

亞洲軍事與社會關係：日增的壓力 國際學術工作坊

Military and Social Relations in Asia Under Increased Pressure International Academic Workshop

時間地點：2022 年 11 月 12 日（六），國立屏東大學民生校區

Time and Location: November 12 (Saturday), 2022, at National Ping-Tung University

主辦：中央研究院社會學研究所，比較亞洲社會轉型主題研究小組（[網頁](#)）

Main Organizer: Asian Social Transformation in Comparative Perspective *Thematic Research Team*, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica, Taiwan ([Webpage](#))

合辦：臺灣社會學會、國立屏東大學

Co-Organizer: Taiwanese Sociological Association (TSA) & National Ping-Tung University

簡介：台灣的軍事社會關係近年來成為民眾們關心的重要議題。舉凡義務役、教召改革、軍方與民主化、國防產業的軍民合作等等，在當今的地緣與國內政治背景之下，特別是從今年烏克蘭戰爭以來，都躍入大眾視野之中。儘管台灣的軍事社會學研究已有多年發展，一般的媒體討論似乎仍然比較重視政治學與國際關係的看法，社會學的觀點則相當少見。故而此議題這兩年來也成為中研院社會所比較亞洲轉型主題研究小組持續關注的焦點。承本小組先前所舉辦的軍事與社會系列演講、去年的國際學術工作坊，以及討論台灣安全問題與軍隊國家化的講座，在今年的研討會上，我們希望能繼續深化主題，邀請研究台灣、日本、澳、印、菲等國家的軍事政治與社會學者，聚首討論亞洲的軍事與社會關係的變遷。並且希望能藉此推展台灣軍事社會學的研究，並吸引更多人投入此一領域。

Introduction: Taiwan's military-civilian relations have become a major issue of public concern. Topics such as reform of the compulsory service and development of the defense industry have all jumped into the public eye in the context of an increasing and more obvious geopolitical pressure, especially since the start of the Ukraine war this year. Although Taiwan's military sociology research has already a long history, most media and public debates seem to pay more attention to the views of political science and international relations, and less so from sociology. The research team on Asian Social Transformation in Comparative Perspective of the Institute of Sociology at Academia Sinica has therefore taken interest in these issues over the past two years. Following a series of lectures on topics such as Taiwan's security issues and the nationalization of the military, along with the international academic workshop we held last year, during this year's workshop held in cooperation with TSA & Ping-Tung University, we hope to deepen this thematic by gathering recent research on the cases of Taiwan, Japan, Australia, India, the Philippines, etc., and we hope it will contribute to inciting more sociologists to dive into this field of research.

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場次一：臺灣、印度與澳洲的軍民關係（英文場次）

Panel I: Taiwan, India and Australia (Panel in English)

11月12日（六）上午 09:00~10:40；地點：第三會議室（屏東大學民生校區五育樓四樓）

Nov. 12 (Sat.) 09:00-10:40

主持人：**彭保羅**（中研院社會所副研究員）

Chair: **Paul JOBIN** (Associate Research Fellow, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica)

發表人 Presenter	論文題目 Paper Title
Anit MUKHERJEE 新加坡南洋理工大學 RSIS 國際研究學院副教授 Associate Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological Univ.	India's Twin Transformations: The State, Military and Society in India (Part 1) (印度的雙生轉型：印度的國家、軍事與社會) 摘要 Abstract
Ben WADHAM 澳洲 Flinders 大學教育、心理暨社工學院副教授 Associate Professor, College of Education, Psychology and Social Work, Flinders University	Widening Gap – Converging Relations: The Changing Character of Australian Civil-Military Relations (斷層擴大—關係重合：澳洲軍民關係變遷的性質) 摘要 Abstract
潘欣欣 Hsin-Hsin PAN 東吳大學社會系助理教授 Assistant Professor, Dept. of Sociology, Soochow Univ.	Perceived Risk and Willingness to Fight: World Value Surveys Evidence (風險感知與作戰意願：世界價值觀調查的證據) 摘要 Abstract
溫賈舒 Josh WENGER 中研院社會所博士後 Postdoctoral Scholar, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica	Survey Research of Topics in Taiwan's Civil-Military Relations: A Review of the Literature (台灣軍民關係議題調查研究的文獻回顧) 摘要 Abstract

場次二：日本：盟友或是局外人？

Panel II: Japan: Ally or Bystander?

