Section 7. Australia

1. National Defense Policy

Australia, like Japan and the Republic of Korea, is allied with the United States. Australia has been broadly and actively involved in resolving security issues in the Middle East and Asia-Pacific region in addition to those in neighboring areas such as Timor-Leste and the Solomon Islands. (See Part III, Chapter 3, Section 2)

In December 2000, Australia announced “Defence 2000 - Our Future Defence Force,” which set forth its defense policy for the coming decade. The document states that the missions of the Australian Defence Force (ADF) are: first, to defend Australia; second, to contribute to the security of its immediate neighborhood; and third, to contribute effectively to international coalitions of forces to meet crises beyond Australia’s immediate neighborhood in support of Australia’s wider interests and objectives.

In order to respond to subsequent changes in the strategic environment, the Howard administration reviewed the national defense strategy approximately every two years, and the results were announced as “Australia’s National Security: A Defence Update.”

“A Defence Update” issued in February 2003, which took into account the 9/11 terrorist attacks and the bombing in Bali, Indonesia, in October 2002, designated terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and failing states as priority issues for responding to the new strategic environment resulting from progressing globalization, and predicted an increase in opportunities for ADF activities in remote regions.

“A Defence Update” issued in December 2005, taking into account the ADF’s participation in the military operation in Iraq that began in March 2005 and the subsequent reconstruction activities, the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI) activities that began in July 2005, as well as terrorist acts in many parts of the world, indicated the importance of the government’s integrated efforts to respond to increasingly complex and diverse situations.

“A Defence Update” issued in July 2007, taking into account factors such as the ADF involvement in the Middle East to that point, the dispatch of the ADF to the uprising in Timor-Leste, and nuclear issues in North Korea and Iran, stated that the priority issues laid out in the above-mentioned 2003 report would remain in effect. The report expected that the situation will continue where the ADF, while continuing activities in neighboring regions, engages in activities in coalition with foreign forces in remote regions, including Iraq and Afghanistan. In this way, the ADF aims to make a meaningful contribution to international security issues in remote regions, as well as to take a leadership role in the neighboring region, which comprises many unstable island states. For all of these activities, a high readiness posture is required. The report also mentions that although it remains unlikely that Australia will face conventional military threats, in order to allow the country to independently defend its territory without relying on the assistance of other countries in case of such an unlikely event occurring, it continues to be of great importance to retain an edge in leading military capability in the region.

2. Foreign Relations

1. Relations with the United States

Australia attaches importance to its alliance with the United States based on the ANZUS Treaty (the Security Treaty among Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America). In addition to annual ministerial consultations among their foreign ministers and defense ministers, and joint exercises such as Talisman Saber, Australia has dispatched warships, combat aircraft and special forces to the military operations in Iraq and the war on terror in Afghanistan. While the Rudd administration announced that it would withdraw combat troops stationed in Iraq by mid-2008, it also announced that troops stationed in Afghanistan would remain there for the long term. Thus, the close alliance is maintained.
Australia decided to participate in the U.S.-led missile defense program in December 2003. Although the concrete forms of participation remain to be decided yet, Australia decided in August 2004 that it would adopt the U.S. Aegis system for its new air defense destroyers. The possibility is indicated that these destroyers will be applicable to ballistic missile defense\(^{178}\). In addition, seeking to enhance interoperability with the United States, with the retirement of the F/A-18 Hornet and F-111 main fighters in several years, in June 2002 Australia announced that it would participate in the U.S.-led F-35 Joint Strike Fighter Program. In preparation for the delay in that program, in March 2007, it decided to purchase F/A-18 Super Hornet\(^{179}\), and is expanding U.S.-Australia joint exercise facilities in the country.

2. Relations with Other Countries

Australia is strengthening its partnership with NATO, primarily through its ISAF activities in Afghanistan. It also conducts joint exercises with Malaysia, Singapore, the United Kingdom and New Zealand based on the Five Power Defence Arrangements (which came into effect in 1971). In addition, Australia has taken part in U.N. PKOs, such as the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT).

As regards its relations with Indonesia, after the Bali terror bombings in 2002 and 2005, and the one that occurred in front of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta in September 2004, the two countries decided to resume suspended joint exercises between their special forces\(^{180}\). Furthermore, in November 2006, they signed a security agreement for a broad defense cooperation including counterterrorism and intelligence.
Section 8. Europe

1. General Situation
With the end of the Cold War, many European countries now recognize that the threat of large-scale invasion by other countries has disappeared and regard the outbreak of regional conflict within and around Europe, the rise of terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and other developments as new security challenges.

To adapt to new and emerging threats, Europe has sought to stabilize the security environment primarily by strengthening and expanding the frameworks of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO: 26 member states) and the European Union (EU: 27 member states). Moreover, many European countries are proceeding with the development of their own capacity to cope with these new challenges. (See Fig. I-2-8-1)

2. Enhancement and Enlargement of Security Frameworks

1. Enhancement of Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management and Peacekeeping Functions

(1) Commitment to a New Role
Founded for the primary purpose of collective defense among member countries, NATO has shifted the focus of its activities to conflict prevention and crisis management since the end of the Cold War.

This shift has also been reflected in the Strategic Concept of the Alliance, reviewed in 1999, in which NATO has added including conflict prevention and crisis management to its primary mission of collective defense, based on the view that various dangers difficult to forecast, such as ethnic and religious conflicts, territorial disputes, human rights suppression, and the dissolution of a state, still remain in Europe and surrounding regions.

NATO has led the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan since August 2003, which is the first operation outside Europe, and expanded the area of its mission to all regions of Afghanistan in October 2006. As the demand remains for a strengthening of posture by ISAF, arguments have arisen concerning the provision of additional troops and their regional allocation among countries including the U.S., Canada, the U.K. and the Netherlands, whose forces are deployed in the south and east where attacks are frequent, and countries including Germany and France, whose forces operate in relatively stable areas of the north and west and around Kabul. In April 2008, the Bucharest Declaration announced at the NATO Summit held in April 2008 commended the pledges of additional troops by member countries while also expecting further additional contributions, and stated that NATO would place the highest priority on ISAF’s mission.

In Iraq, NATO is providing assistance for the training of Iraqi security forces in accordance with the agreement reached at the NATO Istanbul Summit Meeting held in April 2004, and NATO continues to conduct peacekeeping operations in Kosovo, which declared independence in February of this year.184

The EU, enhanced its own commitment to security issues, and adopted its first security strategy paper in December 2003, titled “A Secure Europe in a Better World-European Security Strategy.” It sets forth the objective of addressing major threats including terrorism, the proliferation of WMD, regional conflict, the collapse of states and organized crime by stabilizing surrounding regions and through multinational cooperation.

In 2003, the EU led its first peacekeeping operation to maintain public order in Macedonia, employing NATO equipment and capabilities. In the same year, the EU carried out its first peacekeeping operation outside of Europe, in the Democratic Republic of Congo—without the use of NATO equipment and capabilities. The EU has since engaged, to a considerable degree, in crisis management and peacekeeping operations, continuing the activities of the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR) in Bosnia and Herzegovina in December 2004, and deploying forces in Chad and Central Africa based on a decision made in October last year.
Pursuit of Military Capabilities Required for New Roles

NATO’s bombing campaign against Yugoslavia in 1999 revealed a capability gap between the United States and European countries. Given this, and based on the agreement reached at the NATO Prague Summit Meeting in November 2002, NATO has moved forward with the reforms of its military capabilities, including organizational transformation.

At the core of the reforms of NATO’s capability improvements has been the development of the NATO Response Force (NRF), which is designed to rapidly respond to various crisis scenarios around the world. The Force was declared to be at full operational capacity in November 2006. However, with the expansion and extension of troop deployments in Afghanistan and elsewhere, NATO is reconsidering the structure of the NRF.
so as to lessen the burden on countries contributing armed forces to the NRF.

Meanwhile, the EU has been making efforts to conduct peacekeeping and other military operations independently in cases where NATO does not intervene. Since January 2007, the EU has made two Battle groups fully ready at all times based on the Battle groups concept proclaimed in “Headline Goal 2010” adopted in 2004. The EU also established its own operation center in Brussels in January 2007. (See Fig. I-2-8-2)

2. Geographical Expansion and Partnership of Security Frameworks
Since the end of the Cold War, efforts have been made to secure the stability of the so-called security vacuum in Central and Eastern Europe by enlarging the NATO framework. At present, most of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are NATO member states and have borders with Russia, which has consistently opposed NATO’s expansion to the east.

At the same time, NATO has pursued a policy of partnership with non-NATO member countries. For example, NATO adopted the Partnership for Peace (PfP), which aims to foster confidence and improve interoperability with non-NATO European countries, and the Mediterranean Dialogue (MD), which seeks stability in the Mediterranean region.

