India has been promoting economic liberalization and reform since the 1990s and maintaining high economic growth rates. Some estimate that the number of its middle-income group reaches 300 million. Some say that India, by accelerating its economic reform, will be able to achieve sustainable economic growth on par with China. In recent years, the information technology (IT) industry has been showing a remarkable growth in India. Against the backdrop of these favorable economic tendencies, the country actively engages in multilateral diplomacy, thereby steadily increasing its presence in international society.

### 2) National Defense Policy

India, as its national security policies, lists the possession of military capabilities to protect the national interest and the minimum level deterrent against nuclear threats; response to various security challenges ranging from terrorism, low-intensity conflicts, to conventional wars and nuclear wars; and enhancement of international cooperation to deal with new threats such as terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

India intends to maintain minimum credible nuclear deterrence while committing to no first use of nuclear weapons and maintaining a unilateral moratorium (temporary suspension) on nuclear tests that it announced immediately after the nuclear test conducted in 1998. In addition, in its nuclear doctrine released in January 2003, India expressed its commitment to creating a nuclear-free world, stating that India would continue to control the export of nuclear weapons and missile-related materials and technologies and participate in the Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty negotiations. On the other hand, the doctrine declares that India will retain the option of retaliating with nuclear weapons in the event of a major attack against India by biological or chemical weapons.

Indian Armed Forces include ground forces of 12 corps with approximately 1,100,000 personnel; naval forces of two fleets, totaling approximately 348,000 tons; and air forces of 19 combat air wings and others with roughly 830 combat aircraft. India currently possesses one aircraft carrier, and in addition to promoting the construction plan of one new domestic aircraft carrier, will introduce another aircraft carrier from Russia upon completion of repair work as explained later.

### 3) Foreign Policies

#### a. United States

India's relationship with the United States, which had been distant since India's nuclear test in 1998, has greatly improved since the inauguration of the Bush administration. The U.S. - India joint declaration, which was made when then Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee visited the United States in November 2001 after the United States lifted its economic sanctions against India following the 9-11 terrorist attacks, confirmed that qualitative improvement should be made for future bilateral relations. Since then, security talks between the two countries have been continued. In January 2004, the two countries announced that they had agreed to expand dialogue on missile defense as well as mutual cooperation in the following three areas: civil nuclear activities, space programs, and high-technology trade, aiming to form strategic partnership between the two countries.

In June 2005, Indian Defense Minister Pranab Mukherjee and US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld signed a 10-year military agreement "the New Framework for the U.S.-India Defense Relationship," based on the recognition that the US-India defense relationship is an important pillar in the mutually beneficial relations between the two countries, which are changing over times. This agreement foresees expansion of military cooperation between the United States and India, including the joint production of weapons and cooperation in missile defense. Subsequently in July 2005, Indian Prime Minister Manmohan Singh visited the United States and made a joint statement with US President George W. Bush that the relationship between the two countries would transform into a "global partnership," through which they will cooperate in

the fields of space exploration, nuclear energy for civilian applications, and military and non-military technologies. In March 2006, President Bush, in turn, visited India for the first time in six years as a president of the United States, <sup>134</sup> and agreed with Prime Minister Singh to strategically strengthen bilateral relations in a variety of fields, including the development of nuclear energy for civilian applications. Accordingly, the U.S. Department of Defense announced its intention to enhance cooperation with India in security issues, including maritime security. <sup>135</sup>

The United States estimated India as a responsible nuclear power with an impeccable record on nuclear non-proliferation although it is not a party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and has promised to cooperate with India in the development of nuclear energy for civilian use on condition that India accepts IAEA inspections for most of its nuclear facilities. IAEA Chairman Muhammad ElBaradei appraises this US decision as a timely step towards the enhancement of the framework for nuclear non-proliferation. Some members of the US Congress, however, doubt the consistency of this decision with the NPT system that underlies the US nuclear non-proliferation policies. The international community has great interest in this agreement made between India and the United States, and Russia, France, and the United Kingdom have announced their intention to cooperate with India in nuclear issues.

