性をもたせるのか、限られた資源をどのように配分して実現するのかということが欠けているという批判もある[7]。米国内でさえ、ヴォーゲル（Ezra Vogel）やフラヴェル（Taylor Fravel）のように中国の最近の問題行動には強い対応が必要としつつも、中国を経済上の敵や実存の安全保障上の脅威とみなす外交政策に懸念を示している研究者たちもいる[8]。

米政府や米国防省が掲げる各戦略の下、今後、米海軍はどのような方向へ進もうとしているのか。本稿では、上記の戦略文書に加え、米統合参謀本部、米海軍省、米海軍作戦部等が発表した文書及び指揮官の発言を考察し、米海軍が今後どのような方向へ進もうとしているのか、特に能力向上の方向性について明らかにする。そのため、本稿では、まず第 1 節で、大国間競争とインド太平洋の位置づけについて触れる。第 2 節では、米軍が大国間競争の空間をどのように捉えているか考察する。第 3 節では、米統合参謀本部が示したいわゆる「競争連続体」の世界で求められている米軍および米海軍に求められている能力改革について述べる[9]。第 4 節では、今後の海軍力整備について述べる。第 3 節および第 4 節については、本稿の締め切り直前に会議や会合に出席し、新たな得た資料に基づき執筆を加えた。したがって、検討と分析については不十分な部分があるが、米国のインド太平洋戦略に関する重要な事柄であるため、掲載した。

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[6] 例えば、2019 年 9 月 5 日に韓国で開催された各国の国防当局者による国際会議「ソウル安保対話」の席上で、韓国の代表は次のように述べている。「インド太平洋概念は、元来、日本の発想から来ており、韓国にとっては受け入れがたい。日本との安全保障協力には政治的リスクが生じる。日本との共同訓練などは問題外であり、特に現政権にあってはありえない。」Andrew Salmon, “Why China is winning East Asia,” *ASIA TIMES*, September 5, 2019。

[7] 例えば、Prashanth Parameswaran, “Assessing the US Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Current Opportunities and Future Uncertainties,” *The Diplomat*, June 3, 2019, https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/assessing-the-us-indo-pacific-strategy-report-current-opportunities-and-future-uncertainties; Ankit Panda, “The 2019 US Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Who’s It For?,” *The Diplomat*, June 11, 2019, https://thediplomat.com/2019/06/the-2019-us-indo-pacific-strategy-report-whos-it-for/など。

[8] “China is not an enemy,” *The Washington Post*, July 3, 2019.

[9] 「競争連続体」とは、米統合軍が、現在の中国との競争を整理するために編み出した真新しい感覚の用語であり、詳細については後述する。

1　大国間競争とインド太平洋の位置づけ

インド太平洋という概念は、新しいものではない。2007 年頃から日本とインドの安全保障上の協力について言及する際にすでに使用されてきた。日本の安倍晋三総理大臣（当時）がインドを訪問した際に「太平洋とインド洋が自由と繁栄の海としてダイナミックな結びつき」をしていることに言及したことが、「インド太平洋」概念の発端となったともいえる[10]。

米国は、ハワイ、カリフォルニア、ワシントン、オレゴンおよびアラスカなどの 5 つの太平洋州、さらに日付変更線をはさんで、グアム、アメリカン・サモア、ウェーキ島および北マリアナ諸島などの領土を所有する太平洋国家であると主張する[11]。その米国では、トランプ（Donald Trump）政権が米国家安全保障戦略および米国防戦略の中で「インド太平洋」という言葉を使用したことや、米軍の「太平洋軍」が「インド太平洋軍」に改名したことにより、世界での「インド太平洋」概念が改めて浸透するようになった。しかしなら、「インド太平洋」という概念は、米国にとっても真新しいものではない。事実、過去の米太平洋軍は、アフリカ東岸までのインド洋を戦域区域としていた事実もある。

では、なぜ、近年の米国が「インド太平洋」に言及し、そして新たに「インド太平洋戦略」と発表したのか。それは、やはり、米国家安全保障戦略、米国防戦略が示すとおり、大国間の競争が復活したことにより、インド太平洋が米国にとって極めて重要な戦略空間となったためである。その戦略空間で、中国とロシアを米国の繁栄と安全を脅かす中心的な挑戦者とした。特に、インド太平洋戦略報告書の中で、シャナハン（Patrick Shanahan）国防長官代理（当時）は、冒頭で、中国共産党の指導下の中国を名指しし、軍の近代化へのてこ入れ、他国に影響を与える国家活動、そして、他国への強要を伴う略奪を目的とした経済活動により、インド太平洋地域において、自国の優勢を獲得するための秩序の再構築を追求していると指摘する[12]。インド太平洋が戦略的空間であり、中国を挑戦者とするのであれば、おのずとインドが改めて重要なパートナー国となる。インドがインド太平洋に関して言及する際、中国を問題の中心にとらえている一方、米国が地域で果たす役割につい

[10] Speech by H.E. Mr. Shinzo Abe, Prime Minister of Japan at the parliament of the Republic of India, “Confluence of the Two Seas,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, August 22, 2007, https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/asia-paci/pmv0708/speech-2.htm.
[11] The Department of Defense, *Indo-Pacific Strategy Report,* pp. 1-2.
[12] Ibid.

て期待と不安の両方をもっているとする議論もある[13]。インド太平洋戦略報告書は、そのようなインドに対して米国への不安を解消するためのメッセージともなる。

米国は、今後いかにしてその競争で優勢を獲得、維持するかの模索を始めたのである。

2　大国間競争の空間

米国家安全保障戦略に引き続き発表された米国防戦略が示した情勢を統合参謀本部はどのようにとらえているのだろうか。

統合参謀本部は、統合ドクトリンの覚書として「競争連続体（Competition Continuum）」を発表した[14]。この覚書の目的は、公式の統合ドクトリンの開発と改訂を支える試みとして、その課題と可能性のある解決法の提供を促進することである。つまり、「統合キャンペーンのための統合概念（Joint Concept for Integrated Campaigning: JCIC）」で示された統合ドクトリンの潜在的な欠落について言及している[15]。覚書の内容は、①競争連続体の導入、②競争連続体と統合キャンペーンの議論、③協力、武力衝突に至らない競争及び武力衝突を伴うキャンペーンの概要、④競争連続体と抑止の議論、により構成されている。

覚書の中で、「競争は国際関係上の基本的なひとつの様相である」とした上で、競争連続体については、「世界が平和か戦時かというよりもむしろ、協力、武力衝突に至らない競争および武力衝突が入り混じる永続的な競争世界」として描かれる[16]。そして、中国の例を挙げて、いくつかの関心分野に関して

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[13] 長尾賢「インドにとっての「インド太平洋」戦略とは何か」『国際安全保障』第 46 巻第 3 号、2018 年 12 月、77-78 頁。

[14] Joint Chief of Staff, *Joint Doctrine Note 1-19, Competition Continuum*, June 3, 2019, https://www.jcs.mil/Portals/36/Documents/Doctrine/jdn_jg/jdn1_19.pdf.

[15] Joint Chief of Staff, *Joint Concept for Integrated Campaigning*, March 16, 2018, https://www.jcs.mil/Portal/36/Documents/Doctrine/concepts/joint_concept_integrated_campaign.pdf?ver=2018-03-28-102833-257.

[16]「競争連続体（Conpetitioin Contiuum）」は、米統合軍が、現在の中国との競争を整理するために編み出した真新しい感覚の用語である。そのため、聞きなれない用語である。簡潔に表現すれば、時間、空間及び烈度の 3 次元的な要素がシームレスに存在する中での競争状態といえる。ただし、用語としては真新しいが、現在の米中間の競争以外でも、過去に「競争連続体」のような状態は存在した。第 2 次世界大戦中の米ソ関係である。対戦中は、対日独伊の戦闘で協力していた一方で、大戦後の衝突を見極めた競争関係にあったことがその例である。Joint Chief of Staff, *Joint Doctrine Note 1-19*, p. 2。

は、米国は、領土紛争地域における「航行の自由」など中国と武力衝突に至らない競争状態にあるが、他方で海賊対処など他の分野では協力関係にあると説明する[17]。ここでも、大国間競争の相手として、中国が念頭にあることが明らかである。

また、競争連続体と統合キャンペーンの議論においては、戦略目標の達成と維持のために、外交、情報、軍事、経済における努力とともに、協力、武力衝突に至らない競争および武力衝突の巧みな組み合わせが要求されると主張する[18]。

協力、武力衝突に至らない競争及び武力衝突を伴う各キャンペーンでは、各様相とそれに伴う課題も提示される。協力によるキャンペーンでは、同盟国やパートナー国との活動であり、これまでは維持しやすい活動と見なされやすかった。しかし、その同盟国や友好国の中にも、米国との関係に中立の立場をとったり、時には敵対する国もあるのが事実である[19]。また、既に述べたように、同盟国やパートナー国間でもその関係が複雑である場合があるため、その協力が容易に進まないこともある。また、武力衝突に至らない競争を伴うキャンペーンでは、その競争が長期化する傾向がある[20]。武力衝突と比べると行動が間接的であり、予算にもそれほどの影響を与えないためである[21]。武力衝突を伴うキャンペーンは、競争連続体の世界では、もう既に単独で実行することが不可能といえる[22]。国際間の武力衝突を伴う競争でさえ、その成功には協力と競争の巧みな適用が要求されるのである[23]。

最後に、覚書は抑止について言及している[24]。抑止は、状況に応じて異なる方法が要求されるものの、競争連続体の世界でも適用されるとする。武力衝突にあっては、抑止の様相は多様である。統合軍は、パートナーや同盟国への伝統的武力行使を抑止に努めている。しかしながら、もし、その武力衝突が発生した場合でも、その戦争が地理的に拡大することや、ある種の武器の使用を抑止することができる。ただし、課題としては、武力衝突にいたらない競争の中の抑止は、おそらく判断が難しい。武力衝突と同様に、このような課題に的確に対応していくことによって武力衝突に至らない競争での将来的な活動を抑止することができるようになるのである。

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17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., p. 4.
19 Ibid., p. 7.
20 Ibid., p. 8.
21 Ibid.
22 Ibid., pp. 9-10.
23 Ibid., p. 10.
24 Ibid., pp. 10-11.

3　「競争連続体」において求められる米軍の能力改革

（1）JPME 改革

米国防戦略が示す大国間競争の復活と「競争連続体」という空間の中で、統合軍は何を実践しようとしているのか。その答えのひとつは、2019 年 5 月に提示された覚書「アカデミック・イヤー2020 から 2021 年度における統合軍事専門教育（Joint Professional Military Education: JPME）の強化事項（Special Areas of Emphasis for Joint Professional Military Education in Academic Years 2020 and 2021）」を考察することによって明らかとなる[25]。この覚書では、強化事項を以下の 6 つの項目ごとに挙げている。

①大国間競争への回帰
②情報環境下でのグローバルな統合作戦
③21 世紀の戦略的抑止
④最新の電磁スペクトラム戦闘空間
⑤戦闘領域としての空間
⑥明確かつ簡潔な軍事的見地からの勧告を書き上げる能力

第 1 項から第 5 項において共通して求められていることは、新たな大国間競争における米軍の相対的な優勢が疑問視される中、どのように米国が優勢を回復し、維持していくかという課題の克服である。この難しい課題に対処するため、JPME の強化項目は、戦略的競争とは何か、歴史的な競争相手は誰か、競争的優勢とは何か、などの基本的な教育レベルから始まる。また、情報環境下でどのようにすれば情報、物理的能力及び活動を調和させ組み立てていくことができるのか、どのように統合軍が作戦を実行し、必要に応じて修正をしていくのかという解決策にいたるまで学んでいくこととなる。

そして、第 1 項目から第 5 項目の中で最も頁数がさかれているのが、第 3 項目の 21 世紀の戦略的抑止である。これは、極めて複雑な安全保障環境下で大国間の競争を余儀なくされることによる米国の直面する問題点を証明しているのではないだろうか。主要な米国の戦略や政策文書は、米国の極め

[25] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Memorandum for Chief of the Military Service, President, National Defense University, “Special Areas of Emphasis for Joint Military Education in Academic Years 2020 and 2021,” May 6, 2019.　過去の米軍の軍事専門教育の改革については、中村大介の研究がある。米軍では既に戦略的思考が強化されてきたことを述べている。中村大介「米軍における軍事専門職教育（JPME/PME）」『海幹校戦略研究』第 8 巻第 2 号、2019 年 1 月、64-80 頁。

て重要な利益を攻撃してくる敵を抑止することが、重要な国防の目的であるとの認識を示している[26]。そして、その抑止は、冷戦期のものと比較しても極めて複雑な状況となっている。その理由は、抑止の原則が変わったからではなく、「抑止力」が地政学的および軍事的文脈の中で変化をしたためであるとする[27]。過去の戦争抑止およびエスカレーション・リスクの管理へのアプローチは、もう適用ができない[28]。そのため、不確実性をヘッジするために時代に即した現実性へ適合させるための改訂、または、新しいアプローチが必要なのである[29]。

実際に、西太平洋地域、特に、東シナ海、南シナ海の状況を見ても、この課題は明らかである。例えば、これらの地域で展開するいわゆる中国の「サラミ戦術」は、自衛隊の直接の対応を回避するのみならず、米軍の介入を困難にさせている。これは、冷戦後の米国の拡大抑止が、この地域の同盟国やパートナー国の領土紛争や海洋権益争いによる紛争や衝突を抑止することが難しくなったということを米国に対して証明しているのではないか。

八木直人は、冷戦後、米国による拡大抑止は、ポスト冷戦期の紛争を抑止する機能が不鮮明であると述べる[30]。そして、近年、米国で抑止や再保証の問題が再燃している理由は、中国の台頭によって、東アジアの同盟国が領有権問題に巻き込まれ始めたからであり、冷戦期間中は、米国の同盟国は大規模な通常攻撃や核攻撃を脅威と認識してきたが、現在では、海上権益･領有権問題が安全保障上の重大な問題となっていると主張する[31]。いずれにせよ、JPME は、この抑止に関する課題について、指揮官クラスを含めた教育強化の必要性を訴えている。

そして最後の第 6 項に明記された、明確かつ簡潔な軍事的見地からの勧告を書き上げる能力は注目に値する。覚書では、これまで、強化や改革を行ってきた JPME の教育を受けてきた修了者に対してでさえも、明確かつ完結な軍事的見地からの勧告を書き上げる能力を欠いていると評価している。よって、強化事項として、明確かつ簡潔なペーパーが書けるように徹底的な教育を受けることとされているのである。そして、その後、複雑な課題における

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[26] “Special Areas of Emphasis for Joint Military Education in Academic Years 2020 and 2021,” p. 2.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid., p. 3.
[29] Ibid.
[30] 八木直人「拡大抑止と東アジア」『海幹校戦略研究』第 6 巻第 2 号、2016 年 11 月、45 頁。
[31] 同上。

軍事的影響を見極める能力、政策目的を達成するための軍事の資源の適用に関する意見書や勧告書を出せる能力を身に付けていくこととなる。

（2）シーパワーのための教育

米海軍では、米国防戦略が示す大国間の競争の環境下、何を実践しようとしているのか。その答えのひとつは、2018 年の 4 月、モドリー（Thomas Modly）米国防次官の強い意志の下で専門化チームを立ち上げて開始したプロジェクトの「シーパワーのための教育（Education for Seapower: E4S）」の最終報告書がある[32]。このプロジェクトは、前年度に発表された米国防戦略の情勢認識に基づいて開始され、いかにして、この上なく最強の軍隊を作り上げるか、戦略と能力をいかに開発していくか、最も重要な資源である人間の創造性と才能をもってして改めて考え始めなければならないという強い意志が示されてる[33]。

この研究成果は 2018 年の 12 月に、スペンサー（Richard Spencer）海軍長官に報告された。スペンサー海軍長官はこの報告書を受け、米海軍の指揮官たちの知力開発が、国家の安全保障のための最も緊急の戦闘能力となると確信した。そして、E4S は、緊急のアクション・アイテムを提示した海軍長官の覚書と共に発表されることとなったのである[34]。

その覚書には、将来の米海軍の教育にかかる組織的方向性に関することとして、6 つの項目が掲げられている。第 1 に、米海軍作戦部戦闘開発部長（The Office of the Chief of Naval Operations(OPNAV) N7/Director of Warfighting Development）の新設、第 2 に、海軍教育のための幕僚補佐（Chief Learning Officer: CLO）の新設、第 3 に、海軍大学システムの創設、第 4 に、新しく効率的な教育システム取得、第 5 に、報告システムの整合、第 6 に、海軍教育ガバナンスの構築（海軍教育委員会の新設）である。

さらに、覚書では、E4S の報告書内で E4S 常任理事によって推奨された政策提言を支持し、6 つのイニシアティブを提示した。第 1 に、海軍コミュニティ・カレッジの新設、第 2 に、海軍教育戦略の実施、第 3 に、海軍教育

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[32] Department of the Navy, *Education for Seapower: Final Report,* December 2018, https://www.navy.mil/strategic/E4SFinalReport.pdf.
[33] The Under Secretary of The Navy, *Memorandum for Distribution, "Department of the Navy Education for Seapower (E4S) Study,"* April 19, 2018.
[34] The Secretary of the Navy, *Memorandum for Distribution, "Education for Seapower Decisions and Immediate Actions,"* February 5, 2019, https://assets.documentcloud.org/documents/5736116/E4SSECNAVMemo.pdf.

基準の統一、第 4 に、戦略海軍教育の実施（大学院以上）、第 5 に、期待される戦闘特性としての学習、第 6 に、JPME の見直しである[35]。

以上の各アクション・アイテムは、誰がいつまでに実行することが明確にされ、喫緊に処理する項目として挙げられている。

総合して読み解けば、E4S は、米海軍における教育について、米海軍兵学校、米海軍大学院、米海軍大学および米海兵隊大学などの主要教育機関に着目し、ほぼ白紙の状態からの見直しを試みた調査報告書となった。その中でも特徴的なのが、海軍大学システムの構築を掲げ、米海軍や米海兵隊の主要教育施設のみならず、民間の教育機関との新たな協力関係の構築を試みているところであろう。

E4S のプロジェクトにおける研究は、あらゆる手段を使って情報やデータ収集に努め、量的にも質的にも極めて精密な分析がなされた。つまり、戦略的複雑性を伴う新しい大国間競争の幕開けに際し、米国の競争優位が減退している状況において、米海軍が、斬新かつこれまで以上に機動性をもち回復力のある戦略をいかに打ち出していくか、米海軍が総力を挙げて研究を行った成果でなのである。

4　今後の海軍力整備

今後の海軍力整備についての方向性はどのようになっていくのであろうか。米海軍では、2019 年 8 月 23 日に作戦部長の交代式が行われた。ギルデー（Michael Gilday）新海軍作戦部長の公式声明はまだ発表されていないが、どのような事項に力を入れていこうとしているかについては、作戦部長に任命されるまでの上院軍事委員会（Senate Armed Servics Committee）における公聴会の発言を追うことによって知ることができる。

その発言をまとめると、主に 4 項目に集約できる。第 1 に、現在のレディネスと将来的な海軍力整備のバランスを図ること、第 2 に、レディネスに深く関係するが、艦艇のライフサイクルおよび計画過程に課題があること、第 3 に、サイバーセキュリティーに強い関心があること、第 4 に、技術開発の

[35] OPNAV/N7 と戦闘開発統合副司令官（Deputy Commader for Combat Development and Integration: DC DCI）との協力による包括的な海軍教育戦略を開発し、実行する。また、2021 年 10 月 1 日までに戦闘配置の全ての将官クラス（軍人、シビリアン共に）に戦略系の修士号を取得させる。

優先順位は、第１に人工知能（AI）、第２に超音速兵器、第３に無人機であると認識していること、である[36]。

第１の現在のレディネスと将来的な海軍力整備のバランスに言及した背景には、新しい技術の獲得と現在のレディネスの維持との兼ね合いを迫られる予算の問題がある。安全保障環境の変化およびマルチ・ドメインの特性を強める脅威に対応する中で、抑止し、戦い、そして勝つための準備として、海軍のデジタル方式的な変革が急務である。しかしながら、今日と将来のためのバランスは、しっかりと維持していく必要があると主張する。

第２の艦艇のライフサイクルおよび計画過程の課題には、造船所の限界の問題がある。この課題に対しては、艦艇のライフサイクルを、開発要件からしっかりと理解することが重要であるとする。そうすることで、例えば、艦艇の乗員が適切な処置が可能となり、これまでのような造船所にすぐ急行する必要がなくなるということである。計画過程についても、海軍内のみならず、公的及び民間の造船所ともに、これまでのやり方の全てを見直すことが必要であると主張する。

第３のサイバーセキュリティーに関しては、管理はされているが機密扱いではない情報の保護のために防衛産業基盤のサイバーセキュリティーの改善が必要であるとする。さらに、ギルデー新作戦部長は、ドリームポート（Dream Port）に言及した。ドリームポートは、米サイバー・コマンド（U.S. Cyber Command）の承認の下、メリーランド・イノベーション・アンド・セキュリティー研究所（Maryland Innovation and Security Institute）により運営され、最先端の施設と革新的なプログラムにより、戦力となるものを提供することが求められる[37]。

第４の技術開発に関しては、AI を第一優先とした。その理由としては、意思決定から実行までの時間を短縮するために、いかに所要のデータを更に革

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[36] “Gilday Acknowledges Ship Maintenance Challenges, Vows to Study Barriers to Readiness,” *USNI NEWS*, July 31, 2019, https://news.usni.org/2019/07/31/gilday-acknowledges-ship-maintenance-callenges-vows-to-study-barriers-to-readiness. ;
‘Gilday Submits Data-Driven, Tech-Focused Plan to Push Navy Forward,” *USNI NEWS*, July 31, 2019, https://news.usni.org/2019/07/31/gilday-submits-data-driven-tech-focused-plan-to-push-navy-forward. ;
“Navy Nominee Vows His ‘Full Attention’ to Cybersecurity,”C4ISRNET, July 31, 2019,
https://www.c4isnet.com/dod/nay/2019/07/31/navy-nominee-vows-his-full - attention-to-cybersecurity/. ;
“CNO Nominee Gilday Names AI as Top Tech Prioity,” *SEAPOWER MAGAZINE*, July 31, 2019, https://seapowermagazine.org/cno-nominee-gilday-names-ai-as-top-tech-priority/.

[37] *Dream Port*, https://dreamport.tech.

新的な方法で使用するかということが重要となる。つまり、AI は、あふれる情報の中で、正しい情報を的確な人員に的確なタイミングで得ることにより、敵対者よりもより早く的確な判断を可能にすると主張する。

ギルデー新作戦部長が、実際にどのような舵取りをするのかは、今後の動静に注目していく必要がある。しかしながら、ギルデー大将の発言内容は、統合参謀本部が発表した「競争連続体」と大きく関連していることは確かである。極めて複雑な安全保障環境で活用する新しい装備と技術には、開発および取り扱う人間の知力との組み合わせが極めて重要である。世界情勢が「競争連続体」であるという米軍の共通認識の中、米海軍には、シーパワーのための知的能力改革を実施しようとする強い意思が読み取れる。

おわりに

米国防戦略は、今日の米国がこれまでになく更に激しい競争、そして危険な国際安全保障環境に直面していると主張した。そして、米国が直面している脅威、戦闘様相の変化の認識、国防省自身がどのような質的変化が必要なのかを確かな目で明らかにすることを示した。

冒頭で述べたように、新たな大国間競争の中で、同盟国やパートナーシップ間の問題、重要な戦略空間であるはずのインド太平洋概念の相違、戦略の新鮮さの欠如への批判などの問題がありつつも、米軍は、米国防戦略が示すとおり、質的変化を追求し、「競争連続体」の認識や JPME 改革や E4S に代表されるような「新たな大国間競争における米海軍の能力改革」を実行しようとしているのである。米海軍のある指揮官は、E4S は、「攻撃武器としての能力開発（Education as Offensive Weapons）」であると明言する。米海軍にとっては、E4S は、大国間競争の中で米国が優勢を勝ち取る必須の手段となっているのである。

E4S に関するアクション・アイテムは、まだ全てが実行されたわけではない。米海軍大学でも、実際には、2019 年 9 月開始のアカデミック・イヤーでのカリキュラムの再編はない。しかしながら、E4S による発議は、全てが実行される前であっても、来年あたりまでには評価がなされるであろうとされる[38]。

[38] Under Secretary of the Navy Public Affairs, “Department of the Navy Announces New Education Initiative,” February 12, 2019, https://www.navy.mil/submit/display.asp?story_id=108592.

さて、日本は、米国の同盟国である。そして、特殊かつ厳しい安全保障環境におかれている。北方領土や竹島などの領土問題、東シナ海での対立、朝鮮半島、台湾問題など多くの安全保障上の対立が生起している環境でいかに生き延びるのかは、喫緊の課題である。特に、海上自衛隊にあっても、日本政府の「自由で開かれたインド太平洋構想」のもと、東シナ海のみならず、南シナ海やインド洋へのプレゼンスなどの重要な役割を果たす一方、オーバー・ストレッチに近い状態にあるのではないかという意見もある[39]。しかしながら、日本は、自身の努力とあいまって日米同盟を安全保障の基軸としている。自国及び地域の安定と平和のためには、日米同盟の強化は不可欠である。よって、このような米国の戦略に対する批判や懸念の中でも、米国の戦略や米軍の進む方向性を正しく理解する必要がある。そして、正しく理解したうえで、日本独自の戦略を策定していく知力についても真剣に検討していく時期にきていると考える。

[39] 武居智久「哨戒艦は海上防衛力整備の「異端」となりうるか」『世界の艦船』2019 年（令和元年）8 月号、2019 年 8 月、143-144 頁。

多義的な「インド太平洋」の功罪

― 政治学的観点から ―

中村　長史

はじめに

本稿の目的は、近年になって注目を集める一方で、曖昧であるとの指摘も多い「インド太平洋」という概念について、類型化による大まかな整理を試みたうえで、その多義性ゆえのメリットとデメリットの双方を政治学的に明らかにすることにある。インド太平洋は、2010 年代になって研究者や実務家によって論じられる機会が増している概念であるが、その背景には、①当該海域での国家間対立の顕在化、②アメリカのアジア回帰政策、③中国やインドなどの新興国の台頭、④新興国の台頭に伴う海運の重要性の増大、⑤グローバル・コモンズとしての海洋を守るための秩序維持の必要性の認識といった現実の国際政治の動向があると指摘されている[1]。地域とは「ある地理的範囲を他とは切り離された地理的まとまりであるとみなす人々の認識によって支えられている、主観的な社会構築物」であると考えれば[2]、現実の動きに応じて新たな概念が論じられるようになるのもごく自然なことだといえるだろう。

ただし、このインド太平洋が具体的に何を指すのかについては十分に明らかではなく、国々や人々の見解も様々であることから、概念の曖昧さが 2019 年現在に至るまで指摘され続けている[3]。その指摘には本稿も同意するところ

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[1] 山本吉宣「「インド太平洋概念をめぐって」『アジア（特に南シナ海・インド洋）における安全保障秩序』日本国際問題研究所、2013 年、6 頁。

[2] 大庭三枝『重層的地域としてのアジア―対立と共存の構図―』有斐閣、2014 年、1 頁。

[3] Rory Medcalf, "A Term Whose Time Has Come: The Indo-Pacific," *Diplomat*, December 4, 2012; Nick Bisley and Andrew Phillips, "A Rebalance to Where? US Strategic Geography in Asia," *Survival*, Vol.55, No.5, 2013, pp.95-97; 山本「インド太平洋概念をめぐって」5 頁；神谷万丈「日本と『インド太平洋』―期待と問題点―」『アジア（特に南シナ海・インド洋）における安全保障秩序』日本国際問題研究所、2013 年、38 頁；神谷万丈「『インド太平洋』は日本の地域安全保障政策の中核概念たり得るか」『インド太平洋時代の日本外交』日本国際問題研究所、2014 年、53, 56-58 頁；神谷万丈「日本のアジア戦略と『インド太平洋』」『インド太平洋時代の日本外交―スイング・ステーツへの対応―』日本国際問題研究所、2015 年、123 頁；田中明彦「『自由で開かれたインド太平洋戦略』の射程」『外交』vol.47、2018

であるが、では、多義的であることのデメリットとは具体的にどのようなものだろうか。メリットはないのだろうか。メリットとデメリットとの関係は、いかなるものなのだろうか。存外体系的には論じられることの少ない、これらの点について、本稿は明らかにしていきたい。

なお、本稿では、インド太平洋という概念を提案・受容している主体に分析の焦点を絞って議論を進める。反発や対案も含めて検討することで概念の理解が深まることはいうまでもないが[4]、紙幅の制約があるなか、上記の本稿の目的に照らし、米国や日本、インド、豪州、ASEAN 諸国、および同概念の普及に貢献したとみられる民間のシンクタンクや研究者について論じていく。

本稿の構成は、以下のとおりである。まず第 1 節において、インド太平洋という概念が普及していった経緯について、萌芽期・形成期・定着期という 3 つの時期に便宜的に分けて簡潔に振り返る。次いで、第 2 節では、その普及過程において、インド太平洋が何を指すか、あるいは何を指すべきかについて、各国の間でも各国の中でも見解が分かれるようになったことを示す。そのうえで、多様な見解を「イシューの包括性」と「メンバーの包摂性」という 2 つの軸により類型化してみる。そして、第 3 節において、少なくとも 4 類型が存在するほどの多義的な概念であるがゆえのメリットとデメリットの双方を示すが、両者がトレードオフの関係にあることが明らかになる。最後に、本稿の議論が持つ理論的・政策的含意と今後の課題を示して結びとしたい。

１．概念普及の経緯

本節では、インド太平洋という概念が普及していった経緯について論じる。概念の形成や定着に影響を与えた政策文書や演説、報告書、論文等について、先行研究による整理にも依拠しつつ[5]、簡潔に紹介していきたい。便宜上、①

年、38 頁；中西寛「日本外交における『自由で開かれたインド太平洋』」『外交』vol.52、2018 年、14 頁。神保謙「『インド太平洋』構想の射程と課題」『国際安全保障』第 46 巻 3 号、2018 年、7-8 頁; 神谷万丈「『競争戦略』のための『協力戦略』―日本の『自由で開かれたインド太平洋』戦略（構想）の複合的構造―」『安全保障研究』第 1 巻 2 号、2019 年、47-48 頁。

[4] 山本吉宣「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード―政策シンボルの競争と国際秩序の形成―」『PHP 特別リポート』2016 年、57 頁。反発や対案の詳細については、同論文の 45-56, 58-59 頁を参照。

[5] David Scott, “The ‘Indo-Pacific’-New Regional Formulations and New Maritime Frameworks for US-India Strategic Convergence”, *Asia-Pacific Review*, Vol.19, No,2, 2012;

萌芽期（2011 年以前）、②形成期（2011 年～2017 年）、③定着期（2017 年以降）の三つの時期に分けて、時系列に振り返っていく。

（1）　萌芽期

今日から振り返れば、インド太平洋概念が普及する契機となったのは、米国のヒラリー・クリントン国務長官が 2011 年 10 月に発表した論文であるといえるが[6]、民間からの提言はそれ以前よりなされてきた。また、インド太平洋という言葉は用いずとも、同様の見解が政府レベルで使用されることもあった。本節では、このクリントン論文までの時期を概念の萌芽期と捉えて振り返っていく。

インド太平洋という言葉は用いずとも同地域の戦略的重要性に冷戦期からいち早く着目してきたのが、米国の海軍であった。太平洋軍（当時）では、1972 年より担当区域が太平洋のみならずインド洋にまで広がったが、シーレーン防衛や、域内の同盟国・パートナー国との協力といった文脈でインド太平洋地域の戦略的重要性が確認され続けてきた[7]。

2000 年代になると、インド太平洋という言葉を用いた議論が出始める。2003 年にはカナダ太平洋軍司令部特別アドバイザーのブーティリア（James Boutilier）が、論文のなかでインド太平洋概念を用いて、アラビア海から太平洋までの海洋安全保障の重要性を論じた[8]。インドの海軍戦略家のクラーナ（Gurpreet S. Khurana）は、2007 年の論文でインド洋と太平洋を結ぶ海運の経済的重要性という観点から日印協力を論じる際にインド太平洋概念を用いていた[9]。しかし、これらの議論は、当時は必ずしも注目を集めたわけではなかった[10]。

溜和敏「『インド太平洋』概念の普及過程」『国際安全保障』第 43 巻第 1 号、2015 年; 山本「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード」。

6 Hillary Rodham Clinton, “America’s Pacific Century,” *Foreign Policy*, October 11, 2011, p. 60.

7 辰巳由紀「戦略的概念としての『インド太平洋』―米国の視点から―」『国際安全保障』第 46 巻 3 号、2018 年、34-37 頁；小谷哲男「中国と太平洋軍―インド・太平洋地域の覇権の行方―」土屋大洋編『アメリカ太平洋軍の研究―インド・太平洋の安全保障―』千倉書房、2018 年、121 頁。

8 James A. Boutilier, “The Canadian Navy and the New Naval Environment in Asia” *International Journal*, Vol. 58, No.2, 2003. 詳細については、山本「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード」11-12 頁。

9 Gurpreet S. Khurana, “Security of Sea Lines: Prospects for India-Japan Cooperation,” *Strategic Analysis*, Vol.31, No.1, 2007, pp. 141, 144.

10 溜「『インド太平洋』概念の普及過程」70 頁。

2007 年には、日本の安倍首相がインド国会における演説で、インド太平洋という言葉は用いなかったものの、インド洋と太平洋を一つの地域と捉え、日米豪とインドとの連携（QUAD）を進めることを提案した[11]。後のインド太平洋戦略を先取りする認識であった[12]。

2009 年には、インドのプラカシュ退役提督（Arun Prakash）が、インドの国際的地位向上のためにインド太平洋概念を用いるべきだと論じていた[13]。しかし、やはり当時は必ずしも注目を集めたわけではなかった[14]。一方、当時から注目を集めていたのがカプラン（Robert D. Kaplan）の論文であった[15]。当時のカプランはインド太平洋という言葉を用いてはいなかったが、インド洋の地政学的な重要性を強調していた。

2010 年には、米国国務省政策企画部出身の研究者であるトゥワイニング（Daniel Twining）が、中国の台頭による地域秩序の不安定化を懸念し、米国とインド太平洋の民主主義国との協力が必要だと論じた[16]。オーストラリアのローウィ国際政策研究所もまた、インド太平洋という安全保障システムが出現しているとの認識を示した[17]。アジア回帰を宣言した米国のクリントン国務長官の演説でも、インド太平洋という言葉が 1 箇所のみではあるが用いられ、米軍とインド海軍との協力の重要性が論じられた[18]。そして、米国の研究者であるオースリン（Michael Auslin）は、インド太平洋をコモンズと捉えたうえで、米国は中国の脅威に対応するべく同盟国やパートナー国との協力を促進し、インド太平洋地域の秩序をリベラルなものとする政治的目標を掲げるべきだとの明確な政策提言を行なった[19]。しかし、これらの議論もまた、当時は必ずしも注目を集めたわけではなかった[20]。翌 2011 年のクリントン論

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11 「二つの海の交わり」インド国会における安倍総理大臣演説、2007 年 8 月 22 日。
12 山本「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード」29-30 頁；神谷「『競争戦略』のための『協力戦略』」54 頁。
13 Arun Prakash, “Assuming Leadership: With Asia-Pacific in Ferment, India can no Longer Afford to be Shy,” *Force*, December, 2009.
14 溜「『インド太平洋』概念の普及過程」70 頁。
15 Robert Kaplan, “Center Stage for the 21st Century: Power Plays in the Indian Ocean”, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol.88, No.2, 2009, pp. 18-23.
16 Daniel Twining, “As Asia Rises: How the West Can Enlarge its Community of Values and Interests in the Indo-Pacific Region,” *Brussels Forum, Paper Series*, 2010, p.4.
17 Malcolm Cook, Raoul Heinrichs, Rory Medcalf and Andrew Shearer, *Power and Choice: Asian Security Futures*, Lowy Institute for International Policy, 2010, p.31.
18 U.S. Department of State, “America’s Engagement in the Asia-Pacific,” Remarks by Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State, at Kahala Hotel, Honolulu, October 28, 2010.
19 Michael Auslin, *Security in the Indo-Pacific Commons: Toward a Regional Strategy*, American Enterprise Institute, 2010, pp.1, 22-23.
20 溜「『インド太平洋』概念の普及過程」71-73 頁；伊藤融「インドから見た『インド太平洋』」『インド太平洋時代の日本外交』日本国際問題研究所、2014 年、81 頁。

文において、現役の米国国務長官がインド洋と太平洋の連結性の高まりを繰り返し論じ、インド太平洋概念への関心が高まったことで、萌芽期の議論は先駆的なインド太平洋論として後々「発見」されていくことになる。

（2）形成期

クリントン論文を契機として、インド太平洋概念への国際的な関心が高まるにつれ、各国政府のレベルでも概念化が進んだ。この時期を概念の形成期と捉えて振り返っていこう。

2012 年には、豪州のスミス国防相（Stephen Smith）やインドのシン首相（Manmohan Singh）が、演説のなかでインド太平洋を自国にとって重要な地域と位置づけた[21]。

2013 年には、日本の安倍首相が演説のなかでインド太平洋という言葉を用い、米韓豪などの民主主義国との協力に言及した[22]。豪州では、『国防白書』のなかにインド太平洋概念が登場したが[23]、これは政府がインド太平洋を公式に戦略利害のある地域と論じたものとしては世界で初めてのものだとされる[24]。一方、インドネシアのマルティ外相（Marty Natalegawa）は、演説のなかで「インド太平洋友好協力条約」構想を示した[25]。信頼醸成の枠組みを中国をも含めた形で実現しようとするものであり、大国間政治による ASEAN の分断化を防ぎ中心性を取り戻そうとする試みであった[26]。

2015 年になると、インドでも『海軍戦略文書』のなかで、インド太平洋という概念が用いられた[27]。インドにとっては、公式文書のなかで初めてイン

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[21] Stephen Smith, Speech at Deterrence and Regional Security at the 11th International Institute for Strategic Studies, 2 June 2012; Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, “Opening Statement by Prime Minister at Plenary Session of India-ASEAN Commemorative Summit,” December 20, 2012.

[22] 日本首相官邸「日本は戻ってきました」安倍晋三首相スピーチ、2013 年 2 月 22 日、CSIS.

[23] Australian Government, Department of Degence, *Defence White Paper 2013*, 2013.

[24] Rory Medcalf, “Breaking Down Australia’s Defense White Paper 2013”, *The Diplomat*, May 7, 2013.

[25] Marty M. Natalegawa, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, “An Indonesian Perspective on the Indo-Pacific,” Keynote Address at CSIS, Washington D.C, 16 May, 2013.

[26] 本名純「インドネシア・ジョコウィ政権の外交ビジョンと『インド太平洋』」『インド太平洋時代の日本外交―スイング・ステーツへの対応―』日本国際問題研究所、2015 年、82-83 頁；福田保「ASEAN と『インド太平洋』」『インド太平洋時代の日本外交―スイング・ステーツへの対応―』日本国際問題研究所、2015 年、92 頁。

[27] Indian Navy, *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, October, 2015.

ド太平洋が使用された例となった[28]。日本との間では、『日印ビジョン 2025 特別戦略的グローバル・パートナーシップ』が発せられ、「平和的で開かれ、公正で、安定した、規則に基づく秩序を実現するための断固としたコミットメント」が表明された[29]。首脳レベルの共同声明で、インド太平洋が用いられるのは世界で初めてであった[30]。

2017 年には、インド太平洋が各国の公式文書のなかでますます位置付けられるようになっていく。日本では、『外交青書』のなかで「自由で開かれたインド太平洋戦略（FOIP）」が登場し、海洋安全保障協力やインフラ整備を含む包括的な方針が示されるとともに、米豪印との戦略的連携の強化が明示された[31]。2013 年の段階で『国防白書』にインド太平洋が登場していた豪州では、14 年ぶりに発表された『外交政策白書』において、日米印韓インドネシアとの「インド太平洋パートナーシップ」強化を戦略目標と定めた[32]。そして、米国のトランプ政権は、『国家安全保障戦略』のなかで「インド太平洋地域では自由主義的秩序か、もしくは抑圧的な秩序かをめぐる地政学的競争が生じている」との認識を示し、中国をロシアとともに既存の国際秩序を修正しようとする勢力だと名指ししたうえで、「自由で開かれたインド太平洋は、建国以来の米国の利益」であると表明した[33]。

（3）定着期

この米国国家安全保障戦略の頃から、インド太平洋概念に基づく議論が政府レベルでもますます増えていった。それとともに、各国が用いる内容に微妙な変化がみられる場面も出てきたが、概念を用いること自体は定着してきたといってよい。この時期を概念の定着期と捉えて振り返っていこう。

2018 年には、米国で、太平洋軍がインド太平洋軍へと改称した。萌芽期で述べたように、1970 年代よりインド洋を活動領域にしていたので実質的な変更ではないが、インド太平洋への注目が一過性のものではないことを象徴する出来事であった。インドネシアでは、マルスディ外相（Retno L. P.

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[28] 堀本武功「『インド太平洋』時代の日印関係―日米豪印枠組みを超えて―」『国際問題』669 号、2018 年、40 頁。
[29] 日本外務省『日印ビジョン 2025 特別戦略的グローバル・パートナーシップ―インド太平洋地域と世界の平和と繁栄のための協働―』、2015 年 12 月 12 日。
[30] 山本「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード」3-4 頁。
[31] 日本外務省『外交青書 2017 年版』。
[32] Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, *2017 Foreign Policy White Paper*, Commonwealth of Australia, November 23, 2017.
[33] The White House, *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, December 2017.

