

- 62 **What does “Western Europe” mean for Ukraine? Looking at the trajectory of its foreign policy after the independence**
This article examines the historical significance of Ukrainian diplomacy’s decision to swing to “Western Europe” in 2014, despite the delicate balance that had developed between Europe and Russia until then.
Hideya Matsuzaki (Tsuda University)
- 68 **Secession conflicts in the former Soviet bloc: The search for and failure of finding the solution**
The international community has searched for a “solution” to the secessionist conflicts in the former Soviet bloc that would respect national self-determination and avoid changes in national borders. However, the current situation is far from what was expected. The complex process that led to the setback reminds us once again of the gravity of the problem.
Kimitaka Matsuzato (University of Tokyo)
- 76 **The mirage of Russian “sphere of influence” as seen from history: Russian influence around the Black Sea coastal areas**
The author examines the current situation in 2022, based on the fact that the Russian “sphere of influence,” which has continued since the imperial and Soviet eras, was supported by universal principles and people inside and outside the country who shared them.
Akitsu Mayumizu (University of Tokyo)
- 82 Roundtable series: **Can Europe be a leader of the international order?2.**
An update is needed on the EU Indo-Pacific Strategy
Europe has rapidly increased its involvement in the Indo-Pacific over the past few years. To what extent can the EU go beyond the individual circumstances of each country?
Atsuko Higashino (Tsukuba University) and Tsuyoshi Goroku (Nishogakusha University)
- Feature: Seventy years since Japan’s independence
- 92 **Changing Asian international order and Japanese diplomacy**
The author illustrates the dynamic changes in Japanese diplomacy as Japan, tossed about in the turbulent international environment, gradually grew into a major player in building the Asian order.
Makoto Iokibe (University of Hyogo)
- 98 **Japan-U.S. alliance and the base issue: Beyond the “dichotomy” of the 50th anniversary of the return of Okinawa**
The ambiguity of the articles of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty makes it unclear where the burden of the alliance’s costs lies. With this background, the Okinawa’s base problem is difficult to solve solely on the basis of a domestic dichotomous composition.
Shinji Kawana (Tokyo Institute of Technology)
-
- 118 **What the “super close battle” of the South Korean Presidential election implies**
Katsumi Sawada (Mainichi Shimbun)
- 124 **Global health governance without a leader: What is Japan’s role in the era of multipolarization of health cooperation?**
Kayo Takuma (Tokyo Metropolitan University)
- 132 **Report on China’s National People’s Congress - Looking ahead to the third term of the Xi Jinping Regime**
Dai Hakozaiki (IDE-JETRO)
- 134 **Japan-Australia security cooperation is deepened by RAA: The role it plays towards the stability of the Indo-Pacific**
Takayuki Nagano (Dokkyo University)

Special Feature:

The shockwaves of the Ukrainian invasion

6 Liberal international order in turmoil

Russia's invasion of Ukraine has called into question the liberal international order of the 20th century as well as the confidence-building process in Europe since the end of the Cold War. Can we restore a stable international order again?
Yuichi Hosoya (Keio University)

12 Invasion of Ukraine: How the battle has proceeded

Yoshihiko Ito (Takushoku University)

16 Putin's logic and its shocking impact on the international society

This article provides a bird's-eye view of the invasion of Ukraine and examines its impact. The author looks at President Putin's intentions, which the world has been unable to decipher, the cause of the U.S. intelligence disclosure, and the future of sanctions by other countries.

Shinji Hyodo (The National Institute for Defense Studies)

22 Invasion of Ukraine: Can escalation be stopped?

The invasion of Ukraine has become a reality. The international community's encirclement of Russia has led to Russia hinting the use of nuclear weapons. Can Putin be deterred?

Michito Tsuruoka (Keio University) and Michtaka Hatoori (Institute for Russian & NIS Economic Studies)

32 The threats of the "fifth domain" of cyber warfare

The author describes the background of Russia's avoidance of cyberattacks that would bring down Ukraine's systems entirely, as well as the threat posed by the "entry" of different non-government cyberattack actors.

Mihoko Matsubara (NTT)

40 The suffering of Ukrainian refugees in a border town and the Europe's Choice

The day after the military invasion by Russia, European countries that are bordering on Ukraine began accepting refugees. This on-the-ground report depicts the anguish faced by ordinary people and the response of countries accepting refugees.

Koji Miki (Mainichi Shimbun)

44 The U.S. Congress's bipartisan push for Russian sanctions

The U.S. Congress is pushing for Ukrainian support while also pursuing sanctions against Russia in response to the Biden administration's declining approval ratings. With the midterm elections coming up this November, what is happening to the Democratic and Republican parties, which are cooperating with each other on this issue?

Robert Tomkin (Congressional Quarterly)

48 Does sanctions against the oligarchs have any effect? Emerging factions supporting the Putin regime

The "oligarchs" are an economic power deeply involved in Russia's political structure. Based on its formation, transition, and current status, this article makes the case that the Western economic sanctions against "oligarchs" will only have a limited effect in the short term.

Yuko Adachi (Sophia University)

52 Germany has let go of its "reluctant hegemonism": The background of pacifism and the abandonment of "Pro-Russia" stance

German Chancellor Olaf Scholz announced an increase in the German Bundeswehr and defense spending. The author discusses the background of this fundamental shift in Germany's foreign and defense policy after the collapse of the Cold War.

Norihide Miyoshi (Journalist)

58 Struggle of the "land power" India as seen from the U.N. resolution against Russia

India decided to abstain from the resolution condemning Russia. In addition to its traditional omnidirectional diplomacy and friendly relations with Russia, another factor is the harsh security environment of the "Indo-Pacific," which is difficult to grasp from a maritime perspective.

Toru Ito (National Defense Academy of Japan)