India and the United States have made active military exchanges, including joint military exercises. For example in 2002, the two countries started joint patrol by the US and Indian naval forces in the Straits of Malacca and in September 2005, conducted joint naval exercises "Malabar" on the largest scale of its kind, participated by both US and Indian aircraft carriers. Indo-US exercises have thus expanded both in terms of quality and quantity. <sup>136</sup>

### b. China

India has been trying to improve relations with China through mutual visits by leaders despite the national border issues between them and concerns over Chinese nuclear weapons and missiles and modernization of military forces including naval ones. Then Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee visited China in June 2003 for the first time in the past ten years as an Indian prime minister and signed with Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao the Declaration on Principles for Relations and Comprehensive Cooperation between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China. <sup>137</sup> In November 2003, Indian and Chinese navies carried out joint naval exercise off the coast of Shanghai for the first time. Furthermore, when Chinese Minister of National Defense Cao Gangchuan visited India in March 2004, the two countries agreed on the expansion of military exchanges. Subsequently in December 2004, based on this agreement, a visit to China by an Indian Chief of Army Staff was made for the first time in approximately 10 years. Also in January 2005, a strategic dialogue was held for the first time by the two countries' Vice Foreign Ministers. When Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao visited India in April 2005, the two countries reached an agreement on establishing "strategic and cooperative partnership for peace and prosperity" and in December 2005, they conducted joint naval exercises in the Indian Ocean. Thus, the bilateral relations have been improving.

### c. Russia

India has traditionally been on friendly terms with Russia and maintains close relations with the country through mutual visits made annually by their leaders. In October 2000, India signed the Declaration of Strategic Partnership with Russia to further strengthen their bilateral relations, and has been promoting acquisition from Russia of T-90 tanks and joint development of supersonic cruise missile. <sup>139</sup> Russian Defense Minister Ivanov visited India in January 2004 and concluded a contract that had been under negotiation since the 1990s to sell a retired aircraft carrier, the Admiral Gorshkov, to India. Also in December 2004, Russian President Vladimir Putin visited India to discuss the issue of further cooperation on military

technologies, including the joint development of military equipment.<sup>140</sup> In October 2005, the two countries conducted large-scale joint military exercises in India and in the Indian Ocean, in which their ground and naval forces participated. In December of the same year, Indian Prime Minister Singh visited Russia to conclude an agreement on the protection of intellectual property rights, under which unnoticed exportation of military weapons to third countries will be prohibited.

#### d. Asian Countries

Since the latter half of the 1990s, India has been adopting "Look East" policy and emphasizing relations with East Asian countries including ASEAN members. In 2002, India held the first summit meeting with ASEAN to promote cooperation in economy and antiterrorism measures. In October 2003, it signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC). Also, the country officially participated in the first East Asia Summit held in December 2005. India regards Japan, which has been historically on good terms with the country, as the core of its Look East policy and has been deepening cooperation with Japan in economy, security, and various other fields. In May 2006, India's Defense Minister Mukherjee visited Japan and announced a joint statement with the Director General of the DFAA Nukaga. In this statement, the two countries agreed to deepen talks and cooperation in the field of defense cooperation.

### (2) Pakistan

Pakistan, with approximately 150 million people, borders India, Iran, Afghanistan, and China, and is one of the most geopolitically important countries in Southwestern Asia. Currently, Pakistan's attitude towards international fight against terrorism and nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction is attracting international attention.

Pakistan, which has no nuclear umbrella, claims that maintaining nuclear deterrence against the nuclear threat posed by India is essential to ensure national security and self defense.

The Pakistani Armed Forces include ground forces of 9 corps with approximately 550,000 personnel; one naval fleet of about 45 warships, totaling approximately 85,000 tons; and air forces including 12 air combat wings with a total of roughly 420 combat aircraft.

Pakistan, while attaching importance to friendship and cooperation with Islamic countries, maintains close relations with China as a countermeasure against India. Since the 9-11 terrorist attacks on the United States, Pakistan has been expressing its intention to join the U.S.-led fight against terrorism. Has cooperative attitude was highly appreciated by the international community, and the sanctions that had been imposed on Pakistan by the United States and other countries due to Pakistan's nuclear test in 1998 were lifted. Pakistan strengthened military cooperation with the United States in the fight against terrorism. In March 2005, the United States decided to sell F-16 fighters to Pakistan, lifting its freeze on the sale that had been lasting for more than 20 years. Furthermore in March 2006, U.S. President Bush visited Pakistan and highly appreciated Pakistan's support in the global fight against terrorism, and the two countries confirmed their policy to promote terrorism-related information sharing.

In October 1999, General Musharraf, Chief of Army Staff staged a military coup and set up a military administration. In June 2001, General Musharraf assumed the office of president, serving as Chief of Army Staff at the same time. In August 2001, President Musharraf announced the process of restoring civil rule, which includes scheduled elections for the upper and lower houses and a revision to the constitution. <sup>146</sup> Because both the Pakistani people and foreign countries wanted the stabilization of Pakistan after the 9-11 terrorist attacks and amid the fight against terrorism, a referendum <sup>147</sup> to extend his mandate as president of Pakistan for future five years was held in April 2002. Subsequently in August 2002, President Musharraf announced that the revised constitution enhanced the authority of the president. <sup>148</sup>

Although President Musharraf had announced his intention to resign the post of Chief of Army Staff by the end of December, 2004, a new law<sup>149</sup> was enacted in November 2004 to allow the president to serve as Chief of Army Staff at the same time even in and after 2005.