Marsudi）が「インドネシア発のインド太平洋概念」を打ち出した。「開かれた、透明性の高い、包括的、対話の習慣の促進、協力と友好関係の推進、国際法の順守」の原則のもとでの協力が提唱されたが、これは中国も含めるというニュアンスを示したものだとされる[34]。インドのモディ首相（Narendra Modi）もまた演説のなかで、日米豪 ASEAN に加え、中国やロシアとも連携を強化していることを強調し、やはり中国も含めるというニュアンスを示した[35]。そして、日本は FOIP を語る際に、従来の「戦略」ではなく「構想（vision）」という表現を用いるようになった。その背景には、日米と中国との板挟みになることを懸念している ASEAN 諸国への配慮があったと指摘されている[36]。実際、2018 年の『外交青書』からは、民主主義や戦略的連携といった用語が消えており、そうした配慮があったことが垣間見える[37]。

2019 年にも新たな動きが続いた（2019 年 8 月現在）。米国は、新たなインド太平洋戦略を発表したが、特に安全保障面に関して詳しく述べられ、インド太平洋地域での米国と同盟国・友好国との連携強化が重要だとされた[38]。実際、この新戦略発表に先立って、日米豪仏の間で初めてインド洋での共同訓練が行われるなど、協力が進んでいる。ASEAN もまた、ASEAN として初めてのインド太平洋構想の統一見解文書を発表した。インド太平洋は「ASEAN が中心的・戦略的な役割を果たす、統合され相互に接続された地域」であるとし、「対立の代わりに、対話と協調のあるインド太平洋」を目指すとする独自の構想であった。形成期のマルティ外相演説（「インド太平洋友好協力条約」構想）や定着期のマルスディ外相演説からの連続性がみられる。日本で開かれたアフリカ開発会議（TICAD）では、首脳宣言で初めて FOIP に言及された。中国の存在感がアフリカで増していることが背景にあると思われるが、「好意的に留意する」との表現にとどまっており、FOIP から距離を置きたい国があることもうかがわせた[39]。

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[34] 大庭三枝「インド太平洋は誰のものか ASEAN の期待と不安」『外交』vol.52、2018 年、43 頁。
[35] 伊藤融「モディ政権の『戦略的自立性』を読む―対中国と日印協力の今後―」『外交』vol.52、2018 年、39 頁。
[36] 『日本経済新聞』2018 年 11 月 13 日；『朝日新聞』2018 年 11 月 14 日。
[37] 日本外務省『外交青書 2018 年版』；大庭三枝「日本の『インド太平洋』構想」『国際安全保障』第 46 巻 3 号、2018 年、22 頁。
[38] The Department of Defense, United States of America, *Indo-Pacific Strategy Report: Preparedness, Partnerships, and Promoting a Networked Region*, June 1, 2019.
[39] 『毎日新聞』2019 年 8 月 31 日

以上をまとめたのが表 1 である。萌芽期には、当時は必ずしも注目されなかった民間からの提言やインド太平洋という言葉を用いない議論が中心で

表 1　「インド太平洋」概念普及の経緯

	米国	日本	豪州	インド	ASEAN 諸国	民間
2003						（Boutilier 論文）
2007		（安倍演説）				（Khurana 論文）
2009						（Prakash 論文）（Kaplan 論文）
2010.3						（Twining 提言）
2010.6						（Lowy 提言）
2010.10	（Clinton 演説）					
2010.12						（Auslin 提言）
2011.10	Clinton 論文					省略
2012.6			Smith 演説			
2012.12				Singh 演説		
2013.2		安倍演説				
2013.5			国防白書		インドネシアの条約提案	
2015.10				海軍戦略文書		

2015.12		日印ビジョン 2025		日印ビジョン 2025		省略
2017.9		外交青書				
2017.11			外交政策白書			
2017.12	国家安全保障戦略					
2018.5	インド太平洋軍に改称				ﾏﾙｽﾃﾞｨ演説	
2018.6				モディ演説		
2018.11		戦略から構想へ				
2019.6	新戦略				ASEAN 構想	
2019.8		TICAD 首脳宣言				

[出所] Scott, “The ‘Indo-Pacific’-New Regional Formulations and New Maritime Frameworks for US-India Strategic Convergence”; 溜「『インド太平洋』概念の普及過程」; 山本「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード」;『国際安全保障』第 46 巻 3 号特集論文; メディア報道をもとに筆者作成

＊（ ）は、明示的に「インド太平洋」という概念を用いていなかったり、用いていても当時は必ずしも注目されず事後的に「発見」されたりしたものである。

あったが、2011 年のクリントン論文以降、米国、日本、豪州、インド、そして ASEAN 諸国といった政府レベルでも明示的に用いられるようになり、概念が形成されていった。この形成期を経て、2017 年に米国の国家安全保障戦略で用いられるようになった頃からは、同概念に基づいて議論することが次第に当たり前になってきたという意味で定着期といってよいだろう。

ただし、概念の定着は、概念の明確化を必ずしも意味しない。むしろ、2019 年現在に至ってもなお概念の曖昧さが指摘され続けている。本節での普及の経緯の確認に続き、次節では、その内容についてみていきたい。

２．概念の多義性

本節では、前節でふりかえった普及過程において、インド太平洋という概念が何を指すか、あるいは何を指すべきかについて、各国の間でも各国の中でも見解が分かれるものになったことを示す。そのうえで、それらの多様な見解を「イシューの包括性」と「メンバーの包摂性」という 2 つの軸により類型化してみる。

（1）各国間・各国内の見解の相違

インド太平洋という概念が何を指すか、あるいは何を指すべきかについては、各国の間でも各国の中でも見解が分かれている。

各国間の相違は、そもそもインド太平洋が指す地理的範囲についてから、みられる。日本が南北アメリカの西海岸からアフリカ東海岸までの広範囲を射程に入れるのに対し、米国は太平洋からインド東海岸辺りまでを想定している。インドはインド洋を中心に考えており、豪州はインド洋に加えて南太平洋にも強い関心を示している[40]。各国の関心に基づき、地理的範囲にも認識の相違が生じているのである。

では、インド太平洋概念は、どのような関心から用いられているのだろうか。冒頭で挙げた同概念が論じられるようになった背景からも容易に想像がつくように、当該海域での法の支配、航行の自由の確保、海洋秩序の安定といった伝統的な安全保障の文脈で用いられるのが典型的である。各国の防衛力や海上保安能力の整備、他国のそれへの支援、同盟強化や安全保障協力などを進める際に、同概念に言及されることとなる[41]。

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[40] 大庭「日本の『インド太平洋』構想」13, 21 頁；滝崎成樹「インド太平洋の『成功物語』を積み重ねよ―カギとなるのは連結性の強化―」『外交』vol.52、2018 年、27 頁。

[41] 前節で確認したように、インド太平洋という言葉は用いずとも同地域の戦略的重要性に冷戦期からいち早く着目してきたのが米国の海軍であったことを考えれば、ごく自然な展開といえるかもしれない。海軍や海上自衛隊とインド太平洋概念との関わりの詳細については、八木直人「『海洋の安全保障』米国の作戦概念とインド洋：地政学的チョークポイントへのアプローチ」『アジア（特に南シナ海・インド洋）における安全保障秩序』日本国際問題研究所、2013 年；「『インド太平洋』の安全保障（戦略的リバランスと地政学的現実）」『「インド太平洋時代」の日本外交』、日本国際問題研究所、2014 年；「海洋の安全保障：A2/AD、オフショア・バランス論争と『インド太平洋』」『インド太平洋時代の日本外交―スイング・ステーツへの対応―』、日本国際問題研究所、2015 年；石原敬浩「米国にとっての『航行の自由』：FON 報告書の分析を中心に―」『海幹校戦略研究』12 号、2016 年；中村進「自衛隊と太平洋軍」土屋

この伝統的安全保障に加え、経済成長も含めた文脈で用いられることもある。自由な市場経済を基調とした援助、投資、技術移転などを進める際にも同概念に言及される。例えば、日本の FOIP では、①「法の支配、航行の自由等の基本的価値の普及・定着」、②「経済的繁栄の追求」、③「平和と繁栄の確保」が三本柱とされており[42]、伝統的安全保障と経済成長の双方が重視されているといえる。海賊対処や対テロなどの非伝統的安全保障の文脈で用いられる機会もある。

また、インド太平洋という概念が必要とされるに至った背景の一つである中国の台頭への対応について温度差がみられる。トランプ政権後の米国が対中牽制色を強めているのに対し、米中の板挟みになることを懸念する国もある。豪州は、2013 年の国防白書の段階から、中国をベトナム、フィリピン、日本と同列に扱うなど、中国に対して必ずしも強い態度をとっていない。中国との経済的な結びつきが強いがゆえに曖昧な態度をとらざるを得ない豪州の工夫があるとされる[43]。中国への警戒と中国排除への警戒とが同居する姿勢は、以後も基本的に続いているとみられる[44]。東南アジア諸国にもみられる中国排除への懸念に配慮し、日本はインド太平洋を語る際に「戦略」ではなく「構想」を用いるようになったとされるのは先述のとおりである。

もっとも、この対中姿勢については、各国の中でも見解の相違がみられる。萌芽期のオースリン提言をはじめとして対中牽制色が強い米国においても、中国を含めた協力を模索する見解があり、オバマ政権期の政策は対中強硬策と対中協調策がないまぜになったものとなりがちであった[45]。日本においては、米豪印との関係強化により対中牽制網を形成しようとする議論がある一方、普遍的価値への言及を避けることで対中牽制色を薄めようとする議論もある。このような二つの見解は共に外交姿勢にも反映されており、「競争戦略」と「協力戦略」との併存を矛盾と捉えるか、必然と捉えるかは意見が分かれ

大洋編『アメリカ太平洋軍の研究―インド・太平洋の安全保障―』千倉書房、2018 年。

42 日本外務省「自由で開かれたインド太平洋に向けて」日米首脳ワーキングランチ及び日米首脳会談；神谷「『競争戦略』のための『協力戦略』」56 頁。

43 Medcalf, “Breaking Down Australia’s Defense White Paper 2013,”; 山本「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード」24 頁.

44 佐竹知彦「豪州とインド太平洋―多極化時代における新たな秩序を求めて―」『国際安全保障』第 46 巻 3 号、2018 年 55, 63-65 頁。

45 中山俊宏「アメリカ外交における『インド太平洋』概念―オバマ政権はそれをどのように受容したか―」『インド太平洋時代の日本外交―スイング・ステーツへの対応―』、日本国際問題研究所、2015 年、46 頁；山本「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード」16-17 頁; 辰巳「戦略的概念としての『インド太平洋』」45 頁。

るところであるが[46]、併存しているとの認識自体には異論は少ないだろう。インドでは、戦略的自律性重視の観点からそもそもインド太平洋概念を否定する立場もあるが、同概念の受容を前提とすれば、やはり対米協力による対中牽制を重視する議論と、中国も含めた協力体制の構築を重視する議論とに分かれている[47]。2018 年 6 月のモディ首相演説前後のインドの姿勢についての専門家の評価は微妙に異なっているが[48]、このような国内の複数の立場が外交に反映しているからだとみることができるかもしれない。ASEAN 諸国にしても、対中牽制色を抑え、ASEAN の中心性を基礎としたインド太平洋を求める一方で、中国からの影響力を相対化する手段としてインド太平洋を利用するという動きも示されている[49]。

（2）イシューの包括性とメンバーの包摂性

このように、インド太平洋概念については、伝統的安全保障の文脈で主に用いるのか、経済や非伝統的安全保障を含んだ文脈で用いるのかといった「イシューの包括性」をめぐって、見解が分かれている。また、台頭する中国を牽制するために用いるのか、中国も含めて協力していくために用いるのかといった「メンバーの包摂性」をめぐる見解の相違も存在する。そこで、この「イシューの包括性」と「メンバーの包摂性」という 2 つの軸により類型化を試みると、図 1 のような整理が可能となる。

右上の領域（イシューが包括的・メンバーが包摂的）は、伝統的安全保障のみならず経済や非伝統的安全保障も含めた分野で中国も含めて協力していこうとする考え方である。ここでは「総合協力型」と呼んでおこう。ASEAN 諸国の多くが少なくとも公的に示す立場が、これに当たる。

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[46] 矛盾と捉える評価として、大庭「日本の『インド太平洋』構想」28 頁。必然と捉える評価として、神谷「『競争戦略』のための『協力戦略』」60-62 頁。

[47] Priya Chacko, “India and the Indo-Pacific: An Emerging Regional Vision,” *Indo-Pacific Governance Research Centre Policy Brief*, Issue 5, 2012, p. 1; 溜「『インド太平洋』概念の普及過程」78-79 頁。

[48] 戦略的自律性の観点から、特定の国を標的にしないインド太平洋を求めているとする評価として、伊藤「モディ政権の『戦略的自立性』を読む」、39 頁; 伊藤融「インド外交のなかの『モディ外交』―伝統的外交からの脱皮か、継続か？―」『安全保障研究』第 1 巻 2 号、2019 年、70 頁。公的な発言をみるかぎり中国を標的にはしていないが、実際の行動からは日米との関係強化による中国への対抗という方向性がみられるとする評価として、長尾賢「インドにとっての『インド太平洋』戦略とは何か」『国際安全保障』第 46 巻 3 号、2018 年、90 頁。

[49] 大庭「インド太平洋は誰のものか ASEAN の期待と不安」、44-45 頁。

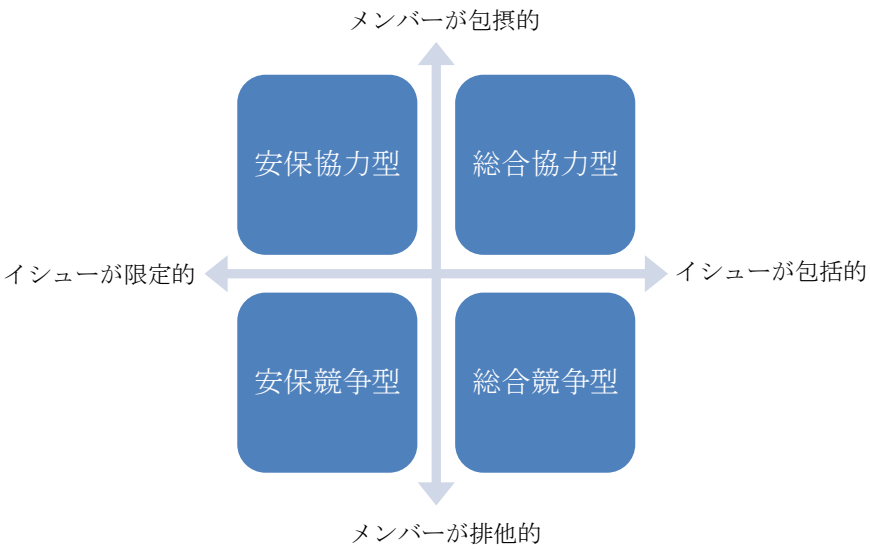


図 1　「インド太平洋」概念の多義性
[出所]　筆者作成

一方、左下の領域（イシューが限定的・メンバーが排他的）は、主に伝統的安全保障の分野で中国を牽制するために同概念を用いる考え方である。この「安保競争型」の典型例としては、萌芽期のオースリンによる政策提言がある。また、インド太平洋という言葉こそ用いられていなかったものの、2000 年代より模索されてきた日米豪印の民主主義連合（QUAD）も、この領域に位置するだろう。

右下の領域（イシューが包括的・メンバーが排他的）は、伝統的安全保障のみならず経済も含めた分野で中国を牽制するために同概念を用いる考え方である。この「総合競争型」に当たるのは、トランプ政権下の米国だろうか。TPP からの離脱や政権自身の法の支配への軽視はありながらも、インフラ整備支援などを含めた政府一丸（whole of the government）のアプローチがなされている[50]。

左上の領域（イシューが限定的・メンバーが包摂的）は、主に伝統的安全保障の分野で中国も含めて協力していこうとする考え方である。この「安保

[50] 辰巳「戦略的概念としての『インド太平洋』」43-44 頁。

協力型」の典型例としては、形成期の「インド太平洋友好協力条約」構想がある。ただし、提唱したインドネシアが安全保障面を重視していたのに対し、早い段階から賛同していたベトナムは経済面を重視するなど、受容段階では総合協力型の様相もみせていた[51]。

日本、豪州、インド、ASEAN 諸国を位置付けようとすると、先述のとおり、複数の領域にまたがるようにみえる。時期によって重心がある領域から別の領域に移るということもあれば、協力を要請する相手国に応じて使い分けるということもあるだろう。例えば、米国は、クリントン論文の出たオバマ政権の 1 期目は安保競争型の色が濃かったのが、2 期目に入ると総合協力型の色が濃くなっていった[52]。また、第 3 節 1 項で後述するように、日本は、対中牽制の必要性を認識している国に対しては総合競争型や安保競争型の面を強調し、それを警戒する国に対しては総合協力型の面を強調するといった傾向がある。図 1 の分類は、あくまでも議論の見通しをよくするための便宜的なものであるが、このような領域間の移動や使い分けをも捉えられるという意味で、見取り図として一定の有効性を持つといえるだろう。

３．多義的な概念の功罪

本節では、少なくとも 4 類型が存在するほどの多義的な概念であるがゆえのメリットとデメリットの双方を検討する。まずメリット、次いでデメリットを示すが、両者がトレードオフの関係にあることが明らかになる。

（1）メリット

概念が多義的であることのメリットとしては、多様な解釈が可能となることから、様々な利害や価値観を持つ主体から支持を得やすくなることが挙げられる。これは、政治学における古典的な洞察といってよい。例えば、E・H・カー（E・H・Carr）は、『危機の二十年』において、意見を支配する力（power over opinion）を説明する文脈で次のように述べる。平和や軍縮という言葉は、様々な意味を持ち得るがゆえに、かえって多くの人々に受け入れられやすくなったのだと。同様の指摘は、別の箇所においては、国際法そのものに

[51] 福田「ASEAN と『インド太平洋』」90 頁。
[52] 中山俊宏「オバマ外交におけるグランドストラテジーの不可能性『インド・パシフィック』概念の限界の初期的考察」『インド太平洋時代の日本外交』、日本国際問題研究所、2014 年、126, 128 頁；神谷「『インド太平洋』は日本の地域安全保障政策の中核概念たり得るか」、52-53 頁。

も向けられる。教会の教義とのアナロジーを示しながら、弾力的な解釈を許せば信者が増えるように、条約等を遵守する主体が増えるだろうし、厳格な解釈にこだわると信者が離脱しかねないように、条約等から離脱する主体が増えるとの理解が示されている[53]。道義として掲げられたものの裏に潜む権力の作用を暴くという批判理論的な現実主義を展開するカーらしい指摘といえよう。

この点については、近年でも、科学技術政策に関して「同床異夢」の形成が重要だという文脈において改めて指摘されている。例えば、原子力技術やバイオマス・エネルギー技術について、温暖化対策として関心を持つ主体もいれば、エネルギー安全保障の文脈から関心を寄せる主体もいる[54]。多様な主体からの支持調達を容易にする政治的技術として評価することができよう。

以上を踏まえれば、第 1 節で確認したような概念の普及が起きていること自体が、概念が多義的であることのメリットとして、必ずしも利害や価値観を共有しない主体から対内的にも対外的にも支持を集められた結果だといえるのではないか。例えば、トランプ政権下の米国では TPP からの離脱等をめぐる政権内での対立が激しいとされるが、安保競争型とも総合競争型ともとれる FOIP は、政権内の対立を隠して積極的な対中姿勢を示すうえで有効であったと考えられる[55]。そうだとすれば、これは、政権の対内的支持調達の成功といえる。

国家間ではどうだろうか。例えば、日本は、米国をアジアにつなぎとめるうえでは、総合協力型というよりは総合競争型や安保競争型の面を強調することになる。一方、過度な対中牽制色を嫌う国々からの支持を得るために FOIP を戦略ではなく構想と称するなど、総合競争型ではなく総合協力型の面を強調しているとみられる[56]。これらが奏功しているのだとすれば、対外的支持調達の成功とみなせよう。そして、それは、異なる見解を持つ国内主体からの支持調達にも同時に成功していることを意味する[57]。

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53 E.H. Carr. *The Twenty Years Crisis 1919-1939: An Introduction to the Study of International Relations*, Macmillan 1939/1946, pp. 140, 185.

54 城山英明「科学技術ガバナンスの機能と組織」城山英明編『科学技術ガバナンス』東信堂、2007 年、70 頁。

55 中西「日本外交における『自由で開かれたインド太平洋』」18 頁。

56 神谷「『競争戦略』のための『協力戦略』」63 頁。

57 対中牽制色を薄めることが、過度な対中牽制色を嫌う国々を安心させるのみならず、国内の慎重派や中国自身に対するメッセージともなるという指摘として、山本「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード」60 頁。

（2）デメリット

もっとも、概念が多義的であることのデメリットも少なくとも二点存在する。第一に、何をもって目的が達成されたと判断するか、政策レベルでも活動レベルでも、その評価が難しい。これまでも平和活動（peace operation）について、マンデートが複雑なために活動の成功・失敗を客観的に評価することが難しいという指摘が繰り返しなされてきたが[58]、それと同様のことが起こりかねない。もちろん、他の主体からの支持調達のために自覚的に領域の使い分けをしている政府は、「本音の評価基準」を保持してはいるのだが、客観的な評価に際して参照されるのは他主体と共有している「建前の評価基準」であるため、齟齬が生じる。評価が十分になされない以上、政策・活動の改善もまた難しくなるため、果たしてインド太平洋という看板のもとで各国が所期の目的を達成できるのかに対して早晩疑問が生じる可能性を否定できないのである。

第二に、何のために活動しているかの意思統一が現場レベルで難しくなりかねない。ここでも平和活動（安定化活動）の例を出すならば、アフガニスタンに派遣されていた米軍兵士に対し、現地を訪問したゲーツ国防長官が何のために駐留していると思うかを尋ねたところ、十人十色で様々な見解があったという[59]。もちろん、それだけが米国のアフガニスタンでの苦戦を招いたわけではないが、活動に従事する現場の士気に関わる問題であることは間違いない。このように考えれば、概念の曖昧さに対して批判がなされるのも、決して故なきことではない。

（3）トレードオフ

さらに問題を難しくしているのは、上記のメリットとデメリットとがトレードオフの関係にあることだろう。デメリットを懸念し、概念の明確化を進め過ぎれば、インド太平洋概念を諸国家・諸国民の間で共有することが難しくなりかねない。かといって、概念があまりに不明確なままでは、政策（政治）レベルでも活動（現場）レベルでも評価と改善が難しくなり、所期の目的の達成が危ぶまれる。また、現場において、何のための活動かの意識統一が難しくなってしまう。

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[58] George Downs and Stephen John Stedman. “Evaluation Issues in Peace Implementation”, Stephen John Stedman, Donald Rothchild and Elizabeth M. Coursens eds. *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*, Lynne Rienner, 2002, pp.44-54; Richard Caplan. “After Exit: Successor Missions and Peace Consolidation”, *Civil Wars* Vol.8, No.3-4, 2006, p.264.

[59] Bob Woodward. *Obama's Wars*, Simon&Schuster, p.71.

ここで求められるのは、程度差はあれども多義的な概念となることが避け難いことを十分に認識しておくことだろう。政治レベルのみならず、活動に従事する現場レベルでも、この点への理解を深めておくことが必要なように思われる。

おわりに

本稿では、まずインド太平洋概念が普及していった経緯について、萌芽期・形成期・定着期という 3 つの時期に便宜的に分けて簡潔に振り返り、その普及過程において、インド太平洋が何を指すか、あるいは何を指すべきかについて、各国の間でも各国の中でも見解が分かれるようになったことを示してきた。そして、多様な見解を「イシューの包括性」と「メンバーの包摂性」という 2 つの軸により類型化し、少なくとも 4 類型が存在するほどの多義的な概念であるがゆえのメリット（必ずしも利害や価値観を共有しない主体から対内的にも対外的にも支持を集めやすくなる）とデメリット（概念に基づく政策・活動の評価・改善が困難になる、現場での意思統一が困難になる）の双方を示すとともに、両者がトレードオフの関係にあると論じてきた。これまでインド太平洋概念を用いて政策・活動を進めることのメリット・デメリットに言及されることはあっても、その多義性のメリットとデメリットが体系的に論じられる機会には乏しかったことを考慮すれば、この点に既存研究に対する本稿の貢献があるといえる。

もっとも、今後論じるべき課題も依然としてある。本稿では多義的な概念のメリットとデメリットについて厳密な実証はできておらず、仮説の例証の段階にとどまっている。各国の政策決定者の認識に直接迫るのは困難ではあるが、より詳細な事例研究によって傍証を集める必要がある。また、本稿ではインド太平洋を提案・受容している主体に分析の焦点を絞ったため、アジア太平洋や一帯一路などとの概念間の競争という文脈で論じることができなかった[60]。いずれも議論を深めるにはなお別稿を要するため、今後の課題としたい。

このような制約はありながらも、本稿の主張には以下のような理論的・政策的含意もまた認められる点を確認して結びとしたい。本稿では多義的な概

[60] 2016 年段階でのこの点に関する体系的分析として、山本「インド太平洋と海のシルクロード」。FOIP と一帯一路との関係性について、日中の第三国協力や日本側が示す四条件の観点から論じるものとして、川島真「日中関係『改善』への問い」『外交』vol.52、2018 年、32 頁。

念の功罪がトレードオフの関係にあることを示したが、これは政治が抱える原理的な問題であることから、他のイシューについても十分に当てはまり得る[61]。多様な解釈を許す概念でありながら、その功罪についてこれまで必ずしも体系的に論じられてこなかったものについて、新たに理論的検討を加える必要性が示されたのではないだろうか。そして、まさに原理的に起こり得る問題である以上、政治レベルでも現場レベルでも、この点を認識することが重要となる。いま求められるのは、トレードオフから自由になろうともがくことではなく、トレードオフを直視して戦略的に動くことではあるまいか。

61 平和活動において介入への支持調達を容易にする活動目的の多義性が、何をもって活動目的が達成されたといえるのかの判断基準を複数生じさせるため、撤退への支持調達を困難にしかねないと論じるものとして、中村長史「出口戦略のディレンマ―構築すべき平和の多義性がもたらす難題―」『平和研究』48 号、2018 年。

What Type of Fleet can Keep the Indo-Pacific Free and Open?

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We live in a rare moment in international life where the military friction between a superpower and a rising rival will likely take place on, above, or under the ocean. China, the great power challenger has invested heavily in the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN), the fastest growing maritime force over the last thirty years. While experts question the quality of the PLAN as a warfighting force against the U.S. Navy, it looks more formidable the closer it operates to supporting land-based air and missile systems. Few doubt that it poses considerable risk to American allies, such as Japan, in the Asian littoral and busy maritime commercial routes. The U.S. Navy, while powerful and operationally proficient, is struggling to recapitalize while maintaining the operational tempo necessary to fulfill the nation's far flung commitments. The response of the United States broadly and the US Navy, *in tandem with allies such as Japan*, to China's maritime rise will influence the likelihood of a regional conflict and the shape of the global political economic order for the next century.

We do not pretend to speak for the United States Navy, much less the Japanese Maritime Self Defense Force. We are confident that the US Navy—in accord with the most recent U.S. National Defense Strategy (NDS)—is optimizing its fleet for great power competition and the primary great power it contemplates—again in accord with the NDS—is China.[2]

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[1] The following article represents the opinions and analysis of the authors and do not represent the views of the US Naval War College, the US Navy, Department of Defense or the US government.

[2] The United States of America Department of Defense, "Summary of the National Defense Strategy of the United States of America 2018," 2018, p. 1, https://dod.defense.gov/Portals/1/Documents/pubs/2018-National-Defense-Strategy-Summary.pdf.

As it prepares for such a competition, the US Navy will face a classic tradeoff in fleet design. Deploying missiles and aircraft as far forward as possible to sink as much as the enemy's fleet as quickly as possible is designed to increase deterrence, but this comes at the potential cost of increased crisis instability. It thus risks a large, potentially irreplaceable, portion of the United States' global military power, as well as the viability to the JSMDF and bases within Japanese territory. While debate is ongoing, we do believe that, shaped by the US Navy's makeup of its fleet as well as its traditions, too great an emphasis on warfighting, in particular sea control, may risk the very "free and open Indo-Pacific" whose maintenance justifies building the fleet in the first place. We at the Naval War College and elsewhere believe it our solemn duty to consider this dilemma.

Although we advocate that the United States pay close attention to the interests and capabilities of allies, especially Japan, it is simply a fact that Japan will have to respond to US fleet design much more than the US fleet design will respond to Japan. It is therefore crucial that our partners understand this important dilemma as it unfolds with the United States, especially its sea services. While we understand that, as one of our closest allies, many JMSDF readers will have a good understanding of the ongoing evolution of the United States fleet, we believe it is worth reviewing.

Great Power Competition at Sea

Much previous academic and policy work on great power competition, not surprisingly, rests on the foundations of the Cold War. We argue that this work emphasizes the competition over territory (most in central Europe between armies) and unilateral operations. Perhaps surprisingly, the Navy's Cold War approach, often called "The Maritime Strategy," shared this bias concentrating on a unilateral flanking maneuver in support of a primarily ground-based conflict. We argue that the geography of Sino-American competition differs in two important ways. First, ground operations will support a primarily maritime battle. Second,

the participation of allies, particularly Japan, is far more essential for success.

The world's most important great power competition takes place between two nuclear-armed, continent-sized, globally-oriented trading states that are relatively secure from territorial threats.[3] Tensions over Taiwan, an inherently maritime problem, produce a situation ripe for miscalculation. Several other island and artificial reef disputes plague Chinese relations with US allies such as Japan and the Philippines. Both the United States and China depend on seaborne commerce for a significant portion of their prosperity and thus their political stability.[4] Any Sino-American conflict will almost certainly take place in what Barry Posen calls the "global commons" between navies and air forces rather than armies.

In maritime competitions, unlike land-based ones, military forces play essential, active roles in peacetime as well as war. Submarines, aircraft, and ship-launched drones cater to theater commanders' insatiable intelligence demands. Marine-carrying amphibs can respond quickly to political and humanitarian brushfires. Surface ships continuously "show the flag," reassuring allies and patrolling global sea lanes. For better or worse, the primary response of the United States to Chinese challenges to the so-called "liberal international order" are Freedom of Navigation Operations (FONOPS) in which US warships sail in disputed waters.

The person who approves FONOPs, and has far greater responsibilities, is a combatant commander (COCOM), the four-star general or admiral directing all military operations in a given theater (Europe, Africa, Indo-Pacific, etc.). While COCOMs must prepare for major war (and in the case of Central Command actively fight several small ones), most of their energy goes toward managing day-to-day operations in

[3] It must, however, be emphasized that, compared to China United States is relatively more secure from territorial threats, more heavily nuclear-armed, and less reliant on trade for the health of its economy.

[4] It seems clear that China is *relatively* more dependent on international trade for its economic well-being than the United States. Also, both states are less dependent on overseas commerce than Great Britain, Japan, and the Dutch in earlier eras.

support of the United States' wide-ranging approach to national security that identifies interests almost everywhere. Such operations, known as "shaping" in the Defense Department, fall under the traditional (and not particularly loved) naval mission of "presence." They inevitably entail the promiscuous deployment of ships. The Navy recently concluded that a 653-ship force would be necessary to address all COCOM demands. The Navy has 286.

Twenty-five years ago, the battle force hovered at approximately 450. Despite this decline by a third, the Navy continues to deploy the same number of ships at any given time: 85–100. The pace has led to poorly maintained equipment, under-trained crews, short-staffed ships, and incomplete squadrons. Many studies of the two tragic collisions of the United States destroyers *McCain* and *Fitzgerald* in 2017 finds that the high operational tempo in the Western Pacific played an important role.[5] We know that our colleagues in the JMSDF understand this all too well. The increased incursions of Chinese aircraft and ships--civilian, military, or in between—are placing enormous demands on the operational assets of the JMSDF, Japan Coast Guard, and JASDF. Over time the pace may not be unsustainable.

Facing the impossibility of meeting demands broadly, the Navy (besides pleading for more ships) seeks to concentrate its effort. Cued by the National Defense Strategy, it is focusing on offensive "lethality" as a means of deterring China from threatening American allies and partners in the western Pacific and thereby maintaining overarching international order.

The Navy's current strategy is classified, as are existing operational plans. But one can triangulate the Navy's ideas about the future of naval warfare, even against China, via two publicly available, and relatively stable, characteristics: its slowly- evolving fleet and its longstanding beliefs about how best to fight wars at sea. Combined, these

[5] Robert Faturechi, Megan Rose and T. Christian Miller, "Years of Warning, Then Death and Disaster," ProPubllica.com (February 7, 2019): https://features.propublica.org/navy-accidents/us-navy-crashes-japan-cause-mccain/.

characteristics—while increasing deterrence—may set the stage for inadvertent escalation into a disastrous conflict.

What will fight

One of the vital disconnects in US defense planning is that while the COCOMs determine where ships go, the service largely determines what ships get built. This is a particularly weighty decision for a navy. Ships are eye-wateringly expensive, take years to build, and last for decades. Even after the United States reaches a consensus on the parameters of a new fleet suitable for meeting this new era and the changing character of war, the implementation is necessarily slow, as new acquisitions come on line and older warships are gradually retired. Change therefore comes incrementally. Fleets are stubborn things.

While aircraft carriers' obsolescence is a venerable theme, and despite the Navy's plan to retire one early (quickly snuffed out by Congress), they will remain its key combatant. Importantly, a carrier is not just a thirteen billion dollar ship, it's a thirteen billion dollar ship carrying 80 plus aircraft that must be protected by about seven additional billion dollar warships (setting aside submarines and logistics vessels). That the number of carriers will not change much over the coming decades will shape the rest of the future fleet and how it will be deployed.

Additionally, the Navy seeks to pack more offensive punch into "stretched" versions of familiar hulls. The current *Virginia* class submarine's next modification will get triple the number of missile tubes. Newer versions of the venerable *Arleigh Burke* destroyers will get an improved radar and fire control system to launch their 96 missiles. The planned replacement for the littoral combat ship will be a "small," missile-armed frigate that will rival the largest vessels in most allies' fleets. Although planning documents suggest the future fleet will also include dozens, if not hundreds, of unmanned systems of all types, the history of the Navy and unmanned vehicles is rife with unfulfilled promises. For all the Navy's talk of "distributing lethality," the future fleet will be composed largely of a relatively small number of heavily armed big ships. This is

borne out by the Navy's most recent assessment of shipbuilding requirements in Table 1.

Table 1 Comparing Current US Navy Fleet and the 2016 Force Structure Assessment[6]

Type	Current	2016 FSA	% change
Total	275	355	29%
Carrier	11	12	9%
Attack subs	51	66	29%
Large surface warships	87	104	20%
Small surface warships	20	52	160%
Amphibious warfare ships	31	38	23%
Combat logistics	29	32	10%
Support ships	28	39	39%
Ballistic-missile subs	14	12	-14%
Guided-missile subs	4	0	-100%

Compared to the current fleet, the Navy has asked to add 17 large surface combatants, 15 attack submarines, and an additional carrier. The large combatants are needed to "deliver increased air defense and expeditionary [ballistic missile defense] capacity and provide escorts for the additional aircraft carrier." It appears apparent that the aircraft carrier remains the focus of the US Navy. According to reporting, that ship request was based on filling a carrier strike group with five guided-missile combatants to perform anti- submarine warfare (ASW), protect the ship from surface and air threats and protect the CSG from ballistic missiles. However, ongoing studies and wargaming conducted by the Navy's surface warfare establishment concluded the number of ships to keep carrier safe

[6] EXECUTIVE SUMMARY, 2016 Navy Force Structure Assessment (FSA), 14 DECEMBER 2016. https://news.usni.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/FSA_Executive-Summary.pdf. Assessments are subject to revision. Just recently, for example, General David Berger, the Commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, has made it clear that he does not believe the Marine require 38 amphibious warfare ships.

should potentially be increased to seven or eight due to how rapidly the Chinese have increased their high-end capability.[7] The CSG-centrism is also reflected in the CNO's most recent authoritative guidance, "enable deployment of 5-6 carrier strike groups within relatively short time frames.

How it will fight

What does the Navy plan to do with this firepower? The last Navy strategy for deterring and, if necessary, fighting, a great power provides some insight. "The Maritime Strategy" of the 1980s prepared to take the fight forward directly to the Soviet navy from the fjords of northern Europe to Vladivostok in the Far East. The strategy combined an offensive fight against the Soviet navy deep in its home seas with air strikes and even amphibious assaults into Soviet-held territory.

The Maritime Strategy combined the two traditional wartime missions of the US Navy: sea control—the ability for one's ships to move unmolested in a given sea—and power projection—directly acting against the land. The two are often contrasted with each other, but are intimately related. The Navy reminds the other services that sea control is necessary for power projection, but—especially in a world of land-based anti-access weaponry—only power projection can make sea control feasible. Much like the Maritime Strategy the highly visible AirSea Battle concept of 2010 envisioned, a series of deep strikes into an enemy mainland to take out command and control nodes, long range, "carrier-killing" missiles, and any PLAN ships unwilling to engage the superior American fleet at sea.

While the Maritime Strategy may remain, in one naval thinker's assessment "the most complete statement of offensive military intent ever laid down by [the US] navy,"[8] the offensive predilection predates and outlives that particular document. One Chief of Naval Operations (CNO) wryly observed, "Over the years our Maritime Strategy has been very

[7] Eckstein, M., & LaGrone, S. (2016, December 16). Navy Wants to Grow Fleet to 355 Ships; 47 Hull Increase Adds Destroyers, Attack Subs. *USNI News*, pp. 1–30. Newport RI. Retrieved from https://news.usni.org/2016/12/16/navy-wants-grow-fleet-355-ships-47-hull-increase-previous-goal

[8] Martin N. Murphy. (2015). Kick the Door Down with AirSea Battle…Then What? *Parameters*, *45*(2), 97–107, p 98.

much like the British Constitution—unwritten but thoroughly understood by those who practice it."[9] The roots reach deep into Navy history, at least back to the aftermath of its unquestionably dominating performance during World War II.[10] In short, we see a long-standing preoccupation with *offensive sea control* and *power projection.* Moreover, while it is clear that sea control is a prerequisite for power projection, the Navy's maximalist idea of sea control also demands power projection (as exemplified by the Maritime Strategy).

In fact, the Navy makes little distinction between the two categories of naval action. As one CNO briefed the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1952, "The weapons which the enemy will use in his attempts to destroy our convoys and naval forces will be operated from shore bases.

Consequently, the bases and facilities which directly support those weapons must also be destroyed or neutralized."[11] This, continued the then-CNO, could only be accomplished by a fast carrier fleet. Although naval warfare and the nature of the threats to American national security have changed greatly since the early 1950s, the U.S Navy's reliance on "big deck" aircraft carriers and their associated strike groups has not. e

Extrapolating from current fleet, publicly available shipbuilding plans and warfighting concepts, and the Navy's offensively minded culture, it seems safe to assume that the Navy will seek to destroy the PLAN fleet and, if necessary, land-based facilities should a conflict erupt. Strategic maximalists argue that the Navy (along with the Air Force) should prepare for a rapid assault on the PLAN as well as air and missile strikes on the Chinese mainland to remove any Chinese capability for denying US access up to the maritime commons outside the 12 nautical miles of the territory the United States recognizes as Chinese. In short, the Navy continues to pursue sea control for power projection (and vice versa). Rowden clearly lays the sequence, "Surface forces outfitted with robust

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[9] Trost, C. A. H. (1987). Looking Beyond the Maritime Strategy. *Proceedings*, *113*(January), 13–20.

[10] Palmer, M. A. (1990). *Origins of the Maritime Strategy: The Development of American Naval Strategy, 1945-1955.* Newport, RI: U.S. Naval Institute Press.

[11] Quote in Palmer, *Origins of the Maritime Strategy,* p 83. Palmer attributes the writer to Arleigh Burke, head of the Navy's Strategic Plans Division at the time.

defensive systems and armed with credible surface launched stand-off weapons, survivable in both contested and communications degraded environments, will help to secure sea territory and enable forces to flow for follow-on power projection operations."[12]

The Dilemma

Increased deterrence, however, often comes at the cost of increased crisis instability. In his criticism of the Maritime Strategy of the 1980s, Mearsheimer notes that "some strategies also can cause forces to intermingle in a crisis in a manner that produces a tactical or strategic first-strike advantage, creating an incentive to preempt."[13] Any U.S. fleet, even if designed for a denial strategy, is unlikely to make China comfortable, just as China's A2/AD network, however "defensively" it performs at the operational level, will never reassure the United States. The Navy, and the United States military in general, tend to emphasize deterrence (often through the ability to project large amounts of fighting power at great distance).

This is especially true given the use-it-or-lose-it nature of most naval battles. As one analyst for the US Navy recently testified to Congress: "Naval weapons have gotten so long-range, so precise and so lethal that, in hundreds of studies…here at the Navy, what really comes out strongly is that it's the battle of the first salvo." He continues, "whichever side completes that targeting kill chain first and fires first almost always wins."

What are the consequences should these two forces each worried that the first strike will be the last, come to blows? Setting the real risks of nuclear escalation aside, significant damage to the United States' forward deployed, exquisite platforms would represent a massive power shift, and may thus be worth trying from China's perspective, especially if

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[12] Rowden, p. 20.

[13] Mearsheimer, J. J. (1986). A Strategic Misstep: The Maritime Strategy and Deterrence in Europe," *International Security*, *11*(2), 3–57.

it also manages to achieve other strategic objectives. Many describe Xi Jinping as both seeking to overturn the American-led international order and as a risk-taker. Its fleet may be sent to Davy Jones, but China might be willing to trade the PLAN for Taiwan or reduced US regional capability. And given the respective countries' shipbuilding capacity, China could probably rebuild a passable replacement fleet much more quickly than could the United States.

Conclusion

Rather than the Navy's traditional approach of offensive sea control in pursuit of more "deterrence," we recommend an even more traditional approach to great power competition and warfighting. This has the virtue of managing the global commons while shaping China's ongoing naval expansion in constructive ways, coercively if necessary. And yet, such an approach would threaten losses to China in a long, drawn out conflict typical of most hegemonic wars.

This is not merely a presence fleet, although it would be better suited for such day-to-day tasks. Instead it plays to American wartime strengths. The concept of "horizontal escalation "was largely dismissed by the Navy during the Cold War. China, like the United States and unlike the Soviet Union, has far flung interests, and thus vulnerabilities. The further from its shores China seeks to project influence the exponentially harder (and pricier) it becomes. Such operations are the US Navy's bread and butter, and the PLAN has a steep learning curve to approach such proficiency. Imperial Germany eventually decided against competing with the Great Britain on the high seas, not for lack of ambition, but because it was not worth spending the money given more pressing strategic objectives. China may not give up this competition but will pay a lot to continue.

Because fleets change slowly, rather than new platforms we recommend emphasizing current successes. The Navy and the strategic community concur that the United States does not have enough submarines and should build as many as the industrial base can produce. The combination of stealth and survivability allows them to contribute to

multiple core Navy missions, while resisting the tendency to shoot first. Experts have criticized the Navy's conservative approach to unmanned systems, but persistent surveillance, communications capabilities, and refueling have tremendous peacetime (as well as wartime) roles. Exquisite and expensive warfighting drones will not help as much.

The other major investments we suggest is based on the fact that great power wars are rarely decided quickly. The ability to produce munitions and transport them to the theater have both been given short shrift. To prepare for, and thus hopefully deter, a long war, we recommend buying more logistics ships, building infrastructure including storage and loading facilities, and ensuring that arsenals and magazines are well-stocked munitions, even at the expense of more high-end combatant vessels.

Finally, the US Navy needs to remain open to allies, especially Japan. But our allies must understand the constraints the United States Navy faces. When Japan provides its feedback on the debate between presence and warfighting, it cannot simply be asking for more of each from the United States. Optimizing both fleets for a fight against PLAN, and forward deploying them to maximize deterrence will increase the risk of a conflict that will affect the Japanese mainland as surely as it will affect the US fleet. And finally, if the United States takes a more global approach to great power competition with China, Japan will need to invest more in anti-access/area denial capability to counter PLAN power projection, ensure its bases and seaports are resilient to repeated assault, and contribute to maintaining open sealines of communication at greater distances from the Japanese home islands.

The eternal navy trade-off between sea control in wartime and presence in peacetime cannot be solved, only managed. But how the United States plans and prepares to fight a primarily naval war in the western Pacific offers important and pressing choices. We argue against approaches that refuse to cede an maritime commons right up to China's territorial waters. This would put the American fleet at risk in war where the adversary has inherent geographic advantages and can pick and choose the time and place of the conflict. Instead we favor global approach

that preserves options, husbands the fleet and allows flexibility to pursue a wider range of national interests.

Which is why our most important recommendation is for more transparency in the Navy's strategic process for the US government, the US public, and indeed for our allies like Japan. The 1980's Maritime Strategy was widely and publicly debated, and ultimately the Navy learned valuable lessons from the process. Even more so than during the Cold War, it is vital to bring out allies' interests and thoughts into consideration. The Navy might build and fight the fleet, but it is the US public and indeed the world that will reap the consequences. Helping the Navy recognize the dangers of an unthinking traditional approach to great power war, is in everyone's interest frames."[14]

[14] Richardson, J. (2017). *The Future Navy*. Washington, DC. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1559- 3584.1990.tb02669.x

National Security Space
:A Federal and Friendly Future for the Final Frontier

Lt Col Phillip "Flex" Dobberfuhl[1]
U.S. Air Force

I. Indroduction

"We stand today on the edge of a New Frontier…of unknown opportunities and perils, the frontier of…space."[2] These words, delivered by John F. Kennedy at his nomination speech during the Democratic National Convention in 1960, not only helped propel him to the office of President of the United States of America in the general election a few months later, they also framed the way in which the United States has viewed space ever since. They are, in a sense, guiding the discussions on the future of national security space in the U.S., even today.

II. The Final Frontier

If space was, as President Kennedy called it, the "new frontier," what was the old frontier he was referring to? The boundary of settled land, beyond which lies "unknown opportunities and perils" is the frontier. To a typical American at the time, the "frontier" phraseology would have certainly brought up images of the American West. Although scholars disagree about exact time and location, for the purpose of making this point we'll consider the area west of the Mississippi River as The West. As for the time period, we'll consider the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 as the start[3] and 1959, the year before Kennedy's above-referenced speech when

[1] The views expressed are the author's own and not necessarily those of the United States Air Force, Department of Defense, or U.S. Government.
[2] Kennedy, J. F. (2008). Democratic National Convention Nomination Acceptance Address - The New Frontier. In M. E. Eidenmuller, *Great Speeches for Better Speaking*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
[3] Hyslop, Stephen G. (November 3, 2015). The Old West. National Geographic, 5.

Alaska and Hawaii were admitted as the 49th and 50th U.S. states, as the end.[4]

Activities of individual Americans and policies and programs of the U.S. government (USG) during this approximately 150-year time period pushed the frontier of civilization as they knew it west from the Mississippi river further and further into land filled with both opportunity and peril.

As an example Laura Ingalls Wilder, born in northwestern Wisconsin just east of the Mississippi River, recorded stories of her life as a child that paint a vivid picture of both the opportunities and perils of frontier living. Her stories of poverty, hunger, and extreme weather - blizzards, droughts, and hailstorms that wreaked havoc on crops, killed livestock, and threatened loved ones - are just some of the natural and man-made hardships of the frontier that are almost unimaginable to people today.[5] However, her stories are far from depressing. Laura's books and the television show they spawned became popular in the U.S. and around the world because they are inspiring. They are filled with examples of heroism, perseverance, the ability to overcome hardship, and the seeming limitlessness of the beauty and resources available to anyone willing and able to take on and overcome the risks.

Regardless of the tremendous hardships, challenges, and risks, Americans like Laura moved further and further west until there was no more frontier left to tame. America now stretched from sea to shining sea,[6] and the west was just another region of the country that provided resources to use and places to live and visit for Americans.

The frontier west, with its boundless opportunity and implicit promise of progress and great reward, provided President Kennedy a fitting analogy with which to frame space, as a new frontier not defined by

[4] Millner, Clyde A. (1994). National Initiatives. (eds): MillnerA.Clyde, O'ConnorA.Carol, SandweissA.Martha, The Oxford History of the American West (pp: 156-157). New York: Oxford Univesity Press.
[5] Fraser, Caroline. (2017). Prairie Fires: The American Dreams of Laura Ingalls Wilder. New York: Metropolitan Books.
[6] Bates, Katherine Lee. (1893). America the Beautiful. Washington: Library of Congress.

direction (“Go West, young man!”[7]) but by elevation (“I…lifted up mine eyes unto heaven”[8]). This framework allowed Americans to understand the new domain in a way that was familiar and, it should be noted, as a narrative that ends in American victory and success. This was critically important because, with the Soviet Union’s launch of Sputnik on October 4, 1957, space had just leapt from the realm of astronomers and science fiction writers to something with very real, immediate implications for U.S. national interests. The Soviets were now analogous to countries like France and Spain who had colonies in the Americas or to the later Indians and outlaws, all of which needed to be bought-out, pacified, assimilated, or defeated in order to fulfill America’s Manifest Destiny.[9]

III. Very Brief History of National Security Space Capabilities

To set a discussion of organization in the proper context, let’s go through a very brief history of national security space from an Airman’s perspective.

By the time of President Kennedy’s speech in 1960, the U.S. was confident in the Intercontinental Ballistic Missile (ICBM) capabilities developed largely by the Air Force. In the space race against the Soviets, U.S. ballistic missiles were converted to space launch vehicles, or rockets, including the Thor missile to the Delta rocket and the Atlas and Titan missiles to rocket versions with the same names. Simple satellites with cameras on them were launched into low Earth orbit (LEO) to take pictures of things like the location of Soviet tanks and cloud formations, becoming the first U.S. intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) and weather satellites. The Air Force put communication nodes, infrared (IR) sensors, and precise signal emitters into space in the following decades, representing the national security space capabilities of communications, early warning, and position-navigation-timing (PNT;

[7] Cross, Coy F. (1995). Go West, Young Man!: Horace Greeley's Vision for America. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico.
[8] The Holy Bible Authorized King James Version. Dan 4:34, Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2013.
[9] Mountjoy, Shane. (2009). Manifest Destiny: Westward Expansion. New York: Infobase Publishing.

most people are more familiar with the abbreviation for the Air Force's PNT system, GPS).[10] Telescopes and radars on earth could see all these satellites in space, so the Air Force started a database to obtain Space Situational Awareness (SSA). The core national security space capabilities of the Air Force can therefore be categorized as follows: launch, ISR, weather, communications, early warning, PNT, and SSA.