11月12日（六）下午 14:00~15:40；地點：第三會議室（屏東大學民生校區五育樓四樓）

Nov. 12 (Sat.) 14:00-15:40

主持人：林賢參（國立師範大學東亞學系教授兼系主任）

Chair: **Hsien-Sen LIN** (Professor, Dept. of East Studies, Nat'l Taiwan Normal Univ.)

發表人 Presenter	論文題目 Paper Title
<p>楊雯婷 Florence W. YANG</p> <p>政治大學日本研究學位學程助理教授 Assistant Professor, Program in Japan Studies, Nat'l ChengChi Univ.</p>	<p>Narrative of Friend and Potential Enemy ? Japan's Changing Perception of China and its Impact on Social Norms</p> <p>（盟友和潛在敵人的敘事？日本對中國的認知以及其對社會規範的影響）</p> <p>摘要 Abstract</p>
<p>石原忠浩 Tadahiro ISHIHARA</p> <p>政治大學日本研究學位學程助理教授 Assistant Professor, Program in Japan Studies, Nat'l ChengChi Univ.</p>	<p>日本推動修憲過程的國內因素 (Domestic Factors in the Process of Pushing Forward Japan's Constitution Amendment Agenda)</p> <p>摘要 Abstract</p>
<p>彭保羅&平井新 Paul JOBIN & Arata HIRAI</p> <p>中研院社會所副研究員 Associate Research Fellow, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica</p> <p>早稻田大學地域・地域間研究機構次席研究員〈研究院講師〉 Junior Researcher/Assistant Professor, Organization for Regional and Inter-regional Studies, Waseda University</p>	<p>How Much "Pro-Taiwan" Japanese Politicians Really Care for Taiwan?</p> <p>（日本的「親台」政治人物到底多關心台灣？）</p> <p>摘要 Abstract</p>

場次三：印度、東南亞經驗比較

Panel III: India, South East Asia: Comparative Perspectives

11月12日（六）下午 16:00~17:40；地點：第三會議室（屏東大學民生校區五育樓四樓）

Nov. 12 (Sat.) 16:00-17:40

主持人：蕭新煌（中研院社會所兼任研究員）

Chair: **Hsin-Huang Michael HSIAO** (Adjunct Research Fellow, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica)

發表人	論文題目
<p>Anit MUKHERJEE</p> <p>新加坡南洋理工大學 RSIS 國際研究學院副教授 Associate Professor, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological Univ.</p>	<p>Contesting Strategies: The Quad, Southeast Asia and the Indo-Pacific (戰略的角逐：四方安全對話、東南亞與印太地區) 摘要 Abstract</p>
<p>王文岳 James W.Y. WANG</p> <p>暨南國際大學東南亞系系主任暨副教授 Chair and Associate Professor, Dept. of Southeast Asian Studies, Nat'l ChiNan Univ.</p>	<p>Civil-Military Relations in the Philippines: Explaining the Politicized Turn of the AFP during the Duterte Administration (菲律賓的軍民關係：解釋杜特蒂執政時期菲軍的政治化轉向) 摘要 Abstract</p>
<p>楊昊 Alan Hao YANG</p> <p>政治大學東亞研究所教授 Professor, Graduate Institute of East Asian Studies, Nat'l ChengChi Univ.</p>	<p>民主斷層和軍方：緬式民主與進退維谷的政治轉型 (Democratic Gap and the Military: Burmese Democracy and Political Transformations in a Quandary) 摘要 Abstract</p>
<p>謝斐宇 Michelle F. HSIEH</p> <p>中研院社會所副研究員 Associate Research Fellow, Institute of Sociology, Academia Sinica</p>	<p>Bringing Geopolitics Back In: Self-reliant National Defense in 1970s South Korea and Taiwan (把地緣政治帶回來：1970年代台韓的自給國防) 摘要 Abstract</p>