For the nuclear proliferation issue involving Pakistan, President Musharraf disclosed in February 2004 that some Pakistani scientists, including Doctor A.Q. Kahn, were involved in nuclear proliferation, though the president denied the Pakistani government's involvement in any kind of proliferation activity. <sup>150</sup>

President Musharraf has been improving relations with India, including the Kashmir issue, and also expressed his support for the U.S.-led antiterrorism measures and prevention of weapons of mass destruction. Islamic extremist groups both at home and abroad criticized president Musharraf's policy, and in December 2003, there were two assassination attempts on the president.<sup>151</sup>

Achieving stability in Pakistan is crucial from the viewpoint of enhancing the international fight against terrorism, preventing proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and securing stability in South Asia.

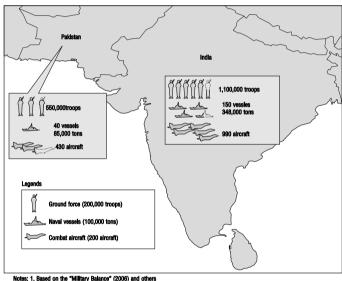
### (3) India-Pakistan Conflict

India and Pakistan. which became independent from the former British India<sup>152</sup> after the end of the World War II, had three large armed conflicts over Kashmir and other issues.<sup>153</sup>

In 1947, India and Pakistani forces clashed over Kashmir, which developed into a large armed conflict. (This first war lasted until 1949.) After the second armed conflict (in 1965) and the third one (in 1971), the current Line of Control (LOC) was defined in 1972.

The dispute over Kashmir has continued, while dialogues were resumed and suspended repeatedly, and it constitutes one of the root causes of confrontation between India and Pa-

# Size of Indian and Pakistani Forces (approximate)



2. Combat aircraft include naval aircraft.

Fig. 1-2-20

kistan. Military tension between the two countries sharply increased following the Kargil conflict in 1999 and an attack on the Indian Parliament in 2001. The situation, however, was not further aggravated due to efforts by the international community, which was strongly concerned about the two countries, because both of them made their possession of nuclear capabilities clear. In February 2004, the two countries commenced a process of a "composite dialogue" to normalize their relations, including those related to Kashmir. A certain degree of progress has been made so far, including the operation of direct buses across the LOC in the Kashmir region. <sup>154</sup>

In October 2005, a major earthquake occurred in Pakistan, with its epicenter located near the LOC in Kashmir. More than 73,000 people were killed by the earthquake in Pakistan and the country suffered devastating damage. Pakistan and India gave priority to the relief of victims in Kashmir, and India transported relief materials to Pakistan by air. Also, direct telephone call service was made available and five crossing points were opened on the LOC. The two governments thus implemented groundbreaking measures

in Kashmir following the earthquake. Also, as part of its peace promoting measures, India withdrew some of its forces stationed in Kashmir in November 2004 and it announced a step-by-step reduction of these forces (by 15,000 personnel in total) again in February 2006.

India and Pakistan had far different opinions on Kashmir and the solution of the issue was thought to be difficult. However, tension between the two countries is further mitigated, and whether they may solve the issue is attracting much attention from the international community.

The two countries are confronted with each other also in such fields as nuclear and ballistic missile development. Neither country is party to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) or the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), <sup>155</sup> and there were reports that both countries were developing nuclear weapons. In 1998, they conducted a series of nuclear tests, which drew criticism from the international community, including Japan. <sup>156</sup>

In more recent years, both countries have been actively promoting the development of ballistic missiles and cruise missiles that can carry nuclear warheads. India announced the deployment of Agni 2 intermediate range ballistic missiles to its ground forces in September 2003 and test-launched the Brahmos supersonic cruise missile, which it developed jointly with Russia, in November 2005. Pakistan, on the other hand, deployed the Ghauri (Hataf V) intermediate range ballistic missile to its corps. Following the test launch of the Shaheen 2 (Hataf VI) intermediate range ballistic missile in March 2005, Pakistan conducted the first test of the Babur (Hataf VII) cruise missile in November of the same year. Both countries are continuing the test-launches of short-range missiles as well.<sup>157</sup>

# 7. Central Asia

Although it is vaguely understood as "the center of Asia," Central Asia generally refers to the region composed of five former Soviet countries, i.e., Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan. This region, in particular, the coastal area of the Caspian Sea, is blessed with oil and natural gas resources that rank among the largest in the world. However, recently terrorist bombings by Islamic fundamentalist groups and their supporting organizations often occurs in Central Asia, and this region plays an important role as a rear base of antiterrorism operations in Afghanistan after the 9-11 terrorist attacks.