The Air Force is not the only agency working national security space in the USG. In addition to capabilities developed by the Navy and other sister services in the Department of Defense (DoD), intelligence organizations such as the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) and many other federal agencies have also developed, or become users or regulators of, national security space capabilities. As nearly all national security space capabilities have dual use application, they have birthed or influenced nearly all civil and commercial space activities, exactly the pattern witnessed in the taming of the West.

IV. Why a Space Force

IV.A. Why a Space Force: One Boss

As a matter of fact, there are currently over 60 departments and agencies in the USG that have responsibility for national security space.[11] This leads to much confusion in terms of 'who's the boss?' type questions. Based on the author's decades of experience as an Astronautical Developmental Engineer (62E3B) and as a Space Operator (13S) in the Air Force, it's only a slight exaggeration to say that nearly every USG agency and private company involved in national security space thinks they are (or should be) the boss.

This problem has been around for quite a while. The GAO (General Accounting Office, changed to Government Accountability Office in 2004) warned of "fragmented responsibilities" in national security space in a

[10] Dobberfuhl, Phillip M. (H31). U.S. Air Force and Space. (Hoyu Publishing Committee) Hoyu, 45(1), 132-133.
[11] Pence, Mike. (1 March 2019). Mike Pence: It's Time for Cogress to Establish the Space Force. The Washington Post, www.washingtonpost.com.

1994 report.[12] The Rumsfeld Space Commission concluded in 2001 that America's military and intelligence agencies are "not yet arranged or focused to meet [our] national security space needs."[13] The Allard Commission said it most directly in 2008, "No one's in charge."[14] In 2016 the GAO repeated their decades-long testimony that, "Persistent fragmentation and overlap in management…[exists because] DOD lacks a single authority to ensure…leadership in national security space."[15]

Based on number of systems in operation and annual budget allocation, some might be led to believe that the Air Force is in charge of national security space. However, as these reports make clear, that is simply not the case.

Knowing that the lack of a clear leader or boss agency in national security space is the root cause of many of the issues currently present, there have been many proposals and attempts to rectify this issue. For example, one proposed solution in 1995 from the Center for Naval Analyses recommended forming an independent U.S. space service.[16] As is evident from today's situation, that recommendation was not implemented.

Let's review another, more detailed example. As a result of the Space Launch Vehicles Broad Area Review (BAR),[17] released in 1999 after examining several launch vehicle anomalies and failures in the previous

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[12] National Security and International Affairs Division. (1994). Report to the Chairman, Subcommittee on Defense, Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives. Washington: United States General Accounting Office.
[13] Commission to Assess US National Security Space Management and Organization, aka Rumsfeld Space Commission, (11 January 2001). Report of the Commission.
[14] Institute for Defense Analyses, aka Allard Commission. (July 2008). Leadership, Management, and Organization for National Security Space: Report to Congress of the Independent Assessment Panel on the Organization and Managmenet of National Security Space.
[15] U.S. Government Accountability Office. (27 July 2016). Defense Space Acquisitions: Too Early to Determine if Recent Changes Will Resolve Persistent Fragmentation in Management and Oversight. Government Accountability Office: Washington.
[16] Federici, G.A., Wald, B., et al. (May 1995). Commission on Roles and Missions of the Armed Forces: Space Activities. Center for Naval Analyses: Alexandria.
[17] Space Launch Broad Area Review Panel. (1 November 1999). Space Launch Vehicles Broad Area Review Report. Washington: Air Force Space Command and the National Reconnaissance Office.

months, the Secretary of the Air Force (SECAF) was designated the DoD Executive Agent for Space.[18] This was intended to provide unity of effort and centralized direction and control in national security space.[19] There was now one boss for space, at least in the DoD. That role, however, was promptly delegated to an undersecretary, leading experts in the field to conclude that the Air Force did not want to fulfil the leadership role. This action can be considered one of the direct ancestors to the congressional criticism from lawmakers today who have "not been shy about taking shots at the Air Force for doing a bad job managing space."[20]

Proposing an independent U.S. space service and designating the Air Force as Executive Agent for space are just two of the numerous good faith efforts that have been undertaken over the past decades to solve the chronic 'who's the boss?' issue that afflicts U.S. national security space.

A single Space Force (or Space Corps,[21] or Space Defense Force,[22] or Space Department,[23] all of which have been proposed in recent history) containing all the research, development, acquisition, and operations missions encompassed in the realm of national security space (as opposed to the other two realms: civil space and commercial space) would, in the view of the author, solve the problem. The Secretary/Commander of the organization would be the clear, undisputed 'boss' of national security space.

IV.B. Why a Space Force: Organizational Benefits

Consolidating national security space's sprawling bureaucracy into one body (boss) could clarify accountability, accelerate decision-making,

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[18] Department of Defense. (3 June 2003). DoD Directive 5101.2, DoD Executive Agent for Space. Washington: Department of Defense.
[19] Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. (22 October 2018). Joint Publication 3-0: Joint Operations. Washington: Joint Chiefs of Staff.
[20] Erwin, Sandra. (20 March 2019). DT Thompson Angered by Criticism of Air Force Stewardship of Space. ref: Space News: https://spacenews.com.
[21] Green, David (2019 (2017)). Stars Are Aligning for New Military Service Focused on Space [recorded by: National Public Radio]. Washington, D.C, USA.
[22] Brookings Institution. (2019). Assessing Space Security: Threat and Response. Washington: Brookings Institution.
[23] Seligman, Lara. (23 January 2018). Forget Space Corps--A Space Department Is on the Table. Aviation Week: Aerospace Daily & Defense Report.

rationalize the procurement process, improve recruitment, and ease pressure on the broader Air Force.[24]

IV.B.1. Why a Space Force: Organizational Benefits: Acquisitions

First, let's go over the potential benefits of a new, consolidated organization in the area of acquisition. The DoD space acquisition process is painfully slow and expensive, and has been for quite a while. The result is that we are constantly launching into orbit satellites built with yesterday's technology at tomorrow's price.

The following three examples called out in a 2011 GAO report[25] show initial and current (FY2011) cost estimates and schedule delays. You will find the trend to be true, with vanishingly few exceptions, regardless of the specific year or name of the program: over budget and behind schedule (which leads to technological obsolescence). That recurring result is the exact opposite of what acquisition professionals work for in the Holy Trinity of procurement excellence: cost, schedule, and performance.

SBIRS High (missile early warning system)
1996 initial program cost: $4.52 billion
2011 estimated program cost: $18.05 billion
Schedule delay as of 2011: 107 months
- In the 15 years of the program at that time, it was nearly 9 years behind schedule and almost $14 billion over budget.

WGS (satellite communications system)
2000 initial program cost: $1.18 billion
2011 estimated program cost: $3.62 billion
Schedule delay as of 2011: 44 months
- In the 11 years of the program at that time, it was approximately 4 years behind schedule, and the costs had more than tripled.

[24] Editorial Board. (21 June 2018). Trump's 'Space Force' Is No Joke. It Might Even Work. ref: Bloomberg: www.bloomberg.com.
[25] U.S. Government Accountability Office. (11 May 2011). Space Acquisitions: DOD Delivering New Generations of Satellites, but Space System Acquisition Challenges Remain. Government Accountability Office: Washington.

AEHF (satellite communications system)
2001 initial program cost: $6.28 billion
2011 estimated program cost: $13.88 billion
Schedule delay as of 2011: 68 months
- In the 10 years of the program at that time, it was almost 6 years behind schedule and the costs had jumped into double digit billions of dollars.

There is clearly room for improvement in acquisition processes. Lower costs provide more funds for other programs (or lower budgets).[26] Better on-time delivery prevents cost increases, both on the primary program and the alternate programs that must be extended past their planned lifespan in order to avoid a capability gap, and provides the capability when it's scheduled. Getting the capability on orbit on time avoids the technology gap that materializes with late delivery, so the best and the newest can be provided for users rather than a 5-year or 10-year old set of technology.

The Space Development Agency (SDA) established by then Acting Defense Secretary Patrick Shanahan on 12 March 2019 was the latest in a long line of strenuous efforts aimed at improving cost, schedule and performance in space acquisition. However, according to some specialists, this effort also appears doomed for failure. A Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) expert at a July 2019 panel asked, "Why is it not being organized under the Space Force?" He concluded that, "Creating an SDA off on the side further fragments things and mis-aligns us."[27]

Like this recent example, well intentioned acquisition reform efforts have ultimately failed to accomplish any (let alone all) of the big three procurement goals - reduce costs, reduce timelines, and provide better performance. Putting all the acquisition authorities and responsibilities under one leader could be the answer to acquisition issues that have plagued national security space for so long.

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[26] United States General Accounting Office. (February 1997). Better Use of Limited DOD Acquisition Funding Would Reduce Costs. Washington: United States General Accounting Office.
[27] Erwin, Sandra. (31 July 2019). Analysts: 'Space Defense Force' Would Be a Better Name, Space Development Agency Will Not Survive. ref: Space News: https://spacenews.com.

IV.B.2. Why a Space Force: Organizational Benefits: Personnel

While the machinery and money part of space is important, all the budget in the world being used in a way that provides low-cost, quick, state-of-the-art capabilities won't do a lick of good without competent personnel. "It's not about the money. It's about the people you have [and] how you're led."[28] A brief review of the current personnel situation - the development and utilization of a space cadre - in each of the services is in order to understand the benefits of a Space Force in this area.

For the Air Force, let's turn to U.S. Representatives Mike Rogers (R-Ala) and Jim Cooper (D-Tenn), the ranking members of their respective parties on the House Armed Services Strategic Forces committee who have been the primary proponents of a Space Corps for several years. Rep. Rogers commented on the state of Air Force space personnel development as follows. "Space professionals are not managed in a holistic manner within the Air Force. There is no formal Air Force space career field outside of space operations (13S) and a real cultural problem where rated pilots are prioritized and promoted above space professionals. Only two hours in each of the year-long Air Command and Staff College area (sic) [is] dedicated to space, and we can't fill senior billets at [the] Air Force Space and Missiles Systems Center. Protecting, prioritizing and promoting space professionals is best done within a Space Corps."[29] In addition to the Space Operations (13S) career field, the Air Force also has Astronaut (13A), Multi-Domain Command & Control Officer (13O), and an Astronautical specialty shredout (i.e. subcategory) in the Developmental Engineer (62E#B) career field that should be counted as space-related, if not full time/full-career, career fields.[30]

The Army is the largest user of space-based assets in the DoD, and nearly every piece of equipment Soldiers use, such as GPS devices and cell phones, are space enabled.[31] The core of the service's space cadre is the

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[28] Jobs, Steve. (1999). Digital 50. TIME.
[29] Houck, Caroline. (23 August 2017). The Army's Space Force Has Doubled in Six Years, and Demand Is Still Going Up. ref: Defense One: www.defenseone.com.
[30] HQ AFPC/DP3DW. (30 April 2018). Air Force Officer Classification Directory (AFOCD). Joint Base San Antonio-Randolph: Air Force Personnel Center.
[31] Brading, Thomas. (30 July 2019). Army Looks at Cadets to Bolder Army Space Force. ref: Army News Service: www.army.mil.

approximately 300-person Functional Area 40 (FA40) Space Operations Officer career field. While there are multiple ways to enter, typically at the four year mark, an officer can apply for a branch transfer into the Army space force.[32]

The Navy has placed emphasis on space-based capabilities as a key enabler of naval operations since 1959 and remains critically reliant on them today. But the service has not developed an educated, experienced, and qualified professional space cadre.[33] The service flags individuals with space experience within each of the communities, but leaves officers in their original communities, to form a Space Cadre Cross-Designator community,[34] which is another way to say there is no dedicated space career field.

The Marine Corps space cadre includes dedicated Space Operations Officers (13 billets) and Space Operations Staff Officers (50 billets). The Space Operations Officers focus on Marine Corps participation in national space processes while Staff Officers focus on operational commands and support to the warfighter.[35]

The services' space cadres typically started out as an ad hoc group of scientists, engineers, and operators or support personnel in space-related career fields, such as communications or missiles. Those groups were formalized when, based on the 2001 Rumsfeld Space Commission, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld implemented 10 of the 13 DoD recommendations, including direction for all services to build a cadre of space professionals.[36]

To summarize, there are no space-only career fields in the Navy. The Army, Air Force, and Marines have operator-oriented career fields, none of

[32] U.S. Army Space and Missile Defene Command. (2010). The Army Space Cadre: Space Professionals (FA40) and Space Enablers. Redstone Arsenal: U.S. Army Space and Missile Defene Command.
[33] Faulkenberry, Matthew E. (June 2014). Critical Review of the Navy Space Cadre. Monterey: Naval Postgraduate School.
[34] Naval Network Warfare Command. (2013). Naval Space Handbook. Virginia Beach: Naval Network Warfare Command, 2.
[35] Ibid., pp. 62-64.
[36] Department of Defense. (3 June 2003). DoD Directive 5101.2, DoD Executive Agent for Space. Washington: Department of Defense.

which are organizationally structured to lead to upper level leadership positions in the respective services.

The Air Force has the most significant space cadre, with the Space Operator (13S) career field making up the bulk of it. Would it be reasonable to expect an Airman in one career field to demonstrate proficiency at flying F-15 fighter jets, KC-46 tankers the size of commercial passenger jets, and H-60 helicopters? Of course, the answer is no, and thankfully, an "Air Operator" career field does not actually exist.[37] However, that's what the Air Force expects of the Space Operations career field, for an Airman to be proficient in acquiring WGS communications satellites, launching Delta IV Heavy rockets, and operating PAVE PAWS radars for SSA. It's easy to see that as a result, Space Operators naturally become a jack of all trades, master of none. At the same time, the broad-but-shallow focus on acquisitions and operations necessarily leads to a lack of strategic thinkers, doctrine development, and all the 1,000-pound-brain issues that a full force would be able to work toward by developing its personnel properly.

In a Space Force we can expect to see the intentional development of personnel to cultivate depth and breadth of experience, and the ability to specialize or rise in the leadership hierarchy at appropriate points in a career for a better mix of masters of the trade along with the do-it-all jacks.

IV.C. Why a Space Force: National Interests

Organizational benefits leading to improvements in cost, schedule, and performance of space acquisitions and a more capable cadre of space professionals are, by themselves, possibly enough reason for a major organizational change. After all, everyone loves saving money and having better people. However, there is another, even more compelling reason to stand up the Space Force: the massive increase in U.S. national interests in space.

Returning to President Kennedy's analogy, space is no different than so many other frontiers that were initially the purview of governments. Those governments then intentionally paved the way for the inevitable takeover of the frontier by subsequent entrepreneurs who were poised to

[37] U.S. Air Force. (19 August 2019). Explore Careers and Find Your Purpose. ref: Air Force Careers: www.airforce.com/careers/

take advantage of the new opportunities.[38] Thus it is with space. Although manmade satellites have been orbiting Earth since 1957, until recently they mostly had two characteristics that made them uninteresting to the public: they were government owned, and they were unmanned.

IV.C.1. Why a Space Force: National Interests: Money

Think of a typical reaction to seeing graffiti on a pillar supporting an overhead highway. It is probably somewhat saddening, maybe cause for a negative commentary on the neighborhood and some vague complaints about punks these days. Compare that to coming home and seeing the same graffiti on your own house. The likely heated reaction would be personal and emotional. “How could this happen to me?!?” “Call the cops!” “We need to do something about this menace to our peace and property!”

As the above example attempted to illustrate, the interest in private assets in space is exponentially higher than public assets. If a military communications satellite has a problem, regardless of the cause, not many people outside of the national security space community show much interest. But if people can’t watch their favorite TV show because something happened with the commercial satellite that broadcasts it, that’s a problem that draws attention from a wide spectrum of power brokers.[39]

Private activity in space has increased tremendously in recent years. To get a feel for the scale of the increase in commercial activity in space, let’s look at the global commercial revenue in the space industry at four interesting points in time.

[38] Drukier, Cindy. (17 July 2015). Once the Domain of States, Private Sector Now Dominates 76 Percent of Space Economy. ref: The Epoch Times: www.theepochtimes.com.

[39] James, Meg. (19 July 2019). CBS Stations Blacked Out for DirecTV Customers after Deal with AT&T Fails. Los Angeles Times. ref: Los Angeles Times: www.latimes.com.

1957: $0

2001: $61 billion[40]

2017: $383.5 billion[41]

2040: $3,000 billion or $3 trillion (forecast)[42]

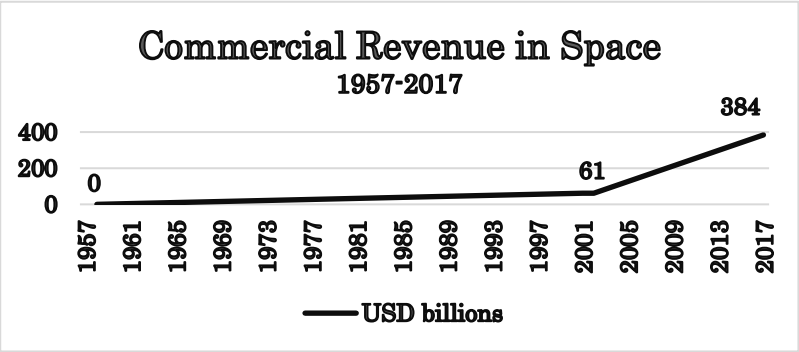


Chart 1

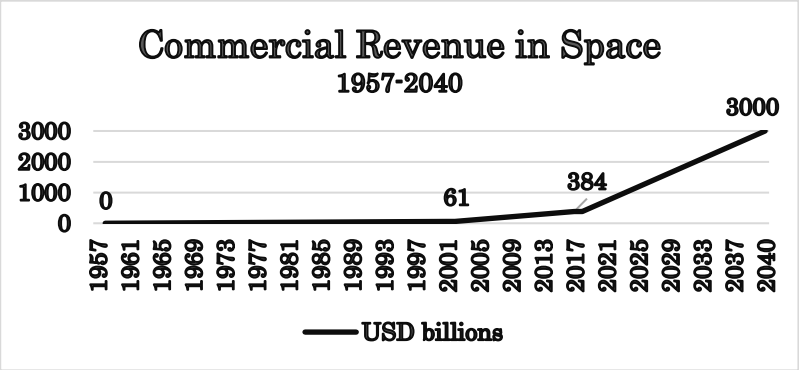


Chart 2

Created by the author based on Federal Aviation Administration. (2012). NextGen Implementaiton Plan. Washington: U.S. Department of Transportation;
The Space Report 2018. (19 July 2018), Space Foundation Report Reveals Global Space Economy at $383.5 Billion in 2017. Colorado Springs: The Space Foundation; Higginbotham, Brian. (11 October 2018), The Space Economy: An Industry Takes Off. Washington: U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Above the Fold.

[40] Federal Aviation Administration. (2012). NextGen Implementaiton Plan. Washington: U.S. Department of Transportation.

[41] The Space Report 2018. (19 July 2018). Space Foundation Report Reveals Global Space Economy at $383.5 Billion in 2017. Colorado Springs: The Space Foundation.

[42] Higginbotham, Brian. (11 October 2018). The Space Economy: An Industry Takes Off. Washington: U.S. Chamber of Commerce, Above the Fold.

We can see a very slow increase in the first approximately 50 years from 1957 to 2001, followed by a huge 529% increase in the next roughly 15 years from 2001 to 2017 (see Chart 1). If the projections of major US financial institutions are to be believed, current activity will increase by an order of magnitude in the next 25-year period to 2040 (see Chart 2). Note that previous forecasts have generally underestimated the growth of commercial activity in space. For example in 2004 a growth forecast projected $112 billion by 2030 under fair weather growth conditions.[43] The actual global figure was already more than triple that in 2017.

In case the above is not enough to make the point that commercial space activities are growing rapidly, consider that in 1957 government activity comprised 100% of the space economy. Although government space budgets have been increasing, as of 2017 the share of the overall space economy made up by direct government funding had fallen to 24%.[44]

A further indicator is the striking pace at which total private investment in space is growing. Private investment, as defined by one widely accepted analysis, includes private equity, venture capital, acquisitions, prizes, grants, and public offerings. From 2000 to 2005, the industry took in about $1.1 billion in private investment. In the five-year period from 2012 to 2017, that number was more than $10.2 billion.[45] The 10-fold increase in private investment reflects the new opportunities in the commercial space sector and new startup ventures that did not exist a little over a decade ago.

IV.C.2. Why a Space Force: National Interests: People

Private dollars are not the only thing that makes space interesting to the general public. The other thing that draws people's interest is *people* in space. Machines working in space can be tremendously profitable and

[43] Whealan-George, Kelly. (October 2013). The Projected U.S. Economic Impacts of the Space Industry 2030. College of Arts & Sciences. Prescott: Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University.
[44] Sanchez, Christopher. (accessed 19 August 2019). The Space Economy. ref: Wandering Alpha: https://wanderingalpha.com.
[45] Bryce Space and Technology. (2018). Start-Up Space: Update on Investment in Commercial Space Ventures. Alexandria: Bryce Space and Technology, Formerly Tauri Group Space and Technology.

useful, even indispensable, but they can't hold a candle to the interest in people in space.

By the time Galileo discovered new worlds in our solar system, European explorers were finding new worlds on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. With hundreds of ships and thousands of explorers, colonists, soldiers, and adventurers making the journey to the New World, it is no surprise to see stories, regardless of their unrealistic scientific foundations, start to emerge about human space travel. In 1622, for example, Charles Sorel wrote of "great Ensigns" and "all manner of structures" that might carry people to the Moon.[46] Francis Godwin published *The Man in the Moone* in 1638 in which the hero traveled back and forth between Earth and the Moon by a flock of geese.[47] Cyrano de Bergerac provided commentary on voyages to space by rockets, possibly the first to come up with the idea, in his 1657 *Comic History*.[48]

In more modern America, Buck Rogers and Flash Gordon were space traveling adventurers popular in the 1930s and 1940s. In the 1950s there more than 300 toys being sold that were inspired by popular space shows on television such as Space Patrol, Captain Video, Tom Corbett, and Rocky Jones.[49] Even Belgium was in on the game with Tintin traveling through space to be part of humanity's first manned mission to the Moon.[50]

Human space flight launched from the pages of fiction and imagination to reality when Yuri Gagarin journeyed into outer space on 12 April 1961.[51] Then, on 20 July 1969,[52] an estimated 20% of the world's 3.6 billion people watched[53] Neil Armstrong step off the ladder of his

[46] Miller, Ron. (1993). The Dream Machines. Malabar: Krieger Publishing Co., p. 9.
[47] Ibid., p. 11.
[48] Ibid., pp. 12-14.
[49] Tumbusch, T.N. (1990). Space Adventure. Radnor: Wallace-Homestead Book Co.
[50] Herge. (30 March 1950 - 29 December 1953). Destination Moon and Explorers on the Moon. Tintin Magazine.
[51] Siddiqi, Asif A. (2000). Challenge to Apollo: The Soviet Union and the Space Race, 1945-1974. Washington: NASA.
[52] Harland, David. (1999). Exploring the Moon: The Apollo Expiditions. London, New York: Springer.
[53] NASA. (Archived 17 April 2015). Apollo 11 Mission Overview. Washington: NASA.

spacecraft and set foot on the surface of the Moon in what was truly “one small step for man, one giant leap for mankind.”[54]

Since then, popular culture has continued to focus on humans in space. Using movies as a proxy for pop culture, there have been several blockbusters in the U.S. that are based on historical events in space. The Right Stuff (1983, $22M[55]) looks at the early space program.[56] Apollo 13 (1995, $355M) dramatizes the aborted, near-fatal crewed mission to the Moon’s surface.[57] Hidden Figures (2016, $236M) tells the story of the early space program through the eyes of female African-Americans.[58] First Man (2018, $106M) provides a biography of the famously private Neil Armstrong.[59]

Sticking with only movie examples, fictional pop culture productions about space have also continued to feature people. Star Wars (1977, $776M) depicts a typical farm kid who was swept up into a grand, interstellar conflict between good and evil (and generated sequels and offshoots that are still box office hits today).[60] Star Trek: The Motion Picture (1979, $82M) was the first of several movies based on the television series that followed a daring captain and his crew on their adventures travelling through space to discover new worlds.[61] Armageddon (1998, $554M) had NASA recruiting a group of misfits for a mission in space to save the world from the impact of a giant asteroid.[62] Gravity (2013, $723M) depicts two astronauts working to get back to Earth after an accident leaves them stranded in space.[63]

While neither of the above film lists are by any means comprehensive, there is a point to listing them and nudging the reader to think of their

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[54] Jones, Eric M. (1969). One Small Step, time 109:25:23. Apollo 11 Surface Journal. Washington: NASA.
[55] Cumulative Worldwide Gross Box Office numbers for the eight films listed are sourced from the IMDb database at www.imdb.com.
[56] Kaufman, Philip (director). (1983). Warner Bros. Pictures. The Right Stuff [film].
[57] Howard, Ron (director). (1995). Universal Pictures. Apollo 13 [film].
[58] Melfi, Theodore (director). (2016). Fox 2000 Pictures. Hidden Figures [film].
[59] Chazelle, Damien (director). (2018). Universal Pictures. First Man [film].
[60] Lucas, George (director). (1977). Twentieth Century Fox. Star Wars [film].
[61] Wise, Robert (director). (1979). Paramount Pictures. Star Trek; The Motion Picture [film].
[62] Bay, Michael (director). (1998). Touchstone Pictures. Armageddon [film].
[63] Cuaron, Alfonso (director). (2013). Warner Bros. Pictures. Gravity [film].

own examples of space movies. Something glaring is missing from these lists, and it would be largely missing from almost any other similar list in almost any pop culture medium: unmanned spacecraft. There is no "The Little Weather Satellite That Could" or "First Signal: The GPS Story" or other such children's books, movies, television shows, etc. that have achieved wide popular success. Machines in space are just plain not as interesting as people in space.

Allow me to share a personal example that illustrates this point. I was at Cape Canaveral Air Force Station, Florida for a GPS launch in July 2011. The last flight of the Space Shuttle had launched shortly before and was scheduled to return shortly after our Air Force satellite launch. There was a huge contingent of media and general public in the area for the last NASA Space Shuttle mission.

The Air Force launch crew typically performed a dry run about two days prior to a satellite launch, so I was in my Cocoa Beach hotel, changed into my flight suit, ready to go to the base and smooth out any final bugs during the dry run. The elevator stopped on my way down to the lobby, and a woman with curly hair and her, I guessed, 11-year old son got in the elevator. As soon as the woman saw me, she literally lost her ability to speak. "A-a-a-a-a, Are… (look nervously at son) Are you... No, it couldn't be… (scream) Are you an…" It was pretty easy to see what she was trying to ask, so I offered, "I am an Astronautical Developmental Engineer." Based on her reaction, I'm sure all she heard was "ASTRONAUT!" She blubbered and gushed the rest of the trip down in the elevator and into the lobby and finally asked if I'd take a picture with her son. I obliged with a nice thumbs-up pose and told him, "Stay in school. Don't do drugs." I then got in the car, headed to the base for the practice launch, and never saw them again.

That woman had driven from New Jersey to Florida with her son just to see the Space Shuttle, or anything remotely related to it (like, I suppose, an astronaut who was not in space on the mission but still wandering around the Cape Canaveral area for some reason). Although my Air Force GPS satellite was much more relevant to and useful in her daily life than the last Shuttle mission, she was not there for the GPS launch. She was there for the people going into space.

If government-operated scientific, Navy, and Coast Guard ships are interesting, how much more interesting to the general public are private ships on the seas and oceans - for the operators, the buyers and sellers of cargo on huge container vessels and small boats, the passengers on cruise ships and ferries, leisure and competitive sail boat captains and crew, commercial fishermen, offshore drillers, and so forth? As the space equivalents of these activities increase in popularity, so does public interest in them.

On 21 June 2004, just months after the one-hundredth anniversary of the Wright Brothers' first powered flight, Scaled Composites sent Mike Melvill to space in SpaceShipOne, marking the world's first manned private spaceflight.[64] They successfully repeated the feat twice later that year to win the Ansari X Prize, a competition that offered $10 million to the first non-governmental organization to launch a manned reusable spacecraft into space twice within two weeks.[65]

Since then, several companies have started or planned to start a commercial space tourism service. For example, as of this writing, Virgin Galactic has enabled five people, including the first woman, to earn commercial astronaut wings with successful flights to space in December 2018 and February 2019.[66] Flights beyond Earth orbit include personal spaceflights around the Moon.[67] A commercial voyage around the Moon is slated for 2023 and will feature Japanese entrepreneur Yusaku Maezawa, founder of online fashion retailer Zozotown.[68]

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[64] Belfiore, Michael. (2007). Rocketeers: How a Visionary Band of Business Leaders, Engineers, and Pilots is Boldly Privatizing Space. New York: Smithsonian Books.
[65] BBC News. (7 October 2005). SpaceShipOne Rockets to Success. ref: BBC News: news.bbc.co.uk.
[66] Bartels, Meghan. (22 February 2019). Virgin Galacic Reaches Space Again, Flies Test Passenger for 1st Time. ref: Space.com: www.space.com.
[67] Clark, Sephen. (27 February 2017). SpaceX to Send Two Private Citizens around the Moon and Back. ref: Spaceflight Now: www.spaceflightnow.com.
[68] Quackenbush, Casey. (18 September 2018). SpaceX Introduces Japanese Billionaire as First Private Passenger to Fly Around the Moon. ref: TIME: https://time.com.

Two private orbital habitat prototypes are currently in Earth orbit,[69] with larger and more distant (i.e. Mars) versions planned to follow.[70] Solar sailing, with “enormous” potential for cargo and manned missions,[71] has moved from pipe dream to reality.[72] One list of companies with plans for various tourist, cargo delivery, or passenger flight in/through space includes Virgin Galactic, Space Adventures, XCOR Aerospace, RocketShip Tours, ARCASPACE, PlanetSpace-Canadian Arrow, British Starchaser Industries, and SpaceX.[73]

This is only one non-comprehensive list, but it does give a flavor of some of the private companies currently in various phases of planning, development, or operations of private spaceflight. Some of these and other commercial enterprises will surely fail, but as the number of participants, and the success rate of their endeavors, keeps growing, it is reasonable to believe that some of these companies will succeed in offering a financially viable product in the near future.

This discussion of the current generation of commercial ventures doesn’t even include private-public partnership examples that have already had success in space tourism. For example, between 2001 and 2009 seven private citizens (American, South African, British, and Canadian) made self-funded trips to the International Space Station (ISS).[74] NASA has announced that the ISS will be open to private astronauts again, with the first mission as early as 2020.[75]

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[69] Speed, Richard. (15 May 2019). NASA Wheels Out Habitation Prototypes while SpaceX Encounters Problems with Parachutes. ref: The Register: www.theregister.co.uk.

[70] Clifford, Catherine. (19 September 2018). Look Inside a Deep Space Habitat for NASA to Take Astronauts to Mars. ref: CNBC: www.cnbc.com.

[71] Wright, Jerome. (1992). Space Sailing. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers.

[72] Gohd, Chelsea. (2 August 2019). Solar Sail Success! LightSail 2 is Officially Soaring on Sunlight: Bill Nye Thinks It's "Romantic.". ref: Space.com: www.space.com.

[73] World Heritage Encyclopedia. (2019). List of Private Spaceflight Companies. ref: World Heritage Encyclopedia: www.worldlibrary.org.

[74] Solovyov, Dmitry. (4 March 2010). Russia Halts Space Tours as U.S. Retires Shuttle. ref: Reuters: www.reuters.com.

[75] NASA Press Release 19-044. (7 June 2019). NASA Opens International Space Station to New Commercial Opportunities, Private Astronauts. ref: NASA: www.nasa.gov.

As alluded to in section IV.B.2. Why a Space Force: Organizational Benefits: Personnel, current DoD Joint Doctrine, the guidance that governs activities and performance of joint operations, does not address personnel recovery in space. Joint Publication 3-14 Space Operations only mentions personnel from the perspective of operators or users of space assets.[76] There is no current doctrine on how to respond to an incident or disaster in commercial manned space activities.

More simply, despite noteworthy growth in manned space activity, there is no plan for responding to natural or man-made (including nefarious actors) trouble in space. To leave this area of significant national interest, people in space, completely without protection is unconscionable.

IV.C.3. Why a Space Force: National Interests: Strategic Considerations

Besides the rapidly increasing activity in commercial space, both in dollars and in people, there is a further national interest in space: strategic considerations. Let's start with an example from the past.

When Neil Armstrong and Buzz Aldrin walked on the moon 50 years ago, it represented more than just the satisfaction of seeing a dream-come-true, real, live Flash Gordon with your own eyes. Some have made the argument that it had the more significant effect of presaging victory in the Cold War. The Soviet launch of Sputnik in 1957 caused panic in America. The thinking went that, if communism could blast ahead of Western democracies in futuristic science, then maybe the future really did belong to the Soviets. America's successful mission to the moon 12 years later demonstrated that we were far ahead of the USSR. The result was both President Reagan's confidence and the Soviets' fear that American scientists really could build the Star Wars program. No moon landing, no fall of the Berlin Wall.[77]

The far reaching consequences of our actions (or inaction) today is a point that need not be belabored. Let's look at two strategic considerations

[76] Joint Publication 3-14. (10 April 2018). Space Operations. Washington: Joint Chiefs of Staff.
[77] Bottum, Joseph. (13 July 2019). The Moon Is a Harsh Mistress. ref: The Washington Free Beacon: https://freebeacon.com.

that will become reality in the near to medium term: The Moon and rare earth elements.

IV.C.3.a. Why a Space Force: National Interests: Strategic Considerations: The Moon

The Outer Space Treaty, signed in 1967, is a fairly simple document (around 2,200 words) that does not allow a country to "own" territory in space, forbids the creation of military bases on the moon and other celestial bodies, and prohibits the placement of weapons of mass destruction in space. [78] That basic framework, however, leaves many questions unanswered regarding how to operate in space.

Which countries will take the lead and which will follow? What kinds of military equipment and activities are permitted? Who will set the rules and mediate disputes? The answer may simply lie in first-mover advantage, and that whoever reaches these untapped frontiers first will set the rules for decades, generations, and even centuries to come - and possibly even carry out a resource grab of galactic proportions.[79]

The moon raises not just questions of authority, or even who-can-get-humans-back-there-first prestige contests with China. The real key is who occupies the prime areas and who controls the water.

When Buzz Aldrin landed at Tranquility Base, he describes his surroundings as "magnificent desolation."[80] After gaining the strategic advantage from being the first to land on the moon, there wasn't much more U.S. interest in the rocks and dust, the desolation, on that body for many years.

However, data from a U.S. military spacecraft, launched on a Titan II from Vandenberg Air Force Base, California in 1994, provided observations that NASA suggested revealed enough water in polar craters

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[78] Bureau of Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance. (Signed 27 January 1967, Entered into force 10 October 1967). Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies. Washington, London, Moscow: U.S. Department of State.

[79] Toosi, Nahal. (13 June 2019). The New Moon Race: Who Owns the Moon? ref: Politico: www.politico.com.

[80] Aldrin, Buzz, Abraham, Ken. (2010). Magnificent Desolation: The Long Journey Home from the Moon. New York: Three Rivers Press.

of the Moon to support a human colony and a rocket fueling station.[81] This led to serious efforts to verify the existence of water on the Moon. An Indian spacecraft in 2008 hosted a U.S. sensor designed by the Naval Air Warfare Center to detect the presence of solid ice on the Moon. NASA subsequently confirmed the presence of ice at the Moon's poles, particularly abundant at the South Pole,[82] and estimates there could be at least 1.3 trillion pounds of "water ice" just at the North Pole (much more, obviously, at the South Pole).[83]

The presence of significant quantities of water on the Moon changes it from useless "desolation" to incredibly valuable "fuel station." The components of water are hydrogen, which is a fuel, and oxygen, which can be combined with fuel to burn and produce thrust for a rocket. The U.S. Delta IV Heavy[84] and Japan's H-IIA[85] are examples of current rockets that use hydrogen as fuel.

Fuel required to climb out of earth's gravity is very heavy. For example, on its mission to the Moon, Apollo-11 weighed just under 6.5 million pounds at launch, 6 million of which was its fuel and propellant.[86] The fuel requirement restricts the size of payloads (satellites, people, etc.) and increases costs for launches into space.

However, if ice at the Moon's poles can be converted into fuel, it makes travel between the Moon and a space station practical, as well as missions to Mars, the mining of near-earth asteroids (more on this in the next section), and other space-based activities.

The large ice deposits on the South Pole of the Moon are in deep craters that are not exposed to the sun. In order to extract the ice and

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81 Williams, David R. (10 December 2012). Ice on the Moon: A Summary of Clementine and Lunar Prospector Results. ref: NASA Goddard Space Flight Center: https://nssdc.gsfc.nasa.gov.
82 Tavares, Frank. (21 Aug 2018). Ice Confirmed at the Moon's Poles. ref: NASA: www.nasa.gov.
83 Crusan, Jason. (2 March 2010). NASA Radar Finds Ice Deposits at Moon's North Pole. ref: NASA: www.nasa.gov.
84 ULA. (accessed 19 August 2019). Delta IV. ref: United Launch Alliance: www.ulalaunch.com.
85 JAXA. (2003). About H-IIA Launch Vehicle. ref: Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency: https://global.jaxa.jp.
86 Nelson, Craig. (2009). Rocket Men: The Epic Story of the First Men on the Moon. New York: Viking Penguin.

convert it into fuel, processing plants would likely need to be erected on crater tops exposed to the sun. The three crater top areas that fit the criteria do not encompass a wide area, approximately a few football fields,[87] which makes them possibly the most strategic points on the Moon.

While the Outer Space Treaty prohibits territorial ownership, U.S. missions to the Moon may have planted the seeds of policy. Citing U.S. and international law, including the Outer Space Treaty, NASA laid out 1 to 3 kilometer (0.62 to 1.2 mile) buffer zones around U.S. government "hardware and other property on the surface of the moon."[88] This is a de facto, if unintentional, precursor to U.S. policy and the operational space doctrine of "presence equals possession." All that may be needed in the future is to declare a safety zone around an area of operation to render the territorial ownership ban effectively meaningless - the first one to reach an area can become the exclusive operator in the area.

China landed a probe on the far side of the Moon in January 2019. While that mission's operational area, worthless from a strategic perspective, can now be assumed to effectively be under Chinese control, the mission also demonstrated China's ability to perform technically challenging space operations,[89] indicating it is also capable of South Pole missions.

The successful 1960s lunar competition with the USSR was about landing first. The current competition with China, the winner of which is by no means guaranteed, is about position and resources.[90] Ceding resources on the moon, and all the missions that they can enable, to administration by other, non-benevolent countries is clearly not in U.S. national interests.

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[87] Robinson, Mark. (1 February 2018). On the Rim! ref: Arizona State University: http://lroc.sese.asu.edu.
[88] NASA. (20 July 2011). NASA's Recommendations to Space-Faring Entities: How to Protect and Preserve the Historic and Scientific Value of U.S. Government Lunar Artifacts. Washington: National Aeronautical and Space Administration.
[89] Schwartz, Matthew S. (3 January 2019). China Becomes First Country to Land on Far Side of Moon, State Media Announce. ref: NPR: www.npr.org.
[90] Foster, Harry. (27 January 2019). Why American Needs a Presence on the Moon. The National Interest.

IV.C.3.b. Why a Space Force: National Interests: Strategic Considerations: Rare Earth Elements

On 13 June 2010 the Japanese spacecraft Hayabusa returned to Earth with samples collected from the near-Earth asteroid Itokawa.[91] This represented the proof of concept for asteroid mining missions. Subsequently, the U.S. established a legal framework that protects Americans' rights to space resources recovered from celestial bodies with the passage of the SPACE Act in 2015.[92]

Without going into a discussion on the merits of projections for profit to be found in an industry in which a single asteroid could be valued at $700 quintillion[93] and "will" produce the world's first trillionaire,[94] and skipping past a review of the infrastructure required on the Moon and elsewhere to make the industry viable, let us consider the strategic possibilities of off-Earth mining.

Rare metals have countless applications on Earth: batteries, cell phones, military equipment, fluorescent lights, etc. Demand has skyrocketed in the last two decades, but more than 80 percent of U.S. rare earths are imported from China.[95] China knows they are the new Saudi Arabia - they have used rare earths as a weapon in the past,[96] and they are prepared to do so again.[97]

Just as relying on Russian rocket engines to propel U.S. national security space payloads into orbit, relying on a Chinese supply of rare

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91 JAXA. (16 November 2010). Identification of Origin of Particles Brought Back by Haybusa. ref: Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency: https://global.jaxa.jp.

92 McCarthy, Kevin (R-CA-23). (2015). Public Law No: 114-90 Spurring Private Aerospace Competitiveness and Entrepreneurship Acto of 2015. 114th Congress (Title IV Sec. 402). Washington: U.S. Code.

93 Peixe, Joao. (25 June 2019). The Golden Asteroid That Could Make Everyone on Earth a Billionaire. ref: OilPrice.com: https://oilprice.com.

94 Kramer, Katie. (3 May 2015). Neil deGrasse Tyson Says Space Ventures Will Spawn First Trillionaire. ref: NBC News: www.nbcnews.com.

95 Borzykowski, Bryan. (10 July 2019). Wyoming May Hold the Key to the Rare Earth Minerals Trade War with China. ref: CNBC: www.cnbc.com.

96 Krugman, Paul. (10 October 2010). Rare and Foolish. ref: The New York Times: www.nytimes.com.

97 Rogers, Jason; Stringer, David; Ritchie, Martin. (29 May 2019). China Gears Up to Weaponize Rare Earths Dominance in Trade War. ref: Bloomberg: www.bloomberg.com.

earths, which are “essential to the national defense”[98] is not a sustainable position.

Mining rare earths from the moon and asteroids would be “tremendously valuable on Earth.”[99] Untethering the U.S. supply of rare earth metals and minerals from China and becoming self-reliant would provide U.S. leaders with the same strategic freedom of action that U.S. oil production independence has provided with regard to OPEC.

IV.C.4. Why a Space Force: National Interests: Threat

Avicenna (possibly quoting Aristotle) said, “Beyond the circle of the moon there is no evil.”[100] Put differently, the laws of physics govern space, and they are agnostic to the righteous desires or evil intent of man. This was, of course, millennia before people on the ground “slipped the surly bonds of Earth And danced the skies…, trod The high untrespassed sanctity of space…, and touched the face of God.”[101]

From the advent of human activity in a domain - from Cain’s jealous murder of Abel on the land,[102] to Blackbeard the pirate on the sea,[103] to the 1970 hijacking of JAL Flight 351 by the Japanese Red Army in the air[104] - there have been nefarious actors and the need for defense against them. Space is no different from any other physical domain.

U.S. national interests in space are threatened in many ways. This section will cover only threats posed by China, realizing that other actors can and do conduct similar activities.

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[98] Trump, Donald. (22 July 2019). Text of a Letter from the President to the Senate Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs and the House Committee on Financial Services. Washington: White House.
[99] Bridenstine, Jim. (18 July 2019). NASA Administrator. (Quintanilla, Carl, interviewer on CNBC program Squawk Alley)
[100] Anderson, James F. (1953). An Introduction to the Metaphysics of St. Thomas Aquinas: University of Notre Dame, Department of Philosophy. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company.
[101] Magee, John G. (February 1942). High Flight, 3 September 1941. compiled: MacLeish, Archibald, Poems of Faith and Freedom. Washington: Library of Congress.
[102] The Holy Bible Authorized King James Version. Gen 4:1-16, Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 2013.
[103] The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (Last Updated 12 July 2019). Blackbeard: English Pirate. ref: Encyclopaedia Britannica: www.britannica.com.
[104] National Police Agency. (2005). Movements of the Japanese Red Army and the "Yodo-go" Group. Focus Vol. 271.

A recent Pentagon threat assessment of China's military cites "space" 86 times,[105] indicating the gravity with which professional military leaders view the current threats. Political leaders share the same view. For example, the Vice President expressed alarm at the National Space Council by saying, "China…revealed their ambition to seize the lunar strategic high ground and become the world's preeminent spacefaring nation."[106]

The concern about China in space is also shared by experts outside of career and elected government officials. An independent space analyst called China an "imminent threat" and said, "If anything [the China threat] is under-appreciated and underplayed in the U.S. I suspect that is because the U.S. military might not want to call attention to its own vulnerabilities regarding its space assets."[107]

China is heavily investing in development of at least three antisatellite (ASAT) missile systems. It is also developing satellites that can touch other satellites in orbit (rendezvous and proximity operations, or RPO) that can be used to disable a satellite, to damage it by, for example tearing off a solar array to affect its power source, or to collect intelligence by intercepting incoming and outgoing signals.[108]

China is also pursuing new jamming and "directed energy" weapons that can interfere with satellites in order to "blind and deafen" the U.S.[109] They are training with missiles that could damage or destroy satellites and will probably have a ground-based laser that can blind optical sensors

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[105] Office of the Secretary of Defense. (02 May 2019). Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2019. Washington: Department of Defense.

[106] Pence, Mike. (26 March 2019). Remarks by Vice President Pence at the Fifth Meeting of the National Space Council. Huntsville: White House.

[107] Goswami, Namrata. (25 April 2019). Statement of Dr. Namrata Goswami Independent Senior Analyst and Author 2016-2017 Minerva's Grantee before the U.S. China Economic and Security Review Commission Hearing on "China in Space: A Strategic Competition?". Washington: U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission.