NATO is also strengthening relations with contact countries such as Australia and Japan with a view to conducting activities outside of the region.

Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, NATO and Russia have sought to improve relations, and established the
NATO-Russia Council (NRC) in 2002 in light of the need to deal with common issues concerning security. NATO and Russia have continued to pursue dialogue and cooperation in areas such as the fight against terrorism, arms control, and theater missile defense.

The number of EU member countries in Central and Eastern Europe is also expanding, with the accession of 10 countries in 2004, including Poland and the Czech Republic, and the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in January of last year. (See Fig. I-2-8-3)

3. Efforts by Individual Countries to Maintain the Capability to Respond to Various Conditions

Since the end of the Cold War, each individual country—conscious of the new threats of terrorism and the proliferation of WMD—have begun to place emphasis on the allocation of personnel to missions other than national defense. As a result, there has been an emphasis on strengthening transport capacity for overseas deployment, giving consideration to the role of NATO and other defense organizations. Moreover, many European countries have implemented quantitative reductions and restructuring of their military power, while channeling efforts into modernizing their military and increasing national defense expenditures.

1. The United Kingdom

The U.K. has maintained the perception that it is not subject to any direct military threats and therefore has pursued military reform focused on enhancing capacity in order to cope with new threats with the end of the Cold War. In particular, the U.K. regarded international terrorism and the proliferation of WMD as major threats and improved its overseas deployment capacity and readiness has been advanced.
The first National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom was announced in March of this year. The strategy highlights the broadened view of national security to include threats to individual citizens, and it considers transnational crime, pandemics, and flooding, etc., as threats along with terrorism and the spread of WMD. It also cites factors such as climate change, competition for energy, and poverty as the causes of these threats. To cope with these diverse and interrelated threats, the strategy takes a multilateral approach through the U.N., EU and NATO while seeking the cooperation not only of the military and the police, but also the private sector and regional governments, with a view to addressing threats at an early stage.

As outlined in the strategy, the international security environment has grown more complex and less predictable in terms of state-led military threats, which existing assessments conclude cannot be expected in the foreseeable future. The strategy nevertheless states that while the reemergence of such threats in the long run is unlikely, they cannot be discounted, and thus sets forth a policy for maintaining strong defense capabilities.

To be specific, the U.K. will give priority to the procurement of equipment for supporting its current operations, including strategic airlift, support helicopters and protected patrol vehicles. At the same time, it realizes that a complete rebuilding of its aircraft carriers, air defense and anti-submarine warfare will be difficult and therefore plans to invest for the long term in a broad range of military capabilities related to the defense of the United Kingdom. Furthermore, in a white paper, “The Future of the United Kingdom’s Nuclear Deterrence” issued in December 2006, the U.K. announced it would maintain its own nuclear deterrence based on submarine-launched ballistic missiles in the 2020s and beyond.

These military capabilities will guarantee the United Kingdom’s future security while enabling it to make contributions to international efforts on peacekeeping and thus contribute to the international security environment.

2. Germany

In its first national defense white paper in 12 years issued in October 2006, Germany specified that the primary mission of its allied forces remains national defense and collective defense in the traditional sense. In light of the expansion of new threats including terrorism and the spread of WMD, however, it declared that conflict prevention and crisis management, including the fight against terrorism, would likely become the next mission.

To ensure the necessary military capabilities to meet the above mission, Germany plans to give priority in resource distribution to strengthening strategic transport capacity, global reconnaissance capabilities and efficient command capabilities with high interoperability. Specifically, Germany plans to introduce the A-400M transport aircraft and SAR-LUPE, a synthetic aperture radar satellite. It is also restructuring its military into integrated units divided by function: intervention, stabilization and assistance, while reducing personnel and relocating its domestic camps and facilities.

3. France

In June 2008, France announced “The White Paper on Defense and National Security,” its first in 14 years, which outlines the country’s medium- to long-term defense and national security strategy. In addition to specifying the direct threats of mass terrorism and ballistic missiles, the report also identifies risks ranging from cyberattacks
to environmental crises, stating that these threats and risks were becoming increasingly interconnected due to globalization and that the continuity between domestic and foreign security has taken on strategic significance. The regions cited as affecting the stability of France and Europe included the area extending from the Atlantic to the Indian oceans, sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Europe and Asia, which, is growing in its importance. The report specifies three statues of France’s national security strategy: prevention, nuclear deterrence protection, and overseas intervention, based on accurate knowledge and anticipation of conditions in a world characterized by uncertainty and instability. The report states that France will strengthen these functions and combine them flexibly in order to adapt to changes in the strategic environment over the next 15 years.

Regarding France’s external relations, the report calls for a strengthening of EU security and renovation of transatlantic relations, and advocates full participation in NATO in view of the altered situation existing since France’s withdrawal from NATO’s military structure and, in particular, the complementary relationship between the EU and NATO. The Defense and National Security Council chaired by the French President with specialized bodies including the National Intelligence Council will be established in France.

With respect to the provision of military power, France intends to meet operational requirements such as enhancing protection capabilities while, at the same time, reducing personnel, and to proceed with a strengthening of its intelligence functions and a modernization of its military equipment.

### 4. Efforts toward Stabilization in Europe

#### 1. Arms Control and Disarmament

The Treaty of Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), which formally entered into force in 1992, set upper limits for five categories of weapons, namely tanks, wheeled armored combat vehicles, artillery, fighters and attack helicopters, for both the East and West. By reducing weapons exceeding these limits, the treaty sought to preclude the capability for launching surprise attacks or large-scale invasions and thereby ensure the safety and stability of Europe.

The disbanding of the Warsaw Pact Organization (WPO) and NATO’s enlargement to the east led to the signing of the CFE Treaty at the 1999 OSCE Summit Meeting. The principal aims of this treaty were a change of the existing restrictions on arms possession imposed separately for the East and the West groups to restrictions by country or territory. However, the NATO countries are considering abandoning ratification of the treaty because Russia failed to withdraw its army from Moldova and Georgia as it had agreed to do when it signed the treaty.

In response, Russia, coupled with its reaction to the U.S. Missile Defense Plan in Eastern Europe, suspended its participation in the CFE Treaty from December of last year, and stopped on-site inspections to verify compliance with numerical limits.

#### 2. Confidence Building Measures (CBM)

Talks on Confidence and Security-Building Measures (CSBM) negotiations have been held in Europe since 1989, and at the 1992 Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), the Vienna Document 1992, which specified annual exchange of military information along with notifications, inspections and restrictions concerning military exercises exceeding a certain scale, was adopted.

The Open Skies Treaty, designed to improve openness and transparency of military activities carried out by signatory countries through mutual inspection flights and also supplement arms control verification measures, was signed by 25 countries in 1992 and entered into force in January 2002.
Section 9. Efforts to Stabilize the International Community by the U.N. and Other Scheme

1. General Situation
The end of the Cold War was accompanied by rising expectations for the peacekeeping system by the U.N., which up to that time had not functioned adequately, and as a result, many U.N. Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs) were established. In recent years, efforts through regional frameworks such as the European Union (EU) and the African Union (AU) have been formed as a means of dealing appropriately with conflict (See Chapter 1). Other efforts include peacekeeping operations and humanitarian and reconstruction assistance by multinational forces mandated by U.N. Security Council Resolutions (See Chapter 1). Efforts aimed not only at peacekeeping but also at conflict prevention and peacebuilding\(^{206}\) are also increasing.

2. Developments in U.N. Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs)
Traditionally, PKOs have mainly aimed at preventing reoccurrence of conflict by focusing on monitoring of ceasefires and other tasks after a ceasefire agreement has been reached. Since the end of the Cold War, however, the missions now cover a broad range of operations, including civilian activities such as monitoring of disarmament, monitoring of elections and administration, and humanitarian support for return of refugees. In addition, operations with strong mandates\(^{207}\) under Chapter VII of the U.N. Charter can now be established\(^{208}\).

The scale of participants in these operations has been marking remarkable increase. The number of personnel dispatched has increased substantially since the end of the Cold War, and in 1993, when large-scale PKO missions were on the move in the Balkan Peninsula and Somalia, the number reached a record of approximately 78,000. Subsequently, the number temporarily reduced to 12,000, but from around 2000, it has begun to rise again due to an increase in large-scale missions mainly in Africa and the Middle East\(^{209}\). As of the end of May 2008, 17 PKO missions were being conducted in 117 countries with about 88,000 participants around the world\(^{210}\). (See Fig. I-2-9-1)

However, the environment surrounding PKOs in recent years has grown increasingly harsh. Missions dispatched to regions without social infrastructure have increased, and the proportion of PKO personnel fatalities due to illness to the total PKO death toll is increasing\(^{211}\). This situation makes it difficult to gather personnel and equipment and to ensure the safety of personnel.
Note: According to the U.N. (as of May 2008).