The aforementioned five countries in this region became independent following the collapse of the Soviet Union. All of these five countries joined the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), which was advocated by three Slavic countries, i.e., Russia, Belarus, and Ukraine. Of these countries, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz, and Tajikistan ensure their national security by maintaining relations with Russia.

These three countries joined the CIS Collective Security Treaty led by Russia in 1992, the Treaty on the

Integrated Air Defense System in 1995, and the Treaty on the Cooperation for Border Control in 1995. In addition, they have been participating in the CIS Collective Rapid Deployment Forces that focus on antiterrorism measures. In Kyrgyz, a Russian air base was opened in 2003 to enhance the CIS Collective Rapid Deployment Forces. Russia had one division (approximately 8,000 personnel) of its forces stationed in Tajikistan, but in October 2004, it concluded an agreement with Tajikistan to create a Russian military base within the country.

Uzbekistan withdrew from the CIS Collective Security Treaty in 1999. While enhancing its own security system, it has positively been taking a cooperative attitude to the United States in the fight against terrorism in Afghanistan. However, the riot, which occurred in the eastern part of Uzbekistan last May, worsened the relationship between the two countries, and Uzbekistan signed an alliance treaty with Russia last November. Since then it has been changing its line into pro-Russian.<sup>160</sup>

Although it is a member of the CIS, Turkmenistan did not participate in the economic and security frameworks of the CIS from the beginning, nor did it participate in concerted actions by Central Asian countries against Islamic extremist groups.

Countries in Central Asia are making efforts to establish security frameworks that are independent from those of the CIS. Every CIS member country except Turkmenistan joined the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and actively get involved in the Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS), which was established with the objective of responding to terrorism within the framework of SCO, by participating in antiterrorism joint exercises. Besides this organization, Kazakhstan proposed a Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA), <sup>161</sup> which is a regional framework to promote confidence building for the whole of Asia. In 2002, the first CICA summit was held.

This region was strongly influenced by Russia in the past, but after the 9-11 terrorist attacks, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz, and Tajikistan announced to give their cooperation for antiterrorism operations led by the United States and other countries. Some of these countries also accepted the presence of U.S. and other forces in their countries, and have been playing a role as a rear base for the fight against terrorism. <sup>162</sup>

Islamic extremist groups in Central Asia seem to have been seriously damaged by the antiterrorism operations led by the United States and other countries in Afghanistan, and their activities have decreased.

# 8. Australia

Australia is regarded as an important partner of the United States in Asia-Pacific region, along with Japan and the ROK. As seen in its engagement in the East Timor issue and Solomon Islands issue in July 2003, Australia has actively been engaging in resolution of regional security issues.

In December 2000, Australia announced "Defence 2000-Our Future Defence Force," which presented its defense policy for the coming decade. The document states that the Australian Defence Force has three missions: First, to defend Australia; Second, to contribute to the security of neighboring countries; and Third, to contribute effectively to international coalition forces to meet crises beyond Australia's neighboring countries to support Australia's wider interests and objectives. Having reviewed its national defense strategy in terms of security environment influenced by the 9-11 terrorist attacks, and by the bombing in Bali, Indonesia, in October 2002, Australia released "Australia's National Security: A Defence Update 2003" in February 2003, which focuses on such issues as the expanded use of its armed forces in remote areas to deal with terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. In December 2005, based on the strategic principles stated in "Defence 2000" and "A Defence Update 2003," Australia announced "Australia's National Security: A Defence Update 2005." This report states that addressing threats of terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the challenge of failing states remain of the highest priority in Australia's security strategy. Also, the report mentions that it remains unlikely that Australia will face

conventional military threats, but there is a continuing need to address current international security issues such as those in Iraq and Afghanistan. Also, based on a recognition that globalization has a significant impact on security policy-related decision making and that countries in Asia-Pacific region, especially in North East Asia, are increasing their military capabilities, Australia deems it necessary to build a defense capability that is versatile and adaptable, and which links easily with other arms of the Australian government, and to build strong security relationships both regionally and globally through international contribution. In line with the new report, the Australian Department of Defence announced a 10-year plan to enhance its army, which focuses on networking of its forces.