[108] Harrison, Todd; Johnson, Kaitlyn: Roberts, Thomas G. (April 2019). Space Threat Assessment 2019. Washington: Center for Strategic & International Studies.

[109] Office of the Secretary of Defense. (02 May 2019). Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China 2019. Washington: Department of Defense.

on satellites in low-Earth orbit by 2020.[110] China is also believed to have the capacity to attack satellites in geosynchronous orbit 22,000 miles above Earth, which would wreak havoc on critical U.S. space capabilities like weather and early missile warning.[111]

One organization sums up the China threat as follows: sustained effort to develop a wide range of counterspace technologies, multiple tests of ground-based direct ascent ASATs (developing 3 types), multiple demonstrations of RPO that can be used in kidnapping a satellite or intelligence collection, strong electronic warfare (e.g. jamming) and defensive electronic warfare capabilities, and strong focus on doctrinal and organizational integration of counterspace.[112]

The National Space Council is not the only body worried about China's lunar activities. The former director of Air University's Space Horizons Task Force believes that China's aim to create a position of industrial and logistical advantage on the moon and its environs is part of their attempt to gain a strategic position to control the key terrain and centers of value in the vast space economy, and to usurp America's rule-making authority. Occupying the strategic positions would make it too costly for the United States to do anything but accept a second-class status. That is a strategic and military threat, perhaps even an existential threat.[113]

The threat from China is not new. The People's Liberation Army has been looking for asymmetric advantages since the 1970s. This thinking was expressed clearly in an influential Chinese publication in 2000, "For countries that can never win a war with the U.S. by using the method of tanks and planes, attacking the U.S. space system may be an irresistible and most tempting choice."[114]

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[110] Defense Intelligence Agency. (11 February 2019). Challenges to Security in Space. Bethesda: Defense Intelligence Agency.
[111] Raymond, Jay. (14 April 2015). Warfighters Lunch, Air Force Lt. Gen. Jay Raymond, 14th Air Force Commander. Colorado Springs: Space Symposium.
[112] Weeden, Brian. (6 December 2018). Space Domain Trends and Threats. Washington: Secure World Foundation.
[113] Garretson, Peter. (11 July 2019). Space Force's Jupiter-Sized Culture Problem. War on the Rocks.
[114] Wang, Cheng. (5 July 2005). The US Military's 'Soft Ribs,' A Strategic Weakness. Beijing: Liawang (Outlook).

IV.D. Why a Space Force: Conclusion

"The security and economic well-being of the United States and its allies and friends depend on the nation's ability to operate successfully in space. To be able to contribute to peace and stability in a…dangerous and complex global environment, the U.S. needs to remain at the forefront in space, technologically and operationally, as we have in the air, on land and at sea. Specifically, the U.S. must have the capability to use space as an integral part of its ability to manage crises, deter conflicts and, if deterrence fails, to prevail in conflict."[115]

It is necessary "to maintain U.S. presence in outer space, like that of coast guards or the navies of the world, to ensure that stability and peace are maintained in the high seas and territorial waters so that free trade can flourish."[116]

There is a strong argument that the U.S. government, to include its military, is constitutionally obligated to protect not only military space asses but also commercial and private sector activities in space.[117] To provide presence and be fully capable of enforcing laws is part of U.S. national interest. What happens when legally derived entitlements are threatened by a rival nation or party? Who comes to their aid?[118] "It is the sense of Congress that the Department of Defense plays a vital and unique role in protecting national security assets in space."[119] With no single DoD organization fulfilling that role currently, a Space Force is the clear, concise answer.

V. Future National Security Space Activities

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[115] Commission to Assess US National Security Space Management and Organization, aka Rumsfeld Space Commission, (11 January 2001). Report of the Commission.

[116] Goswami, Namrata. (22 June 2018). The US 'Space Force' and Its Implications. ref: The Diplomat: https://thediplomat.com.

[117] CD01 Staff for Bridenstine. (6 November 2016). This is Our Sputnik Moment. Speech by Congressman Jim Bridenstine. ref: OK Grassroots: http://okgrassroots.com.

[118] Goswami, Namrata. (22 June 2018). The US 'Space Force' and Its Implications. ref: The Diplomat: https://thediplomat.com.

[119] McCarthy, Kevin (R-CA-23). (2015). Public Law No: 114-90 Spurring Private Aerospace Competitiveness and Entrepreneurship Acto of 2015. 114th Congress (Title IV Sec. 402). Washington: U.S. Code.

This section will not cover the current situation or projected future of either the relaunched U.S. Space Command, the DoD's 11th combatant command (notably, a geographic, not functional, combatant command),[120] or the proposed Space Force, which would be the sixth branch of the armed forces and is projected to be authorized by Congress in some form in the fiscal 2020 National Defense Authorization Act.[121] Both are at a stage where commentary or projections about them in this paper will quickly become obsolete, possibly even prior to publication.

This section will, however, discuss several planned or possible near, mid, and long term future national security space activities in the DoD and the subset of those that can and/or should be accomplished with allies such as Japan, to include some practically unrealistic but technically feasible potential programs.

V.A. Future National Security Space Activities: DoD

V.A.1. Future National Security Space Activities: DoD: Near

In the near term, we can expect mainly upgrades or planned replacements for the current systems operating in space. There are plans to do so[122] for every category of national security space.

- Launch: NSSL - lower cost (retain high reliability) rockets with reduced launch timelines (also referred to as responsiveness)
- ISR/Early Warning: Next Gen OPIR/FORGE/EGS - upgraded replacements for the current satellites and ground terminals
- Weather: EWS/EWS-G - next generation replacements for the current system
- Communications: ESS/PTS/PTES - new programs for greater protection in the AEHF system; EPS - replacement for the current polar satellites;

[120] Sven, Jennifer. (21 August 2019). Space Command to Relaunch This Month, Officials Say. ref: Stars and Stripes: www.stripes.com.
[121] Insinna, Valerie. (23 May 2019). Senate Authorizers Approve Space Force but Switch Up Its Organizational Structure. ref: Defense News: www.defensenews.com.
[122] U.S. Government Accountability Office. (27 March 2019). Space Acquisitions: DOD Faces Significant Challenges as It Seeks to Accelerate Space Programs and Address Threats. Washington: U.S. Government Accountabilitiy Office.

FAB-T FET - replacement for current terminals that allow the President to communicate with senior military leaders during strategic situations (e.g. nuclear war); and undetermined improvements to both the MUOS and WGS satellite systems
- PNT: MGUE Increment 2 - improved GPS receiver; GPS IIIF - next round of technology, intended to increase anti-jam to “meet increased demands of both military and civilian users”[123]
- SSA: Space Fence - undetermined improvements to the current system

V.A.2. Future National Security Space Activities: DoD: Mid

In the mid-term future, a new satellite architecture proposed by the DoD[124] would consist of several layers based around a mesh network of small communications satellites. The new architecture includes development of deterrent capability, SSA, a resilient common ground-based space support infrastructure, command and control systems, and artificial intelligence-enabled global surveillance.[125]

This proposed architecture would include several layers that are different from the current national security space capability categories:

- Space transport layer: a global mesh network providing 24/7 data and communications.
- Tracking layer: provides tracking, targeting, and advanced warning of missile threats
- Custody layer: provides all-weather custody of all identified time-critical targets
- Deterrence layer: provides SSA (and we can assume some functions not released to the public)
- Navigation layer: provides alternative PNT services in case GPS is blocked or unavailable

[123] Los Angeles Air Force Base. (21 November 2012, current as of April 2018). Fact Sheet, GPS IIIF Satellites. ref: United States Air Force: www.losangeles.af.mil.
[124] Department of the Air Force. (1 July 2019). Future Space Communications (FCS); Solicitation Number: FA9453-17-S-0005-CALL-009. ref: Federal Business Opportunities: www.fbo.gov.
[125] Strout, Nathan. (3 July 2019). The Pentagon's New Space Agency Has an Idea about the Future. ref: C4ISR Net: Space: www.c4isrnet.com.

- Battle management layer: a C3 network augmented by artificial intelligence that provides self-tasking, self-prioritization, on-board processing, and dissemination
- Support layer: ground C2 facilities and user terminals, as well as rapid-response launch services

V.A.3. Future National Security Space Activities: DoD: Long

Longer term future DoD plans for the space domain include the ability to "maximize warfighting capability [in] space, outpace future threats, [and] defend our vital national security interests in space."[126] Air Force reports also suggest a national security role in space beyond Earth's orbit, such as missions to the Moon, Mars, and deep space, to protect U.S. interests from - or at least U.S. positioning in relation to - "new competition."[127] For specific national security space activities projected both within and beyond Earth's orbit, the reader should refer to sections IV.C.1 - IV.C.4 National Interests above and infer the capabilities required to protect those national interests and maintain a peaceful and stable domain in which they can develop and prosper.

V.B. Future National Security Space Activities: Cooperative with Japan

The DoD "will work with allies and partners to enhance space capabilities."[128] Which specific allies? Japan. Why Japan? Because "ours is the most important bilateral relationship in the world, bar none."[129] The following is a discussion of near, mid, and long term planned and potential cooperative national security space activities.

V.B.1. Future National Security Space Activities: Cooperative with Japan: Near

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[126] U.S. Department of Defense. (1 March 2019). DOD Submits U.S. Space Force Proposal. ref: U.S. Department of Defense: www.defense.gov.
[127] NASIC Public Affairs Office. (December 2018). Competing in Space. Wright-Patterson AFB: National Air and Space Intelligence Center.
[128] Joint Chiefs of Staff. (2018). Fact Sheet: Space in the National Military Strategy. Washington: Department of Defense.
[129] U.S. Embassy, Tokyo. (24 Jan 2019). U.S.-Japan Space Forum: Japan-U.S. Space Cooperation in the Second Space Age. Washington: The Maureen and Mike Mansfield Foundation.

In the short term, there are cooperative activities currently planned and current unilateral space activities with the potential to add a dimension of combined operations. One such activity that has been discussed for several years from minister/secretary level meetings such as the U.S.-Japan Security Consultative Committee (2+2)[130] to working level meetings that don't make the news is SSA.

Japan has an unclassified SSA data sharing agreement with the U.S. and is preparing to expand its own SSA capability. The Ministry of Defense (MOD) plans to build a deep space radar to monitor geostationary orbit over the Asia-Pacific region and to establish a national SSA operations center run by JASDF that also incorporates data from near-Earth assets operated by JAXA. This center is expected to work closely with the Combined Space Operations Center (CSpOC).[131]

The CSpOC transitioned from JSpOC (Joint, U.S-only) in July 2018, opening federal doors to friendly personnel in order to "enhance cooperation between the U.S. and its allies in safeguarding the space domain."[132] It is likely only a matter of time before Japan joins the U.K., Canada, Australia and other allies with personnel in the Multinational Space Collaboration Office in Vandenberg AFB, California.

Besides getting better at keeping track of who's doing what, and where, in space (i.e. SSA) and sharing that information with each other, another near term future U.S.-Japan cooperative effort is a hosted payload project. Japan's QZSS system currently augments the U.S. Air Force's GPS system, covering an area stretching from roughly Siberia to Australia in latitude and India to Hawaii in longitude.[133] QZSS is especially useful in, for example, urban jungle situations because its orbits are limited to Asia and

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130 Minister for Foreign Affairs Kishida, Minister of Defense Onodera, Secretary of State Kerry, Secretary of Defense Hagel. (3 October 2013). Toward a More Robust Alliance and Greater Shared Responsibilities. Washington, Tokyo: Joint Statement of the Security Consultative Committee.

131 Werner, Debra. (18 April 2018). International SSA Agreements Could Pave the Way for Further Space Cooperation, Panelists Said. ref: SpaceNews: https://spacenews.com.

132 Joint Space Component Command Public Affairs. (24 July 2018). CSPOC Established at Vandenberg AFB. ref: United States Air Force Website: www.schriever.af.mil.

133 Cabinet Office. (2019). Michibiki: Juntencho Eisei Shisutemu (Quazi-Zenith Satellite System). ref: Government of Japan: https://qzss.go.jp.

the satellites are, therefore, more frequently directly overhead cities with many tall buildings (e.g. Tokyo).

The DoD saw an opportunity in the QZSS satellites, which fly in orbits not previously used by the U.S., and, after much bilateral coordination, is planning "for Japan to host a Space Situational Awareness sensor payload on their QZSS space vehicles." Signing of a significant new agreement to place American sensors on Japanese satellites is, at the time of this writing, planned to be completed in 2019, and the first launch of a U.S. SSA payload on a Japanese QZSS satellite is scheduled for 2023.[134]

Another nascent area of cooperation is personnel development. The Japanese press reported in May 2019 that a new space unit will be operational by 2022 at Fuchu AB on the west side of Tokyo, with the MOD having slated 100 billets to launch operations.[135][136] Going from effectively 0 to 100 space experts in three years is an almost impossible task. Easing Japan's road to developing a space cadre are recent U.S. moves to open several training and exercise opportunities to international students and specifically inviting Japan to participate.

One example of this is the Schriever Wargame held at Maxwell AFB, Alabama in October 2018. In addition to the hundreds of Air Force, DoD, and other USG participants in a typical iteration, this one included not only the U.K., New Zealand, Australia, and Canada (all Five Eyes countries), but also Germany, France, and Japan. The wargame looked at technology that is anticipated to be fielded over the next 10 years and examined what a space engagement may look like, focusing on the U.S. Indo-Pacific Command area of responsibility.[137] This marked the first time Japan was invited to participate and, by all accounts,[138] it was an

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134 McLeary, Paul; Hitchens, Theresa. (5 Aug 2019). US, Japan to Ink Hosted Payload Pact to Monitor Sats. ref: Breaking Defense: https://breakingdefense.com.

135 Ibid.

136 "launch operations" in this case is used to mean "stand up the organization," not "dedicated to the spacelift mission."

137 Tadjdeh, Yasmin. (26 November 2018). Training the Space Force: How the Military Will Prepare for Future Battles. ref: National Defense: www.nationaldefensemagazine.org.

138 Japanese Government Officials from Multiple Agencies with Responsibilities for National Security Space Who Attended Schriever Wargame 2018. (October to November 2018). Discussions to Gather Feedback from Attendees and Assess the Percieved Value to Japan. (Dobberfuhl, Phillip M., Lt Col, USAF, Director of

eye-opening, incredibly useful event. It provided examples of how different agencies with a role in national security space can effectively work together, ideas that help focus future plans, and so forth.

In addition to exercises, in 2019 the Air Force established two new courses on national security space: a three-week, unclassified course on SSA and an unclassified version of the Space 100 course, which provides an overview of space operations, orbital mechanics, the launch process, satellite operations, and space weather. Additionally, the existing midlevel Space 200 class that focuses on space systems development and space power has been opened to include New Zealand, France, Germany, and Japan, in addition to the U.K., Australia, and Canada who already attended.[139] The Space 300 capstone class was also opened to Five Eyes countries in 2019, with other close allies possibly being added to the list in the coming years.

Military space leaders have extolled the value of exercising, training, and conducting war games with our allies like Japan. “It is very important today that we have -- and we are working very closely with our partners, specifically our Five Eyes partners, with France, Germany, and Japan…This is a big growth area for us and I think it’s going to provide our country a great advantage. We’re stronger together.”[140] Japan’s access to previously restricted and new training courses will help tremendously in the near term building of a space cadre.

V.B.2 Future National Security Space Activities: Cooperative with Japan: Mid

Some ideas for mid-term future cooperation include a new twist on existing programs. Though nothing in national security space is easy, communications are one of the more straightforward areas of potential

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Foreign Military Sales, Mutual Defense Assistance Office, U.S. Embassy - Tokyo, interviewer)

[139] Insinna, Valerie. (18 April 2018). Air Force Looks to Ramp Up Space Training, Info Sharing with Allies. ref: Defense News: www.defensenews.com.

[140] General John Raymond, Commander, U.S. Space Command; Steve Kitay, Deputy Assistant Secretary Of Defense For Space Policy; Colonel David S. Westover Jr., Director Of Public Affairs, U.S. Space Command. (29 August 2019). Media Roundtable with U.S. Space Command Commander Gen. John Raymond. ref: U.S. Department of Defense Newsroom: www.defense.gov.

cooperation. Japan's MOD launched their first satellite in 2017, one of three communications satellites in the Kirameki constellation.[141] As with the commercial sector, the military's desire for more communications bandwidth is insatiable. Bandwidth on this system could be leased or provided (gratis or as part of an exchange) to DoD users with an X-band requirement and a willingness to buy the ground terminals.

Along the same lines of communications satellites, WGS showed another possible cooperation methodology when Australia purchased one WGS spacecraft and the launch services to get it to orbit. With #6 out of the 11 satellite constellation being purchased by Australia, the Air Force reduced acquisition costs by about 9%. In return, Australia obtained access to a global communications network for the price of a single satellite and launch.[142] Japan could do the same with the WGS system or another DoD communications system that would welcome the investment. Besides the cost benefit for both sides, there is a deterrent effect as well. If a nefarious actor wanted to hurt the U.S. by targeting WGS, after Australia's participation their action would now also affect Australia. Involving another country in their action may not be in their interest or be counter to their objectives, causing them to not target the system in the first place.

GPS and QZSS are planned to continue operating for decades. All the GPS satellites orbit at approximately the same distance from Earth. GPS payloads on future QZSS satellites could provide resiliency for the GPS system and greater accuracy in the USINDOPACOM area of responsibility.

Returning to personnel, while the MOD is gaining operational capability in SSA, nearly all the other categories of national security space exist and are currently operated by other Government of Japan agencies. This provides ample opportunities for personnel exchange positions to be arranged in existing launch, ISR, weather, communications, and PNT systems. The exchanges could be in operational, acquisition, education/training, or policy type positions, depending on the program. Saying that all that's needed is a piece of paper (i.e. memorandum of

141 Tomkins, Richard. (25 January 2017). Japan Launches First Military Communications Satellite. ref: United Press International: www.upi.com.
142 Klotz, Irene. (8 August 2013). U.S. Military Satellite, Paid for by Australia, Launched into Orbit. ref: Reuters: www.reuters.com.

understanding or agreement) would be oversimplifying, but there are no technical problems to overcome. It's easy to imagine a mid-level officer from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science and Technology (MEXT) sitting in Los Angeles AFB, California next to a NASA rocket expert, working with an Air Force captain to acquire the next batch of launch vehicles. From a whole-of-government perspective, both the U.S. and Japan would benefit from more exchange positions within our respective national security space organizations.

One final idea for space cooperation using current systems is to launch satellites on each other's rockets. Both the U.S. and Japan have existing national security space launch vehicles in the Delta IV/Atlas V EELV[143] and H-IIA/B[144] series that are extremely reliable. Both countries are developing lower cost successors. Insufficient attention or political battles that dramatically change the direction of long term programs can be crippling in national security space launch.

A worst-case-scenario example of what could happen can be found in the handling of the Space Shuttle retirement and subsequent loss of American capability to launch manned space missions into LEO and the Moon. In 2010 the Obama administration cancelled the Ares rocket and Orion spacecraft programs, which were intended to replace the space shuttles, and started a new program from scratch.[145] The move was widely condemned in congress and the space community, including by Neil Armstrong (first man on the moon), Gene Cernan (last man on the moon), Jim Lovell (hero of Apollo 13), and this author.[146]

It should go without saying that, in order to maintain the legally mandated "assured access to space" policy,[147] having the choice to use an allied alternative for launch is infinitely more desirable than allowing a

[143] Vandenberg Air Force Base. (4 August 2017). Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicle (EELV). ref: United States Air Force: www.vandenberg.af.mil.
[144] Kyle, Ed. (Last Update 28 October 2018). Hi-IIA/B Data Sheet. ref: Space Launch Report: www.spacelaunchreport.com.
[145] Malik, Tariq. (2 February 2010). NASA Grieves over Cancelled Program. ref: NBC News: www.nbcnews.com.
[146] An example opinion piece that expresses the essence of this commonly held sentiment can be found at: Whittington, Mark R. (8 March 2017). How Barack Obama Ruined NASA Space Exploration. ref: The Hill: https://thehill.com.
[147] Policy Regarding Assured Access to Space: National Security Payloads, 10 U.S.C. §2273 (2018)

capability gap to form when a primary launch mechanism is not available for any reason.

All of the programs listed in this section currently exist or are in the operational phase. The barriers to bilateral cooperation are fairly low from both a technical and a policy perspective. There are medium to high potential benefits to gain by these mid-term future possibilities.

V.B.3 Future National Security Space Activities: Cooperative with Japan: Long

This section will explore a few ideas for bilateral national security space cooperation in a long term timeline, ending with a couple that are unfeasible at the current time for one reason or another.

As discussed in section IV.C.3.b. Why a Space Force: National Interests: Strategic Considerations: Rare Earth Elements, asteroid sample return missions have been and are in the process of being conducted by Japanese and U.S. government space agencies. As commercial versions of these ventures start emerging, a framework for protecting the rights and physical assets (e.g. mining craft) from harassment, pirate-like stealing, and outright land grabs (regardless of knowledge that they're not allowed under the Outer Space Treaty, some countries will continue to abide by the "if no one stops me, it's allowed" might-makes-right-type principle). We have seen these actions on the seas (e.g. South China Sea) and in our current activities in space (see section IV.C.4. Why a Space Force: National Interests: Threat of this paper). To suggest that something as potentially valuable and strategically important as the products from resource harvesting would go unbothered is not reasonable.

Add to that the Moon missions, which enable the further utilization of space, as well as the burgeoning space tourism sector, and the need to protect and defend national interests is clear, if not immediate. Starting to think about the who, what, where, and how of this cannot start after the activities have started. The roles and responsibilities, policies and doctrines, and laws and regulations should be developed early and should be in place prior to and in order for those activities to occur in a stable, peaceful environment understood by all players, including adversaries.

This will foster development, deter aggressors, and provide ample opportunity to divide responsibilities among allies - maybe agreements along the lines of "you've got the Moon, we'll take asteroids" or "you've got LEO, we've got MEO and beyond" or "you've got Coast Guard-like rescue and life support missions, we'll take Navy-like deterrence and defense missions" could be developed to benefit both the U.S. and Japan (as well as European and other spacefaring nations).

In following another parallel between maritime and space domains, the U.S. and Japan's jointly developed SM-3 Block 2A missile defense interceptor can be an example for technology sharing or coproduction efforts possible in the space sector.[148] While many international supply chains develop naturally in a market, the space sector is big enough and hard enough that government directed, arranged, or incentivized international cooperation in the areas of R&D, development, production, and operation could be a welcome force for good in advancing the private sector capabilities that further both countries' national interests.

One possibility that is currently technically feasible, but unrealistic for policy reasons, is Japan providing the U.S. with next generation ICBMs. The Minuteman III missile was designed in the 1960s and, despite reaching the end of its originally planned lifespan, the current missile's retirement has been extended over and over again[149] due to the replacement ICBM programs being repeatedly delayed or deferred.[150] In 2013, Japan's Epsilon rocket successfully launched its first payload into space. It cost $38.5M (a bargain price, partially owing to the fact that it is based on the boosters used in the H-IIA launch vehicle), and has advanced, modern avionics that allow automation for much of the launch process.[151] It is the size of an ICBM and could be fairly easily used as a very low cost,

[148] Gruss, Mike. (31 October 2013). Military Quarterly | SM-3 Block 2A Passes Critical Design Review, Set for Flight Testing in 2015. ref: Space News: https://spacenews.com.
[149] Brissett, Wilson. (February 2018). Replacing Minuteman. ref: Air Force Magazine: www.airforcemag.com.
[150] Harper, Jon. (16 April 2019). Minuteman III Replacement Could Fall under Budget Ax. ref: National Defense Magazine: www.nationaldefensemagazine.org.
[151] Malik, Tariq. (14 September 2013). Japan's 1st Epsilon Rocket Launches into Space on Maiden Voyage. ref: Space.com: www.space.com.

technologically mature (i.e. good cost, schedule, and performance) replacement for the Minuteman III.

Of course, the U.S. would not want to let part of the nuclear triad be reliant on a foreign country, no matter how close an ally, and the U.S. industrial base cannot lose the capability to manufacture solid rocket motors (i.e. strategically infeasible). From Japan's perspective, although the so-called "3 Ps" restricting defense exports have been relaxed,[152] they have not been rescinded, and there is little likelihood in the near term for the political acceptability of such a program to materialize.

There has ever been a competition between the hunter and the hunted to obtain better means of detection and, conversely, evasion to gain an advantage over each other. We have seen this principle play out in every physical domain. For example, sonar was developed to detect previously invisible submarines, so submarines developed quiet propulsion methods.[153] On land, camouflage clothing was created to hide personnel. Because subsequent thermal imaging enabled users to "see" body heat, new development is aimed at uniforms that block heat signatures.[154] Early airplanes were invisible outside of visual or audible range, so radar was developed for detection at greater ranges.[155] Subsequent stealth technologies were invented to reduce detection ranges. In space, too, current and upcoming SSA capabilities provide the ability to detect and track spacecraft and other objects.[156]

The final future idea this paper offers up is the bilateral development of materials, TTPs (tactics, techniques, and procedures), physical shapes, sizes, and so forth that make allied satellites invisible to adversaries, or at

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[152] Takenaka, Kiyoshi; Kubo, Nobuhiro. (1 April 2014). Japan Relaxes Arms Export Regime to Fortify Defense. ref: Reuters: www.reuters.com.

[153] Hamblingxe, David. (11 January 2012). The Next Generation of Silent Submarines Could Defeat Radar and Sonar Sensing. ref: Popular Science: www.popsci.com.

[154] Mizokami, Kyle. (11 April 2019). The U.S. Army Wants to Block Heat Signatures of Soldiers and Tanks. ref: Popular Mechanics: www.popularmechanics.com.

[155] Whitmore, Mark. (24 May 2018). How Radar Changed the Second World War. ref: Imperial War Museums: www.iwm.org.uk.

[156] Holzinger, Marcus J. (accessed 10 September 2019). Space Situational Awareness. ref: The Daniel Guggenheim School of Aerospace Engineering, Georgia Institute of Technology: http://holzinger.gatech.edu.

least harder to detect, characterize, analyze, and/or reliably track. One could imagine, for example, the miniaturization capability of Japan coupled with the sensor capability of the U.S. to co-develop satellites that are too small to detect reliably from earth but can still perform typical GEO-type satellite functions.

Regardless of the current feasibility of the long term bilateral space cooperation ideas listed above, earlier thought into potential bilateral and multilateral efforts at space governance, commercialization, technology development, and so forth is critical to ensuring the maintenance of mutual national interests in a stable and peaceful space domain in the future.

VI. Conclusion

Understanding the lens through which the U.S. views space - the final frontier - enables understanding of U.S. thoughts, words, and deeds in space. Recognizing that nearly all historical major U.S. space developments originated in the realm of national security space will help understand the current issues under debate.

It is the view of this writer that there are undeniable benefits in creating a Space Force. Those tremendous benefits include the efficiencies and clear direction enabled by consolidation of authorities under one boss, the potentially huge acquisition (cost, schedule, performance) improvements, the expertise and depth of knowledge that appropriately trained and intentionally developed personnel can offer, and the protection of national interests - money, people, strategic - from threats.

In addition to a robust and growing commercial space sector, the DoD has plans for near, mid, and long term future activities, and there are several areas with potential for bilateral cooperation with Japan. There is no question it is to our mutual advantage to work together to overcome obstacles and realize the promise of the final frontier, as we figuratively and literally boldly go where no man has gone before.[157]

[157] Eidenmuller, Michael E. (accessed 22 August 2019). Captain James Tiberius Kirk: Opening Narrative on the Voyage of the Starship, Enterprise. ref: American Rhetoric: Star Trek: https://americanrhetoric.com.

There it is, ladies and gentlemen. Second start to the right, and straight on 'till morning.[158]

[158] Geronimi, Clyde; Jackson, Wilfred; Luske, Hamilton (directors). (1953). RKO Radio Pictures. Peter Pan [film].

ROLE OF THE INDIAN NAVY IN PROVIDING MARITIME SECURITY IN THE INDIAN OCEAN REGION

Captain Suvarat Magon, IN

Introduction

India is the third largest and one of the fastest growing economies in the world today based on gross domestic product (GDP) measured in terms of purchasing power parity (PPP). India is a peninsular maritime nation straddling Indian Ocean with 7,517 km of coastline, 2.37 million square kilometers of exclusive economic zone (EEZ) encompassing 1,197 island territories in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal and supporting world's second largest population on a continental landmass of the seventh largest country. Consequently, India's hunger for energy and need for resources to support rapid economic and industrial growth makes its dependence on the IOR a strategic imperative. In this environment of expansion of sea trade to far off and diverse shores kissed by waters of the Indian Ocean and beyond, competition with other powers to fulfill the ever-growing needs of own population and the corresponding surge towards overall development, the security of the seas is likely to be a key to progress of the nation and therefore assumes critical importance especially in the prevailing environment of multifarious challenges that range from traditional at one extant to threat of piracy, terrorism, smuggling, trafficking and hybrid type to other extant.

The Indian Navy's (IN's) 2015 *Maritime Security Strategy* clearly enunciates security in the IOR as an unambiguous necessity for progression of national interests and it can thus be deduced that maritime security would continue to drive the government's policies and navy's strategy in times to come. The need for India to be a 'net security' provider in the IOR is therefore an emergent requirement and the Indian Navy (IN) could be India's key instrument in accomplishing that goal in consonance with other instruments of national power. There

could be different nuanced understanding of the term (provider of) 'net security'/ 'net provider of security'. Further, the following quote brings out how placement of words could have a whole different connotation to the terminology of 'net security':

> However, *Strategy-2015* treads with caution. It defines 'net security' as "*the state of actual maritime security in an area, upon balancing prevailing threats, risks, and challenges, against the ability to counter these*." By doing so, it implicitly portrays India as a provider of 'net security' rather than a 'net provider' of security; and thereby obviates any perception of its role of a 'regional policeman'.[1]

In this backdrop the question that surfaces is why the security issues in the IOR make it necessary for the IN to play a key role in India acting as the 'net security' provider in the IOR as envisaged in the *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy* (2015).

It is hypothesized that Indian Navy has displayed the capability of securing India's sea lines of communications (SLOCs), resolve to strengthen the legal rule based regime at sea and acted punitively and decisively against actors that have threatened security in the IOR in past. It therefore may be capable of achieving the objective of India being provider of net security in the IOR.

The aim of this paper therefore is to examine, the historical evidence and analyse the prevailing security scenario in the IOR to determine the extent to which Indian Navy has been able to overcome the security challenges in past and deduce the extant of its present capability in fulfilling the strategic objective of India being 'net maritime security' provider in the IOR, as the key instrument of nation's maritime power.

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[1] Gurpreet Khurana, "India's Maritime Strategy: What 'the West' Should Know," *Asia Dialogue*, last modified April 03, 2017, http://theasiadialogue.com/2017/04/03/indias-maritime-strategy-what-the-west-should-know/.

The paper has been structured in to four chapters along with introduction and conclusion. The study undertaken in this paper is confined to the time period from 2000 to 2018.The theme of the chapters is as outlined below: -

Chapter 1	Exploring the concept of 'net security' provider.
Chapter 2	Examine historical evidence since the beginning of the 21st century of the IN's resolve in tackling maritime challenges emanating in the IOR.
Chapter 3	Analyse the prevailing geopolitical situation and the security issues in the IOR to determine how they affect the roles and deployment of the IN.
Chapter 4	Evaluate the IN's capability in fulfilling the objective of India being a net maritime security provider in the IOR.

CHAPTER 1
Exploring the Concept of 'Net Security Provider'

Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy (2015) is a robust document that clearly outlines the strategic thought process prevailing in the politico-military circles in India and the centrality of India's maritime security strategy's focus on the IOR, where political, economic, military and geo strategic interests of the nation inherently lie and rightly so:

> India's quintessential maritime character and vital geo-strategic location are twin factors that have defined her growth as a nation and evolution as a cosmopolitan civilization. Her prominent peninsular orientation and flanking island chains overlook strategic sea-lanes in the Indian Ocean, linking her security and prosperity inextricably to the seas.[2]

[2] Admiral RK Dhowan, "Foreword", in *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, Naval Strategic Publication (NSP) 1.2, (New Delhi: Integrated Headquarters, Ministry of Defense (Navy), 2015), p. (i).

The Navy's strategic document of 2015 (follow on to the 2007 document: *Freedom to Use Seas: India's Maritime Military Strategy*) was released for the first time by a politician, the then Defence Minister of India, Shri Manohar Parikkar during the naval commanders conference in New Delhi on 26 October, 2015. The significance of this event needs to be understood as it shows the clear political will and understanding of primacy of maritime and strategic issues, especially when many strategic analysts, both in India and abroad, accuse India of lacking a strategic culture or strategic thinking.[3] This is evident from the fact that the budgetary allocations to the IN remain traditionally the least to date and the navy remains the smallest among the three services despite realisation of navy's importance early on as reflected in the often quoted famed words of the first Indian Prime Minister, Shri Jawahar Lal Nehru, "*We cannot afford to be weak at sea… history has shown that whatever power controls the Indian Ocean has, in the first instance, India's seaborne trade at her mercy, and in the second, India's very independence itself."*[4]

Notwithstanding the above, continental mindset[5] has continued to prevail in the Indian subconscious from earliest days of independence despite the fact that British supremacy in the Indian littoral waters lead to subjugation of India. With first India–Pakistan war (also the first Kashmir war) of 1947-48 followed by Indo-Chinese war of 1962, subsequent second and third Indo-Pak wars in 1965 and 1972 respectively, and the most recent Kargil war of 1999, the north-northeastern and the west-northwestward land centric strategic

[3] ed. Namrata Goswami, "India's Strategic Approach to Asia," in *India's Approach to Asia: Strategy, Geopolitics and Responsibility*, (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2016), pp. 1-2.

[4] Himanail Raina, "How India Views Sea Power," *International Policy Digest*, last modified March 27, 2014, https://intpolicydigest.org/2014/03/27/how-india-views-sea-power/.

[5] C. Raja Mohan, "Raja Mandala: Maritime India versus Continental Delhi," *The Indian Express*, last updated February 9, 2016, https://indianexpress.com/article/opinion/columns/international-fleet-review-maritime-india-versus-continental-delhi/.

thought process has firmly entrenched itself in the Indian strategic landscape.

The credit of giving the maritime strategy the due importance it deserves in recent times particularly in the context of security both in terms of optics and movement on ground goes to the present Prime Minister of India, Shri Narendra Modi. In March 2015, The honourable PM of India unveiled a four-part framework for the Indian Ocean, focusing on: defending India's interests and maritime territory (in particular countering terrorism); deepening economic and security cooperation with maritime neighbours and island states; promoting collective action for peace and security; and seeking a more integrated and cooperative future for sustainable development.[6]

The 2015 *Indian Maritime Security Strategy* puts the security in the IOR in perspective. The maritime security objective laid out in the Chapter 5 of the document is, "To shape a favourable and positive maritime environment, for enhancing net security in India's areas of maritime interest."[7] The India's areas of maritime interests have also expanded in the new document beyond what were promulgated in 2007. Writing in Asia Dialogue, Captain Gurpreet Khurana explains:

> In the west, it adds Western Africa and the Mediterranean. In the east, it covers the entire Western Pacific. It is largely driven by the geographic dilation of India's vital interests, but the geopolitical factor cannot be ignored. The expansion of India's areas of interest

[6] Rahul Roy-Chaudhury, "Five Reasons the World Needs to Pay Heed to India's New Maritime Security Strategy," *The Wire*, last modified December 22, 2015, https://thewire.in/diplomacy/five-reasons-the-world-needs-to-pay-heed-to-indias-new-maritime-security-strategy.

[7] Directorate of Strategy, "Concepts and Transformation", *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, Naval Strategic Publication (NSP) 1.2, (New Delhi: Integrated Headquarters, Ministry of Defense (Navy), 2015), p. 78.

is in tandem with New Delhi's acceptance of the role of a "net security provider in the Indian Ocean and beyond."[8]

The Net Security Provider

Having understood the background for emphasis on the maritime security strategy in India in recent years, the question arises what does the term 'net security' provider imply? Simply put, it would mean that India should be able to secure its SLOCs, ensure that ships follow routes along international shipping lanes that conform to the international legal and rules based regime, thus enabling free flow of global trade and correspondingly, effectively address security challenges such as illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing, piracy, smuggling, armed robbery, trafficking and terrorism to prevent destabilization of the IOR in peace time. Of course, in the traditional sense, it would also mean that India would be able to neutralize or overcome maritime threats and challenges that may emanate from its traditional adversaries, Pakistan and China in peacetime, during precautionary stages or when at war through use of all instruments of national power in concert. In order to accomplish the above tasks, India would need a very capable navy and resolute political will. Further, the role of net security provider cannot be just attuned to India's geopolitical realities. India would have to address security concerns of other countries in the IOR as well.

The role of a security provider is generally assigned to or expected out of the great and capable powers that can deploy their surplus national assets for the safety and stability of other countries.[9] Addressing the Shangrila Dialogue in Singapore on May 30, 2009, the then US Secretary of Defense Robert Gates said: "In coming years, we look to India to be a partner and net provider of security in the Indian

[8] Gurpreet Khurana, "India's Maritime Strategy: What 'the West' Should Know," *Asia Dialogue*, last modified April 03, 2017, http://theasiadialogue.com/2017/04/03/indias-maritime-strategy-what-the-west-should-know/.

[9] SD Muni, "Introduction", *Asian Strategic Review 2015: India as Security Provider,* ed. Vivek Chadha, IDSA (New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2015), p. 1.

Ocean and beyond".[10] This was the first time that such a role for India had been officially articulated by anyone in the world. The perception in the US and elsewhere, about India emerging as a security provider in Asia, must have been prompted by the ground reality of developments in India's military capabilities and political will.[11] India offering to escort US ships passing through the Malacca Strait in 2002, and providing a credible response to the Tsunami of December 2004, were significant pointers in this respect.[12]

Kerry Longhurst, a scholar at the European Research Institute, University of Birmingham has enumerated the key attributes of a security provider:

> In order to be providers or producers of security states must have a full range of military and non-military tools to carry out a variety of crisis management tasks. In turn, in order to work, these attributes require steady and predictable national defence budgets grounded in a broad domestic consensus to ensure continuity of strategic priorities. Tied to this, security producers need to be able to focus a greater proportion of their defence spending on research and development, to be able to have at hand modern and well-equipped readily deployable forces.[13]

It is in the latter part of the attributes of a security producer (provider) outlined by Kerry Longhurst above where India's greatest challenge may lie. This aspect will be examined in Chapter 4 along with the mitigating strategies for some structural impediments that may be required to overcome. Notwithstanding, the US has been seeking a much larger role to be played by India in the IOR as 'net provider of security' (the one who is provider of sum total of all security) for about a decade now. This is evident from the *2010 US*

[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Kerry Longhurst, "From Security Consumer to Security Provider—Poland and Transatlantic Security in the Twenty-First Century", *Defence Studies*, 2(2), Taylor & Francis, UK, June 2002, pp. 50-62.

Quadrennial Defense Review:

> India's military capabilities are rapidly improving through increased defence acquisitions, and they now include long-range maritime surveillance, maritime interdiction and patrolling, air interdiction, and strategic airlift. India has already established its worldwide military influence through counter-piracy, peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief efforts. As its military capabilities grow, India will contribute to Asia as a net provider of security in the Indian Ocean and beyond.[14]

The most well-defined and descriptive explanation of the term and what it implies is provided in the fifth chapter of *Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, "Strategy for Shaping a Favourable and Positive Maritime Environment". It differentiates between a favourable and a positive maritime environment and conditionally links them to net security:

> A favourable maritime environment entails conditions of security and stability at sea, with various threats remaining at a low level. A positive maritime environment implies conditions wherein any rise in threats can be prevented or contained… The promotion of a favourable and positive maritime environment would also contribute significantly towards providing *net security* in the maritime area… The shaping or creation of conditions that enhance net maritime security would support our national maritime interests and maritime security objectives. [15]

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[14] US Department of Defense, *Quadrennial Defense Review Report 2010,* Washington DC, February 2010, p. 60.

[15] Directorate of Strategy, Concepts and Transformation, *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, Naval Strategic Publication (NSP) 1.2, (New Delhi: Integrated Headquarters, Ministry of Defense (Navy), 2015), p. 80.

Basically, it can be inferred from above that the strategy laid out in the fifth chapter of *Maritime Security Strategy* indicates that shaping of a favourable and a positive maritime environment by the Indian Navy would result in it becoming a 'net maritime security provider'. The components of this strategy are categorised under two main segments-the principles and actions for net maritime security:[16]

(a) Principles of Net Maritime Security: -
- (i) Preservation of Peace.
- (ii) Promotion of Stability.
- (iii) Maintenance of Security.

(b) Actions for Net Maritime Security: -
- (i) Presence and Rapid Response.
- (ii) Maritime Engagement.
- (iii) Capacity Building and Capability Enhancement.
- (iv) Develop Regional Maritime Domain Awareness (MDA).
- (v) Maritime Security Operations (MSO).
- (vi) Strategic Communications for Net Maritime Security.[17]

Further examination and evaluation of the IN has been undertaken in this academic paper in this context. The next chapter will focus on holistically examining whether since the beginning of the 21st century India and particularly the Indian Navy rose to the occasions to meet the security challenges that emanated in the IOR. Could India act decisively displaying the capability to be the net security provider and how did its actions affect its status in the region as a maritime power?

[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid., pp. 81-82.

CHAPTER 2
IN's Resolve in Tackling Maritime challenges in the IOR

A good way to determine intent of a nation could be to examine its past actions. In this context, the IN has been an active navy in its backyard, the IOR since India's independence. However, in this chapter, it is intended to focus on the historical evidence to date from the beginning of the 21st century whence the IN can be viewed as a modern navy in determining its ability to deal with maritime challenges and thus the key event which give insight into the character of the IN and the mind of policy makers.

Anti-Terror Support Operations

With the turn of the 21st century the first challenge that emerged for the IN was to counteract destabilising security scenario post 9/11. This catastrophic incident was quickly followed up by attack on the Indian parliament by terrorists in December the very same year. The need for emphasis on security to overcome terrorism was felt during this time across the globe. The commonality of threats being encountered brought the world's oldest and the largest democracies, US and India respectively much closer to each other than ever before. One of the key military manifestations of this closeness was US's ability to use India for 'logistics and flight' in support of antiterrorism operations in Afghanistan.[18] But equally significant was that on request of the US Navy, Indian Navy Ships Sukanya and Sharda {both Offshore Patrol Vessels (OPVs)} escorted 24 high valued US ships under operation 'Sagittarius' from Port Blair to Singapore during the period April to September 2002 in support of the operation 'Enduring Freedom'.[19] This operation possibly

[18] Ravi Tomar, " India US Relations in Changing Strategic Environment," *Parliament of Australia,* last modified June 25, 2002, https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp0102/02RP20.

[19] Vijay Sakhuja, *Asian Maritime Power in the 21st Century: Strategic Transactions China, India and Southeast Asia* (Singapore: ISEAS, 2011), p. 203.

multiplied the value and the significance of the IN in the IOR manifolds and opened up avenues for further IN-USN cooperation in the future. The IN for the first time had undertaken continuous operations for such a long duration beyond Andaman and Nicobar Islands and that too in support of the world's largest maritime power. Consequently, the IN was also able to break new ground with both Singapore and Indonesia. Singapore gave access to Sembawang Bay for escorting US cargo ships and India and Indonesia developed a mechanism for conducting joint coordinated patrols (CORPAT) by their navies.

Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief

The Tsunami of December 2004 resulting from an under ocean earthquake (9.0 on Richter scale) off Indonesia has been one of the most destructive of all to date in the history of the region. The humanitarian crises that emerged post this ruinous earthquake demanded rapid mobilization and response for Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HA/DR) operations. The Indian Navy deployed 32 naval ships, seven aircraft and 20 helicopters in support of five rescue, relief and reconstruction missions as part of 'Operation Madad' (Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu coast), 'Operation Sea Waves' (Andaman & Nicobar Islands), 'Operation Castor' (Maldives), 'Operation Rainbow' (Sri Lanka) and 'Operation Gambhir' (Indonesia).[20] On 26 December, 2004, the day Tsunami hit the subcontinent, the Indian Navy had deployed 19 ships, four aircraft, and 11 helicopters that rushed to Maldives, Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu and Andaman & Nicobar Islands.[21] That such an extensive force could be deployed so rapidly and effectively speaks volumes about the efficiency and the operational readiness of the Indian Navy. This probably did not go unnoticed by the strategic community except for the fact that the western media were more busy highlighting

[20] Vijay Sakhuja, "Indian naval Diplomacy: Post Tsunami", *Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies*, last modified on February 08, 2005, http://www.ipcs.org/focusthemsel.php?articleNo=1640.
[21] Ibid.

contributions of the West and failed to comprehend the scale and quality of the Indian response. When the first USN ship USS Duluth (LPD) arrived in Sri Lanka on 10 January 2015, two weeks later, IN had already helped clear thousands of tons of wreckage and debris from the crippled port of Galle making the port operational.[22] Another key inference that can be drawn from India's massive Tsunami relief operations is that India stands out as a benign sea power ever willing to address the concerns and requirements of its maritime neighbourhood of its own volition.

In November2007, the IN dispatched four ships, Gharial {LST (L)}, Mahish, Kumbhir and Cheetha {all three LST (M)} with thousands of tons of relief supplies to Bangladesh immediately post cyclone Sidr. In May 2008, after cyclone Nargis had ravaged Myanmar, IN Ships Rana and Kirpan on entering Port Blair on completion of one month overseas deployment (OSD) to South and East China Sea were operationally turned around overnight, loaded with tons of relief supplies and dispatched to Yangon at best speed. The IN ships were the first to traverse up the long serpentine riverine channel littered with debris, dead cattle and bereft of navigational marks to deliver the supplies.[23] Anticipatory preparations by the IN, rapidity in role reversals and alacrity of operations stand out as inherent character of the IN from these incidents.