United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)

United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC)

United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)

United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)

United Nations Operation in Côte d’Ivoire (UNOCI)

United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS)

African Union/United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID)

United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT)

Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Established Date</th>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Top 5 Dispatching Countries (Personnel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1991. 4</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>Malaysia (32), Egypt (29), Russia (15), China, Ghana (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1999. 11</td>
<td>18,428</td>
<td>India (4,697), Pakistan (3,641), Bangladesh (1,601), Uruguay (1,369), South Africa (1,175)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2000. 7</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>India (161), Uruguay (38), Kenya (22), Jordan (18), 3 countries including the U.S. (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2003. 9</td>
<td>12,934</td>
<td>Pakistan (3,435), Bangladesh (2,436), Nigeria (1,838), Ethiopia (1,801), Ghana (759)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>2004. 4</td>
<td>9,174</td>
<td>Bangladesh (2,980), Jordan (1,447), Pakistan (1,271), Morocco (725), Ghana (550)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2005. 3</td>
<td>9,924</td>
<td>India (2,696), Pakistan (1,611), Bangladesh (1,593), Egypt (852), Kenya (846)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2007. 7</td>
<td>9,563</td>
<td>Nigeria (3,093), Rwanda (2,670), South Africa (686), Senegal (624), Ghana (488)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2007. 9</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>France (19), Egypt (13), Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d’Ivoire (12)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Middle East

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Established Date</th>
<th>Personnel</th>
<th>Top 5 Dispatching Countries (Personnel)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1948. 5</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>Finland (15), Ireland, Netherlands, Norway (12), Australia (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1974. 6</td>
<td>1,046</td>
<td>Austria (382), Poland (346), India (189), Slovakia (95), Japan (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1978. 3</td>
<td>12,383</td>
<td>Italy (2,793), France (1,731), Spain (1,139), India (882), Ghana (671)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. Organizational Reform of the U.N.

Last year, a number of key measures were taken in the area of organizational reform of the U.N.

To deal with the circumstances concerning PKOs described above, the Department of Field Support, which is responsible for personnel affairs, budget and finance, logistics, and other affairs of PKOs, was established in June by separating a part of the functions of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in order to strengthen the U.N. Secretariat’s capabilities for PKO operation and maintenance.

In October, strengthening the Department of Political Affairs was proposed with a view to improving preventive diplomacy and good offices of the U.N. The report by the U.N. Secretary-General concerning this proposal positioned conflict prevention alongside peacekeeping as a pillar of peace and security efforts and called for the building-up of the capacity of the Department’s regional offices and an increase in budget and personnel.

Furthermore, the Department of Disarmament Affairs, which is responsible for disarmament and non-proliferation, was reorganized as the Office for Disarmament Affairs last year.
Notes:

1) While the U.S. President is required to submit the National Security Strategy to Congress every year in accordance with Section 404a, title 50 of the United States Code, the release of the National Security Strategy in 2006 was the second submission by the Bush administration following the one in September 2002.

2) The QDR is a document that the Secretary of Defense is required to submit to Congress every four years according to Section 118, title 10 of the United States Code. It foresees the security environment in the next 20 years and clarifies issues including the National Defense Strategy, force structure, force modernization plan, defense infrastructure, and budget plan. The release of the 2006 QDR is the second submission by the Bush administration following the one in September 2001.


4) The Transformation Planning Guidance (April 2003) defines transformation as “a process that shapes the changing nature of military competition and cooperation through new combinations of concepts, capabilities, people and organizations that exploit our nation’s advantages and protect against our asymmetric vulnerabilities to sustain our strategic position, which helps underpin peace and stability in the world.”

5) The National Defense Strategy describes that as desirable strategic targets are not always attainable while attainable strategic targets are sometimes not worth the costs, there can be trade-off between strategic targets and scarce defense resources. Therefore, as stated in the 2001 QDR, it notes that the following four risks that are difficult to respond to at the same time should be controlled carefully:
   (1) Operational Risks: Risks associated with the capacity to execute future missions successfully against an array of prospective future challenges.
   (2) Future Challenge Risks: Risks associated with the capacity to execute future missions successfully against an array of prospective future challenges.
   (3) Force Management Risks: Risks associated with managing military forces in the areas of recruiting, retaining, training and readiness.
   (4) Institutional Risks: Risks associated with the capacity of new command, management, and business practices.

6) The Striker Brigade Combat Team is formed as a light unit so that it can be deployed anywhere in the world promptly by C-130 transport aircraft and other transportation means. Unlike heavily armed conventional mechanized divisions, the team is equipped with “Striker,” 8-wheel-drive armored vehicles that are loaded with 105mm guns and other weapons and are characterized by strike assets and mobility.

7) In April 2005, then Commander of U.S. Army Europe Bell announced plans to reduce soldiers spread over 13 main operating locations across Europe to approximately 24,000 soldiers concentrated among four Joint Main Operating Bases (JMOB), which would take place over the next 5 to 10 years.

8) News briefing with Secretary of the Army Geren and Vice Chief of Staff of the Army Cody (December 19, 2007).

9) In March 2007 the United States announced that one aircraft carrier would be transferred returning from service in the Atlantic to a Pacific base in San Diego in early 2010.

10) According to the congressional testimony in September 2004 of Admiral Fargo, Commander of the U.S. Pacific Command, U.S. forces deploy bombers in Guam by rotation.

12) U.S. Africa Command is expected to start full operations as a separate unified Command no later than September 30, 2008. However, the U.S. has announced that it does not contemplate to add military bases in Africa.

13) Joint press conference by U.S. President Bush and President Kufor of Ghana (February 20, 2008).

14) As for non-strategic nuclear forces, the Nuclear Posture Review announced by the Clinton administration in September 1994 states as follows: (1) Eliminate the option to deploy nuclear weapons on carrier-based, dual-capable (nuclear/conventional) aircraft; (2) Eliminate the option to carry nuclear Tomahawk cruise missiles (TLAM/N) on surface ships; (3) Retain the option to deploy TLAM/N on attack submarines; and (4) Retain the current commitment of dual-capable aircraft based in Europe and Continental United States (CONUS) and the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe.

15) In addition, this Act stipulates the establishment of the Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the U.S. composed of members designated by Congress, and calls for a review of strategic postures, including nuclear weapons policy, with a report to be submitted to the President and Congress no later than December 1, 2008.

16) The $70 billion allocated in the FY 2009 Defense Budget for fighting terrorism is described as a “bridge fund.” The breakdown of major budgetary items under this fund is explained as follows: $45.1 billion for combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, $3.7 billion for expanding Afghan security forces, $2 billion for training for Iraqi security forces, $1.7 billion for Commander’s Emergency Response Program (CERP) in Iraq and Afghanistan, and $4 billion in transfer authority to the Secretary of Defense as well as for other international operations.

17) Although specific reduction volumes are unclear, it is stated that the U.S. nuclear stockpile would be less than one-quarter of its size at the end of the Cold War.

18) In the organizational reform of the U.S. Army, its conventional pyramid structure (army, corps, divisions, and brigades) will be reorganized into the headquarters with command and control functions and self-sufficient combat units (the size of a brigade) so that it can respond to various situations promptly and flexibly by combining headquarters and working units according to the purpose and scale of the mission.

19) Its headquarters is located at Camp Lejuene in North Carolina. As the Marine Corps Special Operation Command was created, the 4th Marine Expeditionary Brigade was deactivated.

20) With regard to conflict response in regions other than Iraq and Afghanistan, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Peter Pace stated that even while operations were being carried out in the abovementioned dual theaters, the U.S. still had enormous air and sea capacity as well as large numbers of ground forces that were not currently employed in the Gulf, and that none of their potential enemies should miscalculate the capacity of the U.S. to generate this overwhelming combat power in order to defend its national interests. On the other hand, he also pointed out that the best equipment is left at the frontlines and equipment that is worn out or damaged is returned to the U.S., which makes the units at home not as fully equipped as they could be. Additionally, he stated that as precision weapons are being used in a concentrated manner in both theaters of war, if a response was required in another theater, there could be a situation in which U.S. forces would use “brute force” with non-precision weapons that impose greater collateral damage. (Press conference, October 24, 2006.)

21) The 4th Fleet was once disestablished in 1950, and taken over by the 2nd Fleet, but in order to address the increased role of maritime forces in Southern Command area of operations and to demonstrate U.S. commitment to regional partners, the 4th Fleet was reestablished. (Announcement by Chief of Naval Operations, April 24, 2008.)