Australia, attaching importance to its alliance with the United States, has concluded the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America (ANZUS)<sup>164</sup> and conducted joint exercises, such as Talisman Sabre (former Tandem Thrust). Also, Australia and the United States hold Australia-Untied States Ministerial Consultations (AUSMIN) every year. <sup>165</sup> Following the 9-11 terrorist attacks, Australia has dispatched warships, combat aircraft, and special forces to assist the U.S. forces since October 2001. In the military operations against Iraq that started in March 2003, Australia dispatched warships, combat aircraft, and special forces, and currently deploys about 1,320 personnel in Iraq to assist reconstruction activities. In Samawah the Australian Defence Force, together with the British Armed Force, has been providing security for the SDF carrying out its operation there. On the other hand, Australia decided to participate in the U.S.-led missile defense plan in December 2003, but arguments continue over specific forms of participation. In August 2004, the country determined to apply the U.S. Aegis combat system to its new air warfare destroyers. In July 2004, Australia agreed on the expansion of the Australia-U.S. joint exercise facilities located within the country.

In addition, Australia has staged joint exercises based on the Five Power Defense Arrangements (which came into effect in 1971) concluded with Malaysia, Singapore, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand. Also, Australia took part in U.N. PKOs, such as United Nations Mission of Support in East Timor (UNMISET).

After the Bali bombing in October 2002, Australia has provided cooperation to Indonesia to enhance its antiterrorism capacity. In September 2004, there was another terrorist bombing in front of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, and the two countries reemphasized the importance of mutual cooperation against terrorism. They announced the Joint Declaration on Comprehensive Partnership <sup>166</sup> when Indonesian President Yudhoyono visited Australia in April 2005.

In December 2005, in order to improve antiterrorism capabilities in the region, Australia decided to resume joint exercises between Australian and Indonesian special forces. <sup>167</sup>

## 9. Europe

#### 1) General

Many European countries recognize that the threat of a large-scale invasion by another nation has disappeared. At the same time, new security issues have been identified, including regional conflicts, the rise of international terrorism, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Many European countries have been making efforts to improve the capabilities to respond to aforementioned new challenges, while reducing and rationalizing their armed forces following the end of the Cold War. In addition, European countries are striving to stabilize the security situation through cooperative efforts within the frameworks of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). In Europe, countries are strengthening the existing security frameworks, including the improvement of their own military capabilities.

### 2) Enhancement and Enlargement of Security Frameworks

a. Enhancement of Conflict Prevention, Crisis Management, and Peacekeeping Functions (a) Commitment to a New Role

#### OSCE (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) (55 countries) The Council of Europe (46 countries) Andorra San Marino Liechtenstein Serbia and Montenegro Bosnia-Herzegovina Monaco EAPC (Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council) (46 countries) Macedonia Switzerland Croatia Albania EU (25 countries) Malta ▲ Austria Cyprus ▲♦ Finland ▲ Sweden ▲ Ireland NATO(26 countries) ▼ Slovakia Romania Greece Azerbaijan Kyrahyz Lithuania Bulgaria United Kingdom Armenia Taiikistan Estonia France Russia Belarus Latvia Germany Uzbekistar Czech Republic Italy Moldova Turkmenistan Hungary Belgium Georgia Kazakhetan ∇ Poland Netherlands Luxembourg Spain ▼ Slovenia Portugal ♦ Denmark ∇ Norway The Holy See United States, Canada

European Security Organization (as of May 31, 2006)

Legends: A : PfP members (20 countries)

▼ : Countries that maintain a cooperative partnership with the WEU

: WEU observer

Note: The Warsaw Pact military organization was dissolved in April 1991. The Warsaw Pact was dissolved as a political organization after the signing of a dissolution agreement on July 1, 1991 and ratification of the agreement by the parliaments of the member states.

Fig. 1-2-21

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 was reflected in the alliance's Strategic Concepts, renewed in 1999, and NATO added duties such as conflict prevention and crisis management<sup>168</sup> to its primary mission of collective defense based on the view that various dangers that are difficult to forecast, such as ethnic and religious conflicts, territorial disputes, and human rights suppression, still remain in Europe and surrounding regions.

NATO has assumed leadership of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan from August 2003, and is conducting and expanding operations outside Europe for the first time. NATO gives first priority to activities in Afghanistan and plans to expand the ISAF to the southern part of the country in the summer of 2006.

For Iraq, NATO has provided assistance for the training of Iraqi security units in accordance with an agreement reached at the NATO Istanbul Summit Meeting held in June 2004.