Anti-Piracy Operations

The IN has been involved in antipiracy missions in the Gulf of Aden region and other piracy prone areas since 2008. As of July 26, 2018 the IN has thwarted 44 piracy attempts (most affected ships were not destined for India), escorted 3428 merchant ships in Gulf of Aden and deployed a total of 70 ships towards the continuing

[22] Ashutosh Sheshabalaya, "Tsunmi Relief- The Great Indian Absence," *Why India? – A Backgrounder*, last modified on February 9, 2005, http://www.outsourceprocess.com/highcommission/Tsunami.htm.

[23] The author was the Navigation and Operations Officer of INS Rana from Jun 2007 to May 2008. This is a first hand experience.

mission.[24] The presence of the IN for antipiracy missions is uninterrupted and the IN has coordinated its escort and patrol missions with all other extra regional and multilateral forces operating in the region, including China's Anti-Piracy Escort Force (APEF), Japanese Navy, EUNAVFOR[25] and CTF 151[26]. The distinction of the IN lies in undertaking resolute actions against piracy and willingness to use all means including kinetic where necessary to deter and disrupt acts of piracy. Based on the intensive efforts of the IN and the Ministry of External Affairs (MoFA), the 'High-Risk Area' extending up to 78 deg longitude off India could be shifted back by IMO westward well beyond the Indian EEZ and closer to east coast of Africa to the earlier limit of 65 deg longitude.[27] It is not surprising to note that merchant ships traversing the piracy affected area were required to pay at one time (during the heightened years of piracy) up to 150,000 US dollars per voyage for insurance for passage through Gulf of Aden in 2010, as against 500 US dollars per ship per voyage before May 2008.[28] It is estimated that the resultant loss accrued to India due to piracy off Somalia and in the adjoining Arabian sea could have been huge given that the World Bank Report had put it to 18 billion US dollars annually for world economy,[29] before this

[24] Rahul Singh, "Indian Navy Counts 10 yers off Gains in the Gulf of Aden," *Hindustan Times*, last modified on August 01, 2018, https://www.pressreader.com/.

[25] European Union Naval Force Somalia (Operation Atalanta) is a current counter-piracy military operation at sea off the Horn of Africa and in the Western Indian Ocean, that is the first naval operation conducted by the European Union.

[26] Combined Task Force 151 is a multinational naval task force, set up in 2009 as a response to piracy attacks in the Gulf of Aden and eastern coast of Somalia. It operates in conjunction with EU's Operation Atlanta and NATO's Operation Ocean Shield.

[27] Rahul Singh, "Indian Navy Counts 10 yrs off Gains in the Gulf of Aden," *Hindustan Times*, last modified on August 01, 2018, https://www.pressreader.com/.

[28] Anna Bowden, "The Economic Cost of Maritime Piracy," *One Earth Future Working Paper* (December 2010), p. 10.

[29] Teo Kermiliotis, "Somali Pirates Cost Global Economy $ 18 Billion a Year," *CNN Business*, last modified April 12, 2013,

menace was brought under control by the IN in its area of operations resulting in phenomenal savings to the nation.

Non-Combatant Evacuation Operations

India has the second largest diaspora in the world, of nearly 31.2 million spread across 208 nations/ territories.[30] These include nearly 13.3 million Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) who are Indian Citizens, and another 17.9 million Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs).[31] Significantly, 94% of the NRIs and 99.7% of the PIOs reside in coastal states, adding to our maritime links and overseas interests.[32] This aspect also brings focus on to the Non Combatant Evacuation Operations (NEO), another area where India has displayed capability in handling complex situations. As regional instability in West Asia has increased, the Indian Navy has been increasingly tasked to undertake non-combatant evacuation from conflict-hit areas. In 2006 while the world stood watching after an Israeli warship was attacked and damaged by a shore-launched missile C-802 in Lebanese waters ten nautical miles off the coast of Beirut,[33] Indian naval ships Mumbai (Destroyer), Betwa and Brahmaputra (both Frigates) and Shakti (Tanker) entered Lebanon and evacuated 1,764 Indian citizens and 516 foreign nationals. [34] A similar evacuation was undertaken from Libya in 2011 by Mysore (Destroyer) and Jalashwa (Landing Platform Dock)

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https://edition.cnn.com/2013/04/12/business/piracy-economy-world-bank/index.html.

[30] As per data updated till December 2017, by the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs, there are around 133,27,438 NRIs and 179,05,796 PIOs residing in 208 nations and territories, www.moia.gov.in, last accessed on 17 November 2018.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Directorate of Strategy, Concepts and Transformation, *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, Naval Strategic Publication (NSP) 1.2, (New Delhi: Integrated Headquarters, Ministry of Defense (Navy), 2015), p. 30.

[33] Kirk Spencer and Trent Telenko, "An Analysis of Hezbollah Anti-Ship Missile Strike: The Attack on INS Ahi-Hanit," *Behind the news in Israel*, last modified on July 25, 2006, https://israelbehindthenews.com/an-analysis-of-the-hezbollah-anti-ship-missile-strike-the-attack-on-ins-ahi-hanit/4892/.

[34] Directorate of Strategy, Concepts and Transformation, *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, p. 99.

where 150 Indian citizens were evacuated and most recently in Yemen in 2015, where Indian warships evacuated citizens of 35 countries including US, UK, France and Italy among others to the safety of Djibouti, from where most were either airlifted by the Indian Air Force and Air India or transferred to safety on board civilian ships. During this opeartion named 'Rahat' the IN ships Sumitra (NOPV), Tarkash (Frigate) and Mumbai (Destroyer) evacuated 1,783 Indians and 1,291 foreign nationals[35] from war torn ports of Aden, Al Hudaydah and Aish Shihr amidst actual combat (heavy shelling and exchanges of fire) between Saudi Arabia led coailition and Shiite Houthi rebels of Yemen. That the IN displayed the operational capability or decisive ability to enter war torn zones to undertake dangerous evacuation showcases the strong commitment to protect own citizens by the Government of India and steadfast resolve of the IN to execute operation notwithstanding the grave risks involved.[36]

Coastal Security

It has been a decade now since November 2008 terrorist attack on India's financial capital Mumbai. Infamously known as 26/11, the sea borne terrorist intrusion showcased the evolving hybrid nature of security threats along with huge chinks in India's coastal security architecture. Neither the IN, nor the Indian Coast Guard (ICG) or the police could prevent the incident. The seaborne terrorists from Pakistan hijacked Indian fishing vessel in Indian waters and made way to the iconic Gate Way of India in Mumbai undetected and subsequently unleashed mayhem. The huge Indian coastline and the typical characteristics of the sea such as 'large, opaque and varied' allowed the terrorist to hide in plain sight. Consequently, the Indian government in its review of the coastal security in February 2009 made the IN responsible for putting in place a comprehensive coastal

[35] Ibid.

[36] The other two countries whose warships entered Port of Aden were China and Pakistan. The IN's rescue missions were carried out from 02 April to 11 April, 2015. Highest number of civilians both Indians and foreign nationals were rescued by the IN.

security framework involving multiple agencies that is effective and seamless.[37] Though such a frame work has been put in place involving various ministries and security agencies at both Central and State Government levels including mechanisms for maritime domain awareness, use of technology, technical and manual means, physical patrolling, intelligence gathering from coastal communities and their sensitisation and operational response during contingencies, it has not yet been put to test for its efficiency and effectiveness in a real scenario and hopefully it should not come to that. It can be therefore contended that the comprehensive measures put in place have acted as deterrence against repeat of similar intrusion. However, the means at disposal of the Government of India for extending seamless protection to the expansive coastline may still be limited. The coastal security has put additional burden on the IN to earmark assets for constabulary roles at home in coordination with the ICG, a situation which is not very desirable and further accentuated by non-existence of effective marine policing force across the coastal states of India barring a few.

In 2009 the IN in order to meet the challenge of managing coastal security created from within itself a force of 1,000 personnel along with procurement of 80 Fast Interceptor Crafts (FICs) christened 'Sagar Prahari Bal' for protection of naval coastal installations and assets including rapid response to the coastal security threats and seaward protection of naval harbours.[38] Such a force is barely sufficient for the IN and the seven key naval harbours from which it primarily operates viz. Mumbai, Goa, Karwar, Kochi, Chennai, Visakhapatnam and Port Blair. The mammoth coastal security task can be gauged from the fact that India has 12 major and 200 non-major ports, spread along its East and West Coasts, as also

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[37] Directorate of Strategy, Concepts and Transformation, *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, p. 107.

[38] Express News Service, "Special Forces Ready to Guard Coastal Areas," *The Indian Express*, last updated on December 02, 2009, http://archive.indianexpress.com/news/special-forces-ready-to-guard-coastal-areas/550106/.

its islands.[39] Major port comes under the jurisdiction of the Union Government, and non-major port under the respective coastal states where it is located.[40] The protection of non-major ports thus remains a state subject. Though both the IN and the ICG are closely integrated with the state machineries for conduct of coastal security operations, it is no brainer that coastal security remains a major security challenge for India.

Conclusive Reflections

There has not been one occasion in the 21st century where India and the IN in particular have not acted decisively to address the maritime challenges that emanated in the IOR be it piracy, HA/DR, NEO or coastal security. In fact the IN has developed niche capability in addressing these challenges overtime, learning from past and streamlining its procedures and doctrines particularly in regard to conduct MSO and/ or MOOW and coastal security. Further, the IN continues to patrol not only own EEZ but also undertakes surveillance and patrol of the vast EEZ of other island nations in the IOR such as Maldives, Seychelles and Mauritius in joint operations with the local maritime forces providing them much needed maritime security thousands of miles from the Indian shores in addition to coordinated patrols with several regional navies for enhancing maritime security.[41] This however does not mean that there are no capacity shortfalls. For example, the IN has had to undertake a very fine balance and prioritise its roles and tasks. This is evident from the fact that China's APEF consist of at least two to three ships (two principal combatants and one supply ship)[42] whereas India generally has one

[39] Directorate of Strategy, Concepts and Transformation, *Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, p. 27.
[40] Ibid., p. 155.
[41] Ibid., p. 96.
[42] Huang Panyue, "China's Escort Force Sets Sail for Gulf of Aden as Navy's Anti Piracy Mission Approaches 10-year Mark," Andrew S. Erickson, last modified on August 12, 2018, http://www.andrewerickson.com/2018/08/chinas-30th-escort-task-force-sets-sail-for-gulf-of-aden-as-navys-anti-piracy-mission-approaches-10-year-mark/.

ship in station for antipiracy missions at any given point of time in the Gulf of Aden region (Since 2008 till July 2018 India has deployed 70 ships for antipiracy mission).[43] It is another matter that the IN retains the capability of rapid deployment and initiative in the IOR more than any other country. It would be relevant to quote Geoffrey Till here:

> Governments around the world have shown a political tendency to sign up for various MSO arrangements without fully recognising the need for the distinctive resources that should accompany such liabilities. The resultant shortages may well increase the need for navies to make unwelcome priority choices… Should navies diversify in order to accommodate all these functions, or should they seek to hive off responsibility for good order tasks to coastguards, either within or without the naval service?[44]

The next chapter would examine the prevailing geopolitical situation and the security issues in the IOR and how does that affect the IN's roles and deployment.

CHAPTER 3
The Effect of Geopolitics and Security on the Roles and Deployment of the IN

The IN may have to be establish a fine balance in its deployment patterns between the power projection and sea control requirements that are both increasingly becoming equally important towards accomplishment of its objectives. In this context in this chapter it is aimed to establish how geopolitical and security factors

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[43] PTI, "No hijacking of any ship for last two years on anti-piracy watch: Indian Navy," *The Economic Times*, last updated July 14, 2018, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/no-hijacking-of-any-ship-for-last-two-years-on-anti-piracy-watch-indian-navy/articleshow/50013756.cms.

[44] Geoffrey Till, *Seapower: A Guide for the Twenty-first Century* New York: Routledge, 2013, p. 317.

are driving the IN with perspective of IN's objective of being a net maritime security provider in the IOR.

Energy Dependency on West Asia

The biggest sources of India's oil supplies lie in the West Asia (Saudi Arabia, Iraq, UAE and Iran except Nigeria, Venezuela and USA).[45] The geopolitical stability of West Asia region is critical to India's economy and growth and thus consequently linked to its security as well. It therefore definitely is a key area of focus for the IN. It is not surprising to note that most of the energy producers in the West Asia have a comparatively smaller naval force. In that sense it can be argued that they have intrinsically offloaded their security at sea to the energy importing nations for whom oil and gas remains a critical commodity. That also explains the highest concentration of multinational and regional navies across the globe between Gulf of Aden, Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf to secure their SLOCs, and India is no exception. There remains an avenue to engage militarily with West Asian nations more constructively, a space predominantly occupied by the western extra regional powers but with enough scope of furtherance of engagement by India militarily. This avenue also demands more impetus due to the fact that Pakistan remains the only traditional regional adversary that sits right across to the north of India's energy flow in the Arabian Sea, onwards from Gulf of Oman and right next to one of the India's key energy suppliers Iran and Oman. Specifically in this region, the IN's role may not be just constabulary but also diplomatic and military in nature. The IN's objectives, missions and tasks in this area under these broad roles could therefore cover an entire gamut of naval operations from security point of view. For example, in case of constabulary role, one of the objectives of the IN would be to ensure good order at sea in this

[45] Bilal Abdi, "India's Crude Oil Imports from Iran Jumped 44 per cent in August," *ETEnergyWorld* , last updated September 24, 2018, https://energy.economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/oil-and-gas/indias-crude-oil-imports-from-iran-jumped-44-per-cent-in-august/65935497.

area, which could include counter armed threat missions and thus tasks such as patrol and anti-piracy. For military role, one of the IN's objectives would be to safeguard India's mercantile marine and maritime trade, which would involve SLOC protection missions and tasks such as surveillance, patrol and synthesis of white shipping information[46]. If we see diplomatic role then it could mean objectives of achieving both the portrayal of defence capability and promotion of regional security. This may require the IN to engage in Presence and Surveillance Missions (PSM) and/or constructive maritime engagements with the West Asian nations and tasks that would be required to be executed by the IN would include, overseas deployment (OSD), coordinated patrol, bilateral/multilateral exercise in the region, port visits etc. all with increasing frequency and regularity.

Competition in the IOR and Overseas Bases

Many extra regional forces that are present in the Arabian Sea for MSO, are also stationed in the Indian Ocean with permanent or temporary bases in place including China and Japan whereas India doesn't have a forward operating base (FOB) in any other country at present than in the islands that belong to India, even though India regards IOR as its backyard. Interestingly, the only country to have expressed concern over Indian Ocean being termed as India's backyard is China, which incidentally contests the operations of navies other than regional in the South and East China Sea. [47] China is India's biggest extra regional maritime adversary and Pakistan's strongest strategic ally. This relationship is unlikely to change in the near future given the geopolitical realities. In this respect operations of PLAN (Peoples Republic Army Navy) in the IOR assume significance.

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[46] White shipping means sharing and exchange of advance information regarding identity and movement of non-military commercial vessels.

[47] PTI, "Indian Ocean Cannot be the Backyard of India: China," *The Economic Times*, last updated on July 02, 2018, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/indian-ocean-cannot-be-backyard-of-india-china/articleshow/47891860.cms.

Though these operations by the PLAN in the IOR as claimed by China are primarily in support of MSO to secure its SLOCs and the IN's in consonance with advocated policy of 'Security and Growth for all in the Region' (SAGAR) outlined by the honourable PM Shri Narendra Modi, it may not be presumptuous to infer that both nations remain suspicious of each others activities. China remains concerned with respect to its critical energy security riding on mercantile trade being wary of India's capability in interdicting its shipping in the IOR in case of hostilities. This is exacerbated by India's unequivocal opposition of its ambitious OBOR (One Belt One Road) project(s) particularly China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC), which is an alternative to sea route but India sees as an infringement of its sovereignty as the project utilizes illegally ceded land of Aksai Chin by Pakistan to China. [48] India on its part remains concerned with China's overt and covert support to Pakistan militarily and China's military push in the IOR in terms of its engagements of the IOR littoral nations to secure bases, logistical support stations and enhanced naval deployments in the region. The theory of encirclement of India by China or String of Pearls remains in vogue and seems to be bearing to fruition gradually but progressively.[49] The acquisition of operating rights of the Sri Lankan port of Hambantota through creation of economic dependency (read debt trap), securing of developmental contracts of other very large scale financially intensive projects such as Chittagong Port in Bangladesh, Ihavanddhippolhu Integrated Development (IHavan) in Maldives, Kyapukpyu deep water port in Myanmar, Gwadar deep water port in Pakistan and

[48] Aksai Chin is one of the two large disputed border areas between India and China. India claims Aksai Chin as the easternmost part of the Jammu and Kashmir state. China claims that Aksai Chin is part of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.

[49] Aashish, "China's "String of Pearls": The encirclement of India & how to break the chakravyuh?," *Strategic Frontier Research Foundation*, last updated December 23, 2017, https://www.strategicfront.org/chinas-string-pearls-encirclement-india-break-chakravyuh/.

construction of military base in Djibouti being the case in point.[50] Curiously, India could have also upped the ante. There are reports of development of FOBs and/ or logistic facilities in Oman (Port of Duqm), Seychelles (Assumption Islands) and Mauritius (Agalega Island) by India.[51] Thus in this environment of competition among two growing and modernizing navies jostling for strategic space in the IOR, the IN would have to be ever ready for its primary military role with objectives of acting as deterrence against conflict and coercion and safeguard India's national interests and maritime security. The missions of the navy would encompass for such a scenario building of a formidable MDA, force protection, SLOC protection and maritime interdiction (in case of escalation) and tasks that would include information gathering and exchange, enhanced surveillance and patrols; anti-air, anti-surface, anti-submarine and information operations including electronic warfare. All this would be achievable only through extensive resource commitment and planning for future including continuous deployment in the concerned area of operations.

Collaborative, Cooperative and Coordinated Bilateral and Multilateral Military Exercises and Engagements

India has strategic maritime security arrangements in place with Sri Lanka, Maldives, Mauritius and Seychelles in the IOR. This commits the IN to patrol the EEZ of these countries either through bilateral or trilateral mechanisms and undertake PSM to secure their maritime territories against foreseeable threats, to act as deterrent against non-state actors that may be inimical to the maritime interests of these nations. The IN here plays the role of a supporting force guaranteeing maritime security to the extent feasible through occasional or regular deployments of its warships for the assigned tasks among others things as part of the defence cooperation. In

[50] Tuneer Mukherjee, "China's Maritime Quest in the Indian Ocean: New Delhi's Options," *The Diplomat*, last modified April 24, 2018, https://thediplomat.com/2018/04/chinas-maritime-quest-in-the-indian-ocean-new-delhis-options/.

[51] Ibid.

addition, the IN also undertakes CORPATs (coordinated patrols) with Indonesia, Myanmar, Thailand and Bangladesh navies against non-traditional maritime security threats such as maritime terrorism, drug smuggling, human trafficking, poaching etc. All these tasks have high demand on the naval air and surface platforms.

Another driver for the IN's intensive deployment in the IOR is the conduct of large number of bilateral and multilateral exercises regularly around the year across the IOR. These exercises afford the IN the opportunity to learn and develop joint operating procedures, allowing for difference in force capabilities, and resolve a range of equipment and procedural interoperability issues through development of doctrines over a period of time. The purpose behind this push is simple. Shaping a broader maritime environment to counter the flow of threats and challenges from one area to another requires inclusive and cooperative efforts between nations concerned and their maritime forces.[52] This may not be achievable by the IN alone. This aspect is discussed in more detail in the next chapter. At the moment it would be suffice to point out that there is not one regional or extra regional maritime navy except Pakistan and China with whom the IN doesn't conduct exercises regularly.

The INCG also conducts trilateral exercise *Dosti* with the Maldives National Defence Force (MNDF) and Sri Lanka Coast Guard.[53] Further, the IN conducts Milan series of multilateral exercise under the aegis of Andaman and Nicobar Command, which has seen participation growing to 17 foreign navies since its inception in 1995.[54] The scale and complexity of all these multilateral and bilateral exercises is rising with each passing year and this has direct implications on the deployment of its assets. For example, As part of the sea phase of the JIMEX 18 four IN ships and two JMSDF ships undertook wide range of exercises including anti-submarine warfare exercises, Visit, Board, Search and Seizure (VBSS) drills, gun firings,

[52] Directorate of Strategy, Concepts and Transformation, *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy,* Ibid., p. 84.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., p. 87.

cross deck helo operations and coordinated operations in anti-submarine and anti-air threat scenario.[55] It is therefore evident that the security perceptions are continuously driving the IN towards increasing frequency, complexity and scale of bilateral and multilateral exercises.

These exercises afford IN an immense operational value in the IOR against a formidable adversary. It enables the IN to continuously evolve its tactical and operational doctrines through lessons derived from exercising with the most advanced navies in the world and that too in an environment, which is the IN's playground. This sets in motion enabling transformative processes. Further, these exercises do carry a subtle strategic message to a competitor or an adversary as they not only showcase the IN's capability but interoperability and compatibility also with other potent friendly navies. China's sharp reaction to Japan's inclusion in the Malabar exercise is a case in point. Chinese Foreign Ministry Spokesman Hong Lei told a media briefing while replying to a question on Japan's inclusion in the Malabar drills, "Our position is very clear. It is hoped that the relevant country will not provoke confrontation and heighten tensions in the region."[56]

The Essentiality of Sea Control

This brings to the important aspect of exercising the sea control in the IOR when warranted, a more traditional but one of the primary tasks among the military roles of the IN. In the backdrop of the operation Desert Storm, Geoffrey Till writes:

> This did not, however, mean that sea control was any less important, merely that at that time it does not have to be fought for. One day,

[55] Indian Navy, "JIMEX 18 – Update 2," *Indian Navy*, last accessed on December 20, 2018, https://www.indiannavy.nic.in/node/21075.

[56] PTI, "China Reacts Sharply to Japan's Inclusion in the Malabar Exercises," *The Economic Times*, last updated July 12, 2018, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/china-reacts-sharply-to-japans-inclusion-in-malabar-exercises/articleshow/50172813.cms.

> great navies might have to fight for it again. Moreover, the capacity to protect oneself against all manner of threats on open ocean remains the 'gold standard' of naval capability, which assures navies of so much else.[57]

It is towards the pursuance of this 'gold standard' that the IN has huge operational commitment. The IN executes theatre level plan and conducts operational readiness inspections (ORIs) regularly every year both on the eastern and the western seaboard. The theatre level campaign (exercises) usually encompass almost the entire primary Area of Interest (AI) of the IN and much beyond. These are platform intensive operational deployments up to few weeks (four to eight weeks or even more) involving live weapon firings, fleet work ups, joint workups and war gamming at sea. The number of surface platforms deployed itself could be anywhere up to 50 surface combatants and submarines and 70-80 aircraft or even more.[58] This preparedness for future combat is critical to keep the navy sharp and its powder dry. But at the same time it does have effect on the other roles and tasks, which have to be prioritized by the IN.

Another pertinent aspect of 'Sea Control' is that it is not only demanding on platforms but also a human resource centric activity. This is evident from the critical requirement of 'T4' (Tactics, Talent, Tools and Training) for organizing the surface navy for enhanced combat power as outlined in the '*Surface Force Strategy – Return to Sea Control'* by Admiral T.S. Rowden, Commander, Naval Surface Force, USN.[59] Therefore, if the IN does not want the high-end skill sets to erode whilst remaining engaged with power projection and low-end missions such as under MSO, it would have to find time and

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[57] Geoffrey Till, *Seapower: A Guide for the Twenty-first Century* New York: Routledge, 2013, p. 156.

[58] Indian Navy, "CNS Reviews TROPEX," *Indian Navy*, last accessed on December 20, 2018, https://www.indiannavy.nic.in/content/cns-reviews-tropex.

[59] T.S. Rowden, "Surface Force Strategy: Return to Sea Control," *USN*, accessed on December 01, 2018, https://www.public.navy.mil/surfor/Documents/Surface_Forces_Strategy.pdf.

resources to continue to exercise its platforms and personnel towards sea control even when there may not be an emergent need to actually do so.

Commitment To Coastal Security

The final component of the IN's key tasking that is driven by need for securing the coastal and offshore waters is the coastal security. Security is a very expansive and extensive business. In order to plug the gaps at sea the numbers of forces required beyond a certain percentage of success of detection become phenomenally large, unaffordable and impractical. It would be nearly impossible to ever achieve 100% coastal security, despite the technology and the wherewithal especially if one is considering 7,517 Km of coastline littered with more than 200 major and minor ports spread across nine coastal states in India, each having a different setup for coastal security. The Indian solution to this complexity involves a multilayered (both at sea and ashore) and an integrated mechanism monitored centrally through an Information Management and Analysis Centre (IMAC) and fed by Joint Operations Centre (JOC), Regional Coastal Security Operations Centre (RCSOC) and State Coastal Security Operations Centre (SCSOC) which have to be further coordinated with six central government ministries and 15 independent organization including the IN and the INCG with the IN at the helm of the affairs[60]. The critical importance given to the coastal security by the IN can be gauged from the recent statement of the serving Chief of the Naval Staff, '*As part of efforts to further beef up coastal security, a massive coastal security exercise, christened "Sea Vigil" covering the entire coastline as well as island territories is being organised in January next year*.'[61] The scale of such an

[60] For detailed information see Chapter 6 of *Ensuring Secure Seas: India Maritime Security Strategy*.

[61] PTI, "India Better Prepared, More Organised 10 Years After 26/11 Attack: Navy Chief," *Times of India*, last modified on November 25, 2018, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/india-better-prepared-more-organised-10-years-after-26/11-attack-navy-

exercise would be mammoth. Point to be noted here is that a blue water navy such as the IN is also obliged to acknowledge the predominance of the brown water constabulary demands on it and commit extensively and permanently phenomenal resources towards securing its littoral waters, especially in the Indian context having been designated as the custodian of the coastal security by the Government of India.

Having examined the geopolitical and security factors that shape the IN's role and deployment and before that the IN's resolve in tackling security challenges in the IOR, the final chapter would seek to evaluate the wherewithal of the IN to shape a favourable and positive maritime environment towards enabling net maritime security in the IOR and consequently gauge the IN's effectiveness in contributing towards India being the net security provider in the region.

CHAPTER 4
Capability of the IN to Provide Net Maritime Security in the IOR

India is not just the largest maritime nation in the IOR (excluding Australia which is an Indo-Pacific nation) but also has the largest navy and the coastguard among all the IOR nations. Conditioning of maritime environment to secure seas in its periphery for itself and consequently provide security assurance to all those that use those seas is a natural responsibility that the nation accepts given its geostrategic location in the South Asia overlooking the busiest sea lanes. Honourable PM Shri Narendra Modi pointed out during the inking of a defence pact with Maldives in July 18, '*India understands its role as a net security provider in the region*".[62] India exudes this

chief/articleshow/66795098.cms?utm_medium=referral&utm_campaign=iOS app&utm_source=email.

[62] Dipanjan Roy Chaudhary, ET Bureau, "India Maldives Sign pact to Expand Defence Cooperation," *The Economic Times*, last modified on July 12, 2018, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/india-maldives-sign-pact-to-expand-defence-cooperation/articleshow/51779405.cms

role as a benign sea power, following the principles of cooperation, coordination and collaboration with all other IOR nations, and in a large measure through key instrument of its maritime power, the IN.

Modern Versus Postmodern Navy

To estimate the capability of the IN in this respect it would be appropriate to begin with evaluation of what kind of navy the IN is? Geoffrey Till whilst cautioning against the fixation of usage of terms or labels to define navies categorizes them primarily as pre-modern, modern and postmodern navies.[63] The terms specifically link the development of navies to the nature of state they serve and to competing attitudes towards globalization.[64] He lists:

> The mission priorities of a modern navy as sea control, nuclear deterrence and ballistic missile defence, maritime power projection, exclusive good order at sea, and competitive gunboat diplomacy; and the missions of the postmodern navy as sea control, expeditionary operations, stability operations/ humanitarian assistance, inclusive good order at sea and cooperative naval diplomacy.[65]

Viewed from this prism of modern and post- modern navies, the last three missions including sea control outlined for a post-modern navy are clearly in synch with the missions of the IN. In that sense, the IN is primarily a post-modern navy. Of course, the missions of any post-modern navy would also include elements of missions of a modern navy and a pure distinctive characterisation would be difficult or even absurd. However, the bent of a navy can definitely be evaluated through the manifestation of its state's policies and priorities. After all the navies are the maritime mirrors of their states.

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[63] Geoffrey Till, *Seapower: A Guide for the Twenty-first Century* New York: Routledge, 2013, p. 28.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid., pp. 32-35.

Benign Sea Power Versus Regional Hegemon

A comparison between adaptation of inclusive good order at sea by India in the IOR and exclusive good order at sea by China in the South and East China Sea respectively is worth reflecting upon. For instance, India has resolved its maritime boundary disputes inclusively with all its neighbouring states in the IOR (Indonesia, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Myanmar, and Bangladesh excluding Pakistan), even honouring the ruling of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) when it has not been in favour of India.[66] China on the other hand has exclusively staked its claim on the entire South China Sea through its vague nine-dashed line demarcation (there are conflicting claims on the sea areas, islands and corals in the region by several sovereign states viz. China, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei and Philippines) and refuses to accept ruling of the ICJ (China – Philippines dispute).[67] Through military means it has unilaterally occupied many islands and coral reefs in the disputed waters, modified the marine environment and converted corals and islands into fortified military bases. Occasionally, China continues to harass navies and coastguards of regional and extra regional countries operating or passing through South China Sea with clear confrontational intent in total disregard of rule-based international law, freedom of navigation and legitimate use of sea.[68] The difference in approach towards resolving maritime disputes by a benign sea

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[66] Ankit Panda, "International Court Rules in Favor of Bangladesh on Maritime Dispute With India," *The Diplomat,* last updated Jul 10, 2014, https://thediplomat.com/2014/07/international-court-rules-in-favor-of-bangladesh-on-maritime-dispute-with-india/.

[67] Cliff Venzon, "Philippines Hints at Compromise on South China Sea Dispute Pact," *Nikkei Asian Review*, last updated October 29, 2018, https://asia.nikkei.com/Politics/International-Relations/Philippines-hints-at-compromise-on-South-China-Sea-dispute-pact.

[68] Boston Global Forum, "Chinese Disputes in the South China Sea: Risks and Solutions for the Asia-Pacific," *Boston Global Forum, 10/16/2015 (2015): pp. 2-4.* Benjamin Herscovitch, "A Balanced Threat Assessment of China's South China Sea Policy," *CATO Institute*, *Policy Analysis* no. 820 (2017).

power and a regional hegemonic sea power couldn't be more discernible.

The IN derives its source power towards developing the capability to be a net maritime security provider through implementation of national policy on ground. To be able to be successful in its strategy for conditioning a positive and favourable maritime environment it needs to cooperate, coordinate and collaborate not only with like-minded navies and coastguards externally but also synergise its actions with the other two sister services and the ICG internally. The hard security that the IN brings through its military and also through constabulary roles and the soft security that it provides through its diplomatic and benign roles determine the extent of its ability to be the net maritime security provider.

Strategic Autonomy

A key policy framework within which the IN has to operate in the IOR whilst tasking units for providing security is the principle of 'strategic autonomy', which clearly distinguishes it from almost all the other postmodern navies operating in the IOR. Strategic autonomy percolates down to the IN's inability to be commandeered into joint or collaborative missions that are not UN sanctioned. But at the same time it affords the IN flexibility to engage into constructive mechanisms with the other navies towards mutually beneficial missions and tasks through bilateral and multilateral security cooperation and defence pacts. The message that rings out in the IOR is clear. The IN encapsulates the national policy in its essence and cannot be seen to take sides. However, it would accommodate objectives, cooperate for accomplishment of missions and coordinate it's own tasks with other navies that contribute towards overall good order and security in the IOR and beyond as is evident from its antipiracy patrols, coordinated patrols and HA/DR missions detailed in the previous chapters. Whilst practicing this national policy of strategic autonomy, the IN emerges as a fair, trustworthy, dependable and an unhinged security partner in the IOR.

Capacity Building and Capability Enhancement

To be able to leverage the potential among the IOR states to effectively contribute towards shaping positive maritime environment, the IN has to focus on capacity building and capability development of friendly foreign navies, particularly smaller navies in the region.[69] The IN in the past has given patrol vessels and aircraft to few states and even facilitated construction of new ships at Indian shipyards and further provided training to man these platforms including technical assistance for maintenance, repairs and refits.[70] However, there is a need to enhance the level of such defence cooperation to maintain the strategic balance in the IOR against the growing competitive policies being adopted by some nations.

Here the key issue of concern is that India is still not a manufacturing hub. India is the largest importer of arms, ammunition, weapon systems and military platforms in the world and fifth largest military spender.[71] It's so because its own industrial base has not developed to design and manufacture complex systems, sub systems, machineries and platforms, and those that are made in India have huge import percentage. Thus the PM's push towards 'Make in India', a key cog in the overall progress and development of the country as a whole that had earlier been neglected, consequently has had a definitive adverse impact through its earlier absence on the present day military capabilities of the nation as well. The defence industry in India is at present in its infancy but positive aspect is that it is making huge strides ever since the policy impetus towards manufacturing to reduce dependencies.[72] The mitigating strategies in

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[69] Directorate of Strategy, Concepts and Transformation, *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, pp. 91-94.

[70] Ibid., p. 93.

[71] Rajat Pandit, TNN, "With 12% of Global imports, India Tops List of Arms Buyers," *The Times of India*, last updated on March 13, 2018, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/with-12-of-global-imports-india-tops-list-of-arms-buyers-report/articleshow/63276648.cms.

[72] Keerti Joshi, "Challenges to Defence Indigenisation in India. Part 1: Policy Hurdles," *Keertivardhan Joshi*, last updated December 23, 2016, https://joshikeerti15.wordpress.com/2016/12/23/defence-policy-hurdles/.

this regard to overcome this structural flaw are outlined later in this chapter. It would be suffice to bring out that this absence in manufacturing base did spur innovation and improvisation within the IN and the shipping industry to a considerable extent as enumerated below. The IN is one of the major and active participants in the 'Make in India' venture. The navy has over the years developed niche capability in warship and submarine design through its Directorate of Naval Design (DND) and in collaboration with various defence and public sector units (DPSUs) and off late with private Indian shipyards, these designs are paving way for the IN's next generation of warships. It is because of this foresight of people at the helm of affairs of the IN, India has been manufacturing naval platforms of increasing complexity and lethality for many years now. Among the latest high profile projects, INS Vikrant, India's first indigenous aircraft carrier (CVV) is under construction at Cochin Shipyard Limited in Kochi, Kerala and the first nuclear submarine INS Arihant (SSBN)[73] was constructed in Visakhapatnam and recently successfully completed its first deterrence patrol post extensive trials after being commissioned in August 2016, thus consolidating India's nuclear triad.[74]

Training Cooperation

One arena where the IN has excelled in terms of capacity building is training cooperation. Over the years the IN has developed capability to impart quality professional naval training through many of its training institutes and facilities spread across seven of its coastal states, which are in high demand and proactively subscribed by many navies both within and without the IOR for training of their personnel, ranging from basic level among sailors to specialization training among officers. In fact at present the IN trains more than

[73] Sub Surface Ballistic Nuclear (SSBN), a classification of nuclear propelled submarine capable of launching long range ballistic missiles.

[74] ET Online, "INS Arihant Completes India's Nuclear Triad, PM Modi Felicitates Crew," *The Economic Times*, last updated November 06, 2018, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/ins-arihant-completes-indias-nuclear-triad-pm-modi-felicitates-crew/articleshow/66509959.cms.

1000 foreign naval personnel from about 25 navies every year.[75] In addition, the IN also deputes mobile training teams (MTTs) to other friendly foreign countries on demand for customized training packages as per their requirements.[76] This has also seen increasing demand and at present at least ten MTTs are deputed outside India every year. The regular training cooperation provided by the IN has helped the navies to convert their potential into capable actionable force thus contributing to the strategic aim of enhanced security in the region through building of their enforcement capabilities. The training cooperation has in fact helped to promote interoperability with the IN.

These enabling mechanisms along with dynamic and static surveillance means and information networking and management systems not only enhance India's own coastal security but also act as force multipliers towards enhancing regional maritime security.

Force Structure for Providing Security

Cody T. Smith in his thesis states that the *Ensuring Secure Seas* demonstrates India's aspiration for fleet structure similar to the United States.[77] The Indian Navy's aspirations for power projection and sea control are similar in maritime doctrine to the United States, whose proven combat operations at sea can attest to success of said doctrine.[78] The need for the IN to complement both these key strategies of sea control and power projection have considerable demand on the platforms to accomplish tasks outlined in the ensuing missions. A cursory glance at the IN force structure reveals a composite group of 117 ships, 15 submarines and 224 aircraft manned by approximately 67,000

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[75] The author was Captain Training Coordinator, Southern Naval Command, IN's Training Command at Kochi, Kerala, India in previous appointment from October 2016 to February 2018. This is first hand information.

[76] Directorate of Strategy, Concepts and Transformation, *Ensuring Secure Seas: Indian Maritime Security Strategy*, p. 93.

[77] Cody T. Smith, '*Century of the Seas: Unlocking Indian Maritime Strategy in the 21st Century*', NPS, Monterey, September 2017, p. 53.

[78] Ibid.

personnel.[79] Among ships only 25 are major combatants (Aircraft Carrier/ Destroyer/ Frigate), and among aircraft only 13 are Long Range Maritime Patrol (LRMP) aircraft. Additional 26 ships and submarines are under construction in various Indian shipyards and another six have been contracted.[80] Given the time lag in their commissioning and catering for decommissioning of the older platforms, at best it is estimated that the IN would roughly have about 140-150 ships and submarines by 2030, though the vision laid out for the IN by the CNS by 2050 is a 200 ships and submarines and 500 aircraft navy.[81]

To get a measure of adequacy of the present day IN it would be appropriate to compare with another post-modern navy. Here comparison has been drawn with the Japanese Maritime Self Defence Force (JMSDF) to determine the force configuration preferences of the two navies. Prior that a quick look at certain facts about Japan would help put the data in perspective. The coastline of Japan is 29,751 km about four times the Indian coastline and EEZ is 4.47 million sq km, nearly twice that of India encompassing over 6,800 islands, which is also many times more than the India's 1,197 islands. Japan's 99.6% trade is over sea compared to India's 90%.[82] But Japan has significantly very little landmass, being the 62nd largest country in the world as compared to India's seventh largest landmass. JMSDF to date is an 87 ship, 17 submarines (diesel) and 180 aircraft navy manned by approximately 42,000 personnel.[83] 46 ships out of these are destroyers and 84 aircraft

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[79] Jane's IHS Markit, "Executive Summary: India," World Navies—India, last accessed on December 20, 2018, https://janes.ihs.com/WorldNavies/Display/1322696#Executive summary.

[80] Huma Siddiqui, "Indian Navy to Get More Firepower: To deal with China, Govt Approves Construction of 56 More Ships," Financial Express, last updated December 03, 2018, https://www.financialexpress.com/defence/indian-navy-to-get-more-firepower-to-deal-with-china-govt-approves-construction-of-56-more-ships/1402222/.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Japanese MoD presentation for Indian Naval Higher Command Course delegation to Japan made on November 12, 2018 at JMSDF Command and Staff College Tokyo.

[83] Jane's IHS Markit, "Executive Summary: Japan," World Navies—Japan, last accessed on December 20, 2018,

are MPA. Taking all these facets into consideration two pronounced major differences in the force structure of the two navies emerge. In comparison to the IN, JMSDF has invested particularly more in the major surface combatants, 46 in comparison to India's 25 which is nearly twice despite being 2/3rd of the IN surface ships in terms of total numbers of platforms and its fleet of MPA's is more than six times that of India. From the data above one can deduce that the major surface combatant ratio for the JMSDF is 52% and only 21% for the IN; also the MPA ratio is about 47% for the JMSDF and paltry 6% in case of the IN.

These ships and aircraft of JMSDF are much more capable of longer and sustained deployments, covering larger swaths of sea utilizing their formidable onboard sensors and therefore afford more flexibility and reach in their deployments vis-à-vis other combatants which are more numerous in the IN. This blue water configuration of the JMSDF stems from the fact that Japanese coastguard is able to address most of the constabulary duties within their EEZ, which in the case of the IN may not be feasible given its coastal security charter and India's present national security architecture. Another probable reason for this difference could be that the sea lines of communication for Japan are much longer running from West Asia to Japan encompassing entire Indo Pacific region where as India's SLOCs are comparatively much shorter. Finally, the availability of finances and manufacturing and technological prowess also remains one of the key reasons for this difference.

In conclusion, the size and shape of the IN in its present configuration may therefore be modest compared to its extensive open ocean deployment requirements and multifarious tasks as we have seen in the previous two chapters. It is debatable as to what percentage of the navy should be major combatants as it does depend on the geo-political realities, the prevailing and anticipated security environment and consequently its roles, missions and tasks and finally the financial support provided by the government. However, it may not be improbable

https://janes.ihs.com/WorldNavies/Display/1322696#Executive summary.

to consider a mark of about a 150-160 ship navy (surface platforms) with 50-60% ratio in favour of major surface combatants as a more desirable configuration for the IN in the future, with appropriately enhanced sub surface and air fleet both in terms of combat capability and numbers. This subject however would require a separate study in itself and access to the IN's future force structure planning.

Overcoming some Structural Impediments

Learning from the Imperial Japanese Navy (IJN), Rear Admiral Sudrashan Shrikhande, IN (Retd) has insightfully summarised the mitigating strategies to overcome this resource crunch dilemma and build on the absence of the industrial base. It is intended to lean on some of those arguments to conclude this chapter. First, is that the need for self-reliance or *Jiritsu* is to be pursued vigorously. Historically, their inventors and manufacturers have always denied military technology. What is denied but needed would need to be designed and developed.[84] Indigenously Designed Developed and Manufactured (IDDM) for India is the ultimate way to reach a sufficiently high level of self-reliance and must be the prime source of future needs.[85] Secondly, as brought out in this paper the percentage of indigenous components is comparatively low in the made in India platforms. The focus must therefore be on absorption of technology rather than simple transfer of technology (TOT) requiring just assembly of imported parts in India (so called manufacturing). The tendency to exaggerate licensed production or partial manufacture of some hardware, as transfer of technology should be avoided at all costs.[86] Ultimately, absorption of technology rather than TOT is what enables technology transfers.[87] Thirdly, to be a manufacturer requires acute technical skills. India is a country with one of the largest number

[84] Sudarshan Shrikhande, "Make in Japan to Made in Japan, Indigenous Lessons from the Imperial Japanese Navy," *Occasional Papers*, *Vivekanand International Foundation*, August 2016, p. 30.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.

of engineers[88] and yet we are incapable of manufacturing machineries and/ or weapon and sensor systems.[89] The Prime Minister's 'Skill India' Project complements the 'Make in India' vision. The IN remains a key participant in both these ventures. Implementing "Skill India" would become a long-term investment and contribute to profits beyond the horizon.[90] Another associated aspect is investment in the Research and Development and involvement of the private companies in defence equipment manufacture. This is one area where India definitely lost path except in the case of space research. India's research investments for defence equipment have been up till recently limited to Defence Research and Development Organisation, a government undertaking. This resulted in the self-denial of the ability to utilize the capacity and the intellect of the industry at large. With example of the leading defence equipment manufactures being the private companies worldwide, hopefully there would be positive funding of private entities to expand and harness research and developmental potential. Finally, the lessons of history have shown that it is ill advised to build the Navy one can as opposed the one that would serve our future purposes best.[91] This is the key point. A navy such as the IN, which has to critically manage the resources and prioritise its expenditure, must do so in a manner that affords maximum value for future. The IN has devised a strategy for maritime force and capability development in its *Indian Maritime Security Strategy,* which is aimed at meeting India's maritime security requirements. The fructification of the strategy on ground through policy implementation and unhindered pursuance would enable the IN to be the capable force that can provide the net maritime security

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[88] Kounteya Sinha, "India set to Produce World's largest no of Engineers," *The Times of India*, last updated October 26, 2018, https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/India-set-to-produce-worlds-largest-number-of-engineers/articleshow/49532113.cms.

[89] Josy Joseph, "Why can't India Make its Own Arms," *The Economic Times*, last updated August 1, 2010, https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/why-cant-india-make-its-own-arms/articleshow/6243454.cms.

[90] Sudarshan Shrikhande, *Occasional Papers*, *Vivekanand International Foundation*. p. 32.

[91] Ibid.

in the IOR.

Conclusion

The IN, has taken up the mantle of being the 'net maritime' security provider in the IOR to ensure that implicitly the security in the IOR results in growth and prosperity of all maritime nations in the region, which consequentially has positive impact on India's own overall development and rise. Here the net maritime security is not sum total of all security but the creation of a positive and favourable maritime environment by actively countering the prevailing threats, mitigating the risks, and responding to the challenges effectively.

The research paper brings out that the IN is the largest postmodern navy in the Indian Ocean, which has established itself, not only as key to the maritime security of India but also to the security of the global commons in the IOR and other smaller maritime nations as is evident from its actions. By actively prevailing upon the maritime threats through conduct of MSO, curtailing and preventing the illegitimate and illegal use of sea among various other operations, the IN has proven to be a reliable and dependable force in the region. This capability of the IN to rise up to the challenges in the IOR have been recognized to be effective in terms of its speed of response, decisive action taken, qualitative results achieved, and nature of support and assistance rendered. As a benign power, the interest of India lies in uniting all the like-minded maritime nations towards achieving a common minimum agenda of secure and safe IOR, which is a prerequisite for prevalence of peace and prosperity in the region and the IN remains India's that key instrument of the maritime power that acts as an enabler to achieve this goal of SAGAR. The above aspects answer the research question as to Why the IN needs to play key role in acting as Net Maritime Security Provider in the IOR.