Perceived Risk and Willingness to Fight: World Value Surveys Evidence

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Abstract

The democratic peace theory, the trade peace theory, the capitalist peace theory, and the long-peace cultural theory predict that people's willingness to fight in war declines worldwide. However, we observe a counter-case where an overwhelming majority of countries under strong powers' threat are willing to fight for one's own country. For decades, Russia and China have maintained strong trade and capital connections with their neighboring countries. As the economic dependency grows, people of strong power's small neighboring countries grow strong will to fight against the strong powers as they have more and more to lose in the time of war. To address the puzzle of strong willingness to fight, we argue that the perceived risk of war boosts the willingness to fight for one's country through the rise of nationalism and optimistic prospect for the national economy. The outbreak of war immediately violates sovereignty where people's national identity is one of the most important elements. Additionally, economic development is vulnerable to war. With the grave perceived risk of war, people with strong nationalist pride and a good prospect of the economy are willing to fight for their own country in order to defend their national pride and economic interests in times of aggression. Based on the dataset of wave 7 of the World Value Surveys, the empirical evidence shows that the perceived risk of the war determines the people's willingness to fight via the conditional effects of national pride and prospect for the economy in the face of security threat.

Keywords: willingness to fight; perceived risk of war; public opinion

Survey Research of Topics in Taiwan’s Civil-Military Relations: A Review of the Literature

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Abstract

This paper will review the literature on survey research of topics in Taiwan’s civil-military relations. Russia’s invasion of Ukraine has led to increased attention to the potential for PRC armed aggression against Taiwan and to the question of how Taiwan would respond to a PLA attack. While that decision would rest principally with the civilian leadership in Taipei, the ROC military would face the daunting task of fighting a superior force and Taiwan’s society would be plunged into the fog of war. The questions of Taiwan’s preparedness for war and of its likely response to a PRC attack are therefore intimately related to civil-military relations and military sociology. Scholarship on civil-military relations has expanded beyond the question of civilian control to the tri-partite relationship between the state, military, and society. Survey research is an important tool for understanding this complex relationship.

Even before the Ukraine War broke out, increased PRC military intimidation of Taiwan since 2016 and the precarious military balance in the Taiwan Strait had led to an upsurge in opinion surveys— mainly of Taiwan’s general public— on a host of civil-military topics including: the length of compulsory military service; the length and frequency of reservist training; recruitment and retention of professional soldiers; possible reinstatement of a conscript army system; support for military exercises and civil defense drills; media coverage of the military and defense-related information on social media; military threat-level perceptions; assessments of the military’s capacity to fend off an attack; and popular will to fight. While this survey research is certainly welcome, this paper will suggest that it could benefit from a firmer grounding in the history of Taiwan’s civil-military relations, in theory, and in sound survey methodology, as well as from increased coordination among researchers and between civilian and defense-related research institutions.

Keywords: civil-military relations; tri-partite model; survey research; Taiwanese public opinion

Bringing Geopolitics Back In: Self-reliant National Defense in 1970s South Korea and Taiwan

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Abstract

Going beyond the literature that focuses on the state-society relationship to explain state-led development in East Asia, this paper brings geopolitics, as expressed in inter-state relationships, to the forefront to scrutinize the developmental state thesis. The paper explains how geopolitics and the state's response to geopolitics have influenced and shaped South Korea's and Taiwan's post-war industrial development by examining self-reliant national defense in the critical 1970s.