NATO has thus expanded and prolonged its operations, which is increasing the burdens on its member countries, leading to financial problems in NATO.

The EU has been enhancing its own commitment to security issues, and in December 2003 adopted *A Secure Europe in a Better World - European Security Strategy* as its first document of security strategy. This document regarded terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure, and organized crimes as serious threats and showed the policies to be taken to deal with these challenges on a multinational basis.

Among its efforts to address these issues, the EU in 2003 for the first time led a military operation using NATO equipment and capabilities<sup>169</sup> to maintain public order in Macedonia. In that same year the EU carried out its first peacekeeping operation outside Europe and its first independent operation without using NATO equipment and capabilities in Congo. In recent years, the EU has engaged in activities in the areas of crisis management and security maintenance,<sup>170</sup> such as taking over in December 2004 the activities of the Stabilization Force (SFOR) deployed to Bosnia-Hertzegovina under NATO leadership.

### (b) Moves for Military Reform in NATO

NATO's bombing campaign conducted 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 held in November 2002, NATO has been reforming its military capabilities, including the reform of its organization.<sup>171</sup>

As core of NATO's capability improvement to be made in the reform, the Organization has been enhancing the capabilities of the NATO Response Force (NRF) since 2002. The NRF is designed to swiftly deploy worldwide in various crisis scenarios, and it performs duties utilizing this special capability. For example, the NRF transported relief materials when a large earthquake occurred in Pakistan in October 2005.

### (c) Trends in Security in the EU

The EU has been improving its capabilities so that it can independently conduct peacekeeping and other military operations in areas in which NATO does not intervene. The EU adopted Headline Goal 2010 in 2004, and positioned the Battle groups concept as the core of its future military approaches.

The EU also set up the European Defense Agency in July 2004 with the goal of improving the defense capabilities of individual countries within a Europe-wide security defense policy. At the meeting of Ministers of Defense held in March 2006, the ministers agreed that the European Defense Agency will examine the es-

## Trend of Capability Build-up of NATO and EU

	NATO Response Force (NRF)	EU battlegroups (combat groups)	
Missions	Swiftly responding to every situation worldwide	Responding to EU-led missions, such as peacekeeping operations, in the areas where there is no intervention by NATO.	
Organization	Standing joint task forces formed by mainly brigade-scale ground units (approx. 4,000 troops), plus maritime, air and specialized units     Size of force: approx. 25,000 troops	15 ground units of 1,500 troops will be formed. Of these, one unit can be emergency deployed.	
Capabilities	Deployment begins within 5 days of an order     Capable of 30-day operation	Deployment begins within 5 days of an order and is completed within 15 days     Capable of 30-day operations	
Operations	1 year rotation (in the case of ground units, 6 months training and 6 months on standby     Basic operational concept: to be dispatched as an initial response unit	Units will be formed and on standby by rotation within the unitateral or multinational framework	
Force building	Segmentation of units is possible according to the mission Initiative was formulated in November 2002 Prototype force was formed in October 2003 Possession of initial operational capability in October 2004 Complete operational capability to be possessed in October 2006	Initiative was formulated in June 2004     Force buildup will be completed by 2007 when units are furnished with transportation capabilities	

Fig. 1-2-22

tablishment of a fund for research and technological development. The future activities of the Agency merits attention.

### b. Stability by the Geographical Expansion 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.

NATO adopted the Partnership for Peace (PfP) in 1994, <sup>172</sup> under which training exercises for peacekeeping operations (PKOs) and response to refugee problems have been conducted.

In 1997, the Organization established the Mediterranean Cooperation Group (MCG) to provide intelligence and military advice to Mediterranean countries, thereby contributing to stability in the Mediterranean region.

In addition, the 9-11 terrorist attacks in the United States promoted NATO and Russia to take steps to build a new relationship from the need to address common security issues. Accordingly, it was decided to establish the Council of Russia and NATO at the NATO-Russia Summit held in May 2002.

With seven countries (Rumania, Slovenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria, and Slovakia) becoming new members in March 2004, nearly all the countries of Central and eastern Europe have now joined NATO.