However, as brought out in the paper, to accomplish this objective the IN has to leverage the capability brought to the table by all the maritime powers, regional or extra regional operating in the region through various bilateral and multilateral collaborative and

cooperative mechanisms. No single navy is capable of ensuring maritime security in the large swaths of the IOR comprehensively. The IN when looking to provide net maritime security in the IOR also has to cater for a whole gamut of operations demanding a whole set of operational capability that a true blue water navy would need to possess at all times. The challenge that remains with the IN in pursuance of these imperatives is that these have certain cost implications in terms of commitment of its own assets and concomitant development of its own capabilities holistically along with that of other smaller navies with the corresponding need to plug the capacity shortfalls in an increasingly competitive environment in the IOR.

Though in the 21st century time and again the IN has distinguished itself as efficient and effective force in response to the maritime challenges and been the force that has ensured security of the seas, at present there may be some gaps in the IN's ability to be the net maritime security provider in the IOR particularly in terms of availability of assets, force structuring and lack of defence equipment manufacturing base, which are planned to be addressed through aggressive pursuance of a well-defined strategy as outlined in the *Indian Maritime Security Strategy* and Make in India respectively. The success of the *Indian Maritime Security Strategy* is hinged upon importance that would be accorded to it by the government(s) in the overall national security architecture in coming decade and beyond. With maritime affairs being accorded due priority in the recent years, hopefully the IN would be able to achieve the vision of 200 ships and submarines and a 500 aircraft true blue water navy by 2050.

This paper could be useful for scholars to understand why Indian Navy needs to play the role of net maritime security provider in the IOR and in doing so the challenges that it confronts and prepares itself for in the IOR, how geopolitical and security issues are driving the IN's roles and deployment, explains how the IN leverages the strength of other maritime powers and gives a broad peep into the IN's force structure and present capability gaps for providing maritime security.

Australia enhancing engagement, influence, and defence capability on a budget
: How embedding defence personnel supported national strategy during the Gillard Government

Georgina Aceituno

Introduction

> *One of the best ways that regional engagement can achieve its objectives is through activities that enhance personal relationships between members of the Australian Defence organisation and those of regional defence organisations. There are two ways this can be achieved. The first is through what we do overseas and the second is through providing opportunities for overseas defence personnel to undergo training and education in Australia.*[1]

This paper considers the question of how the practice of embedding defence personnel in bilateral engagement programs has supported Australian national strategy. It focuses on embedding activities that were undertaken by Australia during the Gillard Government, noting that this administration experienced intense fiscal pressure and coincided with the United States (US) 'pivot to the Asia-Pacific'. 'Embedding' is a concept that is very familiar to defence personnel and is considered a key engagement mechanism between militaries, and yet there is almost no academic discussion considering the use or value of this practice. Consequently this paper seeks to enhance the understanding of the use of embedding defence personnel and endeavours to emphasize how the practice has contributed towards supporting national strategy.

The examination of embedding activities was grouped into three case studies, each selected as they highlight different examples of the

[1] Bergin, A., Bateman, S. and Channer, H., "Terms of engagement: Australia's regional defence diplomacy," *ASPI Strategy*, July 2013, p. 76, www.aspi.org.au/report/terms-engagement-australias-regional-defence-diplomacy, accessed November 5, 2018.

embedding programs and relationships engaged in by Australia. The first case study considers Australia's longstanding relationship with the US including the government's decision to support the Force Posture Initiatives (FPI). The second case study considers the Australian Defence Force's (ADF's) direct engagement within the South Pacific through activities such as the Defence Cooperation Program (DCP) funded Pacific Patrol Boat Program (PPBP), and the third case study examines the use of Australian-based postgraduate academic training engagement, also funded through the DCP.

The Gillard Government ran for three years from 24 June 2010 until 26 June 2013. During this period economic stresses remained after the 2008 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and Australian defence spending was at its lowest since the end of the Cold War. Major power changes were emerging within the Asia-Pacific region, influenced by the rapid economic and military rise of China, accompanied by concerns that the US could be losing its position of strategic primacy within the region. Australia has a longstanding history with the US as their greatest security ally, and more recently through resource exports, China's and Australia's economies have become increasingly entwined, leading to somewhat of a security dilemma in balancing Australia's relationship with both states and a perceived strategic hedging requirement to increase overall regional engagement.

This paper proposes that the period during the Gillard Government administration could be considered an inflection point for Australian regional engagement strategy, and that endorsement of defence embedding activities, made a valuable contribution towards supporting the Gillard Government's 2013 *National Security Strategy's* key priority of enhanced regional engagement. To appreciate the Gillard Government's situation, trends in defence expenditure and bilateral engagement during and prior to the administration were mapped by reviewing annual defence reports. In order to assess the impact of embedding, several instances of bilateral engagement were identified which involved the direct interaction of defence personnel such as for training, education, combined exercises or postings.

Defining 'embedding' and analysis of previous research

Prior to the case studies, consideration is given to existing research relevant to embedding and Australian national strategy associated with regional engagement. Although bilateral defence relationships involving direct or face-to-face engagement are a key tool used to support strategic priorities, there is virtually no academic discussion as to the value obtained by bilaterally 'embedding' defence force members and equipment.

The ADF is familiar with the term 'embedding' having several formalized agreements that include foreign personnel serving within Australian forces and vice versa in both training and operational roles, and a significant proportion of the defence budget supports engagement programs. What is uncommon, is the use of the term 'embedding' within academic discussion related to defence. There is peer-reviewed material considering the impact of embedding journalists within military forces, however this author found no academic discussion addressing the embedding of defence personnel within foreign forces.[2] Defence related definitions were also challenging to locate: in 2017, US media used 'embedding' to imply working directly with foreign forces,[3] and in 2015 the British press clarified 'embedding' as a program of agreements "where the embedded personnel operate under the mandate or command and control of the foreign force they are within, but also remain subject to the law, policy and military jurisdiction of their own country".[4] Within this paper, examples conforming to both of these descriptions are used.

Academic discussion does consider how Australian defence policy has supported national strategic interests, which is useful when

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[2] An example of academic discussion regarding the embedding of journalists within military units: Pfau, M., Haigh, M., Gettle, M. and Donnelly, M., "Embedding journalists in military combat units: impact on newspaper story frames and tone," *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, Vol. 81, No. 1, 2004, pp. 74-88.

[3] McLeary, P. & De Luce, D., "In break from Obama, Trump embedding more U.S. forces with Afghan combat units,"*Foreign Policy,* November 10, 2017, www.foreignpolicy.com/2017/11/10/in-break-from-obama-trump-embedding-more-u-s-forces-with-afghan-combat-units/.

[4] "Syria air strikes: What are 'embedded' military personnel?," *BBC News UK,* July 17, 2015, www.bbc.com/news/uk-33568054.

considering what influence the Gillard Government has had on Defence regional engagement. John Lee, an Australian international economic and security academic, claimed that while the 2000, 2009 and 2013 *Defence White Papers* have all upheld the importance of "ensuring strategic stability in the Asia-Pacific", as a critical national security interest, their approach has been limited to "risk management" in terms of ensuring Australia has adequate military capabilities to manage adverse developments in the region, but have failed to explore and identify how Australian relationships in Southeast Asia could contribute to ensuring strategic stability in the Asia-Pacific region.[5] Lee omits in his argument the long-term regional engagement work that Defence has had underway since the 1980s through activities such as the DCP. As recognised within Gillard's 2012 *Australia in the Asian Century Foreign Policy White Paper*, this long-term bilateral relationship building activity that includes "training, joint exercises, specialised exchanges and shared professional perspectives on defence doctrine" bears fruit by generating opportunities to "pursue deeper strategic and security partnerships" and so further Australia's strategic interests.[6] The DCP is explored further within the second and third case studies.

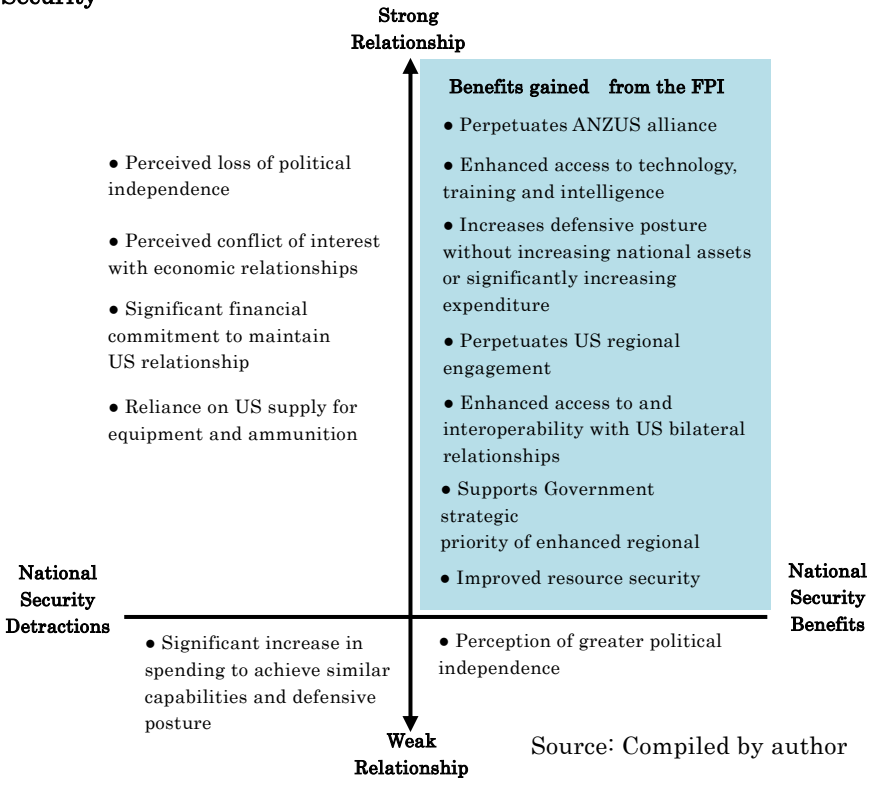
While the Gillard Government inherited the *2009 Defence White Paper*, it can be directly credited for the 2013 release. Contrary to Lee's assessment, prominent Australian Strategic Policy Institute authors Bergin, Bateman and Channer consider the *2013 Defence White Paper* to be full of strong statements calling to deepen defence relations with regional countries and that the document 'pivots' the ADF "back to closer engagement in our region". In their assessment, the value of defence regional engagement is recognised through not only shaping a favourable security environment, but concurrently "providing an

[5] Lee, J., "Australia's 2015 Defence White Paper: Seeking strategic opportunities in Southeast Asia to help manage China's peaceful rise," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 2013, pp. 396-397.

[6] Priority countries for engagement include Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, India and China, as identified within Australian Government [hereafter Aust. Gov.], "Australia in the Asian century: White Paper, October 2012," 2012, p. 230, www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper/2013/docs/australia_in_the_asian_century_white_paper.pdf.

effective hedge against strategic risk and future uncertainty."[7] The Gillard Government's support of the FPI was just such a multi-faceted policy. Several strategic benefits were gained for Australia by the FPI and the implied strengthening of the alliance with the US, which at the same time by increasing Australia's opportunities to engage with other regional countries aids in hedging against the possible future decline of US regional primacy. The benefits and detractions of Australia's relationship with the US are discussed further within the first case study and are summarised below within Figure 1.

Figure 1. Benefits gained for Australia by the FPI and the impact of the defence relationship with the United States on Australian National Security



Source: Compiled by author

[7] Bergin et. al., "Terms of engagement," pp. 10-11.

Professor Michael Evans, a leading Military Studies scholar, whilst agreeing that Australia's policies recognise the growing strategic importance of engaging with the Asia-Pacific, calls for a major geopolitical shift in thinking away from an "ideology of 'great and powerful friends'" and from an historical focus on Australia's isolated geography and continental rather than maritime attributes. Whilst not condemning Australia's heritage of maritime security assured through Western great power protectors, Evans sees a need for Australia to both exploit those relationships and simultaneously reach out and engage with Asia, which places his thinking back in line with Bergin et al.'s "effective hedge" policy. Evans sees the Gillard Government's *2013 National Security Strategy* and the *2012 Australia in the Asian Century White Paper* as recognising the global shift in economic power to the Asia-Pacific region with the consequence that "the tyranny of distance was being replaced by the prospects of proximity". Evans' evidence that the Australian Government is developing an enhanced perception of the importance of the maritime domain was based on the strategic direction and force structure imperatives of the 2009, 2013 and 2016 *Defence White Papers* which he considers, since 2009 have led to projects intended to re-equip the Royal Australian Navy (RAN) for a greater maritime role as well as reconfiguring the Australian Army towards a greater amphibious approach.[8] The FPI agreement to rotate US Marines through Darwin coupled with the delivery of the first of two Canberra class Landing Helicopter Dock (LHDs) ships in 2014 can be considered critical enablers to developing an enhanced Australian amphibious capability.

The *2009 Defence White Paper* identified four major Australian strategic interests listed in priority as a secure Australia, a secure immediate neighbourhood, strategic stability in the Asia–Pacific region and a stable, rules-based global security order. The accompanying strategic posture was stated as "a policy of self-reliance in the direct

[8] Evans, M., "Soundings Papers: Australian rendezvous: maritime strategy and national destiny in the 21st century," *Sea Power Centre –Australia,* June 2016, pp. 1-2, www.navy.gov.au/media-room/publications/soundings-papers-australian-rendezvous-maritime-strategy-and-national, in which Evans quotes the Australian Government, "Australia in the Asian Century: White Paper," pp. 1, 105.

defence of Australia, as well as an ability to do more when required, consistent with our strategic interests and within the limits of our resources."[9] It is this author's opinion that there was a difference in Australia's defence priorities with the Gillard Government in that the focus shifted from the direct defence of Australia and the security of the immediate neighbourhood to a greater focus on the Asia-Pacific region's strategic importance. This refocus was accompanied by a need to increase defensive posture without an increase in overall defence spending, cognisance of the potential future decline of US primacy, and the consequent requirement to prioritise engagement across the entire region. This finding is supported by the Gillard Government's *2013 National Security Strategy*, which recognised that the traditional US dominance was being increasingly contested in the region, accompanied by the increasing modernisation of militaries across Asia. In response, the strategy recommended increasing military cooperation, joint exercises and diplomatic engagement with countries across Asia in order to build greater transparency, open communication, confidence and trust. Maintaining a strong Australia-US alliance as well as fostering and growing a "network of strategic relationships with neighbours and regional partners" was considered a key enabler.[10]

Enhanced regional engagement was identified as the first of three Government priorities for the five years following the 2013 Strategy release, recognizing that Australia's strategic and economic future was "tied to the Asia-Pacific region."[11] The Strategy stated a requirement for Australia to work actively to promote trust and cooperation, in order to maintain the relative peace and stability of recent decades. In support of this priority, specific mention is made both of the importance of the contribution made to regional security by Australia's alliance with the US, and of the enduring interest Australia has in the security, stability and economic prosperity of the Pacific Islands region, which Australia

[9] Australian Department of Defence [hereafter Aust. DoD], "Defence White Paper 2009," 2009, p. 46, www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper/2009/.
[10] Aust. Gov., "Strong and secure: a strategy for Australia's national security," *Australian Government, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet,* 2013, p. vii, www.files.ethz.ch/isn/167267/Australia%20A%20Strategy%20for%20National%20Securit.pdf.
[11] Ibid., p. 38.

contributes directly to through activities such as the DCP. In effect, the Gillard Government's national strategy was promoting increased regional engagement through activities reliant on the embedding of defence personnel.

Academic discussion to date recognises the importance of Australian defence relationships with Asian-Pacific nations towards supporting strategic stability however it does not examine the physical process of how those relationships are developed or why particular methods may be preferred. Bergin et al., come close with their support for "activities that enhance personal relationships," but did not analyse such engagement from a process perspective. Through considering the question of how the practice of embedding defence personnel supports national strategy, this paper seeks to enhance understanding of the importance of bilateral defence relationships.

1 - Case Study: Enhancing defence capability and regional engagement through embedding with the United States

Australia with the US has a long history of embedding personnel and equipment within each forces' organization. In fact, Australians and Americans first fought together under unified command one hundred years ago in France at the Battle of Hamel in July 1918 under Australian General John Monash. Monash had infantry, armour, artillery and aircraft at his disposal. Four companies of American troops (roughly 1,000 men) were attached to two Australian infantry brigades: Monash used the American troops to bolster the battle-depleted battalions, while also giving the Americans first-hand battle experience.

> *Lieutenant General Sir John Monash meticulously planned for the battle to last 90 minutes. It lasted 93 minutes, with all units involved in the assault taking their objectives, and the battle plans for Hamel became a model for future successes.*[12]

[12] The Battle of Hamel is mentioned on the Australian Embassy in the USA website, usa.embassy.gov.au/defence-cooperation, accessed November 8, 2018. Further detail and the quote above, can be found on the Australian War Memorial website within the article "Remembering the battle of Hamel,"

Thus commenced a long history of defence engagement where "Australians have fought alongside Americans in every major US military action of the last century, including World War I, World War II, Korea, Vietnam, the Persian Gulf, Somalia, East Timor, Afghanistan and Iraq."[13]

This case study considers the enduring nature of the Australian-US alliance, aspects of the relationship that have caused elements of 'alliance fatigue', reasons why the Gillard Government supported the FPI, and further examples during the Gillard Government's administration where Australia has achieved synergies by embedding defence personnel and equipment with the US. Key outcomes for Australia associated from the embedding activities undertaken with the US are assessed as including an enhanced defence capability and increased opportunity for regional engagement, despite the prevalent fiscal pressures.

(1) The enduring nature of the Australian – United States Alliance

The ANZUS security treaty made between Australia, New Zealand, and the US was signed in San Francisco on 01 September 1951. At the time of signing, the recency of the Second World War and significant international regional uncertainty led Australia to look more to the US, rather than Britain, as Australia's primary ally. Consequentially the strategic primacy of the US since World War II has fundamentally influenced the shaping of Australia's strategic and defence planning. Due to disparity with US policy positions on nuclear powered and armed warships, the US suspended its obligations under the Treaty in respect of New Zealand in 1986, however the relationship with Australia has continued strongly.[14] The endurance of the ANZUS alliance has been credited due to its flexibility, being able to adapt to post-Cold War circumstances, as well as to similarities in values such as liberal democracy, being held by both parties. The alliance's flexibility is

www.awm.gov.au/articles/blog/the-battle-of-hamel-100-years-on, accessed November 27, 2018.

[13] Quote taken from the Australian Embassy in the USA website.

[14] Aust. Gov. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade [hereafter DFAT], 2018, www.info.dfat.gov.au/Info/Treaties/treaties.nsf/AllDocIDs/4D4287DDC882C3D6CA256B8300007B4B., accessed October 19, 2018.

credited in part due to the Treaty's vagueness and brevity. For example, Article IV of the Treaty states:

> *Each Party recognizes that an armed attack in the Pacific Area on any of the Parties would be dangerous to its own peace and safety and declares that it would act to meet the common danger in accordance with its constitutional processes.*[15]

The actual action to be taken is unspecified, which has allowed successive Australian and US governments to shift policy in accordance with changing strategic situations or shifting government perception and interpretations, without requiring any amendment of the Treaty. As noted by Brown and Rayner in their 2001 review of ANZUS after 50 years, regardless of ideology, successive Australian governments have all recognised the alliance as being critically important to Australia's security and hence the Treaty has remained relevant.[16] This importance is clearly articulated within the 2009 *Defence White Paper*:

> *Our alliance with the United States is our most important defence relationship. In day-to-day terms, the alliance gives us significant access to materiel, intelligence, research and development, communications systems, and skills and expertise that substantially strengthen the ADF. The alliance relationship is an integral element of our strategic posture… …Without access to US capabilities, technology, and training, the ADF simply could not be the advanced force that it is today, and must be in the future, without the expenditure of considerable more money.*[17]

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[15] Commonwealth of Australia, *"Australian Treaty Series 1952, No2,* Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America (ANZUS),*" Australasian Legal Information Institute,* 1952, www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties/1952/2.html.
[16] Brown, G. and Rayner, L., "Upside, Downside: ANZUS: After Fifty Years, Current Issues Brief 3 2001-02*," Parliament of Australia,* August 2001, www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Publications_Archive/CIB/cib0102/02CIB03.
[17] Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2009," pp. 93-94.

A further benefit, as foreseen in 2001 by Dr. Ashton Calvert, then Australian Secretary for the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, was that the longevity of the alliance provided a solid basis on which Australia and the US could consult, in order to coordinate policies and so "maximise the effectiveness of our respective regional strategies."[18] Ten years on, the Gillard Government's support of the FPI, was an example of such coordination, supporting recommendations from both US and Australian internal Force Posture reviews. The Treaty itself, has only been invoked once, by Australian Prime Minister John Howard, in the aftermath of the 11 September attacks on America, however the enduring ANZUS relationship has led to several bilateral defence activities such as the FPI.

(2) Hints of alliance fatigue

The Gillard Government administration coincided with a major shift in US strategic policy, in particular the US 'pivot to the Asia-Pacific'. China's rising power was seen to be challenging America's regional influence as well as the security of regional nations, calling into question US security guarantees and the strength of alliances. In 2009 at the beginning of the Obama administration, the US initially tried to engage China on a policy of 'shared interests' and then in 2010 adjusted their foreign policy in order to shore-up US leadership in the Asia-Pacific.[19] The Obama Administration's *Defense Strategic Guidance*, published in January 2012 advised that the US military would of necessity rebalance toward the Asia-Pacific region. This policy addressed the heightened level of US concern with regards to China's rising power, growing investment in 'anti-access/area-denial' (A2/AD) capabilities and aggressive behaviour within the South China Sea and supported the fundamental and enduring US core interests of defending its view on freedom of the seas, and maintaining naval and air

[18] DFAT, "Secretary's Speech: The United States Alliance and Australian Foreign Policy Past, Present and Future," June 29, 2001, dfat.gov.au/news/speeches/Pages/secretarys-speech-the-united-states-alliance-and-australian-foreign-policy-past-present-and-future.aspx.
[19] Zhao S., "Shaping the regional context of China's rise: how the Obama administration brought back hedge in its engagement with China," *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 21, No. 75, 2012, pp. 369-389.

superiority in the Western Pacific.[20] China's rapid military modernisation and transformation, especially naval modernisation, had created a security dilemma for regional states, as well as nations with vested interests in the vast quantities of maritime commerce transiting through the region. The US response as outlined by the *2012 Defense Strategic Guidance* was to increase its military presence and re-engage with the Asia Pacific as a distinctly important region.[21] A key enabler to the US 'rebalance' was securing enhanced access to the region via the 2011 US-Australia FPI.

Australian domestic reception to the FPI was mixed; the reinvigorated US policy toward the Asia-Pacific region had sparked debate regarding Australia's 'hedging' behaviour with respect to China and the US. Internationally, China immediately questioned the appropriateness of the "military build-up in the region."[22] Prominent strategic analyst Hugh White's assessment that Australia's future was dependent on the relationship between the US and China and that Australia should or eventually would be forced to choose between them triggered fierce discussion both within Australia and by international analysts.[23] Whilst consensus seemed to hold that the Australian government was by supporting the FPI, remaining steadfast allies of the US,[24] White's assessment that while continued US primacy would be the best outcome for Australia "the chances of it being achieved in the face of China's power and ambitions [were] low," was received by US analysts as notice that most Asian-Pacific governments would likely be having a similar discussion, seeking to reconcile the US's future regional influence with opportunities to benefit economically from China's rise.[25]

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[20] Nguyen, P., "Deciphering the shift in America's South China Sea policy," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2016, p. 390.
[21] Thayer, C. A., *Southeast Asia: patterns of security cooperation*, Australian Strategic Policy Institute, September 2010, pp. 8-12.
[22] 'Gillard, Obama detail US troop deployment," ABC News, November 16, 2011, www.abc.net.au/news/2011-11-16/gillard2c-obama-announce-darwin-troop-deployment/3675596.
[23] Dittmer, L., "Sino-Australian relations: a triangular perspective," *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 47, No. 4, 2012, pp. 662-663, p. 672.
[24] Ayson, R., "Choosing ahead of time? Australia, New Zealand and the US-China contest in Asia," *Contemporary Southeast Asia*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 2012, pp. 338-364.
[25] Hugh White is quoted within US analyst Brad Glosserman's opinion piece "US, China and Australia's Asian century: a view on Hugh White's argument," *East Asia Forum,* December 5, 2011,

Within Australia, anti-alliance sentiment was enflamed by prominent Australians such as former Prime Minister Paul Keating arguing for greater independence from the US and a strengthened relationship with China.[26] Keating criticised Australia's relationship with the US as being too 'subservient', and rejected the idea that Australia had no choice but to back US rivalry against a rising China. Keating firmly believed China to be "the central stabilising force in East Asia," and had long supported closer interactions with Southeast Asia.[27] Some commentators suggested that Australia should prevail on the US to make room for China, and overtly advise against a policy of containing China.[28] Further alliance criticisms included that it complicated regional relations due to perceptions that Australian actions were in support of US-sponsored agendas rather than as an independent regional actor;[29] that furthering the alliance had on occasion 'overshadowed' operational priorities,[30] and that the US could diminish Australia's regional engagement influence by being a "bigger and better" partner.[31]

For Australia, achieving an appropriate balance between interoperability and independence remains perhaps the key challenge posed by the alliance. Community consultation conducted in 2014 prior to generating what would become the *2016 Defence White Paper* found general widespread support for the US alliance "as a pillar of Australia's defence and security," though also noted that this support coexisted with

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www.eastasiaforum.org/2011/12/05/us-china-and-australia-s-asian-century-a-view-on-hugh-white-s-argument/.

[26] Fullilove, M., "Down and out Down Under: Australia's uneasy American alliance," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 95, No. 5, 2017.

[27] The following articles refer to Keating's stance regarding China and the US: He, L. L. and Sappideen, R., "Free Trade Agreements and the US-China-Australia relationship in the Asia-Pacific region," *Asia Pacific Law Review*, Vol. 21, No. 1, 2013, pp. 67-69; Earl, G., "US Wrong on China: Keating," *Australian Financial Review*, August 7, 2012.

[28] He and Sappideen, "Free Trade Agreements," pp. 67-69.

[29] An example being the strong criticism raised by China when Australia considered increasing security dialogues with Japan and South Korea as discussed in Brown and Rayner, *"Upside, Downside."*

[30] Such as the decision to acquire from the US an unproven and yet to be developed combat system for the operationally delayed Collins-Class submarine rather than the Navy's submarine professionals preferred and proven German offering., see Brown and Rayner, *"Upside, Downside."*

[31] Bergin et. al., "Terms of engagement," p. 69.

shifting perceptions of its benefits.[32] These alternate views included that the perceived benefits were "debateable" accompanied by claims that Australia's "uncritical" support of US foreign policy had given a "veneer of legitimacy" to policies that were unsustainable, unachievable, highly divisive and "ultimately corrosive of American authority,"[33] that the alliance had led Australia into multiple wars of questionable benefit such as the 2003 invasion of Iraq and also predisposed Australia to extremely expensive US defence contracts.[34] Within his 2014 submission to the *Defence White Paper* consultation team, former Australian Prime Minister Malcom Fraser advocated for complete military independence from the US, claiming that stationing US Marines in Darwin under the FPI combined with the Pine Gap facility offensive capabilities had consequently made it impossible for Australia to stay out of any Western Pacific conflict involving the US.[35]

The monetary aspect of the Australia-US relationship further complicated Alliance sentiments. Whilst access to US technology has allowed Australia to maintain a regional capability advantage, and is essential for interoperability with US forces, such access is expensive and dependent on US supply. However, as noted by Brown and Rayner's 2001 review of ANZUS, without the close relationship with the US, Australia would lose most of its regional technical advantage and would possibly have to quadruple defence spending to achieve an equivalent strategic environment.[36] In his 2014 submission, Malcolm Fraser acknowledged the monetary liability of independence, however his greater concern, was Australia's loss of autonomy: that Australia's virtual complete dependence on the US for key material and resupply in

[32] Aust. DoD, *"Guarding against uncertainty: Australian attitudes to Defence 2015,"* 2015, pp. 33-39, www.defence.gov.au/WhitePaper/docs/GuardingUncertainty.pdf.
[33] Beeson, M., "Australia's relationship with the United States: the case for greater independence," *Australian Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2003, p. 388.
[34] Marrickville Peace Group, *"Q*uestioning the value of the Australia/US alliance: submission to the 2015 Defence White Paper by the Marrickville Peace Group,*" Australian Government Department of Defence,* 2014, www.defence.gov.au/WhitePaper/docs/071-MarrickvillePeaceGroup.pdf.
[35] Fraser, M., "Submission to the 2015 Defence White Paper," *Australian Government Department of Defence*, 2014, www.defence.gov.au/WhitePaper/docs/127-Fraser.pdf.
[36] Brown and Rayner, "Upside, Downside."

order to sustain any but the most minor of operations effectively ceded the US leverage over Australia's military engagement. This concern was also raised by Brown and Rayner:

> *[It] is almost literally true that Australia cannot go to war without the consent and support of the United States. This represents a substantial sacrifice of national freedom of action, and must be counted as a significant cost.* [37]

General consensus from the debate over Australia's options seemed to hold that "the worst scenario for Australia would be for its largest trading partner and significant ally to collide," and that Australia's best option would be to keep the alliance and hedge against China's economic leverage by broadening and diversifying trade and investment options.[38] Respected regional strategy specialist, Carlyle Thayer recommended a layered approach to improve Australia's security without necessarily choosing between the US and China. This included enhancing current multilateral security ties, encouraging the US to become more involved in Southeast Asia, and for Australia to revitalise its own bilateral security ties with key Southeast Asian states "in order to increase the region's strategic weight in dealing with external powers."[39] Despite the pressures from some elements of the Australian community to reduce or even sever the relationship with the US, the Gillard Government's support of the FPI is in keeping with such strategic 'hedging' advice.

(3) Support for the 2011 US-Australia Force Posture Initiatives

The US-Australia FPI was jointly announced on 16 November 2011 with a formalised agreement coming into force on 31 March 2015.[40] An

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[37] Ibid.
[38] Terada, T., "Australia and China's rise: ambivalent and inevitable balancing," *Journal of Contemporary East Asia Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2013, p. 131.
[39] Thayer, "Southeast Asia," pp. 3-4.
[40] DFAT, *The Force Posture Agreement between the Government of Australia and the Government of the United States of America,* 2015, www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties/ATS/2015/1.pdf.

extension of the existing Defence relationship, the two initiatives included the Marine Rotational Force – Darwin (MRF-D), a six-month rotational deployment of US Marines to Australian defence establishments located in Darwin; and, Enhanced Air Cooperation (EAC), allowing increased rotational visits by US Air Force aircraft to bases in Northern Australia. Commencing from 2012, the MRF-D would gradually build-up from an initial rotation of 200 US Marines to a 2500 person Marine Air Ground Task Force (MAGTF) by 2020. Whilst in Australia the US Marines would undertake "a range of activities including training unilaterally and with the [ADF] and other Indo-Pacific nations' forces." [41] The EAC activities did not commence until 2017 and have included increased participation of US air elements such as F-22 Raptor fifth generation strike fighters and strategic bombers which is anticipated will enhance the RAAF's transition to a fifth generation Air Force.

Given that there were domestic pressures to reduce or even sever the defence relationship with the US, it is intuitive to consider what factors may have encouraged the Gillard Government to support the FPI. The FPI has been interpreted as providing evidence that both allies were confirming the importance of the US-Australia alliance, of highlighting the increasing geopolitical value of Australian territory towards regional engagement, and that it provided an opportunity for cooperation where both countries might develop "a relationship of partners jointly engaging in the Asia-Pacific region." [42] Financial motivations should also be considered—fiscal restrictions were a priority for the Gillard Government which found itself having to cope during the aftermath of the GFC—the Government needed to identify ways of achieving an appropriate defence posture, but with minimal funding.

As displayed in Figure 2 below, during the Gillard Government, Australian defence expenditure as a proportion of GDP, was at its lowest level since the end of the Cold War. One aspect of the Gillard

[41] General MRF-D information can be found on the Aust. DoD website: www.defence.gov.au/Initiatives/USFPI/Marines.asp, accessed January 2, 2019.
[42] Ishihara, Y., "Australia's Security Policy: Enhancing Engagements in the Asia-Pacific Region," *East Asian Strategic Review 2013, The National Institute for Defense Studies*, 2013, p. 80.

Government supporting the FPI can be recognised as acknowledging that it is through the Alliance that Australia gains admittedly expensive, though compared to without the relationship, affordable, access to capability, intelligence and technological benefits, as well as protection afforded through extended nuclear deterrence. Simply put, financially, it remained in Australia's interests to perpetuate the security relationship with the US and supporting the FPI was a means to do so. Another associated financial incentive is that the high level of regional engagement cooperation with increased opportunities to share facilities and equipment would also present a way to reduce costs.[43]

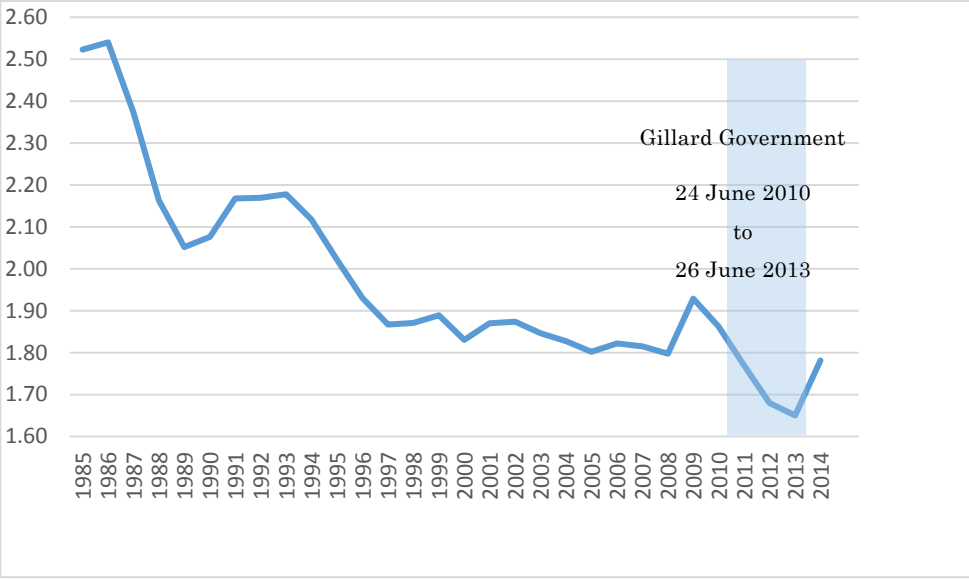
A strategic consideration that supports endorsing the FPI, was that it would assist in perpetuating US regional engagement. The *2009 Defence White Paper* recognised that the presence of the US acted as a stabilising force within the Asia-Pacific region and cautioned that "a potential contraction of US strategic presence in the Asia-Pacific region" would "adversely affect Australia's interests, regional stability and global security." The Gillard Government's support of the FPI, facilitating US access to the region, could thus be perceived as acting to reduce this risk.

A further benefit attained from the FPI was enhanced resource security. In June 2011, five months prior to the FPI announcement, then Minister for Defence Stephen Smith announced a Force Posture Review (FPR) to assess whether the ADF was correctly geographically positioned to meet Australia's current and future strategic challenges.[44] The Review built on the strategic and capability judgements made within the *2009 Defence White Paper* with the Review's final report being submitted in March 2012. While the Review focused on ADF requirements, the findings complimented activities to be undertaken with the US as part of the US Global FPR initiatives involving Australia. One of the factors considered by the ADF FPR was energy security and security issues associated with expanding offshore resource exploitation in the Australian northwest and northern approaches. The Review finding that a more visible military presence was warranted in northern

[43] Ishihara, "Australia's Security Policy," pp. 77-78.
[44] Aust. DoD, "ADF Posture Review," *Defence Publications*, June 2011, www.defence.gov.au/Publications/Reviews/ADFPosture/.

Australia and its approaches, to address perceptions of a need to protect the rapidly growing and economically important resource developments in the northwest, would be greatly supported by the FPI-planned increase in US military presence in northern Australia.

Figure 2.　Australian Defence Expenditure (%GDP)



Source: Data was obtained from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) website, data.worldbank.org/indicator/MS.MIL.XPND.GD.ZS?end=2017&locations=AU&start=1978&view=chart, accessed 01 January 2019.

The ADF FPR noted energy security as a significant concern for rapidly growing Asia-Pacific economies, and that "tensions over resources [might] exacerbate existing security problems such as territorial disputes." This assessment placed an onus on Australia as a major supplier of natural resources to manage regional perceptions as

to Australia's ability to ensure the security of these resources.[45] The Review considered the significant resource development investment underway in the northwest of Australia, with particular focus on liquefied natural gas (LNG) projects. It anticipated (accurately) that by 2015 Australia would become the world's second largest LNG exporter after Qatar, exporting LNG to Japan, China, Taiwan, India and Malaysia. Australian offshore LNG projects areas were moving northwards, closer to Indonesia and Timor-Leste and bringing security implications for both the offshore assets and the safe transit of exports. The increased US presence in northern Australia achieved by the FPI, and the consequential increased US presence within Southeast Asia would by association, provide Australia a stronger defensive posture in regards to these economically important resources.

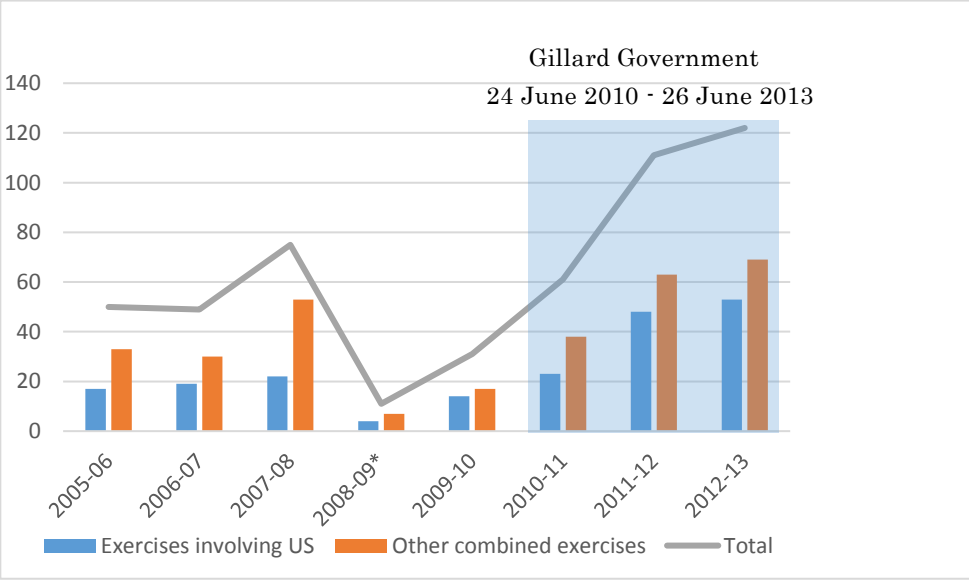
A further significant benefit obtained from the FPI would be increased opportunity for the ADF to expand joint training engagement with the US as well as regional countries. In particular, as the ADF planned to introduce two LHDs from 2014, increased training opportunities with the US Marines who have significant experience with amphibious assault vessels would greatly assist in developing the ADF's nascent amphibious capability. The LHDs were intended to provide the basis of Australia's future regional stabilization operations and Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HADR) capability and it was also recognized that the increased opportunity for joint training offered a way to maintain interoperability with the US after the "winding down" of operations in Afghanistan.[46]

Perhaps the most important prospect the FPI afforded to the Gillard Government was the opportunity to enhance Australia's access to the US's bilateral relationships and increase future opportunities for regional engagement. As depicted below within Figure 3, during the Gillard Government's administration, ADF participation in *combined exercises* (an exercise or activity involving one or more Services of the ADF with the forces of other countries) where the US was also a participant dramatically increased. Some of this increase in regional

[45] Hawke, A. and Smith, R., "Australian Defence Force Posture Review," *Australian Government Department of Defence,* March 30, 2012, pp. 12-13, www.defence.gov.au/Publications/Reviews/ADFPosture/Docs/Report.pdf.
[46] Ishihara, "Australia's Security Policy," p. 80.

engagement might be attributed to enhanced access to US allies. For example, Exercise *Balikatan* had always been a bilateral activity between the US and the Philippines, without other participants other than invited observers. Following the ratification in the Philippine Senate of the Status of Visiting Forces Agreement with Australia in September 2012, Australia joined as an observer in 2013 and has then fully participated from 2014 onwards.[47] Another US ally, Japan was invited as an observer to *Balikatan* in 2016 and became a full participant from 2017 onwards, depicting a trend of US allies, being drawn into enhanced regional engagement.

Figure 3.　ADF participation in combined exercises



*****In November 2008 the ADF Headquarters commenced the move from various locations in Sydney and Canberra to a new purpose built facility in Bungendore, which was officially opened in March 2009 - this may account for the sudden drop in exercises reported for 2008-09.

[47] Fonbuena, C., "Australia joins Balikatan war games for the first time," *Rappler,* May 17, 2014, www.rappler.com/nation/58208-australia-balikatan.

Source: Exercise data was obtained from Australian Government Department of Defence Annual Reports 2005-6 to 2012-13, www.defence.gov.au/AnnualReports/, and where available, cross checked against online news reports to confirm US participation; consequently, US participation rates may actually be higher than that displayed. Data prior to 2005-06 and after 2012-13 was unable to be obtained as outside these years only participation in 'major' exercises was reported.

Direct evidence of the link between the FPI and increasing opportunities for regional engagement can be found through participation in Exercise *Koolendong*. Held in Australia's Northern Territory, *Koolendong* was established in 2013 and is a US-led Marine Corp training activity involving the MFR-D and the Australian Army. In 2016 the annual exercise had expanded to include for the first time the French Armed Forces (New Caledonia) and a group of senior Defence officers from Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore were invited to observe the nature of the MFR-D training. The display was intended to promote "the benefits of regional security and cooperation" as well as to extend an invitation for involvement with future training activities with the MRF-D and ADF.[48] A similar opportunity was organised in 2017 when senior Defence officials from Malaysia, Japan, Thailand and Vietnam were invited to observe Exercise *Crocodile Strike* so as to learn about the FPI and ADF and US bilateral capabilities. The exercise was intended to demonstrate how Australia and the US would work together in response to a humanitarian crisis in a regional location and again invitations were extended as to the opportunities for future participation in training and exercises.[49]

[48] Aust. DoD, "International Defence Officers visit Exercise Koolendong," *Defence News and Media*, August 10, 2016, news.defence.gov.au/media/media-releases/international-defence-officers-visit-exercise-koolendong.
[49] Aust. DoD, "Australian Defence Force and United States Marines demonstrate benefits of combined training initiatives," *Defence News and Media,* September 1, 2017, news.defence.gov.au/media/media-releases/australian-defence-force-and-united-states-marines-demonstrate-benefits.

(4) Further examples of the ADF embedding with the United States

The US is the nation with which Australia has the greatest level of military cooperation and has had a military presence in Australia for over fifty years. The Joint Defence Facility Pine Gap is perhaps the most well-known instance, supporting the monitoring of compliance with arms control and disarmament agreements, providing information on terrorist activities, supporting submarine and satellite-based communications systems, and providing ballistic missile early warning information to the US. Pine Gap is considered the 'pre-eminent' example of the strategic cooperation between Australia and the US, with both countries benefiting from the joint intelligence collection capabilities.[50]

In 2018, Australia had approximately 580 Defence personnel in the US, the majority of whom were embedded into the US military, either in US units or working alongside US partners on combined project teams on issues including operational planning and intelligence, capability development, military education, and legal support.[51] Testament to the closeness of Australia's relationship with the US is that Australia is one of the few nations whose military personnel have been entrusted with full operational control of US military personnel. For example, in 2013, two senior positions at the US Pacific Command Headquarters (PACOM) were filled by Australians, including the first time a non-American had served in the position of Deputy Commanding General for Operations, a critical leadership position.[52] Such opportunities provide invaluable leadership experience for personnel from a middle-sized power.

A further example was the embedding of the RAN frigate HMAS *Sydney* for three months from May 2013 with the US Navy's 7th Fleet in Yokosuka, Japan. *Sydney* was attached to Carrier Strike Group 5 as an escort for the carrier USS *George Washington*. *Sydney's* deployment drew some Australian domestic criticism given the heightened tensions in the region due to North Korea's escalating provocations and increased maritime tensions between China and Japan, as if conflict had occurred,

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50 Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2009," p. 94.
51 ADF personnel figures in the USA are quoted from the Australian Embassy in the USA website.
52 Jennings, P., "Military ties that bind us," *ASPI Opinion,* April 2, 2013, www.aspi.org.au/opinion/military-ties-bind-us.

the attachment would have drawn Australia into participation. Then Minister for Defence, Stephen Smith advised that the deployment was a clear indication of Australia's support of the US's commitment to South Korea and of Australia's support of both South Korea and Japan.[53] For the RAN, embedding with the Strike Group was an important opportunity to increase knowledge and skills prior to the anticipated delivery of the RAN's new Hobart-class Air Warfare Destroyers (AWDs) from 2017. The bilateral engagement was also an opportunity to strengthen interoperability between the navies, through a series of planned cooperative exercises. A precedent for such interaction occurred in June 2011, also during the Gillard Government's administration, when HMAS *Darwin* embedded with the 7th Fleet. At that time, after conducting exercises off Japan, *Darwin* and the Strike Group transited to Australia to participate in Exercise *Talisman Sabre 11*, with *Darwin* remaining an embedded unit of the Strike Group until the conclusion of the Exercise on 26 July.[54]

Combined exercise and training programs also enhance the alliance. The ADF participates in several US-led exercises and regularly hosts US forces for visits and training exercises. Established in 2005, the biennial *Talisman Sabre* is Australia's largest military exercise conducted jointly with the US, and in 2017 involved more than 33,000 personnel, more than 220 aircraft and 36 ships. The Exercise is focused on mid-intensity, high-end warfighting, and provides an invaluable opportunity to conduct operations in a combined, joint and interagency environment. High intensity exercises such as *Talisman Sabre* are intended to ensure and demonstrate the ability of the US and ADF to work together with the highest levels of interoperability. In an effort to reduce the costs and improve the quality of bilateral training activities, Australia and the US have also worked closely together in developing the ADF's Joint Combined Training Capability (JCTC) which officially opened in November 2010. By use of networked simulation technology, the JCTC further facilitates the high intensity training

[53] Nicholson, B., 'Warship to join US fleet in hot zone," *The Australian,* April 26, 2013, www.theaustralian.com.au/national-affairs/defence/warship-to-join-us-fleet-in-hot-zone/news-story/f1ee929de7f713879dc7f899c47c69a1.
[54] HMAS Darwin background was obtained from the RAN website, www.navy.gov.au/hmas-darwin-part-four, accessed November 8, 2018.

gained through the extensive combined exercise program existing between Australia and the US. The simulation training allows tactical level war-fighters, commanders and operational planners to exercise a greater number of scenarios and the results can then be used to inform real world planning and conduct of combined operations.[55]

It is clear from the above examples that the advanced nature of the relationship between Australia and the US has permitted an extremely high degree of interoperability and trust between both countries. For Australia, activities utilising embedding appear a very effective method of maintaining and enhancing US bilateral engagement.