22) The C-17 is a large cargo aircraft with excellent takeoff and landing capabilities that can transport about 70 tons of goods to a front-line base located more than 4,000km away. C-5 aircraft with a cargo load of about
120 tons can fly approximately 4,000km, offload, and fly to a second base another 900km away from the original destination.

23) Russia is opposed to the deployment of the MD system, insisting that it will have a negative impact on the country’s nuclear deterrent capability, and this opposition was also noted in the U.S.-Russia Strategic Framework Declaration in April 2008. The United States, however, in a move to ease the concerns of the Russia side, has explained that the target of the MD system is not Russia: it will be deployed to defend Europe and other allies from missile threats posed by Iran.

24) China implemented an experiment to destroy one of its own satellites in low earth orbit, approximately 850km from earth in January 2007, without giving prior notice. In the U.S. Department of Defense Annual Report to Congress, “Military Power of the People’s Republic of China” (May 2007), the following is stated with regard to the Chinese experiment: “The test raised the resulting debris cloud and put at risk the assets of all space faring nations and posed dangers to human space flight due to the creation of an unprecedented amount of debris.”

On the other hand, in February 2008 the U.S. government gave prior notice of a plan to shoot down a U.S. national reconnaissance office satellite which was out of control with hazardous fuel still on board. Later that month a specially modified Aegis ship in the Pacific Ocean fired a standard missile 3 (SM-3) at the satellite and broke it up successfully. The United States stated that with regard to the interception, due to the relatively low altitude of the satellite at the time of the engagement (approximately 247km), debris would begin to re-enter the earth’s atmosphere immediately. Nearly all of the debris would burn upon re-entry within a few days and the remaining debris should re-enter within a few weeks.

25) The figure of U.S. military mentioned in this paragraph is the number of active personnel recorded on the publication source of the U.S. Department of Defense, and it could change in accordance to unit deployment.

26) Joint editorial of the Korean Workers’ Party’s journals “Rodong Shinmun” and “Workers” (June 16, 1999).

27) In North Korea, it seems that various military decisions are made by the National Defense Commission (Chairman Kim Jong Il), which has the ultimate military authority, and the Ministry of People’s Armed Forces (corresponding to the Ministry of Defense in other countries) is controlled not by the cabinet but by the National Defense Commission.

28) The approximate percentage of active service members in total population is 0.2% in Japan, 0.5% in the United States, 0.7% in Russia, and 1.4% in the ROK.

29) White House Press Secretary Dana Perino announced in a statement on April 24, 2008 that North Korea had assisted Syria’s covert nuclear activities. In addition, Lieutenant General Michael D. Maples, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), stated at the Senate Armed Services Committee in February 2008 that North Korea may “have proliferated nuclear weapons-related technology abroad.”

30) Generally, missiles based on a solid fuel propellant system are considered to be militarily superior to those based on a liquid propellant system because they are capable of immediate launches with their fuel stored in airframes beforehand and they are easy to store and handle.

31) On October 27, 2006, as a result of the independently collected information and its analysis as well as our careful examination of the U.S. and the ROK analyses, the Japanese government judged that the probability that North Korea had conducted a nuclear test was extremely high.

32) In this framework, measures that the United States and North Korea should take are shown, including North Korea’s remaining as a member of the NPT.

33) A nuclear reactor that uses graphite as a moderator.

34) Nuclear fuel rods used in operation of nuclear reactors contain plutonium, which can be extracted by reprocessing the rods.
35) The second and third rounds of the Six-Party Talks were held in February and June 2004 respectively, the fourth round from July to August and in September 2005, and the fifth round in November 2005, December 2006, and February 2007. The sixth round was held in March and September 2007.

36) General Burwell B. Bell, Commander of U.S. Forces Korea, stated at the House Armed Services Committee in March 2008 that “Currently, the intelligence community assesses that North Korea extracted plutonium at its Yongbyon nuclear facility and possesses weapons-grade plutonium sufficient for several nuclear devices.”

37) In his statement to the Senate Armed Services Committee in February 2008, Lieutenant General Maples, Director of the DIA, stated that “North Korea may be able to successfully mate a nuclear warhead to a mobile ballistic missile.”

38) In his statement to the Senate Armed Services Committee in February 2008, Lieutenant General Maples, Director of the DIA, stated that “North Korea has a longstanding chemical warfare program,” “We believe that Pyongyang possesses a sizeable stockpile of agents,” and that “This biological infrastructure combined with its weapons industry give North Korea a potentially robust biological warfare capability.”

39) The ranges of Scud B and Scud C missiles are estimated to be about 300km and 500km, respectively.

40) North Korea admits that it is exporting ballistic missiles to earn foreign currency. (Comment by the Korean Central News Agency (KCNA) on June 16, 1998, and statement made by a North Korean foreign ministry spokesman on December 13, 2002, reported by KCNA on the same day.)

41) In his statement to the House Armed Services Committee in March 2008, then General Bell, Commander, U.S. Forces Korea, stated that “Preparations are underway to field a new intermediate range missile capable of striking Okinawa, Guam and Alaska.” Also, in his statement to the same committee in March 2007, General Bell stated that “North Korea is developing a new solid propellant short-range ballistic missile, which it last successfully test-fired in March 2006. Once operational, this missile will be more mobile, more rapidly deployable, and more capable of being launched on shorter notice than current systems.”

42) For example, a two-stage missile may be converted into a three-stage missile by installing a propulsion device at the warhead.

43) For example, Director of National Intelligence J. Michael McConnell stated at the Senate Armed Services Committee in February 2008 that “North Korea has already sold ballistic missiles to several Middle Eastern countries and to Iran.” In addition, it has also been pointed out that North Korea has test-launched missiles that it had exported in Iran and Pakistan and subsequently utilized the data.

44) Four Military Guidelines were adopted at the fifth Plenum of the fourth Korean Workers’ Party’s Central Committee in 1962.

45) Covert operations to infiltrate enemy’s territories by dispersed small units.

46) Reportedly, North Korea has two types of special operations forces: one under the military forces and the other under the Korean Workers’ Party. For example, the operation department of the Party is said to be in charge of transporting agents.

47) For example, in April 2007, a large-scale military parade including the march of missile units was held to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the Korean People’s Army with attendance of Kim Jong Il, Chairman of the National Defense Commission.

48) In April 2008, the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) estimated that North Korea’s production of crops would be approximately 3 million tons, 750,000 tons lower than the past five-year average. It also
estimated that shortfall of crops as of October would amount to 1.66 million tons.

49) It is pointed out that, due to the implementation of these new measures, the following problems have occurred or signs of such problems have been observed in some areas: acceleration of inflation as a result of simultaneous raising of wages and commodity prices despite unsolved shortage of commodities, widening of income gaps, and increasing dissatisfaction with the regime due to information inflows.

50) The Country Reports on Terrorism 2007 published in April 2008 states that “As part of the Six-Party Talks process, the United States reaffirmed its intent to fulfill its commitments regarding the removal of the designation of the DPRK as a state sponsor of terrorism in parallel with the DPRK’s actions on denuclearization and in accordance with criteria set forth in U.S. law.”

51) On June 26, 2008, after North Korea submitted the declaration of its nuclear programs, U.S. President Bush sent over to the Congress the formal notification of his intent to remove the DPRK from the list of state sponsors of terrorism.

52) The previous treaty contained the provision that if either of the signatories (Russia and North Korea) was attacked, the other would immediately provide military and other assistance by any means. This provision, however, was excluded from the new treaty.

53) The United States and the ROK have been operating the U.S.-ROK Combined Forces Command since 1978 in order to run the U.S.-ROK joint defense system to deter wars on the Korean Peninsula and to perform effective joint operations in case of emergency. Under the U.S.-ROK joint defense system, the operational control authority over ROK forces is to be exercised by the Chairman of the Korea Joint Chiefs of Staff in peacetime and by the Commander of U.S. Forces Korea, who also serves as Commander of the Combined Forces Command, in wartime.

54) The ROK Defense White Paper 2006 described North Korea as follows: “North Korea’s conventional military capabilities, nuclear tests, weapons of mass destruction, and forward military deployment pose serious threats to our national security.”

55) A KSS-II submarine equipped with Air Independent Propulsion (AIP) system was put into service in December 2007 and a large transport vessel with 14,000 tons of displacement was commissioned in July 2007.

56) The name of the exercise was changed from “Reception, Staging, Onward Movement and Integration (RSOI)” to “Key Resolve” this year.

57) “Scientific Development Concept” chiefly consists of “adhering to standardized plans and consideration for all perspectives, maintaining a people-oriented position of establishing comprehensive, balanced and sustainable development concept and the need to promote complete economic, social, and human development.” (As commented by President Hu Jintao at Third Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in October 2003)

The construction of a “harmonious society” is defined as a process to continue dissolving social inconsistencies. The “Resolution on Major Issues Regarding the Building of a Harmonious Socialist Society,” adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in October 2006.