In a parallel development, 10 countries from Central and Eastern Europe (Poland, Hungary, Czech, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, and Cyprus) joined the EU in May 2004. Besides, the member countries are going through the procedure of ratification in order to join Romania and Bulgaria to the EU

### **Enlargement of NATO and EU Membership**

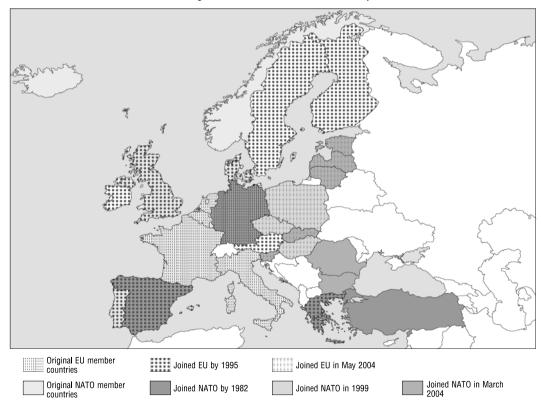


Fig. 1-2-23

in 2007. And, in October 2005, it was decided to start negotiation of Turkey and Croatia to join the EU. And the EU member countries signed the EU Constitution Treaty<sup>173</sup> in October 2004, but the people of France and the Netherlands rejected the treaty in referenda held in 2005. In the light of these results, it was agreed to continue the ratification process but postpone the deadline, with the timing of ratification to be decided by each member state.

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

European nations attract more importance to military missions other than national defense, bearing terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and other new threats in mind. In defense build-up, they emphasize transport capability for overseas deployment given their roles in NATO.

### a. The United Kingdom

The defense policy of the United Kingdom is based on the 1998 Strategic Defence Review (SDR).

This document defines the tasks of the U.K. military forces as peacetime security (support against terrorism of all kinds); security of overseas territories; responses to regional conflicts outside the NATO area; and others. Specifically, reductions in nuclear forces, enhancement of joint combat capabilities, improvements in NBC protection, improvements in service life, and greater efficiency in weapons/equipment procurement have been the goals pursued. In the wake of the 9-11 terrorist attacks, "A New Chapter" was added to the SDR in July 2002 and guidelines for dealing with international terrorism drafted.

In December 2003, the United Kingdom released a defense white paper *Delivering Security* in a Changing World. In this white paper, the tasks defined in the SDR are reorganized into 18 military duties, including military support to civilian organizations, defense of overseas territories, and peacekeeping activities. The white paper names international terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and failed states as major threats, and based on lessons from military operations in Iraq, emphasizes the need to strengthen overseas deployment capabilities, to improve readiness, and to make further reforms. <sup>174</sup> Based on the guidelines set out in this white paper, a report describing future military capabilities in specific terms was released in July 2004. According to this report, even while pursuing force reduction and consolidating its major military and naval facilities, the United Kingdom plans to enhance its ability to carry out target acqui-

sition and attacks swiftly and accurately, to improve its ground fighting capabilities so that it can more effectively conduct small- to medium-scale operations, and to advance its anti-surface strike capabilities by upgrading its aircraft carriers and landing ships.

To address domestic terrorism, the United Kingdom passed the Prevention of Terrorism Act in March 2005, but in the aftermath of the London bombings in July 2005, a new terrorism act that includes a provision to increase the detention period of suspects arrested under suspicion of terrorism

### **Recognition of Threats by Major European Countries**

	The United Kingdom	Germany	France
Ordinary-type threats	Large-scale ordinary-type threats have been eliminated.	Clear ordinary-type threats to the land of Germany have been eliminated.	Situation with no direct military threats on the border areas
New threats	(Most direct threats)  O Proliferation of mass destruction weapons  O International terrorism	O Further development and proliferation of mass destruction weapons O Existence of the extremism and fanaticism tied up with the international terrorism O Attacks to information and communication systems	O Emergence of a threat called the large-scale terrorism O Development of mass destruction weapons and ballistic missiles O Existence of asymmetric threats (attacks on information systems, increasing organized crimes)
Source	Security in the Changing World (published in 2003), etc.	Defense Policy Guideline (published in 2003), etc.	2003-2008 Military Planning Method (approved by the Cabinet in 2003), etc.

Fig. 1-2-24

was put into force. In addition, the United Kingdom formed Special Forces Support Group (SFSG) against the terrorism.

#### b. Germany

In May 2003, Germany published its new Defense Policy Guidelines to show its fundamental defense policies. The Guidelines admitted that there are no apparent conventional threats to German territory but that new threats such as terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction had spread, and concluded that the federal military forces should focus on conflict prevention, crisis management, and support of allies within the framework of the United Nations, NATO, and the EU. The Guidelines require that resources be used to make defense capabilities more effective, mainly for the enhancement of such capabilities as command and control, intelligence collection and reconnaissance, and mobility. More specific measures have been subsequently pursued under the Guidelines and the general policy is a restructuring of the military into an integrated forces with the three functions of intervention, stabilization, and assistance so that joint operations with the militaries of other countries might be conducted more swiftly and effectively.<sup>175</sup>

By 2010 the total force level will be reduced from 285,000 to 250,000, and a relocation of bases and facilities within Germany as well as a restructuring of divisions and fleets are also envisioned as a part of the reform of Germany's forces.