2 - Case Study: Enhancing influence by embedding in the South Pacific

> *Our contribution to regional security is not restricted to deploying forces in a conflict or crisis. Rather, our efforts are focused on reducing the risk of conflict through building trust and partnerships through regular interaction with other nations.*[56]

> *The more capable our regional partners, the less they will feel compelled to rely upon the strategic assistance of major powers, some of whose interests may be inimical to ours. Also, more capable partners make for more effective coalitions when we come together and work towards common objectives.*[57]

In order to have the capacity to participate in or lead military coalitions in collaboration with allies and partners, the ADF develops and maintains various bilateral defence partnerships. Such relationships are pursued systematically with long-term investment so as to both ensure effective interaction when crises emerge and for their value to Australia's strategic interests in helping promote stable strategic frameworks in the immediate neighbourhood. Particularly in an era of changing power relativities in the region and competing external influences, relationships founded on mutual understanding

[55] Hawke and Smith, "Australian Defence Force Posture Review," p. 53.
[56] Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2013: Defending Australia and its national interests," 2013, p. 24, www.defence.gov.au/whitepaper/2013/.
[57] Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2009," p. 39.

and trust can potentially offset advantages some countries may gain from having greater financial influencing ability.[58] This is where promoting soft power mechanisms, intended to "[build and leverage] perceptions of attractiveness, legitimacy, and ability to improve a nation's influence and standing and advance policy outcomes," can provide such advantages and from the analysis conducted within this case study, where embedding practices appear to support Australia's influence ability.[59]

As a middle power, and with financial pressures expected from a small population-base, Australia must leverage strategic advantage from financially sound investments where it can. During 2013, Australian strategic analysts cautioned that the nature of regional engagement was changing, becoming "more about strategic partnerships and less about aid and assistance." They recommended that the ADF should focus on the maritime dimension, and that the RAN "should increase the number of personnel posted in advisor and training positions in the region."[60] Implied by this advice was that constructive and informed engagement with regional countries, achieved through the embedding of defence personnel was a worthwhile endeavour for the ADF to facilitate enduring partnerships.

(1) Defence Cooperation Program

A core and enduring element of how the ADF engages with regional militaries is through the Defence Cooperation Program (DCP). Australia established the DCP during the 1960s as a tool to engage internationally with both Southeast Asian and South Pacific neighbours. The Program's objective is to improve Australia's security by developing close and enduring links with regional partners' militaries and police forces at the tactical operational and strategic levels, so as to support their capacity to protect their sovereignty, work effectively with the ADF and contribute to regional security. Activities focused on by the Program include building partner capacity in "[HADR], peacekeeping, counter-

[58] Kherbi, A., "Development's security: a new perspective on international security," *Harvard International Review*, Vol. 29, No. 3, 2007, pp. 14-18.
[59] Bryne, C., "Australia's New Colombo Plan: enhancing regional soft power through student mobility," *International Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2016, p. 110.
[60] Bergin et. al., "Terms of engagement," pp. 8-9.

terrorism, maritime security, and military governance and professionalism".[61] This cooperation is intended to promote both the capacity of the partner countries and improve Australia's capacity to work with them in response to common security challenges. The DCP provides assistance through activities such as the Pacific Patrol Boat Program, the provision of in-country advisors and infrastructure development, support for participation in bilateral and multilateral exercises and Australia-based training for selected regional defence force personnel.

In order to achieve a reduction in spending of $5.5 billion, in 2012 the Gillard Government announced that many of the *2009 Defence White Paper* recommendations, such as the purchase of new submarines, frigates and combat aircraft would be either delayed or cut. The Government's efforts to achieve a federal budget surplus saw 2012-13 defence spending reduced to 1.56 per cent of GDP, the lowest it had been since 1938.[62] Despite this trend of declining defence expenditure (see Figure 2), it is interesting to note that funding for the DCP actually increased. As displayed below within Figure 4, during the Gillard Government DCP funding as a percentage of total defence funding changed from a decreasing to increasing trend. This 'inflection' in regional engagement funding suggests that during a period when the Government was heavily scrutinising all expenditure, and delaying the acquisition of new assets the Gillard Government saw value in increasing regional engagement, particularly through the methods employed by the DCP.[63]

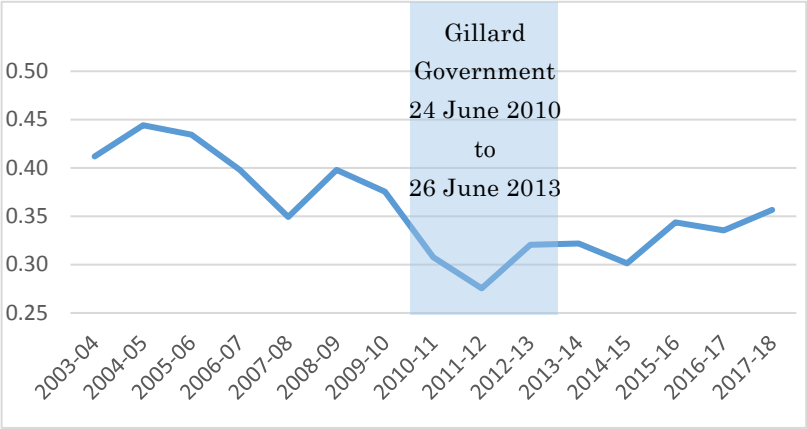
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[61] A detailed explanation of the intent of the Defence Cooperation Program is provided within Aust. DoD, "Portfolio Budget Statements 2018-19," 2019, pp. 117-119, www.defence.gov.au/Budget/18-19/2018-19_Defence_PBS_00_Complete.pdf.

[62] Watt, D. and Payne, A., "Trends in Defence expenditure since 1901," *Parliament of Australia*, 2014, www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/BudgetReview201314/DefenceExpenditure.

[63] During a September 2012 speech, then Vice Chief of the Defence Force, Air Marshal Mark Binskin inferred that Defence current DCP funding was too modest considering that the DCP was "a core part of the way the ADF engages with regional militaries through joint exercises, training and officer exchanges—and [that Defence should] provide a dramatic step-up in funding for engagement." Quote taken from Bergin et. al., "Terms of engagement," p. 9.

Figure 4.　Defence Cooperation Program Funding as a percentage of Total Defence Funding (budget estimated actual figures)



Source: Data obtained from 2004-05 to 2018-19 Aust. Gov. Defence Portfolio Budget Statements, www.defence.gov.au/Budget/; and Defence Annual Reports, www.defence.gov.au/AnnualReports/

(2) Pacific Patrol Boat Program

Many of the activities supported through the DCP directly involve the embedding of ADF personnel and equipment with regional partners, or conversely, bringing foreign personnel to Australia. The Pacific Patrol Boat Program (PPBP) is a prime example of Australia's use of embedding defence personnel and equipment in order to contribute to regional security and develop enduring partnerships. Through the provision of in-country advisors, infrastructure and technical support, the PPBP is considered to be "the largest and most complex DCP project ever funded by Australia," and the "centrepiece" of Australia's engagement with the South Pacific Region.[64]

The intent of the PPBP is to assist in the development of regional maritime security capacity on the premise that increased regional

[64] Bateman, S. and Bergin, A., "Maritime Security," *Australia and the South Pacific, ASPI Special Report*, Issue 12, March 2008, p. 62.

stability and security, makes Australia more secure. As outlined within the *2009 Defence White Paper*, by donating patrol vessels and embedding naval maritime and technical advisors, Australia aims to assist Pacific island countries to develop their capacity to independently "enforce their sovereignty, protect their resources and counter transnational crime." [65] After their 'gifting,' the patrol boats are considered sovereign assets of the participating nations and are used by the Pacific navies and police maritime wings principally for maritime surveillance and law enforcement tasks. Since the PPBP commenced in 1987, Australia has gifted 22 patrol boats to 12 Pacific Island countries, provided long-term Australian sustainment, including refit work conducted in Australia, extensive training for crews, supporting infrastructure, and advisory support through 25 embedded RAN maritime surveillance and technical advisors. For Australia, the in-country presence of the naval advisers have been important symbols of Australia's security interest in the region and in turn have been central to the regional access Australia has enjoyed as a result of the Program.

Recently, from October 2018, the PPBP was succeeded by the Pacific Maritime Security Program (PMSP). As the original patrol vessels are approaching the end of their serviceable life, Australia will progressively replace them with 19 larger and more capable Guardian-class Patrol Boats, to be gifted from late 2018–23. Two further vessels will be gifted to Timor-Leste in 2023. [66] The PMSP is a $2 billion commitment to the South Pacific region over the next 30 years, and has a slightly expanded approach in comparison to the PPBP; in addition to the Pacific Patrol Boat replacement, the revised program includes integrated regional aerial surveillance and enhanced efforts to strengthen regional security coordination.

During 2011, the Gillard Government initiated additional bilateral embedding measures to strengthen stability and support security within the South Pacific. During bilateral talks held in Wellington, New Zealand on 16 February 2011, Prime Ministers Julia Gillard and John Fey welcomed an agreement to develop a joint framework for crisis

[65] Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2009," pp. 98-99.
[66] Aust. DoD, "Annual Report 2017-18," 2018, www.defence.gov.au/AnnualReports/17-18/Features/Maritime.asp.

management and cooperation. Building on joint initiatives intended to support security and stabilisation within the South Pacific, they committed to the creation of an ANZAC Ready Response Force (RRF) which would plan and exercise for joint emergency responses within the region. From March 2011, to enable a collaborative approach to developing plans, New Zealand Defence Force personnel were embedded within the ADF planning staff in the ADF Deployable Joint Force Headquarters in Brisbane. Any decision to activate the ANZAC RRF would subsequently be coordinated through both countries' national emergency response frameworks with the command and force structure mutually determined for each mission.[67]

(3) Mitigating against strategic intrusion

The *2009 Defence White Paper* clearly states that Australia's enduring interest in the South Pacific region spans both humanitarian and strategic reasons.[68] The *2016 Defence White Paper*, more explicitly advises that Australia is seeking to be *the* principal security partner for Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste and Pacific Island countries. Developing strong relationships and interoperability with South Pacific countries not only facilitates the rapid response of Australian HADR support, but by taking a leadership role within the South Pacific to promote regional resilience and stability, permits Australia to hedge against the risk of external actors taking advantage of fragile or unstable states, and mitigating the possibility of strategic intrusion into the region by "potentially hostile powers able to project military power against Australia." [69] As a means to help mitigate against this risk is where the strong relationships generated by maintaining the DCP appear to be sowing benefits as a soft power mechanism:

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[67] Aust. DoD, "ANZAC Forces ready to respond in the modern era," *Defence News and Media,* June 23, 2011, https://news.defence.gov.au/media/media-releases/anzac-forces-ready-respond-modern-era; "ANZAC Ready Response Force," *Global Security.org,* July 9, 2011, www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/nz/rrf.htm.
[68] Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2009," p. 35.
[69] Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2016," 2016, p. 74, www.defence.gov.au/WhitePaper/Docs/2016-Defence-White-Paper.pdf.

> *Australia enjoys some comparative advantages in this competitive environment. First, we've been in the game for a long time and have established a reputation as being a reasonably reliable partner, perhaps with fewer ulterior motives and clearer strategic interests than other countries. Overall, Australia's views of overall security are accepted as fitting with those of the region generally. That's not necessarily the case with the other extra-regional players in the region.*[70]

Although traditionally both Australia and New Zealand have been the dominant nations providing support to South Pacific countries, recent, increased activity by countries such as China providing loans for large-scale infrastructure projects has increased concerns regarding external influence within the region.[71] Australia cannot compete financially for influence with countries such as China but by investing in DCP activities such as the PPBP and its replacement, the PMSP, Australia has generated a high degree of trust, mutual understanding and cooperation with South Pacific countries. This supportive relationship has facilitated further cooperative engagement within the region with Australia recently announcing plans to establish a new Pacific Fusion Centre in mid-2019, focused on "strengthening the ability of Pacific governments to enforce their laws and protect their sovereignty" and in early 2019 will be establishing a new Australia Pacific Security College to "support regional strategic policy development".[72]

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[70] Bergin et. al., "Terms of engagement," p. 68.
[71] Concerns regarding China's increasing activity within the South Pacific are raised in Pearlman, J., "Australia, NZ to sign security pact with South Pacific nations," *The Strait Times,* July 7, 2018, www.straitstimes.com/asia/australianz/australia-nz-to-sign-security-pact-with-south-pacific-nations; Dziedzic, S., Walsh, M. and Kilbride, J., "Australia signs declaration on Pacific climate 'threat', islands call on US to return Paris deal," *ABC News,* September 7, 2018, www.abc.net.au/news/2018-09-05/australia-and-pacific-nations-sign-climate-security-declaration/10204422.
[72] Future Australian initiatives to support the South Pacific region were announced by Australian Foreign Minister Marise Payne at the Pacific Islands Forum held in Nauru in early September 2018, as reported in Dziedzic, et. al., "Australia signs declaration on Pacific climate 'threat'."

3 - Case Study: Enhancing influence through postgraduate engagement

This paper's opening quote suggested that one of the best ways for regional engagement to achieve its objectives was via enhancing personal relationships between regional defence organisations by "providing opportunities for overseas defence personnel to undergo training and education in Australia." International education has long been considered an "enduring and effective public diplomacy," where the "unique people-to-people experiences and interactions it facilitates... ...taps into soft power's affective and normative dimensions."[73] The DCP is the Australian government's mechanism facilitating such engagement, offering regional foreign military personnel the opportunity to undertake short- and long-term courses within Australian military and civilian educational institutions. Longer term courses include attending the Joint Australian Command and Staff Course (ACSC-J), an integrated military and university post-graduate level course supported through the Australian National University, or attending post-graduate programs at Australian universities, under the Defence Cooperation Scholarship Program (DCSP). This case study considers how offering such opportunities to embed foreign defence personnel in Australia-based courses is seen as a low-cost and effective way of cultivating constructive relationships with future regional leaders.

(1) Defence Cooperation Scholarship Program

The DCSP's key objectives are "to provide future defence leaders the opportunity to develop their knowledge and skills to meet their potential, to help build a network of relationships between Australian and regional defence and security organisations, and to directly support the development of regional defence capabilities".[74] To help students successfully complete their academic studies, the Program offers financial support including study and living costs. Prospective

[73] Bryne, "Australia's New Colombo Plan," p. 113.
[74] Scopeglobal, "Defence Cooperation Scholarship Program," www.scopeglobal.com/programs&capabilities/defence-cooperation-scholarships-program/, accessed November 8, 2018.

candidates identify an Australia run program and then apply through their own military organisation and their local Australian Defence Attaché. If accepted, candidates are also eligible to attend a four week Defence Scholarship Familiarisation course held at the Defence International Training Centre (DITC), near Melbourne. The DITC course is intended to prepare foreign defence students for the teaching and learning styles characteristic of Australian tertiary institutions.[75] During both 2012 and in 2013, the DCSP funded 69 foreign defence students to enrol in postgraduate programs across 14 Australian universities. [76]

Testimonials from DCSP participants suggest that they found the Program rewarding, not only because of the opportunity to achieve a post-graduate degree from world-renowned Australian universities but from both the positive cultural engagement and their belief that the experience would better help them meet their future military responsibilities. Many participants found the coursework challenging but were overwhelmingly grateful for the overall experience, commenting that it had really broadened their cultural awareness and would have a life-long impact on them.[77] The opportunity to develop personal relationships appears to be a key attraction of the Program, as evidenced by DCSP participants choosing in recent years *not* to select the University of New South Wales at the Australian Defence Force Academy, when the University's defence studies programs became only available as online offerings.[78]

(2) Military Alumni Associations

To help maintain the networks of people-to-people links established by the DCP, the ADF has developed military alumni associations. Membership is open to military personnel and defence civilians who have trained in, been posted to, or participated in, an exchange in

[75] Aust. DoD, "Defence Scholarship Familiarisation Course," www.defence.gov.au/DITC/courses/pdf/bulletin-dsf.pdf, accessed November 8, 2018.
[76] Bergin et. al., "Terms of engagement," pp. 77-78; 85-86.
[77] Defence Cooperation Scholarship Program testimonials were obtained from: www.defencescholarships.com.au/dcsp-preparation/testimonials, accessed December 16, 2018.
[78] Bergin et. al., "Terms of engagement," p. 77.

Australia and, to their Australian counterparts. For example, the Indonesia–Australia Defence Alumni Association (IKAHAN) was officially launched in March 2011 and involves an annual program of seminars, cultural and sporting events, aimed at encouraging participants to renew and maintain their relationships. After IKAHAN's first year, membership had exceeded 800 members. The first anniversary celebrations in Jakarta were attended by the Indonesian Defence Minister, both countries' Chiefs of Defence Force and Secretaries of Defence, indicating the high level of defence and government contacts such engagement initiatives can access.[79]

The Australian Defence College (ADC) which oversees the ACSC-J has also established a Defence Alumni Network to enable graduates to "stay connected, share knowledge and promote the achievement of excellence in professional military education."[80] Each year the ACSC-J hosts up to 180 students of which the majority are ADF Major equivalents, some are Australian Public Servants and approximately 45 are foreign personnel from over 20 countries. The ADC also oversees the Australian Defence Force Academy, the Centre for Defence and Strategic Studies, the ADF Warfare Training Centre, the ADF Peace Operations Training Centre, the ADF School of Languages and the DITC, all of which offer placements to foreign defence personnel. Consequently, for the ADF, alumni associations are a very cost effective way of maintaining and strengthening regional defence relationships that were fostered through the offer of training in Australia.

(3) Visiting Fellows Program and ASEAN-Australia Defence Postgraduate Scholarship

In 2013, Bergin et al., recommended within their Australian Strategic Policy Institute report assessing Australia's regional defence diplomacy, that there was "clear value in supporting strategic dialogue at the Track 2 level with increased liaison between regional strategic and defence think-tanks. [That, the] DCP could [in addition to the DCSP] also support the attendance of regional officers as visiting fellows at the Sea

[79] Aust. Gov, "Australia in the Asian century: White Paper, October 2012," p. 231.
[80] Bergin et. al., "Terms of engagement," p. 78.

Power Centre, Land Warfare Studies Centre and Air Power Centre."[81] Since 2013 the RAN's Sea Power Centre has hosted a Visiting Navy Fellows Program which has welcomed officers at the Lieutenant Commander and Commander level from key Indo-Pacific countries such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, Pakistan, the Philippines, Fiji, and Japan. [82] The Program aims to foster international defence relationships and mutual understanding whilst also contributing to regional maritime strategy and defence policy debates, publishing externally peer-reviewed papers generated by the Fellows on the Centre's website.

More recently, in March 2018 at the Australia-ASEAN Special Summit, then Australian Defence Minister Marise Payne announced a new ASEAN-Australia Defence Postgraduate Scholarship Program would be established. Commencing in 2019, each year a representative from each ASEAN member state will be invited to attend a two-year Master of Strategic Studies postgraduate degree. The Program aims to foster cooperation and equip ASEAN practitioners further in the field of regional defence engagement by bringing together emerging defence and security leaders who would then be studying together and attending the same course.[83]

(4) Engaging future regional leaders

Domestically based foreign military training programs have been considered a "low-cost, effective means of international influence and leverage" at least since the end of the Cold War. In 1976, when the US was scaling back its military and recognised that the US's own security was "linked with broader international stability and security," the US established a grant program called the International Military Education and Training (IMET) to "provide professional, leadership, and management training for senior military leaders and selected junior and

[81] Ibid.
[82] Aust. DoD "Annual Report 2017-18," p. 224.
[83] Aust. Gov, "ASEAN-Australia Defence Postgraduate Scholarship," 2018, www.minister.defence.gov.au/minister/marise-payne/media-releases/asean-australia-defence-postgraduate-scholarship.

middle-grade officers with evident leadership potential."[84] Whilst the cost-effectiveness of such training, was in the US case initially implied because it advanced US foreign policy goals without "involving large U.S. military forces or the need to maintain overseas installations," the Program was found to be an effective means of establishing relationships with potential future leaders which in the longer term translated "into improved communication with the United States and often into greater openness to US needs and interests".[85] Today the IMET remains a core element of the US Department of Defense's international engagement program.[86] Parallels in strategy could be made to the Gillard Government drawing down on engagement in Afghanistan and seeking to maximise regional influence through DCP engagement within a fiscally constrained environment. The longevity of the DCP and IMET despite the fiscal challenges faced by both countries might also be attributed to hedging attempts against strategic intrusion into the 'education avenue' of enhancing regional engagement. For, if Australia and the US ceased these programs, with their coincident exposure to Australian and US cultural values and furthering of mutual understanding, such a situation might permit other less strategically preferred competitors to better place their own educational offerings and potentially reap the associated influence and access.

Within the *2013 Defence White Paper* the Gillard Government recognised that regional "competition for access and influence" would only increase, and that "consideration of Australia's interests and views [would be] less assured." This assessment was coupled with guidance that Australia's defence international engagement needed to be geared towards grasping opportunities within the Indo-Pacific region and "[seizing] opportunities to build deeper partnerships" whilst at the same

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[84] Taw, J. M. and McCoy Jr., W. H., "International Military Student Training: Beyond Tactics," *RAND Corporation*, 1993, p. v, www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/notes/2009/N3634.pdf.

[85] Research found that in some countries, a much higher percentage of the military's leadership had received US training than had military personnel in general. See Taw and McCoy Jr., "International Military Student Training: Beyond Tactics," pp. 1-4.

[86] IMET is currently administered by the US Department of Defense's Security Cooperation Agency. IMET goals can be viewed at www.dsca.mil/programs/international-military-education-training-imet, accessed December 16, 2018.

time working towards strengthening the multilateral security frameworks in our region.[87] Establishing relationships with future regional leaders through postgraduate engagement programs is a viable measure towards supporting Australia's interests at such forums. The commitment made within the *2016 Defence White Paper* to "[double] the training Defence provides in Australia for international military students over the next 15 years" as part of increased investment in the DCP, continues to recognise that there is strategic value in the postgraduate engagement of foreign military personnel.[88]

Conclusion

> *Regional defence engagement brings significant benefits to Australia's defence capabilities by familiarising Australian defence personnel with the environments, operating procedures, cultures and capabilities of regional countries and allowing them to interact with their counterparts. The defence agenda looms large in many regional countries, and regional militaries have considerable domestic political influence, so our defence engagement is an important part of our regional relations.*[89]

This paper considers how the practice of embedding defence personnel in bilateral engagement programs has supported Australian national strategy. To do so it examined the period during the Gillard Government which ran from 24 June 2010 to 26 June 2013, coinciding with emerging major power changes within the Asia-Pacific region as well as significant fiscal pressures which resulted in the lowest level of Australian defence spending since the Cold War. During this period, the Gillard Government made a clear strategic emphasis on the importance of increasing regional engagement within the Asia-Pacific. This was evidenced through the release of the *2012 Australia in the Asian Century Foreign Policy White Paper* and the *2013 National Security Strategy* which articulated promoting regional engagement as a strategic priority.

[87] Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2013," p. 55.
[88] Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2016," p. 118.
[89] Bergin et. al., "Terms of engagement," p. 11.

By examining a range of embedding activities supported during the Gillard Government's administration, this author found that they generated benefits in three main areas: as a means of enhancing Australia's defence capability without increasing military hardware, by directly leading to increased regional engagement opportunities, and, by enhancing Australia's ability for national influence. These outcomes were particularly prudent noting the fiscal challenges experienced by the Australian government at that time.

Within the paper, the examination of embedding activities was grouped into three case studies, each focusing on different programs and relationships engaged in by the ADF. The first case study, which considered Australia's longstanding relationship with the US, identified several benefits supporting an enhanced defence capability and increased regional engagement. The FPI which was agreed to in November 2011, can be considered as a particularly effective activity used by both Australia and the US as an opportunity to coordinate and maximise the effectiveness of their own respective strategies. Permitting US Marines to embed within ADF bases and facilitating US access to the Asia-Pacific region has for Australia directly led to opportunities for increased regional engagement, as well as provided increased training and exercise opportunities enhancing the ADF's nascent amphibious capability. This was illustrated by the use of combined exercises established under the FPI as showcases to encourage invited observing regional nations to participate in future exercises and training.

Other strategic benefits obtained through supporting the FPI included the perpetuation of the US alliance and associated technology, training and intelligence benefits; it provided an opportunity to maintain interoperability post the drawdown from Afghanistan; created an increased defensive posture which also enhanced northwest Australian resource security; and aided in perpetuating US Asia-Pacific engagement which was considered an essential regional stabilizing force. For Australia and the US, embedding has been an effective method towards maintaining and enhancing their bilateral relationship.

Enhanced opportunity for national influence emerged as a key outcome from the examination of the DCP funded embedding practices

examined within the second and third case studies. The Gillard Government's increased financial support for the DCP despite the coinciding fiscal challenges and overall decrease in defence spending, suggests that the relationship building activities funded by the DCP were considered worthwhile. Within the South Pacific, the ADF engages through the PPBP, which has endured since 1987 and relies on the embedding of RAN advisors and the use of gifted patrol boats. More recently the high degree of trust, mutual understanding and cooperation that the Program has fostered within the bilateral relationships appears to be a crucial enabler for Australia to compete against more financially able competitors for regional influence. Similarly the DCP-funded Australia-based postgraduate study programs offered to foreign defence personnel have been found to be an effective means of establishing relationships with potential future regional leaders, thereby delivering a low-cost means of gaining international influence and leverage. The introduction of alumni associations and visiting fellows programs during the Gillard Government's administration have further ensured that these strategically important linkages are maintained.

In considering the physical process of how the ADF develops and maintains effective regional relationships, activities involving the embedding of defence personnel and equipment have proven a cost effective and enduring method. By enhancing defence capability, enhancing influence and generating opportunities for increased regional engagement, such activities directly supported the Gillard Government's strategic priority of increasing engagement within the Asia-Pacific. Noting that both the 2016 *Defence White Paper* and the 2017 *Foreign Policy White Paper* state a requirement for greater security cooperation with nations in the Indo-Pacific, it is clear that international engagement by the ADF will continue to grow in importance in order to achieve Australian strategic security objectives.[90] It may be prudent therefore, for academic discussion to further explore the role military bilateral relationships provide towards supporting national strategy.

[90] DFAT, "2017 Foreign Policy White Paper," 2017, p. v, www.fpwhitepaper.gov.au/; Aust. DoD, "Defence White Paper 2016," p. 34.

軍務と知性：21 世紀のミリタリー・プロフェッション
－ペトレイアスを事例として－

野並　飛高

本文は、3 等海佐　野並　飛高が第 66 期海上自衛隊幹部学校指揮幕僚課程の特別研究で執筆し、最優秀論文として英国海軍から第 1 海軍卿賞を受賞したものである。

今回の受賞は、イラクでのペトレイアスの対反乱作戦（COIN）を分析した研究において、戦略目標の達成と軍人に求められる知性の関係に踏み込んだ論旨が評価された。



英国第 1 海軍卿賞授賞式（令和元年 5 月 31 日、英国大使館においてグウィン・ジェンキンス海軍参謀長補より授与）

（英国第 1 海軍卿賞：平成 25 年 12 月に英国第 1 海軍卿兼海軍参謀長のジョージ・ザンベラス海軍大将（当時）が本校を訪問された際、「海上自衛隊と英海軍の友好の証として、海上自衛隊幹部学校において執筆された優秀な論文に対して賞を授与したい」との提案により設立され、今回で 5 回目となる。）

はじめに

冷戦後、軍隊をとりまく環境は大きく変化したが、いま軍隊に求められる役割とは何だろうか。国家間戦争の生起がほぼなくなり、民族問題や思想、宗教等をめぐる内戦や紛争は増加の一途をたどっている。それに伴い、一国の軍隊はより小規模な用途、非正規戦争や非軍事的任務に使われるこ

とが多くなっている。同時に世界的傾向として、その任務や組織形態、軍人の教育にも変化が求められており、とりわけ先進民主主義国は、冷戦期に構築した軍事力の性格を大幅に変化させている[1]。国家間戦争のために編成され、装備を整え、ドクトリンを制定してきた軍隊は、それらが役に立たない新たな任務を与えられることが多くなり、果たすべき役割を模索している。

また、軍隊の本分である戦争をめぐる環境自体も変化している。軍隊の任務は多様化するとともに、情報革命等によって戦略・作戦・戦術の並列化が進み、軍務の敏感性は大きく増した。こうした変化のなかで、軍隊及び軍人のあり方に関する議論は活発化している。中には「技術官僚に過ぎず、政治に関する知見に乏しい軍人への全面的な委任は政治目的達成に悪影響を与える」とし、「戦術レベルやそれ以下の区々たる戦闘であっても文民は積極的に介入すべき」との主張もある[2]。

このような結論は正しいのだろうか。たしかに、戦争の階層構造が並列化し、軍事の微細な出来事が政治に大きな影響を与えるようになった情勢において、個々の戦術的判断の重みは増していよう。だが、文民が戦術レベルまで統制することが重要という主張は、軍人が国内世論や国益に関する政治的な見識をもたず、政策のプロたる文民が戦術的判断に介入したほうが良い結果が得られるという前提に基づいている[3]。しかし、今日の通信技術の発達をもってしても、あらゆる戦術局面において遠距離から文民が状況を的確に判断して迅速に決断を下し、それを齟齬なく現場指揮官に伝達することは極めて難しい[4]。またそのような状況で責任者たる文民に全ての判断を丸投げしてしまうのは、楽な選択ではあろうが、軍人のプロフェッショナリズムの何たるかを問われることになろう。

では逆に、軍人側にそのような見識があればどうか。現場の指揮官が、今自分のおかれている状況の政治・経済・社会的背景について平素から理解を深めていれば、予測を超えた事態であっても、本質的な行動規範や判

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1 八木直人「2012 年; 米国の軍事クーデタは生起するか？―ダンラップの仮説とポストモダン・ミリタリー―」『海幹校戦略研究』第 1 巻第 2 号、2011 年 12 月、30 頁。

2 部谷直亮「新時代の政軍関係」川上高司編『「新しい戦争」とは何かー方法と戦略－』ミネルヴァ書房、2016 年、80 頁。

3 同上。

4 例えば任務行動中の潜水艦では、行動の秘匿の観点から通信の使用が制約されるため、個艦の艦長の判断が極めて重視される。これは、通信技術の発達に関わらず生起し得る問題である。

断基準を失うことなく、迷わず行動することができるのではないか。すなわち、軍人が戦術レベルの判断に資するだけの純軍事的な知識にとどまらず、上位のレベルに関する幅広い知見を持ち、自らの直面する戦術的局面が果たし得る役割を認識していれば、より政策や戦略に寄与しうる判断ができるのではないだろうか。

近年、イラクで注目を集めたペトレイアス（David. H. Petraeus）は、力でゲリラを叩き潰すのではなく、民生を重視して劇的な治安の回復に成功し、その職責を全うした。その手法の骨子は「対ゲリラ戦においては、純粋に軍事的な解決は存在しない。最終的には政治的な決着を目指すべき」というものである。このような思考は、「政治に関する知見に乏しい」軍人から導出されるものではない。したがって彼の成功例は、今日の軍人のプロフェッションの在り方について、一つの方向性を示す端緒となる可能性がある。

本稿では、ペトレイアスの事例からその思考過程と、成功に至るバックグラウンドを分析することによって、今日の多様化する軍務の中で、軍人が備えるべき職業的専門性を追求する[5]。第１節では、現代の軍をめぐる環境の変化を整理し、どのような背景と文脈から、冷戦期とは異なる軍隊と軍人のあり方が問われているのかを明らかにする。第２節では、ペトレイアスの事例分析から、彼の手法とその成功が米軍に与えた影響について明らかにする。第３節では、その成功の要因を分析することで、現代の軍人に求められる職業的専門性を明らかにしていく。

1　混迷する軍隊

(1)　誰が為にラッパは鳴るか

ハンチントン（Samuel P. Huntington）の『軍人と国家』は、政軍関係研究の出発点とされる。ハンチントンは軍の実効性と権力の抑制とを両立する手段として「客体的シビリアン・コントロール」を提唱した。軍に自律的な職業的専門性を持たせて政治的に中立な立場に置くことで、軍人の権力を縮小して政府への自発的な統制に服させ、暴走の危険を極小化し、安定した「暴力の管理」を可能にするというものである[6]。

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[5] なお本稿で扱う「軍人」とは、ハンチントンの『軍人と国家』と同様、指揮権を持つ士官又は将校（officer）を対象としている。

[6] サミュエル・ハンチントン『軍人と国家　上』市川良一訳、原書房、2008 年、83-84 頁。

またハンチントンは、「軍隊の任務は戦闘である」と明言している。彼は冷戦後の軍隊が非軍事的任務への対応に迫られ、その役割が変質しつつあることを危惧し、「軍隊は基本的に非人道的なものであり、その目的は最も効率的な方法で人を殺すことである」とし、「軍隊の目的は戦闘、すなわち敵を阻止し打倒することである。軍隊はその目的のためだけに徴募し、編成され、訓練され、装備を整えるべき」だと説いた[7]。軍隊が非軍事的任務を伝統的に行ってきたことを認めつつも、あくまでそれは副次的なものであり、主任務たる戦闘への備えを疎かにして能力を低下させてはならない、としている[8]。

さらに、スミス（Rupert Smith）は「国家間戦争から人間（じんかん）戦争へとパラダイム・シフトが起きた」という[9]。彼は国連軍司令官等を務めた経験から、イラク戦争では戦後の望ましい成果についての分析が不十分であったため、フセイン政権の迅速な打倒には成功したが、その後の体制構築に失敗したと指摘する[10]。そのうえで、非国家主体同士の戦闘が多い現代において軍事力が確たる効用を発揮するには、背景となる経済・外交・政治・人道的な要因等に対する理解が必要であると説く[11]。軍事指揮官は、自らの作戦行動がどう位置づけられるのか理解する必要があり、さもなければ、軍事力によって最終目的たる政治的成果を達成することはできない、という主張である。

このように、現代の軍隊は環境の変化にさらされており、その存在意義と役割についての議論はますます活発となっている。たしかに「暴力の管理」は軍人の職業的専門性の依って立つ基盤であり、戦闘は軍隊の本分である。なぜならば、それは民間ではよく為し得ない分野であり、だからこそ国家は暴力を効率よくコントロールするために「国家の軍隊」を所有してきたのである。しかしながら、国家間戦争の頻度は減少し、軍隊は対テロ戦争や安定化作戦、非軍事的任務に使用されることが増えつつある。現代の軍隊に求められる任務は多様化の一途をたどっており、軍隊はその果たすべき役割を模索しているのである。

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[7] Samuel P. Huntington, “New Contingencies, Old Roles,” *Joint Force Quarterly*, No. 2, Autumn 1993, p. 43.
[8] Ibid.
[9] ルパート・スミス『軍事力の効用　新時代「戦争論」』佐藤友紀訳、原書房、2014 年、23 頁。
[10] 同上、547-552 頁。
[11] 同上、553-560 頁。

(2)　軍務の多様化と敏感性の増大

一方、戦争とそれをとりまく戦略環境はどのような状況にあるのだろうか。クラウゼヴィッツが「戦争は他の手段をもってする政治の継続」と定義したように[12]、戦争は政治的意図を目的とした手段であり、一般的な戦争の階層概念は、戦略・作戦・戦術の垂直関係であると理解されてきた。そのなかで、戦術行動の成果を戦略上の目標に寄与させるための方法論はなかなか確立されなかったが、1980 年代の米陸軍を中心に行われた「作戦術」の確立と「作戦次元」の設定によって、軍人は所管する軍事力を適正に使用する方法論を獲得し、自らの職業的専門性をより高めることとなった[13]。

作戦術とは、米国統合軍の定義によれば「目的（Ends）、方法（Ways）、手段（Means）の統合によって、戦略、戦役、そして作戦の策定及び軍事力を編成し運用するための、指揮官と参謀の技術、知識、経験、そして創造性による認知的アプローチ」である[14]。この作戦術に米軍が注目した背景には、ベトナム戦争における失敗がある。同戦争において米軍はほぼ全ての戦闘に勝利したが、戦争そのものには敗北した。装備と火力の優勢によって戦術的勝利を積み重ねることには成功したが、戦略と戦術とを繋ぐ方法論に欠けていたため、その成果を戦略目標の達成に寄与させることができなかったのである。この反省をもとに、米軍は作戦術の研究と教育制度化という組織改革を推進し、それは 1991 年の湾岸戦争で勝利として結実した[15]。

しかし近年、この戦争の階層概念に変化が表れている。20 世紀後半からの技術の急速な発展は、戦争の階層構造を圧縮するとともに、政治指導者による軍隊の使用の増加と、中小隊レベルの指揮官が担当するような小戦闘への直接介入を促進した[16]。また、ポスト産業社会において少子化が進んだ結果、戦争での犠牲を許容しない傾向が先進民主主義国家を中心に強

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[12] クラウゼヴィッツ『戦争論 レクラム版』日本クラウゼヴィッツ協会訳、芙蓉書房出版、2001 年、44 頁。
[13] 齋藤大介「戦争を見る第三の視点－『作戦術』と『戦争の作戦次元』ー」『戦略研究』第 12 号、2013 年 1 月、93 頁。
[14] U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *JP3-0: Joint Operations*, Department of Defense, 2017, p. xii.
[15] 北川敬三「安全保障研究としての『作戦術』－その意義と必要性―」『国際安全保障』第 44 巻第 4 号、2017 年 3 月、101 頁。
[16] Jan Angstrom & J. J. Widen, *Contemporary Military Theory: the Dynamics of War* , Routledge, 2015, p. 169.

まり、人命の重みと政治的影響は著しく増した[17]。さらに、情報通信技術の発展によって、そのような戦闘で命を落とした兵士の死は大きく報道されるようになり、世論の敏感性をもたらした[18]。すなわち、一兵士や民間人の死といった戦術レベルの出来事が、直接戦略・政治レベルにまで影響を及ぼすようになってきたのである。軍隊の任務は多様化するとともに、その敏感性をも大きく増しているといえる。

(3) 問われるミリタリー・プロフェッション

このような情勢から、部谷は「ある種の技術官僚に過ぎない軍人が政治における独自の手法、つまり国内世論や総合的な国益に関する見識をもたない以上、戦術レベルですら政治的な影響を与える現代の戦略環境において、彼らに全面的に委任することは政治目的達成に結びつかず、悪影響を与えるのは間違いない」とし、「いかなる局面でも文民の軍事面への介入は許容される」ため、「戦術レベルやそれ以下の区々たる戦闘であっても積極的に介入すべき」と結論づけている[19]。またコーエン（Eliot A. Cohen）は、米軍のソマリア介入の失敗は文民が戦術レベルまでチェックを怠ったことに起因する、と指摘する[20]。これらは戦争が政治の延長である以上、最終的な責任者である政治家が細かな戦術レベルまで直接コントロールすることが望ましい、という「主体的シビリアン・コントロール」の復権ともいうべき主張である。そこでは、繊細さを増す実務にあたる軍人の能力の限界について、ある種の諦観が見て取れる。

一方でグヴォデス（Nikolas K. Gvosdev）は、軍人が政策プロセスを理解することで、より文民に現実的な選択肢の提供が可能になるとし、国家安全保障のもと多様な任務を背負っている軍隊にとって「暴力の管理」はあまりにも狭すぎる役割だ、と指摘する[21]。またエチェバリア（Antulio J. Echevarria）は、戦闘の勝利を戦略的な成果に結びつける複雑なプロセスについて考えることを避けてはならず、指導者は戦闘よりも上位の戦略や

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17 エドワード・ルトワック「Post-Heroic Warfare（犠牲者なき戦争）とその意味」『平成 11 年度安全保障国際シンポジウム報告書』防衛研究所、2000 年 3 月、48-49 頁。

18 James Adams, *The Next World War: Computers Are the Weapon and the Front Line Is Everywhere*, Simon & Schuster, 1998, pp. 278-290.

19 部谷、80 頁。

20 Eliot A. Cohen, *Supreme Command: Soldiers, Statesman, and Leadership in Wartime*, the Free Press, 2002, pp. 201-202.

21 Nikolas K. Gvosdev, “Should Military Officers Study Policy Analysis?” *Joint Force Quarterly*, No. 76, 1stQuarter, 2015. pp. 32-33.

政略について考える習慣を身に付けなければならない、と説く[22]。これらは前述のスミスのような、軍人が目標を達成するためには、政治・経済・社会に関する幅広い理解が必要であるという主張に通じるものである。

上記のように現代の軍隊をとりまく環境は変化し、任務は多様化するとともにその敏感性は大きく増した。軍隊は新たな役割を模索しており、そのあり方に関しても、政治的知見のない軍人に細部の判断を委ねるのは好ましくない、という主張がある一方で、だからこそ軍人がもっと幅広い知識を身に付けるべきだ、と説く者もいる。こうした議論のなか、近年注目を集めた軍人として、米元陸軍大将ペトレイアスがいる。彼は力でゲリラを叩き潰そうとするのではなく、民生重視の Counterinsurgency（対反乱作戦、以下 COIN）によって成功を収め、一躍英雄となった。2003 年に始まったイラク戦争は戦後処理が難航し、米兵の犠牲は増える一方であったが、彼が着任し COIN を主導して以降、治安は急速に回復した。一時は米軍の敗北が真実味を持って語られた戦争が、終結宣言にまでこぎつけたのだ[23]。この事例は識見に富む軍人が作戦を成功させ、政策の達成へと導き得た一例である可能性があり、現代軍人の職業的専門性を考察する上で意義深い分析対象である。彼はどのような知識と問題意識をもって、軍隊の果たすべき役割を認識し、いかなる手法をもって成功を収め得たのだろうか。

2　現れた英雄

(1)　敗北寸前だったイラク戦争

2007 年 2 月、ペトレイアスはイラク多国籍軍司令官に就任し、本格的な COIN 作戦であるサージ（Surge）戦略の指揮をとることとなった。治安情勢は悪化の一途をたどっており、前年 2 月に北部のサマラで発生したアスカリ廟爆破事件以降、宗派間抗争が激化してほぼ内戦状態に陥っていた。本国ではイラク戦略の修正が盛んに論じられるようになり、中間選挙でも

[22] Antulio J. Echevarria II, *Toward an American Way of War*, U.S. Army War College, March 2004, pp. 17-18.
[23] 吉岡猛「イラク戦争における戦後処理戦略－『サージ戦略』への転換とその背景分析－」『海幹校戦略研究』第 3 巻第 1 号、2013 年 5 月、79 頁。

早期撤退を訴える民主党が勝利したため、ブッシュ政権は何らかの新たな戦略を早急に打ち出す必要に迫られていた[24]。

それまで米軍が採用していた NSVI（National Strategy for Victory in Iraq）戦略では、「掃討、確保、構築（Clear, Hold, Build）」、すなわち敵勢力の掃討、掃討した地域の確保、確保した地域への経済基盤等の構築を目標としていた[25]。しかし、実際には反乱勢力を掃討しても、米軍が基地に帰還するたびに戻って来ては協力した住民らを殺害して治安が悪化し、再度掃討を要するというもぐら叩きの如き様相を呈していた[26]。この原因は、①戦後処理のための兵力が過少で適切な能力も有していなかったこと、②適切な戦後処理計画が作成・配布されていなかったこと、③国防省と国務省の相互協力不足、④事前見積もりの甘さ、に集約することができる[27]。

とりわけ、軍隊の戦後処理における役割は軽視されていた。政府は戦後処理のための兵力の増派を認めず、また米軍も大多数が増派に否定的な見解を示していた[28]。ここには「軍隊の仕事は戦闘であり、復興を中心とした戦後処理は自分の仕事ではない」という認識が垣間見える[29]。だが、戦後処理を担うべきイラク軍と警察が消滅してしまい、しかるべき国内組織によって治安が維持できない状況では、派遣軍の他にその役割を担える存在はなかった。このように当時の米軍は、戦後処理における自らの役割の重要性に対する認識と準備が不十分であり、必然的にその実効は上がっていなかった。

この背景には、米軍が「米国流の戦争方法」を重視し、COIN を軽視してきたという事情がある。ベトナム戦争で COIN に苦手意識を植え付けられた米軍は、圧倒的兵力と先進的な装備によって敵をシステマティックに破壊、撤収するという戦争の手法を追求し、その傾向は湾岸戦争での鮮烈

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[24] 福田毅「米国流の戦争方法と対反乱（COIN）作戦－イラク戦争後の米陸軍ドクトリンをめぐる論争とその背景―」『レファレンス』第 59 巻第 11 号、2009 年 11 月、94 頁。

[25] National Security Council, *National Strategy for Victory in Iraq*, White House, November 2005, p. 18.

[26] Michael E.O' Hanlon & Kenneth M. Pollack, "A War We Just Might Win," *The New York Times*, July 30, 2007.

[27] 吉岡、87-94 頁。

[28] Peter D. Feaver, "The Right to be Right: Civil-Military Relations and the Iraq Surge Decision," *International Security*, Vol. 35, No. 4, 2011, pp. 107-108.