58) The term “responsible stakeholder” has been quoted in various U.S. Government documents after then Deputy Secretary of State Robert B. Zoellick used the term in a speech in New York in September 2005. The National Security Strategy, published in March 2006, states that, “As China becomes a global player, it must act as a responsible stakeholder that fulfills its obligations and works with the United States and others to advance the international system that has enabled its success: enforcing the international rules that have helped China lift itself out of a century of economic deprivation, embracing the economic and political standards that go along with that system of rules, and contributing to international stability and security by working with the United States and other major powers.”


62) Regarding the military sector, this treaty mentions holding discussions in the event that there is awareness of military confidence building or strengthening of mutual troop reductions in border territories, military cooperation such as military technical cooperation, or any threat to peace.

63) Established in China, Russia, and four Central Asian countries (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan) in June 2001. This organization promotes cooperation between various countries in a vast range of sectors, including security, politics, culture, and energy. Since the organization’s establishment, it has developed organizationally and functionally, such as in holding regular meetings between national leader-level officials, and establishing the organization’s head office along with the Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS).

64) North Korea seems to emphasize negotiations with the United States over the nuclear issue, and it is believed that China, apprehensive that the destabilization of situations in surrounding countries would lead to repercussions within China, hesitates to employ firm measures. In light of this, there is a view that China’s wieldable influence on North Korea is limited.

65) Major recent military exchanges between China and Southeast Asian countries include the first joint search and rescue training conducted between the Chinese and Thai Navies in December 2005, the joint counterterrorism military exercise conducted between the Chinese and Thai Armies in July 2007, the first joint patrol conducted by Chinese and Vietnamese naval vessels in the Gulf of Tonkin in April 2006, and visits by then Chinese Defense Minister Cao Gangchuan to the Philippines in September 2007 and to Indonesia in January 2008.

66) China traditionally adopted the strategy of a “People’s War” based on the recognition that there was a possibility of world-scale war in the future. Under that strategy, the country attributed importance to guerrilla warfare using its vast territory and enormous population. This posture, however, led to harmful effects such as excessively enlarged and inefficient military forces. Under these circumstances, China has come to place importance on local wars that occur over its own lands and waters since the first half of the 1980s based on a new recognition that a world-scale war will not take place on a long-term basis. After the end of the Gulf War in 1991, the country started to implement measures to improve its military operation abilities in order to win local wars under highly technological conditions. In recent years, China has established the strategic objectives of establishing informationalized armed forces and winning the informatization war.

67) For example, in China’s National Defense in 2006, published in December 2006, “opposing and containing the separatist forces for ‘Taiwan Independence’ as well as their activities” is included in the country’s national defense policy.


69) The Communist Party of China’s constitution amended in 2002 states, “Upon the 100th anniversary of the party’s foundation in (2021), a higher-level, somewhat affluent society shall be created that benefits a population of over a billion, and upon the 100th anniversary of the country’s foundation (2049), the nation shall achieve a medium level of development for per-capita gross domestic product, realizing modernization on a basic level.”

70) The white paper, China’s National Defense in 2006, states that, “In the past two years, senior PLA delegations have visited more than 60 countries, and defense ministers, commander in chiefs of the services, and chiefs of the general and other high-ranking officers and military-related officials from more than 90 countries
have visited China.”

71) China’s announced national defense budget growth rate is a comparative rate figure of the previous year’s actual expenditure with this year’s initial budget. When comparing last year’s initial budget with this year’s initial budget, the growth rate totals approximately 18.0%. Simple conversion of national defense expenditures into foreign currencies based on the market exchange rate does not always accurately reflect the value in light of the country’s level of prices. If, however, China’s FY 2008 national defense budget is converted into yen at 1 yuan = 15 yen, the amount is equivalent to approximately 6,149.1 billion yen.

72) U.S. Defense Department’s Annual Report on Military Power of the People’s Republic of China (March 2008) estimates that China’s actual military-related spending for 2007 could be $97 billion to $139 billion, although its official defense budget for 2007 is approximately $45.99 billion. The report points out that, “China’s published defense budget does not include large categories of expenditures, including expense for strategic forces, (nuclear and missile), foreign acquisition of weapons, military-related research and development, and China’s parliamentary forces.”

73) The People’s Armed Force is responsible for protecting facilities of the party and the state, border patrol, maintaining security, implementing joint government-citizen projects, and conducting firefighting activities. According to China’s National Defense in 2002, these troops are to maintain state security and social stability, and assist the PLA in wartime in defensive operations.

74) The militia engages in economic construction in peacetime and logistics support for combat operations in wartime. China’s National Defense in 2002 explains, “Under the command of military organs, the militia in wartime helps the standing army in its military operations, conducts independent operations and provides combat support and manpower replenishment for the standing army. In peacetime, it undertakes the tasks of performing combat readiness support, taking part in emergency rescue and disaster relief efforts, and maintaining social order.”

75) Formally, there are two Central Military Commissions—one for the CCP and one for the state itself. However, both commissions basically consist of the same membership, and both are essentially regarded as institutions for the CPC to command the military forces.

76) The Annual Threat Assessment of the Director of National Intelligence published in the United States in January 2007 states as follows: “The Chinese are developing maneuverable reentry vehicles (MaRV) to attack U.S. aircraft carriers and air stations.”

77) U.S. Defense Department’s Annual Report on Military Power of the People’s Republic of China (March 2008) states that as of November 2007 China had deployed 990 to 1,070 SRBMs on the shore opposing Taiwan, and it is increasing the size of this force at a rate of more than 100 missiles per year, including variants of these missiles with improved ranges, accuracies and payloads.

78) According to the China’s National Defense in 2006 white paper.

79) Since the 1980s, China has been purchasing retired aircraft carriers, the decommissioned Majestic-class aircraft carrier Melbourne made in the United Kingdom and Kiev-class aircraft carriers Minsk and Kiev made in the former Soviet Union, nominally for recycling scraps of iron and for using them as leisure facilities. In 2000, China purchased an uncompleted Kuznetsov-class aircraft carrier Varyag from Ukraine and reportedly has been repairing it, including repainting. In 2006, it was reported that China was negotiating the purchase of Russian made Su-33 carrier-based fighter aircraft, which can be operated with a Kuznetsov-class carrier, and it was also reported in 2007 that China had plans to purchase arresting wires that are used on aircraft carriers from Russia. There have been reports since 2005 of positive remarks by multiple Chinese government officials and military personnel about possession and construction of aircraft carriers.

80) U.S. Department of Defense’s Annual Report on Military Power of the People’s Republic of China (May 2006) points out that the goal of the PLA Air Force is “to develop a mobile, all-weather, day-night, low-
altitude, and over-water force that is capable and flexible enough to quickly perform multiple operational tasks and to project power beyond the “first island chain.”

81) The Chinese National Space Administration, which was traditionally in charge of the country’s space development, was placed beneath the Commission of Science, Technology, and Industry for National Defense, which oversees the defense industry. (It appears that these two bodies were integrated into the newly established Ministry of Industry and Information Technology as a result of the organizational reform in March 2008.) In addition, China’s National Defense in 2006 notes that, regarding the national defense science and technology industry, “Major scientific and technological projects such as manned space flights and the Lunar Probe Project, carried out to spur the leapfrogging development of high-tech enterprises and to bring about overall improvement in defense-related science and technology.”

82) U.S. Department of Defense’s Annual Report on Military Power of the People’s Republic of China (March 2008) points out that “The PLA has established information warfare units to develop viruses to attack enemy computer systems plus networks, and tactics and measures to protect friendly computer systems in addition to networks. In 2005, the PLA began to incorporate offensive CNO into its exercises, primarily in first strikes against enemy networks.”

83) On September 9, 2005, a P-3C patrol aircraft of the MSDF confirmed that five vessels in total, including one Sovremenny-class destroyer, were sailing near the Kashi (Tianwaitian in Chinese) gas field in the East China Sea, and some of the vessels (a total of three including the Sovremenny-class destroyer) circled around the drilling facilities of the said gas field.

84) On June 18 of this year, the governments of both Japan and China agreed on the cooperation in the East China Sea, including the joint development in the northern sea region, and the participation of Japanese corporate in the development of Shirakaba (Chunxiao in Chinese) gas field.

85) A view has been presented that China has assumed an increasingly confident and assertive stance than before (in the military field), and the anti-satellite weapon test in January 2007 and the Chinese Song-class submarine incident in October 2006 where the submarine surfaced near the USS Kitty Hawk in international waters can be viewed in this context. (According to the testimony of then Deputy Undersecretary of Defense Richard Lawless at the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission held in February 1, 2007.)