#### c. France

The defense policy of France is based on the modernization program through the year 2015, which was announced in 1996. The military is tasked with: i) protection of vital national interests; ii) contribution to the security and defense of Europe and the Mediterranean region; iii) contribution to peace and respect for international law; and iv) maintenance of public order.

Nuclear deterrence, conflict prevention, overseas deployment of forces, and national defense (e.g. counterterrorism) are the core elements in France's defense strategy. While emphasizing integrated operations, strategic mobility, and intelligence, France is reducing its total force level and major weapons overall as part of its reform efforts.

The Military Program Law for 2003-2008, approved by the French Parliament in January 2003, defined the basic military policy of France as its commitment to the construction of European defense and the development of specialists in the armed forces. The law stipulates that investment will focus on the enhancement and improvement of command, intelligence gathering, deployment, mobility, and defense capabilities. <sup>176</sup> In February 2004, France announced that it would cooperate with the United Kingdom in building its second aircraft carrier. <sup>177</sup>

### 4) Efforts toward Stabilization in Europe

#### a. Arms Control and Disarmament

The Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE), which formally took effect in 1992, set upper limits for five categories of weapons-tanks, wheeled armored combat vehicles, artillery, fighters, and attack helicopters-for both East and West<sup>178</sup>-stipulating that weapons in excess of these limits should be eliminated. Under the treaty, more than 70,000 weapons of various types have already been eliminated.

Subsequently, given the changed strategic environment in Europe, the Agreement on Adaptation of the CFE Treaty was signed at the OSCE summit meeting in 1999, which transformed the earlier limits for the East and West as groups into limits for individual countries and territories.<sup>179</sup>

### b. Confidence Building Measures (CBM)<sup>180</sup>

Talks on Confidence and Security-Building Measures (CSBM) have been held in Europe since 1989, and a plenary meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in 1992 adopted the Vienna Document 1992, which deals with annual exchanges of military intelligence as well as with the notification, inspection, and regulation of military exercises above a prescribed scale.<sup>181</sup>

The Open Skies Treaty, <sup>182</sup> designed to improve the openness and transparency of military activities carried out by signatory countries and to supplement arms control verification measures by allowing reciprocal aerial inspections, was signed by 25 countries in 1992 and took effect in January 2002.

# 10. Efforts to Stabilize the International Community by the UN and Other Schemes

# 1) General

With the end of the Cold War, expectations grew of the role that the UN might play in maintaining peace, which had not been well played in the past. To respond to these expectations, the UN launched peacekeeping operations (PKO). Recently, as new approaches to deal with conflicts in a proper manner, the African Union and other regional frameworks have been playing an important role, and multinational forces, mandated by the relevant UN Security Council resolutions, have been conducting humanitarian and reconstruction assistance activities. Under these circumstances, discussions are underway on organizational and other reforms of the UN in order to deal effectively with diversified problems. Reforms of UN organs in ways that increase their effectiveness and credibility are necessary for the international community to adequately address new issues of the 21st century, and Japan is actively involved in these reform efforts. 183

#### 2) Developments in UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKOs)

UN PKOs have traditionally been conducted with the main purpose of preventing the recurrence of armed conflicts through activities such as monitoring ceasefires after ceasefire agreements have been signed. After the end of the Cold War, however, UN PKOs grew in scale as the scope of PKO missions expanded to include such activities as monitoring disarmament, monitoring elections or governments, and repatriating refuges and engaging in other humanitarian support efforts. Additionally, the UN is now able, under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, to or engage itself in disarmament and other activities with enforcement measures and activities to prevent the outbreak of armed conflict. As of the end of February 2006, 15 PKO missions are underway, participated by approximately 73,000 people from 107 countries.

UN PKOs have problems with shortage and security of personnel and instruments, <sup>184</sup> so UN and related States have talked about measures for solution.

'A more secure world: Our shared responsibility', report of Secretary-General's High level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, requires developed States in particular to transform their armies into units suitable for deployment to peace operation, because to do an adequate job of keeping the peace in existing conflicts would require almost doubling the number of peace keeping around the world. Also, the report proposed the creation of a Peacebuilding Commission, standby arrangement in brigade level, and composition of permanent police department for PKO. The creation of a Peacebuilding Commission was decided at the end of 2005.