[29] David C. Hendrickson & Robert W. Tucker, "Revisions in Need of Revising: What Went Wrong in the Iraq War," *Survival*, Vol. 47, No. 2, Summer 2005, p. 13.

な成功体験を通じてさらに強まっていた[30]。この戦争においてクウェートはイラク軍の駆逐後、特段の混乱なく平常状態に復帰したことから占領政策は不要であり、戦闘における勝利のみで戦争は終結したのである。こうしてその戦争方法の正当性が確信され、戦闘での勝利は一層重視されるようになった[31]。

しかし、国内の政権を打倒したイラクでは事情が異なった。戦闘のみで戦争は終わらず、米軍に求められた能力は、まさに避けてきた COIN であった。その結果、目的であるイラク復興のための治安回復を果たせず戦争は長期化、戦死者は増える一方であり、現場でも国内でも厭戦気分が高まりつつあった。米国としては本音では早く退きたいが、現状で退けば敗北を認めることとなり、ベトナムの再来になる。この状況を打開するために送られたのが、ペトレイアスである。

(2) ペトレイアスの COIN

ペトレイアスの着任後､イラクの治安は劇的に改善した｡統計によれば、暴力事件の件数は 2006 年には週 1400 件を超えていたが、2007 年 11 月には週 600 件、2008 年半ばには週 300 件弱まで減少した。イラク人死者数は 2006 年下半期には月 3000 人を超えていたのが、2007 年 10 月には 950 人､2008 年 6 月には月 500 人以下へと減少した｡米軍戦死者も､2006 年は月 60 人、サージ開始後の 2007 年 4-6 月には一時的に 103 人まで増加したが、同年 10-12 月には 25 人、2008 年には年間 20 人にまで減少している[32]。

これに先立つ 2003 年、当時少将のペトレイアスは第 101 空挺師団を率いてイラク北部モスルの占領に当たり、COIN を成功させていた[33]。彼は兵士の宿舎に「今日、君はイラク人の心を勝ち取るために何をした？」との標語を掲げ、民家に入る際には理由説明と感謝の言葉を欠かさぬよう命じた[34]。また、小規模の資金貸付によって戦争で打撃を受けた商店の再開

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30 福田、86 頁。「米国流の戦争方法（the American Way of War)」については、Russell F. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy*, Indiana University Press, 1973. を参照。

31 吉岡、97 頁。

32 Iraq Index, the Brookings Institution, http://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/index20051031.pdf.

33 Michael R. Gordon, “The Struggle for Iraq: Reconstruction,” *The New York Times*, September 4, 2003.

34 Rod Nordland, “Iraq’s Repairman,” *Newsweek*, July 5, 2004. p.21.

を支援し、ライフライン復旧等の民生の向上にも尽力した[35]。さらに、下野したイラク軍人を警察に取り込み、住民による自治組織も発足させた[36]。同時に地方選挙を実施して、有力者を通じての統治を試みた[37]。このように、彼が行った占領統治の特徴は、ゲリラ掃討と並行して、民衆の支持を獲得するための民生復興支援を軍隊の活動の主軸に位置づけたことであった[38]。この師団の活動はイラク戦争初期の数少ない成功例として賞賛され、後の統治方式の原型となる。治安回復にあたり、武力の行使のみではなく、経済政策、現地警察の再建、選挙を通じた自治体制の確立など、民生分野へと軍の役割を拡大したという点で評価できる。

この後帰国した彼は、COIN の新しいマニュアルを編集した。その骨子は次のとおりである[39]。①対反乱作戦の核心は、ゲリラの殺害ではなく、民心の掌握である。まずゲリラと民衆を切り離すため、軍は民衆の中に入り、ゲリラからの報復から守ることによって協力を得る。②民心の掌握には軍事のみならず、経済を含む多面的なアプローチを要する。民衆の生活向上のために資金を拠出すべきであり、対ゲリラ戦においては「金は弾丸（Money is ammunition.）」となる[40]。③交渉できる敵とは交渉し、敵を分断すべきである。対ゲリラ戦においては、純粋に軍事的な解決は存在せず、最終的には政治的な決着を目指すべきである。このマニュアルは、Web 上で公開されてから 2 ヶ月後には 200 万ダウンロードを超える程の注目を集めた[41]。実体験をもとに、長らく軽視されてきた COIN を改めて体系化したという点でも、評価に値するものであった。

多国籍軍司令官として再びイラクに戻ったペトレイアスは、このマニュアルを直ちに実行に移した。彼は治安回復のため、まずスンニ派を味方につけた。フセイン政権の崩壊によって少数派のスンニ派優位の支配が終焉

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35 髙橋和夫「ペトレイアス将軍とアメリカの中東政策」『海外事情』第 58 巻 11 号、2010 年 11 月、23 頁。

36 Joyce Battle & Thomas Blanton, “Top Secret Polo Step,” *National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book*, No.214, February 14, 2007.

37 Linda Robinson, *Tell Me How This Ends*, Public Affairs, 2008, pp. 47-83.

38 矢野哲也「Commander’s Emergency Response Program（CERP）に関する一考察」『国際公共政策研究』第 14 巻第 1 号、2009 年 9 月、128-129 頁。CERP とはイラク国民の福利と占領地域安定化のため、現地部隊指揮官に与えられた手段としての現金であり、占領統治政策の財源となった。

39 The U.S. Army and Marine Corps, *Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, The University of Chicago Press, 2007, pp. 25-30.

40 David H. Petraeus, “Learning Counterinsurgency: Observations from Soldiering in Iraq,” *Military Review,* January-February 2006, pp. 3-4.

41 The U.S. Army and Marine Corps, *Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, University of Chicago Press, p.xxi.

し、多数派のシーア派による支配が始まっていたが、両派が混住するバグダッド等の中心都市では中央政府軍への反発が強く、アルカイダ等の外国人勢力も加わって混乱を深めていた[42]。そこで彼は、交渉の通じない外国人勢力に対する攻撃を強めつつ、スンニ派の若者達に 1 人あたり数百ドルの月給を支払い、10 万人以上を自警団として雇用した。これによってスンニ派は米軍への攻撃を止め、むしろ協力してゲリラと戦い始めた[43]。ペトレイアスは、イラクにおけるシーア派とスンニ派の分裂・反目という問題に着目し、その解決策として、スンニ派に自らの治安維持を担当させたのである[44]。結果、文字通り「金は弾丸」としてゲリラを効果的に駆逐し、治安を安定させる役割を果たした。このように、彼は軍事力を直接用いるのみならず、支配を失い不満を持っていた少数派の雇用によって、治安維持という役割をローカライズした。現地住民の自治体制確立への自覚を促し、米軍への好感度を高め、ゲリラを孤立させ、さらに自らの撤退準備を促進する、という一石何鳥もの効果を上げている点に、その政治的センスの非凡さがうかがえる。

さらに彼は、米兵のパトロール方式を変更した。それまで米軍は大基地から車両で出撃し、任務が終了するとすぐ帰還していたが、これでは民衆の協力は得難い。常に守られているという安心感を与えないかぎり、民衆はゲリラの報復を恐れるからである。またゴーグルで顔を隠し車両を乗り回すだけでは、民衆の目に米兵は血の通った人間に見えない[45]。そこで彼は、各地域に交番のように小さな基地を設置し、そこから部隊を頻繁にパトロールに出すとともに、車両から降りて歩かせた。攻撃には弱くなるが、顔の見える距離を歩かせることで民衆との距離が縮まり、情報提供は得やすくなる。結果は先の統計のとおりであり、安全確保のためには、そこで暮らす情報通の民衆を味方につけることが最も効果的だった[46]。軍隊は自己完結型の組織であり、そこが NGO 等民間団体にない強みでもあるのだが、ゲリラとの戦いでは民衆の協力が不可欠だったのだ。彼はあえて短期的なリスクを取ることによって、中長期的な安定を勝ち取ったのである。

このように、ペトレイアスは軍隊の戦後処理における役割を再考し、武力によるゲリラの掃討のみではなく、経済援助や軍の防護による民生の向

42 髙橋、24-26 頁。
43 Robinson, pp.217-270.
44 髙橋、26 頁。
45 同上、27 頁。
46 同上、26-27 頁。

上と安定によって統治を成功に導き、政府の期待に応えた。軍事力をゲリラの掃討という前面の主役として使うのみならず、民衆のサポーターとしての役割を積極的に負わせることによって、目的を達成したのである。これは、いかなる戦術や装備によって敵を効率よく殲滅するか、という純軍事的な発想に基づくものではない。非軍事的手段によって民生を安定させ、ゲリラと民衆を分断し孤立させる、という間接的アプローチを絡めたほうがより早く、犠牲を少なくして治安を回復できたという良い証左であり、軍人が自ら軍に新たな役割を与え、その有用性を実証したという点で、極めて意義深いものだといえる。

(3) 米軍への影響

イラクでの成功が評価されたペトレイアスは、2008 年に中央軍司令官の要職に就き、アフガニスタンをも統括することとなった。同年、陸軍の基幹ドクトリン（*FM3-0*）も改訂され、そこでは「過去のドクトリンからの革命的離脱」として、現代の紛争では戦場での成功はもはや十分ではなく、最終的な勝利を得るためには、平和の基礎を打ち立てるための安定化作戦が必須とされた[47]。また「金は弾丸」、「情報が成功の鍵」、「文化への理解は戦力を倍増する」といった、彼がイラクで得た数々の教訓も記された[48]。

さらに 10 月には、新たなドクトリン *FM3-07*「安定化作戦」が公表され、安定化における政府全体での取り組み、国際機関や NGO との連携に力点が置かれた。また、12 月に策定された国防省指令 3000.07 は、COIN 等の非正規戦を「伝統的戦争と同等の戦略的重要性を持つ」ものと位置づけ、非正規戦能力の強化や軍以外のアクターとの連携を命じている[49]。加えて、同年運用が開始された米アフリカ軍司令部は、関係省庁間の連携向上のため、文民をより深く関与させた組織体系となった[50]。これは今後予想される事態における民軍協力の重要性を、政府及び軍が深く認識したことの表れとも捉えられる[51]。米国流の戦争方法を追求してきた米軍は、ベ

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[47] U.S. Army, *FM3-0: Operations*, February 2008, para. 3-2. 安定化作戦（stability operations）は、紛争や災害で被害を受けた地域の復興と秩序回復を目的としており、COIN を包含する概念である。

[48] Petraeus, “Learning Counterinsurgency,” p. 3.

[49] 福田、94 頁より再引用。

[50] Lauren Ploch, “Africa Command,” *CRS Report for Congress*, July 2011, pp.8-9.

[51] 吉岡、102 頁。

トナム戦争から 30 年を経て、「暴力の管理」の新たな方法を模索し始めたかに見える[52]。

ペトレイアスの成功は、「技術官僚に過ぎない」軍事指揮官が、軍事技術の通用せぬ問題を看破し、非軍事的手法を織り交ぜた解決策によって戦略達成を成し遂げたことを意味する。これは「暴力の管理」に専従していた軍人が、軍事力の直接使用のみでは達成困難な任務に直面して発揮した、ミリタリー・プロフェッショナリズムの精華といえる。

3　英雄の条件

(1)　作戦術の適用－「暴力の管理」を超えて

なぜペトレイアスは成功し得たのか。米軍はベトナム戦争以降、作戦術という問題解決手法の採用によって、戦術行動の成果を戦略上の目標に寄与させる方法論を確立した。この作戦術は、米国においては全軍種共通で少佐以上の将校に必須の軍事素養とされ、指揮幕僚課程の主要教育事項とされている[53]。しかし、なぜそれがイラクの安定化では通用しなかったのか。一方でペトレイアスが成功を収め得た要因は何処にあるのか。

作戦術では、所望の成果を得るために、まず「何が目標であり、望ましい終末状態であるか（Ends）」を確認し、「それらの達成には、どのような行動の連続が望ましいのか（Ways）」、そして「諸行動の連続のためにはどのような資源が必要であるのか（Means）」を設定する[54]。これに従い、ペトレイアス以前と以後を比較すると、表 1 のとおりとなる。

ペトレイアス以前の NSVI 戦略と、彼が指揮したサージ戦略では、目指す Ends こそ同一だが、そこへ至る Ways と Means が大きく異なっている。

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[52] ペトレイアスの成功は COIN 推進派の影響力を高める一方、反対派の批判も呼び、その手法は必ずしも全面的な支持を得ているわけではない。COIN を巡る論争の主要な論点は、国防戦略の全体的な方向性、通常戦遂行能力への影響、ドクトリンの妥当性が挙げられる。福田、97 頁を参照。

[53] U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *Officer Professional Military Education Policy (OPMEP)*, Department of Defense, 2009, Appendix A-A-3 to A-A-4. 作戦術については詳述する紙面が無いが、総論すれば「所望の目的を達成するために、それを見失うことなく最善の方法と手段を生み出すための考え方を、軍事において表現したことば」と概説できる。

[54] U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, *JP3-0*, 2017, p. II-4.

【表 1】作戦術の観点から見た NSVI 戦略とサージ戦略の比較

	NSVI 戦略	サージ戦略
Ends	対反乱勢力の駆逐によるイラクの安定と平和	
Ways	掃討、確保、構築による政治・治安・経済の 3 分野の統合推進	民衆の保護､民生の向上を優先したゲリラと民衆の切り離し
Means	強固な基地、精密攻撃能力、俊敏性、ISR 能力	兵力、金、自警団、PRT

（National Strategy for Victory in Iraq, Fact Sheet: The New Way Forward in Iraq, Multi-National Force-Iraq Counterinsurgency Guidance をもとに筆者作成）

NSVI では、政治・治安・経済の 3 分野の密接な関連から、統合して戦後処理を進めることとされていた[55]。それを端的に表した方針が「掃討、確保、構築」であったことは既に述べたが、国務省のこの方針に国防省は反発した。敵軍を撃破した以上、米軍は速やかに撤退すべきであり、掃討や治安維持はイラク治安部隊の任務だと考えていたからである[56]。また前線の兵士にも、戦闘後の駐留の意義を理解していない者も多かった[57]。さらに、米軍の迅速な作戦行動によるイラク軍の撃破は、安定化の段階では裏目に出た。短期間で政権が打倒されたため、治安維持のための人員と準備が不足したうえに、都市部のインフラ被害も最小限だったため、潜在的な反乱分子が無傷で潜伏できたのである。その結果生まれた無数のゲリラに対し、米軍は強みである精密攻撃能力、俊敏性、高度な ISR 能力によって掃討を試みたが、イラク軍の迅速な撃破に有効性を発揮したこれらの Means も、治安維持においては二義的な重要性しか持たず、「掃討」はできても「確保」が達成できなかったのである[58]。このように、NSVI における Means は実効性を欠いており、Ways も掃討という戦術的成果が目的達成に結びつかなかった。すなわち Ends に繋がる Ways と Means の導出が適切でなかった、ということになる。

[55] NSC, *National Strategy for Victory in Iraq*, p. 9.
[56] Bob Woodward, *State of Denial*, Simon & Schuster, 2006, pp. 418-422.
[57] 福田、88 頁。
[58] 同上、88-89 頁。

これに対し、サージでは治安回復を最優先課題としていた[59]。まずはゲリラ孤立化のため民心を掌握する必要があり、そのための Ways として治安回復を最優先とした。治安維持のためにはゲリラから民衆を守らねばならず、したがって Means として必要となるのは、最新装備よりも常続的なパトロールのためのマンパワーと、民生向上のための金銭であった。そして主要都市部で自警団を組織させることによって、戦闘に走りやすい若者不満分子を抑えるとともに、雇用を創出して民生をより安定させ、それを徐々に地方に押し広げて自治体制を確立させていったのである[60]。

加えて、民軍間の協力という分野でも強化が行われた。NSVI では PRT（Provincial Reconstruction Team: 州政府統治能力向上による地域復興チーム）に軍から人員を派遣していたものの、統一された行動計画やドクトリンはなく、州政府レベルへの関与にとどまり、十分に機能していなかった[61]。これに対し、サージでは民軍の緊密な連携を積極的に図ることを明記し、軍の一部として活動する 14 個の民軍共同チームを新たに追加した[62]。PRT が軍の保護や輸送支援を得ることで、村レベルまで細やかで効率的な活動を実施することができ、地方自治体の復興に大きく貢献したのである[63]。これは民軍の統合的な協力関係が、COIN にとって不可欠であることを示すものであった。

このように、ペトレイアスのイラクでの成功は、米軍の確立した問題解決手法である作戦術の適用において、Ends に見合った適切な Ways と Means を導出できた点に負うところが大きい。短期的な軍事的合理性にとらわれることなく、長期的な展望に立って、「暴力の管理」の範疇を超える非軍事的手段を織り交ぜた多様な解決法を導き出したことが、戦略達成につながったのである。

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[59] Office of Press Secretary, *Fact Sheet: The New Way Forward in Iraq*, White House, http://georgebwbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2007/01/20070110-3.html.
[60] Petraeus, "Learning Counterinsurgency," pp. 1-10.
[61] Roberto Perito, "Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Iraq," *United States Institute of Peace Special Report 185*, March 2007, p. 3.
[62] Commanding General MNF(I), *Multi-National Force- Iraq Counterinsurgency Guidance*, June 2007, http://www.airforce.forces.gc.ca/CFAWC/Contemporary_Studies/2007/2007-06-06_MNF-I_COIN_Guidance-Summer_2007_v7_e.asp.
[63] Donna Miles, "Bush Praises Reconstruction Teams for Building on Iraqi Progress," *American Forces Press Service*, January 8, 2008.

(2) ペトレイアスの問題意識

では、いかにしてペトレイアスはかような発想を持ち得たのか。そもそも彼は、早くから米軍の COIN 軽視に対して疑問を投げかけていた。1986 年に発表した論文では、米軍はベトナム戦争から「COIN を避けるべきという教訓を得ながら、今後予期される紛争では COIN に重点を置かなければならないというジレンマに置かれている」と指摘し、「国際情勢を鑑みれば、むしろ積極的に COIN に備えた軍隊や装備、ドクトリンを備えるべき」と主張した[64]。また翌年の博士学位論文では「米軍が将来的に遂行する公算の高い作戦は COIN であり、ワインバーガー・ドクトリンのような戦争と平和の単純な二分法は非現実的」と述べていた[65]。果たしてその予見どおり、米軍は非正規紛争へと関与していく。彼はこの問題意識によって、再び COIN が必要とされたイラクにおいて、自らの持論を実証し得たのである。

COIN 自体は決して新しい概念ではない。COIN の古典として、1964 年に著された仏軍人ガルーラ（David Galula）の『対反乱作戦』の要旨は、①COIN では民衆に焦点を当てよ ②勝利は反乱勢力の粉砕ではなく、民衆からの永続的な孤立によって得られる ③報復攻撃の恐怖から民衆を守る意志と能力とを示せ、というものである[66]。これは毛沢東戦略の分析と、彼自身のアルジェリア戦争での体験をもとに作られたものであるが、これはまさに彼がイラクで実践した COIN の歴史的先例といえる[67]。ペトレイアスは 2006 年に新たな COIN ドクトリン *FM3-24*「対反乱」を完成させ、政治目標に対する軍事の従属、反乱勢力と民衆の分離、軍隊以外のアクターとの協力、非戦闘任務の重要性等を強調しているが、この思想は、イラクで実践した民生重視の Ways と、民間団体との協力や非軍事的手段を重視した Means に、如実に表れている[68]。このように彼の功績は、古典的 COIN 理論の現代に通ずる普遍性を、実績によって示したことにある。さ

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64 Petraeus, "Lessons of History and Lessons of Vietnam," *Parameters,* Vol. 40, No. 4, January 2010, p. 56.（再掲。初出 1986）

65 Petraeus, "The American military and the lessons of Vietnam: a study of military influence and the use of force in the post-Vietnam era," *Ph. D. diss., Princeton University*, 1987, p. 312.

66 David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice*, Frederick A. Praeger, 1964, pp. 71-135.

67 福田、79 頁。

68 同上、91-92 頁。

らにその思想は、反乱側と対反乱側の両者の視点を包括しているという点で、古典理論を発展させ重要度を高めたものと評価されている[69]。

以上のように、先人に学んだ彼はベトナム戦争に対する米軍の姿勢を批判し、COIN の必要性を予見して論文で説いたが、その主張は当時の米軍には受け入れられなかった。しかし、その後米国流の戦争方法がもてはやされる中でもその問題意識を忘れることはなく、それはイラク戦争という機会を得て、ついに日の目を見た。自らの論文で COIN の必要性を説いてから 20 年の歳月を経て、彼は自らの提言を実現したのである。

(3) 21 世紀のミリタリー・プロフェッション

ペトレイアスがその実績を通じて、現代に問うものとは何か。まず彼の実績が示すものは、変化に迅速に対応する能力の必要性である。彼は策定したドクトリンにおいて、COIN が通常の戦闘と大きく異なる点をパラドックスとして強調しており、そこには「COIN では今週通用した戦術が、来週には通用するとは限らない」という一節がある[70]。今日の反乱勢力は広範囲の通信ネットワークを有しており、効果的な戦術への対応策も素早く共有される。したがって有効な戦術ほど、時代遅れになるのも早くなる。彼は COIN を成功させたが、万能の解決策（silver bullet）は存在せず、常に新たな手法を開発する不断の努力が必要、と戒めていたのである[71]。このように、情報共有のスピードが恐ろしく高速化した現代においては、戦術の陳腐化が早まり、常に新たな脅威が降りかかる。米軍ではこうした予測困難な脅威を素早く察知し、状況に適応する能力を「作戦上の適応性（operational adaptability）」として、軍のリーダーと部隊が示す資質の中核、21 世紀の軍人の新しい規範として位置づけている[72]。コーン TRADOC 司令官は、将来の脅威の予測が困難である以上、予測を間違う可能性をひとつの前提として、「間違いに気づいて素早く軌道修正すること、変化の兆候を見逃さず、作戦のフェーズ間の移行を迅速に行う能力を持つこと」が求められ、そのために「方針変更の物理的・心理的な備えが出来

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[69] Elinor C. Sloan, *Modern Military Strategy: An Introduction,* Routledge, 2016, p. 96.
[70] U.S. Army and Marine Corps, *FM3-24 / MCWP 3-33.5: Counterinsurgency*, Headquarters Department of the Army, 2006, pp. 1-26 to 27.
[71] Ibid., pp. 1-28.
[72] Michael A. Vane, "New Norms for the 21st Century Soldier," *Military Review*, Vol. 91, No. 4, July/August, 2011, pp. 16-17.

ている必要がある」と指摘する[73]。またベトナム戦争に従軍し、NATO 最高司令官を務めたギャルビン大将は「士官の成功は、戦争の変化しつつある環境を理解する能力にこそかかっている」と説いている[74]。これらは変化する戦略環境において、現代の軍人に求められる柔軟性と進取の精神を、端的に示したものといえる。

次に、彼は目的達成への過程において、Ends に至る適切な Ways と Means を導出する力の重要性を示した。戦略目的が同一であっても、そこへ繋がる作戦行動と必要なリソースを適切に設定することができなければ、作戦術は有効に機能しない。NSVI では政治、治安、経済の 3 分野の統合推進を Ways として掲げてはいたが、優先順位は特に示されていなかった。一方サージにおいて、彼は明確に治安最優先の方針を打ち出した。それは彼が、古典的 COIN 理論から「反乱勢力と民衆の切り離し」こそが、勝利の要件であることを掴んでいたからだと考えられる。情報化時代は確かに COIN に新たな面を付け加えたが、その中核である勝利の要件は実質的に全く変化していなかった[75]。つまり彼は、変化に対応する一方で、時代が変わっても変わることのない問題の本質を見失わず、それが適切な手段の導出につながったといえる。グレイは「どこに注力するのが最も有効かを特定」するために、「複合的な相互依存関係や影響力をもつ多様な要因を考慮し、システム全体を見渡す」能力の重要性を説いている[76]。この物事の本質を見抜く知性、時代の流れに左右されず普遍的なものを見抜く眼こそ、多様な軍務において問題解決を求められる軍人に必要な資質のひとつであろう。

また同時に、解へのアプローチを明確なビジョンをもって順序よく組み立て、実行する能力の必要性をも、両戦略の差は示している。「政治、治安、経済の統合的な推進」では不十分であり、まず最優先で治安を回復させることが必要だった。ひとたび治安が回復すれば、民衆はその安寧を再び失うことを恐れる。ただゲリラを殺して基地に去っていくだけの軍隊は、民衆にとって戦いを撒き散らす厄介者でしかない。だが、パトロールによって治安維持の役割を担ってくれれば、軍隊は彼らの生活を守る味方になる。経済援助によって生活が向上すればなおのことだ。そうなれば、もはや民衆とゲリラの利害は一致しなくなり、今度はゲリラが平穏を乱す、憎むべ

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[73] Robert W. Cone, “Shaping the Army of 2020,” *Army*, Vol. 61, No. 10, October 2011, p. 72.
[74] John R. Galvin, “Uncomfortable Wars: Toward a New Paradigm,” *Parameters*, Vol. 16, No. 4, Winter 1986, p. 7.
[75] Sloan, p. 97.
[76] Colin S. Gray, *Modern Strategy*, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 23-43.

き敵となる。こうしてゲリラの依って立つ基盤そのものを失わせ、平和と安定とを達成する。このように、1 つのアクションが何にどのような影響をもたらし、いかなる状態が生起するか。取り得る選択肢の効果を最大にするためには、まず何を優先すべきなのか。これらを一貫したロジックに基づいて、段階的に具体化する能力の必要性がここからは読み取れる。米陸軍戦略大学校教授のヤーガーは、「各要素が過去、現在、未来においてお互いにどのような影響を及ぼし合うのかに着目し、それらの相互作用がいかに全体を構成するのかを理解しようとする包括的思考」の重要性を説き、そのためには「今の戦略環境のなかで他にどのような事態が生じているか、またその選択が自身のレベルやその上下に位置するレベルにいかなる一次的、二次的、三次的影響を及ぼし得るか、という点に関する幅広い知識」が必要だと主張する[77]。作戦術に基づくこの論理的思考力は、作戦・戦略レベルにおいて文民と共同するための有効な能力、すなわち軍人のプロフェッションとなるであろう。

しかしながら、フリードマンは「これほどまでに物事を把握する特異な能力をもった人間が存在し得るか」と疑問を呈し、それは「戦略の達人という神話」を追求することに等しいと指摘する[78]。なぜなら、個人のレベルにおいて蓄積し、消化し、活かすことのできる知識の量には限りがあり、広範な軍事以外の領域、とりわけ政治の領域での活動には「複雑で動的な状況の全体を把握するという不可能な全知や、幸運や敵の無能さに頼らずに、遠くの目標に向けて信頼性と持続性のある道のりを築く能力が必要」だからである[79]。ペトレイアスは確かに実績を残した。だが、その実績は必ずしも、彼が上記のような能力を全て備えていたことを証明するものではない。では、その成功例から帰納的に引き出せる軍人の能力は一体何か。

彼が行ったドクトリン改訂には、一風変わった点があった。ドクトリンは軍で編纂を行うのが常だが、彼はその作業に CIA 職員、研究者、ジャーナリスト、人権擁護活動家等を招待した。さらに多国籍軍司令官として、COIN に通じた軍人を国内外から集めるのみならず、アドバイザーとしてアラブ系平和活動家まで用いた[80]。彼はイラクの平和と安定という戦略目

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77 Harry Yarger, *Strategic Theory for the 21st Century: The Little Book on Big Strategy*, U.S. Army War College, Strategic Studies Institute, 2006, pp. 36-75.
78 ローレンス・フリードマン『戦略の世界史　上』貫井佳子訳、日本経済新聞出版社、2018 年、360、366 頁。
79 同上、367 頁。
80 Thomas E Ricks, *The Gamble: General David Petraeus and the American Military Adventure in Iraq 2006-2008*, Penguin Press, 2009, pp. 24-29, 133-146.

標達成への具体的なプロセス構築のため、実に多様な人材を集めたのである。この点にこそ、彼の非凡さが現れているのではないか。

ここに見出せるのは、問題解決に必要な要素に当たりをつけ、解に向かって他者の努力を結集し、指向させる力の重要性である。全てを独力で解決できる「戦略の達人」である必要はない。指揮官は、解決の糸口となる核心を見抜いて方針を示したならば、後は最適な手段を知っているであろう、それぞれの専門家たちを集めて所要の情報を引き出せばよい。あらゆる問題の解決フローを独力で組み立てる必要はなく、自分が迷わず決断できるように、必要な知を引き出すための強力なベクトルを示す力こそが重要なのである。シンプソンは「大使、軍の中隊指揮官、援助専門家、政治家等、権限や機能のあらゆるレベルにわたりチームを結束させる」ことの重要性を説いている[81]。またフリードマンは「戦略構築とは、現状で最も重要な緊急課題への対処方法について合意を形成し、状況を著しく改善させる手段を講じるために、多種多様な関係者を協働させることを意味する」と指摘する[82]。ペトレイアスは、目的を達成するために必要であろう人材を選定して結集し、実務に当たる者たちをマニュアルの配布や自らの指導によって叱咤激励し、問題解決に向かって強力に牽引した。多様化する任務のなかで容赦なく実績を求められる、現代の軍人に必要不可欠な資質を実証してみせたのである。

もうひとつ見逃してはならない点が、自らの知を磨く姿勢である。ペトレイアスが自己の問題意識を実現するまでの過程に着目しよう。彼が COIN の重要性を説いた論文は、将来の戦争様相を正しく予見するものであったが、その当時は広く賛同を得られなかった。実践という試練を経ないアイデアは、たとえそれがいかに優れたものであったとしても、理解されることは難しい。まして、それが主流派の意見に反するものであれば尚更である。従軍経験もない 1 少佐の論文では、世は動かなかった。だが歳月を経て、彼は指揮官としてその問題意識を実践に移し、その成功と教訓をもとにドクトリンを改訂し、米軍を変革した。ここから言えるのは、発想には実践という試練が必要だということであり、それを試し磨く勇気を持つ者こそが、物事を変えることができるということである。そして部下の身命を預かる軍人にとって、その試練は一際重い意味を持つ。そこで彼は、自ら抱いた問題意識を論文という形で発表し、知的な確認を取った。

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81 Emile Simpson, *War from the Ground Up: Twenty-First-Century Combat as Politics*, Hurst & Co., 2012, p. 233.
82 フリードマン、366 頁。

それによってナーグル（John A. Nagl）のような知己を得ると同時に、ジェンタイル（Gian P. Gentile）のような反対派も現れ、活発な論争と膨大な知的活動を生み出した[83]。浮かんだアイデアを、自分の中で温めておくだけでは十分ではない。それを論文という形で発表し、磨き上げ、実践することがフリードマンのいう「状況を著しく改善させる手段を講じるために、多種多様な関係者を協働させる」こと、つまり広く社会を巻き込んで問題解決へと指向させることにも繋がるのである。この知的態度こそが、兵士の命という重いチップを背負う軍人のあるべき姿勢といえるのではないだろうか。

以上を要約すれば、現代の軍人には①変化に気づき対応する柔軟な適応性、②物事の普遍的な本質を見抜く知性、③見抜いた本質から解決に至るプロセスを具体化する能力が求められる。また同時に、個の知の限界を認識し、④知を結集して解に指向させる力、⑤持論を広く世に問う知的態度をも備えねばならない、と結論づけられる。このプロフェッショナリズムこそ、安全保障という予見が難しく失敗の許されぬ分野を生業とする者として、また変化の加速する戦略環境に身を置き、部下の身命を預かる軍人として、常に追求すべき姿勢といえよう。

おわりに

以上の議論から、本稿は次のことを明らかにした。第一に、軍隊をとりまく環境は大きく変化しており、多様化し敏感性を増す任務のなかで、軍人のプロフェッショナリズムは鼎の軽重を問われている。第二に、イラク戦争が生んだ英雄ペトレイアスの事例は、そのような変化のなかで軍人が自らのプロフェッションを発揮し、軍事及び非軍事的アプローチを巧みに織り交ぜることによって、戦略目的の達成に貢献し得た一例であることを示した。第三に、その成功の要因は、戦術上の成果を戦略達成へと導くための作戦術という手法と、その適用において適切な手段とリソースを導き出し得たことにあった。そしてそのために必要な能力として、予測困難な脅威に素早く対応するための適応性、事態の普遍的な本質を見抜く知性、解決に至るプロセスを具体化する能力、知を結集し解に向かって強力に指向させる力、持論を広く世に問う知的態度があることを指摘した。

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[83] 新福祐一「湾岸戦争後のアメリカ陸軍における対反乱作戦研究の一潮流－1990 年代のジョン・A・ナーグルを中心に－」『平成 29 年度戦争史研究国際フォーラム報告書』防衛研究所、2018 年 3 月、92-97 頁。

結論として、ペトレイアスの事例分析から、仮説はある程度正しいが不十分であったといえる。軍人が軍事を超えた見識を備えていることで、導出される解の幅が広がることは明らかとなった。だが同時に、個の知に限りがある以上、自らの持たぬ知を備えた人材を結集させ、問題解決に向かって指向させる力も必要となる。そして、その手段としては直接的なリーダーシップの発揮だけではなく、自らの発想をパブリッシュして世に問う知的態度も含まれる。むろん、たとえ全てを見通すことが無理だとしても、可能な限りあらゆる事態を想定しようとする努力を怠ってよい理由にはならぬ。兵士たちが切迫した不測の事態に直面したときに見るのは、指揮官の顔である。だからこそ、戦場で他に頼む者が無い事態に備えて、士官たるものは平素から「神話」に近づこうとする研鑽を怠ってはならず、脅威に対する適応性を磨いておかねばならない。

なお、最新の米陸軍ドクトリンでは、中国やロシアの脅威を背景として、再び大規模戦闘への回帰傾向がみられる[84]。安定化作戦に倦んでいた陸軍の一部からは、これを歓迎する向きも多い。これは米軍の退歩を意味するものではなく、国際情勢に応じて、その時々で求められる軍のあり方が変化するのは当然のことである。ペトレイアスとそのドクトリンの歴史的評価については、今後も賛否両論があろう。しかし COIN を忘れたときにどうなるか。ベトナム、イラクの再来となるだけである。国際情勢の変化に応じたドクトリンや装備を整えることは必要不可欠であり、国家の大事である。だが、その変更には相応の予算と時間とを要し、いつ何時でも任務達成に最適な環境が、軍人に用意されているわけではない。そのような時にこそ、本稿で導出したような能力の発揮が求められるのであり、それが時代の流れに左右されぬ軍人の職業的専門性、揺り戻しに耐えるミリタリー・プロフェッションと呼べるのではないだろうか。

イラクでの米軍の失敗は、ペトレイアスという英雄を生んだ。だが英雄というものは、失敗したときこそ必要とされるものだ。それは英雄の偉業が、手痛い失敗を忘れさせてくれるからである。であるならば、英雄など生まれぬに越したことはない。彼のような問題解決のための知性を備えた軍人がありふれ、淡々と任務をこなし、世に名も出ないことが一番ではないか。起こり得る戦に備えて訓練に励み、装備を整え、表に出ぬその備えによって、戦を未然に防止する。流れる血の量を減らすには政治と外交が必要であるが、それをひっそりと陰で支える力としてこそ、軍隊の存在意

[84] Mike Lundy & Rich Creed, “The Return of U.S. Army Field Manual 3-0, Operations,” *Military Review,* Vol. 97, No. 6, November-December 2017, p. 21.

義がある。己が力を使わぬために、黙々と剣を磨き続ける。それこそが民主主義国家の軍隊というものの二律背反的な存在意義であり、軍人の本分である、と筆者は信じるものである。

Abstract

Intellectual Development of U.S. Navy in a Great Power Competition
: Education as Offensive Weapons

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In what direction will the U.S. Navy forward under the strategies of the U.S. government and the U.S. Department of Defense? This paper examine not only the strategic documents, but also the documents released by Joint Chief of Staff, the Department of the Navy, the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, and the statements of leaderships, and clarify the direction in which the U.S. is forwarding in the future, particularly the direction of capacity for resist.

The 2018 National Defense Strategy identifies the reemergence of great power competitions from China and Russia as the central challenge to U.S. prosperity and security. On the ground that U.S. now faces more competitive and dangerous international security environment. The Joint Chief of Staff describes such a competitive environment or world as “Competitive Continuum.”

To rebuild the force and alter its posture in order to maintain their competitive advantage, they have initiated a intellectual development in military. Joint Chief Staff states special areas of emphasis for Joint Military Education in Academic Years 2020 and 2021, and the U.S. Navy made a final report for Education for Seapower this year. U.S. Navy assume the education as offensive weapons. It is clear that an intellectual development in the U.S. Navy is essential and is required to be combined with updated technology such as AI or cyber. This should be a way to take advantage in competitive continuum.

The Merits and Demerits of Ambiguity in the Term "Indo-Pacific"
: From the Perspective of Political Science

NAKAMURA Nagafumi

This paper aims to organize the views on the "Indo-Pacific" concept that has recently attracted public attention, but is often critiqued for its ambiguity. It also intends to clarify both the positives and negatives of ambiguous concepts from the perspective of political science. Previous studies have indicated that different states and individuals have different views regarding the term Indo-Pacific; the systematic analysis of the merits and demerits of ambiguity, however, remains a matter for further discussion.

In order to explore these ambiguities, this paper takes three approaches. First, it traces the diffusion process of the Indo-Pacific concept into three stages: germination, formation, and fixation. The result shows that the concept has gradually come to have many meanings, with government meanings influencing the usage.

Second, this paper categorizes these various views by combining two standards: comprehensiveness of issue area (whether the definition focus on traditional security) and inclusiveness of membership (whether the definition includes China). It was found from that there are four primary understandings of the "Indo-Pacific" concept: (1) comprehensive and inclusive Indo-Pacific, (2) comprehensive and exclusive Indo-Pacific, (3) definite and inclusive Indo-Pacific, and (4) definite and exclusive Indo-Pacific. Original Indo-Pacific was definite and exclusive, however, almost all South East Asian countries seem to support for comprehensive and inclusive or definite and inclusive and the Trump administration seem to support for comprehensive and exclusive. Japan and Australia seem to basically support for comprehensive and exclusive); however, they sometimes seem to move to comprehensive and inclusive.

Finally, this paper argues both the merits and demerits of ambiguous Indo-Pacific concepts. Ambiguous concepts make obtaining internal and

international support easier, because many states and people can interpret the concepts to suit their own purposes. The ambiguity of the concept leads to success through diffusion. On the other hand, ambiguous concepts make evaluating policies based on that concept difficult; it can be difficult to determine the success or failure of policy objectives without clear definitions of policy goals. Ambiguous concepts lead to complex goals that are difficult to achieve. Difficulty in policy evaluation leads to difficulty in improving policies.

どのような種類の艦隊が自由で開かれたインド太平洋を守ることを可能とするか

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国家の安全保障戦略上の指針に従って「大国間競争」にその焦点を移すなかで、アメリカ海軍は困難な選択に直面している。端的に言えば、アメリカ海軍は乏しい資源をインド太平洋地域において継続的なプレゼンスを示すために最適化することも、最も蓋然性の高い競争相手との間に生起する高烈度の戦闘のために最適化することも可能であるし、また、これら 2 つのアプローチを組み合わせることも可能である。この困難なジレンマに対しては、より多くの研究が必要である。戦時におけるシーコントロールと平時におけるプレゼンスのトレードオフは、海軍の永遠の課題である。したがって、日本は、このジレンマについてアメリカ海軍に対するフィードバックを行うに際に、2 つのアプローチに優先順位をつけるべきである。本稿は、既存の艦隊と以前のドクトリンを所与とすれば、アメリカ海軍は兵力の前方展開により抑止力を強化する選択を行う可能性が最も高いということを示した。抑止力の強化はしばしば危機への対処能力の低下につながるため、アメリカ海軍の艦隊が守るべき対象であるルールに基づく秩序を危険に晒す可能性がある。

安全保障宇宙

－最後のフロンティアのための米国及び友好国の未来－

フィリップ　・“フレックス”・　ドバフル
（米空軍中佐）

宇宙に対する米国のアプローチは、今日の米国を形成することとなった挑戦と機会とを提供した前のフロンティアすなわち「西部」を連想させるニューフロンティア構想に基づいている。米国の宇宙活動は国家の安全保障にかかわる領域から始まった。安全保障にかかわる領域は、歴史的に宇宙での活動における重要な要素であったし、その将来的方向性においても重要な要素である可能性が高い。確実に便益を生むであろう一つの潜在的な方向性は、宇宙軍の創設である。この便益は、現在の分散している権限を「一人のボス」に集中することによる効率化と指揮系統の明確化、潜在的に重要な調達結果の改善、適切に訓練され計画的に育成された人事の提供する専門性及び深い知識、そして脅威からの国益の保持を含む。頑健かつ成長しつつある宇宙における商業セクターと同様、米国防省も現行のシステムの更新又は換装、新たなアーキテクチャー、宇宙に基盤を置いた活動を含む短期的及び中長期的な活動のための計画を持っている。日米 2 国間には宇宙における潜在的な協力分野があるため、短期及び中長期における相互の利益を目指し、米国は、ペイロードの相乗り、人材開発、共同で所有又は運用される衛星群等の活動において、日本と協力すべきであるし、また協力しようとしている。

インド洋地域の海洋の安全を保障するインド海軍の役割

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本稿は、国家のシーパワーの主要機関としてインド海軍がインド洋地域の海洋の安全を保障するために担う役割を説明することを試みる。

インド海軍の 2015 年版『海洋安全戦略』は、国益の増進にとってインド洋地域の安全が必要不可欠であると位置づけた。したがって、インドが

インド洋地域の総合安全保障の担い手（ネットセキュリティプロバイダー）であることの必要性は、最近になって求められ始めたものである。

このような背景の中、本稿の主要なリサーチクエスチョンは、なぜインド洋地域の安全保障をめぐる情勢は、『安全な海の保証：インドの海洋安全保障戦略』で示されたようなインドにおけるネットセキュリティプロバイダーとしての主要な役割をインド海軍に対し求めたのか、というものである。

仮説は以下のとおりである。

インド海軍はインドの SLOC を保護する能力と応報的かつ断固とした海洋の秩序に基づく法の支配の強化への決意を示し、インド洋地域の安全を脅かすアクターに対抗してきた。したがって、インド海軍にはインド洋地域のネットセキュリティプロバイダーとしてインドの目標を達成する能力がある可能性がある。

本稿では、以下の事項につき検討される。

(a)ネットセキュリティプロバイダーのコンセプト

(b)21 世紀初頭以降、インド海軍が海洋における課題に取り組むことを決意したことを示す歴史的根拠

(c)インド海軍の役割及び配置がどのようなものになるのかを決定付けるインド洋地域の支配的な地政学的な情勢と安全保障上の課題

(d)インド洋地域の海洋におけるネットセキュリティプロバイダーとしてインドの目標を達成するためのインド海軍の能力評価

結論として、本稿はインド海軍が、対応の早さ、決定的な行動、達成された成果の質、実施された支援活動の性質の観点から、インド洋地域における課題に実効的に対処する能力を示してきたことを明らかにした。しかしながら、現時点では、インド海軍がネットセキュリティプロバイダーとなるためには、特にアセットの稼働率、戦力組成、装備品の製造基盤の面で能力的なギャップがある。

オーストラリアによる緊縮予算下での関与、影響力、防衛能力の強化
－ギラード政権において軍関係職員の人的交流が国家戦略をどう支えていたか―

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（豪海軍少佐　執筆時　海上自衛隊幹部学校第 66 期指揮幕僚課程）

本稿は 2 か国間の交流プログラムによる軍関係職員の人的交流の実施がどのようにオーストラリアの国家戦略を支えたかを論ずる。本稿では、財政上の強い圧力と米国の「アジア太平洋へのピボット」に直面していたことが特徴的なギラード政権下のオーストラリアによる人的交流に焦点を当てた。

任期中、ギラード政権は戦略文書を通してアジア太平洋地域への関与を増やすことの重要性を明示的に強調している。本稿ではオーストラリアが関与した複数のプログラム及び関係構築を事例として、人的交流を 3 つのグループに分類した。1 つは、2011 年の戦力組成イニシアティブ（Force Posture Initiative: FPI）を支援するとの決定を含めた長年に渡るオーストラリアと米国との関係、1 つは Pacific Boat Program の資金による防衛協力プログラム等を通じたオーストラリアによる南太平洋地域への関与、もう 1 つはオーストラリアで実施されるアカデミックな大学院教育の活用である。

筆者は、各事例のケーススタディを通じて、これらの人的交流が主に 3 つの有益な結果を生み出したことを発見した。それらは、地域への関与の機会増大の直接的な先導及びオーストラリアの国家的影響力の増大による軍事的ハードウェアの増加を伴わないオーストラリアの防衛能力強化のための手段の提供を含む。

Military Affairs and Intellect as Military Profession in the 21st Century
: A study of Petraeus

NONAMI Hidaka

What is the role of a modern military? As wars between nations have decreased, the characteristics of military powers, which was constructed during a cold war, have changed. The more linked the relationship between strategy, operation, and tactics has become, the more sensitive military affairs. This paper attempts to clarify the military profession required to the modern military officers, through a successful case of David H. Petraeus's counterinsurgency in Iraq.

The results of this research indicate as follows: First, the environment surrounding military affairs has changed so rapidly, that the meaning of military profession is being redefined. Second, Petraeus's case is one of the remarkable success examples in which a military officer showed his profession. Third, the key of his success is attributed to a methodology of operational art and its application to deduce appropriate ways and means.

This study concludes that a military officer with an understanding beyond military affairs can produce diversified solutions. However, at the same time, he needs an ability to synthesize people with different professional backgrounds and lead them to a common goal, since an individual has a limit to his ability and knowledge. Besides, it depends not only on his leadership but also on his intellectual attitude to publicize his own idea in order to acquire different perspectives and solutions. Such an attitude should be the profession of modern military officers, who are in a rapidly changing security environment with a responsibility for his subordinates' lives.

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