86) It is reported that China is constructing a large-scale naval base that has an underground tunnel for nuclear-powered submarines in the city of Sanya located in the southern tip of Hainan Province.


89) The ruling party United Russia attained 315 seats, or 70%, of Russia’s lower house (450 seats total).

90) The economic growth rate was 8.1% in 2007.

91) Medvedev was elected at the March 2, 2008 Russian presidential election after receiving over 70% of the vote.

92) The National Security Concept of the Russian Federation, formulated in 1997, was revised in January 2000. This revision was made in response to changed circumstances including NATO enlargement, air strikes on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, NATO’s announcement of its so-called “New Strategic Concept,” and the emergence of Islamic extremist groups in Russia and other countries. Currently, the Concept appears to be under revision, and discussion about the issue of making Concept revisions was held in January 2008 at a congress on national security jointly hosted by the Russian Military Academy and the Russian Ministry of Defense. The discussion compared awareness of the situation from 2000 until present, emphasized opposition to the U.S. and Europe rather than excessive focus on terrorist countermeasures for Russia and
other countries, and indicated efforts for sustaining and improving strategic nuclear forces in order to pursue military modernization and ensure deterrence.

93) A change can be seen in Russian stance on the NATO enlargement since the National Security Concept was first developed. In recent years, Russia has repeatedly expressed its concern over NATO’s expansion, while the country has also stated its intent to focus on promoting cooperation with NATO. In April 2005, a status of forces agreement was signed between Russia and NATO allowing for such measures as permitting the militaries of both parties to pass through each other’s territory in consideration of the deployment of International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) in Afghanistan.

94) Additionally, other threats to Russia include trials to weaken Russia as a central player in a multipolar world, movements to weaken the CIS integration process, and territory demands of Russia.

95) Other peacetime operations included preventing and hindering destructive activities, maintaining of a position of readiness for strategic deterrence capabilities and the use of those capabilities, peace-building operations commissioned by the U.N. or CIS, and emergency prevention and repairing damages in the event of an emergency.

96) Troops were reorganized in the reduction of military forces after the launch of the Russian Federation’s armed forces, and military personnel were concentrated together into a unit with a higher capability for taking immediate action. As combat-ready troops, this unit is anticipated to promptly respond in the first phase of a large-scale war or in the event of a small conflict.

97) In May 2006, then President Putin commented that Russia would aim to reduce the number to an appropriate level of one million through non-forced retirement.

98) Equipment upgrades based on Russia’s state policy on military equipment include acquiring new types of ICBMs and SSBNs as well as strategic bombers in regards to nuclear forces, and acquiring and modernizing new types of aircrafts (Su-34) regarding conventional forces.

99) In April 2007, then President Putin stated that professional servicemen would account for two-thirds of the armed forces in his annual addresses. In addition, the period for conscription was reduced to 12 months as of January 2008.

100) Then President Putin’s speech “Russia’s Development Strategy through 2020” (February 2008).

101) Some CIS countries want to maintain their distance from Russia. Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova formed a regional alliance named GUAM by combining the initial letters of the member countries, and have been following pro-Western policies to reduce their security and economic dependence on Russia. (Uzbekistan joined GUAM in 1999 after withdrawing from the CIS Collective Security Treaty, but withdrew from the alliance in 2005.)

102) In August 2001, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz, and Tajikistan provided one troop unit each (battalion or smaller unit) to form the Collective Rapid Deployment Force that consisted of 1,000 to 1,300 members. The headquarters is located in Bishkek, the capital of Kyrgyz. In May 2004, Tajikistan provided another two troop units, and Russia and Kazakhstan provided one unit each as well. As a result, the effort has expanded into nine battalions with 4,500 personnel.

103) In November 2005, U.S. forces withdrew from Uzbekistan.

104) The United States and other parties have been using the Manas base, which is located close to Kant Air Base, for anti-terrorism operations.

105) CIS Peace-keeping Units (mainly by Russian forces) have been deployed to Abkhazia in Georgia and Joint Peace-keeping Units (formationally Russian, Georgian and South Ossetian forces) have been deployed to South Ossetia in Georgia.

106) Military cooperation between the two countries, which started with confidence building, is now developing into a state that envisages actual joint efforts. For example, command post exercises codenamed “Torgau
2004” were started between the U.S. ground forces stationed in Europe and Russian ground forces in 2004, “Torgau 2005” was conducted in 2005, and “Torgau 2007,” which included field training, was also held in 2007.

107) The United States, in its Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) published in February 2006, states “The United States remains concerned about the erosion of democracy in Russia, the restrictions put on non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and freedom of the press, the centralization of political powers and limits on economic freedom.”

108) The following nine items have been named as common interests: 1) the fight against terrorism, 2) crisis management, 3) the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their conveyance, 4) measures to increase arms control and confidence, 5) theater missile defense, 6) search and rescue at sea, 7) military cooperation and defense reform, 8) responses to civilian emergency situations, and 9) new threats and challenges.

109) At the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) 1999 summit in Istanbul, agreement was met on changing the possession limit by bloc and by country and territory, ensuring transparency and predictability, trust building and verification measures, and compliance with the current CFE Treaty until the CFE Application Treaty took effect. As of present, only Russia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine have ratified the CFE Application treaty, and it has yet to take effect.

110) In February 2008, in response to Kosovo’s declaration of independence, Russia stated that it supports the assertions of the Republic of Serbia, taking an opposing position to the independence of Kosovo.

111) Russia plans to hold the 2012 APEC Summit Meeting in Vladivostok.

112) “Peace Mission 2007,” an SCO joint exercise for anti-terrorism, was held in August 2007 at Chelyabinsk, Russia.

113) The Overview of Russian Diplomatic Policy, published in March 2007, places emphasis on relations with China and India, showing the development of dialogue between the three nations.

114) “Rosoboronexport” entered the subsidiary of “Rostechnology” of the governmental corporation that had been founded November 2007.

115) From 2003 to 2004, Russia concluded contracts with Indonesia, Malaysia, and Viet Nam to sell its Su-27 and Su-30 jet fighters. In addition, some fighters have already been delivered to the contracting countries, and in January 2004, Russia signed a contract to sell an aircraft carrier to India. In 2006, the country concluded agreements to sell Su-30 jet fighters with Algeria and Venezuela, and some have already been delivered to the countries.

116) At the Kananaskis Summit held in June 2002, the G8 countries including Japan decided to provide up to $20 billion over the ensuing 10 years to assist Russia in the disposing of chemical weapons, dismantling of decommissioned nuclear submarines, and disposing of fissionable materials. The purpose of this decision was to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

117) Considering the fact that countries other than the United States and Russia possess IRBMs, Russia had indicated its withdrawal from the INF Treaty that solely regulated the U.S. and Russia. However, in October 2007, Russia and the U.S. stated to the international community that the INF Treaty would be going global.

118) Some divisions and brigades are designated as permanent combat-ready troops. Others appear to face severe personnel shortages despite possessing a sufficient amount of equipment.

119) In 2000, the nuclear submarine Kursk of the Northern Fleet sank in the Barents Sea after an accident. In 2005, a small-size submersible vessel became incapable of surfacing off the coast of Kamchatka Peninsula. In addition, there are also common aircraft and helicopter accidents.

120) Estimated number of military personnel within the Siberian and Far Eastern Military Districts.
121) On February 9, 2008, U.S. aircraft carrier-based planes responded to a situation where Russian bombers (Tu-95) flew above a U.S. aircraft carrier (Nimitz) in the west Pacific Ocean.

122) The United States removed all of its forces from the Philippines in 1992. However, the two nations maintained their mutual defense and military aid treaties. In addition, in 1999, they concluded the U.S.-Philippines Visiting Forces Agreement and the Mutual Logistics Support Agreement in 2002.

123) 21 countries including Thailand, the United States, Singapore, Indonesia etc. participated in the exercise held in May 2008.

124) Major Non-NATO Ally (MNNA), which was a status established by the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 and the Nunn Amendment of 1987, allows designated countries to receive benefits in military areas such as eligibility to have military equipment. A status of MNNA also strongly represents said country’s close military cooperation with the United States.

125) IMET, started in 1976, provides military personnel from U.S. allies and friends with opportunities to study and receive training at U.S. military education institutions. The United States suspended IMET for Indonesia in 1992 as a sanction measure in response to the suppression of the East Timor independence movement by the Indonesian authorities. Although a portion of these sanctions were lifted in 1995, the suspension was reinstated in 1999.

126) This amended International Traffic in Arms Regulations, and allowed for the export of non-lethal weapons to Viet Nam under the condition that said exports are individually authorized and approved.

127) CARAT is a collective term for the bilateral exercises held between the United States and six Southeast Asian countries (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand).