The Nixon Doctrine with the withdrawal of US troops from Asia propelled a self-reliant defense-induced industrialization in both South Korea and Taiwan in the 1970s. Korea became a model of latecomer industrialization of the military-industrial complex. Despite facing similar challenges, Taiwan was an unfit case, because contested statehood limited its access to technology and choices. Its contested statehood was exemplified in its diplomatic isolation, first losing seats in the UN in 1972 and then diplomatic ties with most advanced countries as the latter normalized relationships with the People's Republic of China. These geopolitical events form the basis for understanding Taiwan's relationships with other countries and its industrialization trajectory. Through the development of missile projects in both countries in the 1970s, this paper demonstrates that Korea's self-reliant defense was realized through global connections with transnational flows of knowledge and technology that subsequently formed the basis of the defense-civilian industry nexus. In contrast, Taiwan's defense-induced industrialization resulted in a thorough self-reliance with limited access to global technology and limited diffusion from the military to civilian industries. This paper contributes to the debate on the origins of the developmental state and the relationships within the military and industry nexus.

Keywords: self-reliant defense; Heavy and Chemical Industrialization drive; cold war geopolitics; Taiwan; South Korea; developmental state

Widening Gap – Converging Relations: The Changing Character of Australian Civil-Military Relations

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Abstract

Australian civil military relations, and the democratic control of the military are established upon a form of separation of powers. The aim is to maintain a distinction so that the military cannot become politicised and the political cannot be overtaken by military interests. During the Great Wars this convention remained strong but in the last twenty years under changing geopolitical circumstances and through the radicalisation of neo-conservative politics those separations have diminished. In the same period the gap between civil society and the military has widened. Military service has transitioned from commitment to the institution to an occupation and the proximity—or the gap—between Australian citizens and Australian military personnel has increased. This paper describes these two forces in terms of Australia’s relationship to the ANZUS treaty and our deference to US military might and potential geopolitical protection. The way that the Australian government has sustained Indo Pacific relations and our response to growing Chinese presence in the region will be described in terms of contemporary global growth of authoritarian politics manifesting in Australian civil military relations.

Keywords: civil-military relations; culture gap; civil-military divided; extremism; ANZUS; Indo- Pacific

India's Twin Transformations: The State, Military and Society in India

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Abstract

India is among the few post-colonial states with firm civilian control, as its military has never threatened its democratic order. What are the causes and consequences of India's model of civilian control? Additionally, considering rise in border tensions vis-à-vis China, how does the Indian public think about its military and does it support the notion of the Quad? While covering all these developments, including current changes in defense policies, this paper analyses the debates currently underway in civil-military relations and between the Indian military and its society. While doing so, it also sheds light on some conceptual ideas underlying democratic civilian control. The research for this paper is informed by more than 200 interviews with current and former Indian policymakers, including politicians, bureaucrats, and military officers.

Keywords: Civil-military relations; India; China; Military Transformation; State-Society Relations

Narrative of Friend and Potential Enemy? Japan's Changing Perception of China and its Impact on Social Norms

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Abstract

Facing the challenge of a rising China, does Japanese government change its threat perception of China? Does the change of threat perception impact Japan's security policy? Do Japanese domestic legal and social norms shift to response to these new security concerns? Drawing from Japanese official documents and leaders' remarks, this article indicate not only Japanese government, Abe Administration in particular, has perceived China's increasing military capabilities and its maritime activities near the Senkaku Islands as a threat, but also form a narrative that Japan must work with like-minded friends, namely the United States and its allies, to deter these existing and forthcoming threats. The changes of threat perception directly led to the change of legal norms, including the reinterpretation of the Constitution to allow Japan to exercise the right to collective self-defense and a series of security legislation enacted in 2015. Moreover, by referring to surveys on perception toward China, polls on security policy, support rate to political party etc., this article shows that the Japanese public generally support the increasing cooperation between Japan and the US and its allies, not in favor of China, and support LDP's defense policy.

Keywords: Threat perception; Japanese security policy; U.S.-Japan relations; Sino-Japanese relations; Social norms

How Much “Pro-Taiwan” Japanese Politicians Really Care for Taiwan?

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Abstract

Due to the dramatic increase of China’s military threat, there is a gradually growing public sentiment in Japan that Taiwan should be involved as a national security issue. So-called “Pro-Taiwan” (*shintai*) Japanese politicians on the right-wing of the Liberal Democratic Party—such as Abe Shinzō—have played an instrumental role in this dramatic shift.

Beyond public expressions of concern (such as Abe’s December 2021 call to end U.S.’ “strategic ambiguity” over Taiwan) and mutual support (e.g., after Fukushima nuclear disaster or during the covid-19 pandemic), more concrete actions such as militarization of the Yaeyama region adjacent to Taiwan are far from being fully discussed and welcomed by the population of Okinawan or the Japanese people in general. It remains therefore unclear to what extent expressions of concern for Taiwan will decide Japan to intervene in case of a military aggression from China against Taiwan, provided it would not immediately affect Japanese territorial sovereignty (starting with the Senkaku and Yonaguni). In other words, is Taiwan a vital issue for Japanese right-wing “pro-Taiwan” politicians or rather an additional pretext to change the Constitution? Through a review of the literature in Chinese, English and Japanese, and interviews with specialists in Tokyo, Taipei and Okinawa, this paper will analyze the recent moves of “pro-Taiwan” Japanese politicians and intend to evaluate their impact.

Keywords: Japan-Taiwan relations; the “1972 setup”; the “2021 setup”

日本推動修憲過程的國內因素

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摘要

2022 年 7 月前總理安倍晉三遭槍殺後所進行的參議院選舉中，自由民主黨獲得單獨過半的席次，加上不反對修憲的執政聯盟的公明黨，以及支持修憲的日本維新會、國民民主黨等四個政黨總席次超過三分之二多數，達到修憲案的門檻。岸田總理選後談到要加快修改憲法的腳步。面對中國的軍事威脅及俄烏戰爭的最新情勢下，日本輿論對國防安全意識的提升提供了修改憲法的契機。

1947 年施行的日本憲法在日本憲政下從未修改過，冷戰初期建黨的自民黨將修改憲法視為重要政治目標之一。然而，冷戰時期的自民黨政權偏向重視經濟成長與發展，刻意忽視修憲問題。後冷戰時期，隨著國民價值觀的多元化、國際安全環境的嚴峻化等因素，日本國內輿論支持修憲的人逐漸超越反對修憲的人。

2012 年自民黨在野時期完成修改憲法草案，不久後安倍晉三領導的自民黨在同年年底的選舉中獲得壓倒性的勝利。安倍執政時期的自民黨靠著高支持度在國家選舉中連戰連勝，並獲得必要修憲的門檻席次，卻無法推動具體的修憲程序。

本文認為日本政治無法順利推動修憲的因素包括美中韓等重要周邊國家的態度之外，最重要的仍然是國內的政治和社會因素，尤其長期習慣和平憲法的歷史因素以及分散多元的日本國民價值觀與政黨利益所造成。

關鍵字：日本、修改憲法、自由民主黨、國內因素

Civil-Military Relations in the Philippines: Explaining the Politicized Turn of the AFP during the Duterte Administration

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Abstract

This article explores the role the military has played in the democratization processes of the Philippines. Since the end of the Marcos dictatorship, the Philippines has been plagued with several instances of military mutinies. The Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) were actively involved in the resignation of President Joseph Estrada, and the succession of Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo. Under the presidencies of Benigno “Noynoy” Aquino III and Rodrigo Roa Duterte, the Armed Forces of the Philippines shoulders more non-traditional security responsibilities. An examination of the patterns in post-Marcos Philippine civil-military relations indicates that the AFP remains a highly politicized institution. The issue of democratization and the military in the Philippines manifests the political interventions and rampant human rights abuses from the barracks. The mainstream democratization literature tends to explain the different outcomes of democratization processes based on elite choices, new norms and values, shifts in conjunctural situations, the unraveling of the institutional structures of authoritarian regimes and the formation of new democratic institutional structures. Yet none of these factors fully explains why the AFP successfully keeps its political influence. During his political career, from the war on drugs, fighting against terrorism and the lingering communist insurgency, Duterte’s heavy dependence on the AFP to accomplish security goals also implied a great cost to the nation’s democracy. Meanwhile, the AFP has reciprocated Duterte’s favor by defending the authoritarian leader’s rhetoric and policies. This article will explore the evolution of civil-military relations in the Philippines with special attention to the increasing nontraditional responsibility of the AFP when involved in the spreading of the Covid-19 pandemic under the Duterte administration.