128) Currently, China, Taiwan, Viet Nam, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei all claim territorial rights over the Spratly Islands, while China, Taiwan, and Viet Nam claim rights over the Paracel Islands. Chinese and Vietnamese naval forces engaged in an armed conflict in 1988 over the Spratly Islands amongst escalating tensions at the time. However, there have not been any major armed conflicts since.

129) The Declaration on the Conduct of Parties in the South China Sea is a political declaration that clarifies general principles for resolving issues related to the South China Sea.

130) The draft of the Regional Code of Conduct in the South China Sea was proposed by the Philippines at an ASEAN foreign ministers’ summit in 1999 and discussion has continued at other meetings thereafter. However, the draft has yet to be adopted as there are major differences in countries’ opinions on the draft’s details.

131) As of end of April 2008, the six countries of Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei, Laos, Viet Nam, and Cambodia have signed. The Charter must be ratified by all 10 member countries in order to take effect.

132) The ReCAAP is designed to enhance cooperation among maritime security agencies of the countries involved through the establishment of a piracy-related information sharing system and a cooperation network among the countries. Its signatory countries include the ASEAN member countries (Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Viet Nam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia), Japan, Bangladesh, China, India, Republic of Korea, and Sri Lanka.

133) According to the International Maritime Organization (IMO) (and the International Maritime Bureau (IMB)), the number of piracy incidents in Southeast Asia and on the Straits of Malacca in 2000 was 262 and in subsequent years fluctuated to 170 (2001), 170 (2002), 189 (2003), 173 (2004), 122 (2005), 88 (2006), 80 (2007). The number has been on the decline since 2004.

134) As of end of April 2008, 1,519 civilian police and 31 military observers have been deployed.

135) It was called off on May 8 of this year.

136) U.N. General Assembly Resolution 1802.

5, 2008)
138) The country has a Muslim population exceeding 100 million.
139) In October 2007, the 7th China-Russia-India foreign ministers’ meeting was held, and the foreign ministers
of the three countries agreed to strengthen their collaboration toward the construction of a “just and rational
world order.”
140) From March to May 2007, the Indian Navy dispatched a fleet and held joint exercises with Singapore, the
United States, Japan, China, Russia, and other countries.
141) President Bush called India a “natural partner” of the United States.
142) In cooperation with India, the United States intends to provide India with capabilities and technologies
required for the country to improve its defense capabilities to an appropriate level, including the sale of F-16
and F-18 fighters.
143) U.S. Secretary of Defense Gates stated in a press conference that “We’re at a very early stage in discussion
of missile defense with the Indians. And at this point, we’re just beginning to talk about perhaps conducting
a joint analysis about what India’s needs would be in the realm of missile defense and what cooperation
between us might help advance that here in India.”
144) In the joint naval exercise Malabar 06, which took place from October to November 2006, U.S. Navy
amphibious assault ships participated, and a landing exercise was conducted by Indian Army and U.S. Navy
troops. Previous Malabar exercises were bilateral exercises between India and the United States, but in
Malabar 07-2 Japan, Australia, and Singapore joined for a total of five participating countries.
145) For the resolution of the pending border issue, the countries agreed to each appoint a special representative.
Furthermore, in the declaration, India recognizes that the Tibet Autonomous Region is part of the territory
of the People’s Republic of China.
146) In the agreement, China recognized that Sikkim belongs to India. Also, the two countries agreed to continue
efforts for the early settlement of the pending border issue.
147) The two countries agreed to hold regular summit meetings and established the target of doubling the bilateral
trade amount to $40 billion by 2010. They also signed an agreement on such issues as investment protection
and mutual establishment of new Consulates General.
purpose of this China-India anti-terrorism joint exercise is to increase the mutual understanding and trust
between the two nations, particularly the militaries, and enhance cooperation in anti-terrorism and other
non-traditional security fields, and to strike at the “three evils” (terrorism, separatism, and extremism), and
promote the development of the relationship of strategic partnership between the two countries.”
149) In the document, China makes clear its genuine support for India’s entry as a permanent member of the
150) In November 2004, India conducted a test launch of the missile on board.
151) The Indian Prime Minister’s special envoy Shyam Saran, referring to President Putin’s expression of
intention to cooperate in civilian nuclear activities, stated that implementation would take place after the
revision of the rules of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG).
152) At a press conference held after the meeting, President Putin stated that “I have great expectations for the
trilateral cooperative framework of Russia, India, and China.”
153) It is estimated that weapons from the former Soviet Union or Russia account for about 70 percent of those
possessed by India.
154) The two countries signed a document concerning a joint development project for mid-size, multi-purpose
transport aircraft and fifth-generation fighters. In addition, study was made of a proposal to provide India with
additional T-90 tanks, Su-30MKI fighters, and Mil-17 helicopters within the framework of the agreement
already concluded. It was confirmed to enhance the production capabilities of the Brahmos cruise missiles now under joint nuclear development by the two countries as well as to aim to develop the air launch version of the missile. An intergovernmental agreement was concluded concerning the contract for licensed production of engines for MiG-29 fighters. It was also agreed that the two countries would conduct joint anti-terrorism military exercises in Russian territory in April and September 2007.

155) The joint exercise India has been conducting every other year since 2003.

156) At the same time, India signed the Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation between India and ASEAN and the ASEAN-India Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism.

157) Regarding the procurement of multipurpose fighters, Defence Minister Antony has cited the provision of the contract which calls for introduction of technology created through joint development.

158) In December 2007, Dr. V. K. Saraswat, Chief Controller at the Defense Research & Development Organization (DRDO) of India’s Ministry of Defense said that “Agni-4 is still in the design stage and so we cannot give a date for the trials and several tests remain before we operationalize it.”

159) In December 2007, in the Bay of Bengal in eastern Orissa Province, India conducted a test of shooting down a ballistic missile with an interceptor missile, and reported success. It is also said that India successfully conducted a similar test in 2006.

160) In November 2006, Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Pakistan to meet with President Musharraf and both agreed to strengthen military and strategic cooperation and expand economic cooperation, including the Free Trade Agreement (FTA). President Hu Jintao expressed the intention to continue cooperation in civilian nuclear activities. The two countries also agreed on the joint development of air force aircraft, including the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS).

161) Pakistan has supported the fight against terrorism led by the United States and other countries. For example, it provided logistical support for the U.S. operations against Afghanistan, and carried out operations to sweep up terrorists in the border regions of Afghanistan. Also, Pakistan started to dispatch warships to naval operations in the Indian Ocean in April 2004. In appreciation of this support from Pakistan, the United States designated the country as a major non-NATO ally.

162) At the same time, the sanctions that had been imposed also on India by the United States and other countries due to India’s nuclear test were lifted.

163) Regarding the possibility of extending nuclear energy cooperation to Pakistan, President Bush only referred to the differences between Pakistan and India in terms of energy needs and history. In response, Pakistan said that it was important for the United States to treat Pakistan and India equally in order to ensure strategic stability in South Asia.

164) In September 2005, President Musharraf reportedly demonstrated his recognition that the Khan network had probably exported a dozen ultracentrifuges to North Korea. In May 2008, BBC News reported that the Pakistani nuclear scientist A. Q. Khan said that allegations he passed on nuclear secrets are false. In the interview, he said that there was pressure put on him to accept the charges “in the national interest.”

165) Pakistan conducted a test launch of the Babur (Hatf-VII) cruise missile also in March 2007.

166) From November to December 2006 Pakistan conducted a series of initial test launches of the Ghauri (Hatf-V) and Shaheen (Hatf-IV) mid-range ballistic missiles.

167) President Musharraf, who observed the launch of the Ghauri missile, congratulated the troops on the high level of skill and the excellent results.

168) The two countries have adopted greatly different positions in relation to solving the Kashmir territorial issue. India’s territorial claim over Kashmir is based on the document from the Maharaja of Kashmir to India, while Pakistan claims that the territorial claim over Kashmir should be decided through referendum.
in accordance with the 1948 U.N. resolution.

169) In August 2005, the two countries agreed on the prior notification of ballistic missile testing and on the establishment of a hotline between their Vice Foreign Ministers.

170) As a result of the overwhelming victory of the Labor Party led by Kevin Rudd in the general elections of November 2008, a Labor government was launched for the first time in about 11 and half years.

171) Assistance activities for the Solomon Islands. The activities began in July 2003 with participation of South Pacific nations, led by Australia, in response to a request for assistance from the Government of the Solomon Islands, where a deteriorating security situation triggered by a tribal conflict was out of control. The 15 participating countries include Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and Tonga. As of April 2008, approximately 140 Australian troops are stationed in the Solomon Islands.

172) In April 2006 demonstrations by rebellious soldiers in Dili, the capital of Timor-Leste, turned into riots, and the Australian Defence Force (ADF) was dispatched in response to a request from the Government of Timor-Leste. As of April 2008, approximately 750 Australian troops are stationed in Timor-Leste.