Keywords: The Armed Forces of the Philippines; Civil-military relations; Transition to democracy; military professionalism; Duterte

民主斷層與軍方：緬式民主與進退維谷的政治轉型

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摘要

從緬國近代政治史來看，1960 年代以來，緬甸即經歷政治改革的顛簸之途。直到 2011 年，軍方正式退位並轉由文人掌權，經歷十年開放有成且享有五年民主歷程的新緬甸，到了 2021 年的今天再度回到由一個又一個委員會遂行軍方意志的寡頭集團所領導的情勢。在 2021 年 2 月國務資政翁山蘇姬與總統溫敏被拘禁後，出身軍方、具有中將資歷，曾擔任過第一副總統與代理總統的副總統敏瑞（Myint Swe）「被」成為臨時總統，但緬甸目前的實權則掌握在緬甸國家領導委員會主席、陸軍總司令敏昂萊（Min Aung Hlaing）大將身上。緬式民主的脆弱本質，由此可見。值得注意的是，緬甸人民的抵抗從 1930 年代即有由多位知識青年（翁山將軍在 1930 年代末期加入）所籌組的德欽黨於凸顯緬甸獨立的意志下，採取各種抵抗英國殖民統治的行動，包含學運、罷工、反對英殖民運動等。數十年後，由翁山之女翁山蘇姬所帶領的追求民主運動，更是大規模地在全國主要城市推進，於全國蓄積能量，最後成功地於 2015 年經選舉取得政權；在歷經顛簸後，民主派終於成為緬甸的執政黨，甚為難得。不過，2021 年初的政變徒然讓緬甸政治陷入僵局，不僅民主發展嚴重倒退、甚至成為民主斷層，但人民的抵抗卻顯得更加激烈，不只在仰光街頭採取激烈抗爭，對抗非法取得政權的軍政府，更激烈地攻擊中資工廠，警告中國不得支持緬甸軍政府。從 1930 年迄今將近 100 年的時間，人民的抵抗在緬甸早已根深蒂固，同時因為遊走於體制內外所歷經的長期變遷與演化，使得鑲嵌在緬甸民主轉型與政治發展中的人民抵抗具有複雜的內涵，值得細細研究。本文將以「民主斷層」為題檢視緬甸的政治發展，並探索下列兩個主題，第一，造成緬甸進退維谷政治發展的關鍵因素為何，也就是檢視緬甸的民主斷層的原因與現況。第二，本文也將同時將檢視軍方勢力在緬甸民主斷層與政治發展過程中的角色與能量。

關鍵字：緬甸、民主化、軍隊、政治發展、民主斷層

Contesting Strategies: The Quad, Southeast Asia and the Indo-Pacific

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Abstract

The Indo-Pacific as a strategic term is currently in vogue. It is however not universally embraced. China and Russia, for instance, oppose such a term whereas Southeast Asia countries are, at best, lukewarm if not averse to it. By contrast, the Quad countries, comprising the US, Japan, Australia and India, are enthusiastic about it. Similarly, Western European countries have unveiled or are planning to announce their own ‘tilts,’ to varying degrees to the Indo-Pacific. What explains this differentiation in the response from such different countries? What are the opportunities and challenges across the Indo-Pacific? While answering these questions, this talk gives an overview of the contesting strategies in the region.