173) See Part I, Chapter 1, Section 2.

174) A trilateral security treaty between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States, which went into effect in 1952. The United States has suspended its obligation to defend New Zealand since 1986 because of New Zealand’s non-nuclear policy.

175) The deployment of ADF to Afghanistan began in 2001, after the 9/11 terror attacks. As of April 2008, approximately 1,000 Australian troops are stationed in Afghanistan.

176) The Rudd administration announced that it would withdraw the Overwatch Battle Group (approximately 550 troops) and the Army Training Team (approximately 60 troops) by the middle of 2008. Other support troops (less than 1,000 people including airlift, maritime patrol, and guard personnel) will remain in Afghanistan.

177) Remarks by Prime Minister Rudd at the U.S.-Australia Summit Meeting on March 29, 2008.

178) In June 2007 Australia decided to adopt the Spanish-made F-100 design for the body of these destroyers. In July, then Prime Minister Howard stated that “If the government decides to do so, it is possible that these destroyers will be equipped with SM-3 missiles in order to conduct ballistic missile defense (BMD).”

179) The Rudd administration announced in February 2008 that the government will reconsider its plan to introduce new fighters including its participation in the JSF program. In March 2008 it was announced that as the interim outcome of the deliberations, F/A-18 Super Hornets would be introduced as scheduled, but no decisions have been made regarding subsequent purchases.

180) Joint exercises between the two countries were suspended from September 1999 until April 2005 over their response to the Timor-Leste issue.

181) In contrast to the mission of collective defense provided for in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, the mission of conflict prevention and crisis management is called a non-Article 5 mission.

182) In February 2008, Canada declared that the continued deployment of Canadian forces in Afghanistan would be conditional upon the provision of additional troops by other participating countries in Kandahar southern province of Afghanistan.

183) French President Sarkozy indicated that he would increase troops in Afghanistan’s eastern region, which would consequently enable the U.S. to support Canadian forces in the southern region.


185) The NATO Ministerial Meeting in Berlin in June 1996 made a decision enabling access to NATO’s assets and capabilities in operations led by the Western European Union (WEU). Most of the role and mission of the WEU was transferred to the EU. As a result, it was decided, at the NATO Washington Summit Meeting held in April 1999, to once again permit the use of NATO’s assets and capacities by the EU. This decision was called the Berlin Plus. In December 2002, a permanent arrangement concerning the above decision was
established between NATO and the EU.

186) These are called Petersberg Operations. They consist of combat unit missions in crisis management, including 1) humanitarian assistance and rescue operations, 2) peacekeeping and 3) peacebuilding.

187) The two strategic operations forces, i.e. the European Union Force and the Allied Command, Atlantic, were integrated as a single force (Operation Allied Force). This was accompanied by the establishment of the Headquarters Supreme Allied Commander Transformation, which supervised the reform of NATO military capabilities and the improvement of interoperability.

188) This is the objective for establishment of the military capabilities adopted at the Summit Conference held in 2004, which was renewed at the Helsinki Headline Goal in 1999.

189) In March 2004, four Central and Eastern European countries and three Baltic countries joined NATO, including Romania, Slovenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria and Slovakia. The accession of Albania and Croatia was approved at the NATO Summit Meeting held in April 2008.

190) A separate cooperation agreement has been concluded between NATO and the countries of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), which was established in 1994 consisting of non-NATO member countries such as those of Central and Eastern Europe.

191) Established in 1994, MD currently has seven participating countries (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia). Its objective is to foster stability in the Mediterranean region through political dialogue and engagement in NATO-related activities by the countries of the Mediterranean region.

192) The name “contact country” has been used since the NATO Istanbul Summit Meeting in 2004. Contact countries pursue partnerships on a case-by-case basis with countries which share common interests and concerns.

193) On the other hand, NATO’s approach toward Russia merits attention regarding points on which the two sides disagree, such as the expansion of NATO and the CFE Treaty. EU-Russia relations have been strained over the dispatch of the European Union Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX Kosovo). Kosovo declared independence on February 17 of this year.

194) With regard to the details of the Ministerial Meeting of the Defense Planning Committee held in June 2006, NATO’s press secretary stated that member countries have endeavored to meet a target of 2% of GDP for defense spending in accordance with the Comprehensive Political Guidance.

195) The white paper Delivering Security in a Changing World published in December 2003, due to the need for rapid and long-range deployment of military force in order to deal with international terrorism and the proliferation of WMD, set the objective of establishing defense capabilities to support three concurrent operations, including one enduring peace support operation.

196) The Strategic Defence Review (SDR) in 1998 stated that a direct military threat to the U.K. did not exist and that recurrence of such a threat could not be predicted.

197) Delivering Security in a Changing World in December 2003 stated that there was no longer a need for capacity to prepare for recurrence of direct, traditional, strategic threats to the U.K. or its allies.

198) The currently operating Vanguard class nuclear-powered submarines are expected to begin decommissioning in the early 2020s. Therefore, the U.K. government considered whether or not to maintain its nuclear deterrent and consequently announced this white paper. In March 2007, the House of Commons adopted the motion submitted by the government to support the policy set forth in the white paper.

199) The intervention force comprises combat readiness troops equipped with state-of-the-art weapons. It is designed to deal with opponents that have well-organized military formations in intensive operations, which are implemented multilaterally by NATO combat readiness troops or EU Battle group units, with the goal of providing the foundation for peace stabilization operations. The stabilization force deals with opponents that...
have a certain level of military formations and performs peace stabilization operations in low- and medium-intensity operations that last for a relatively long period. The assistance force supports the intervention and stabilization forces in preparing for and performing operations in Germany and in the target areas, including the management of command, educational and training organizations.

200) At the presentation of Ship Submersible Ballistic Nuclear, *Le Terrible*, in March 2008, French president Sarkozy expressed the view concerning the country’s nuclear capability: given the existing risk of nuclear proliferation and other threats, nuclear deterrence is the ultimate guarantee; nuclear deterrence protects France from any aggression against vital national interests emanating from a state and it is essential to maintain its missile capabilities, both submarine-launched and air-launched. He also announced his decision to reduce France’s air-launched nuclear missile capability by one-third, which means its arsenal becomes no more than 300 warheads.

201) France currently does not participate in the NATO Defense Planning Committee or the Nuclear Planning Group. In addition, though France indicated in the Defense White Paper that it will aim for full participation in NATO, it also stated that it will maintain the following principles: (1) complete independence of its nuclear forces, (2) the autonomy of the French government in the assessment of military situations, and (3) freedom in decision-making regarding military involvement.

202) NATO and Warsaw Pact Organization (WPO) member countries as of 1990.

203) Efforts are made to disclose military intelligence, restrict certain military operations, and promote military communication in order to prevent accidental armed conflicts and foster confidence among nations. These are generally called Confidence Building Measures.

204) Subsequently, the Vienna Document 1999 was adopted in 1999, which added the promotion of multilateral and bilateral measures for regional confidence building, the provision of information concerning military exchange, and restrictions on exercises of a scale employing armored infantry tanks and artillery.

205) Inspection flights are performed in accordance with flight plans established by the inspecting country and approved by the inspected country using unarmed aircraft equipped with sensors of a pre-determined type. Data collected by inspection flights can be obtained by all signatory countries.

206) These include a proposal submitted in October 2007 calling for a strengthening of the U.N. Department of Political Affairs which is in charge of conflict prevention and such. (See Item 3 of this section) In addition, the Peacebuilding Commission, established at the end of 2005, began full-scale operations in 2006, and as of the end of last year it had identified Burundi, Sierra Leone and Guinea-Bissau on the agendas of the Commission.

207) For example, some missions established in recent years are authorized to take all necessary measures to protect civilians, to guard U.N. facilities, and to maintain security.

208) A knowledge base is being developed; for example, U.N. Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines (the PKOs Capstone Doctrine) concerning the wealth of lessons learned over 60-year history of PKOs and the character and mission of PKOs today was published in March 2008.

209) The past several years have seen a particularly prominent trend toward larger missions. Of the seven large-scale missions comprising more than 8,000 personnel underway at the end of May of this year, five have been established within the past five years, and the remaining two missions were expanded to a scale of more than 8,000 personnel within last five years.

210) Africa is the main area of PKO missions. Of a total of around 88,000 personnel dispatched, approximately 61,000 are in Africa, accounting for 70%.

211) The total number of fatalities among U.N. personnel engaged in PKOs and other operations is so far 2,474 (as of the end of May 2008), with 90 reported last year (of which 43 died of illness). Of the 554 fatalities in the past five years, 275 were attributable to illness, substantially exceeding accident (151) and hostile act (90).