

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 an 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: 28 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.

2. Enhancement and Enlargement of Security Frameworks

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

(1) Development of a system necessary for a new role

Founded for the primary purpose of collective defense among member countries, NATO has been shifting 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 added conflict prevention, crisis management, and other missions³⁰⁴ to its primary mission of collective defense, based on the view that various dangers are 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.

Also, to fill the gap between U.S. and European capability, reform of military capability is being carried out in NATO such as structural reform³⁰⁵. Improvement of the NATO Response Force (NRF) has been ongoing since 2002 and it was declared in November 2006 that complete operational capability had been achieved. However, as unit deployment to Afghanistan increases and is extended, the future form of the NRF is under consideration to handle the issues faced. In June 2009, it was agreed to develop a new chain of command and combat capability formation mechanism by the meeting of NATO defence ministers³⁰⁶.

Further, in order to define NATO's long term role in the new security environment of the 21st century, a declaration was made to begin the process of drafting a new Strategic Concept at the NATO summit of April 2009. NATO is currently drafting a new Strategic Concept in the group of experts and so on and is going to make their decision at the NATO summit in November 2010.

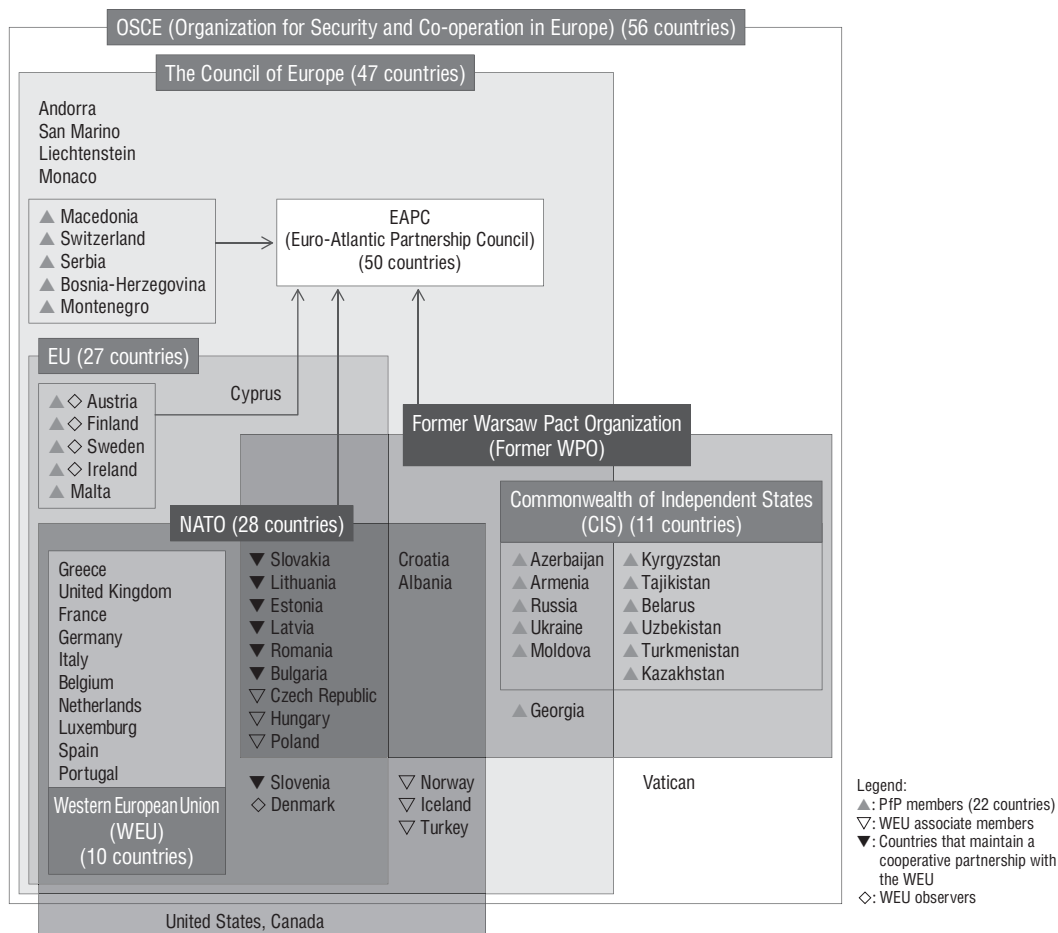
The EU, enhancing its own commitment to security issues, adopted its first security strategy paper in December 2003, titled "A Secure Europe in a Better World-European Security Strategy." It sets forth the objectives of addressing major threats including

terrorism, the proliferation of WMD, regional conflicts, collapse of states, and organized crime, through the stabilization of surrounding regions and multinational cooperation.

In December 2008, the EU released the Declaration On Strengthening Capabilities. This was released with the Statement on Strengthening International Security as a document related to the Report on the Implementation of the European Security Strategy — Providing Security in a Changing World, which reviews the progress in implementing the security strategy. The declaration calls for the EU to increase personnel, equipment/materials, and facilities necessary to respond to threats listed in the European Security Strategy of 2003.

Furthermore, unlike NATO, the EU does not assume the mission of defending its member states; however, it has been strengthening cooperation with NATO and working on the development of a system necessary in order to conduct military activities of its own, such as peacekeeping, in cases where NATO does not interfere. In January 2007, the EU established its own operations center in Brussels and a posture was prepared to have two battle groups in a permanent state of readiness. In November 2009, the EU adopted the Ministerial Declaration: ESDP Ten Years — Challenges and Opportunities and demonstrated a policy of improving effectiveness and

Fig. I-2-8-1 European Security Organization (as of April 2010)



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

flexibility for the operation of the battle group limited to emergency operations was expressed to strengthen EU defensive capability while working to improve operational planning and direction capability.

With the Lisbon Treaty, the new fundamental EU treaty, coming into force in December 2009, the post of High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy was established along with the associated European External Action Service under control of the position³⁰⁷. Much interest is now focused on how these newly organized external policy institutions of the EU will function.

(See Fig. I-2-8-1)

(2) Commitment to a New Role

NATO has led the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan since August 2003, which marked its first operation outside Europe, and the NATO-led ISAF mission expanded its presence in October 2006 to cover the whole country. At the NATO summit meeting held in spring 2008, the Bucharest Summit Declaration was adopted, which states that the ISAF mission is NATO's top priority. Since then, some progress has been made, such as the transfer of the security responsibility in Kabul from ISAF forces to Afghan national security forces, but the country is faced with challenges in security and other areas. In the Summit Declaration on Afghanistan adopted at the NATO Summit held in April 2009, member states agreed on issues including to improve support for training for Afghan national forces and police forces, to send troops on a short-term basis to stabilize security in preparation for the Afghanistan presidential elections, and to support the building of a closer relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan. In November 2009, a restructuring of the ISAF was carried out in which the ISAF Joint Command (IJC) took over daily peacekeeping and reconstruction support, and the NATO Training Mission in Afghanistan (NTM-A) is supporting the training of the Afghan National Army and police. Further, in December, the meeting of NATO foreign ministers announced the intent to deploy a total of over 7,000 personnel from member states.

Fig. I-2-8-2 Trend of Capability Build-up of NATO and the EU

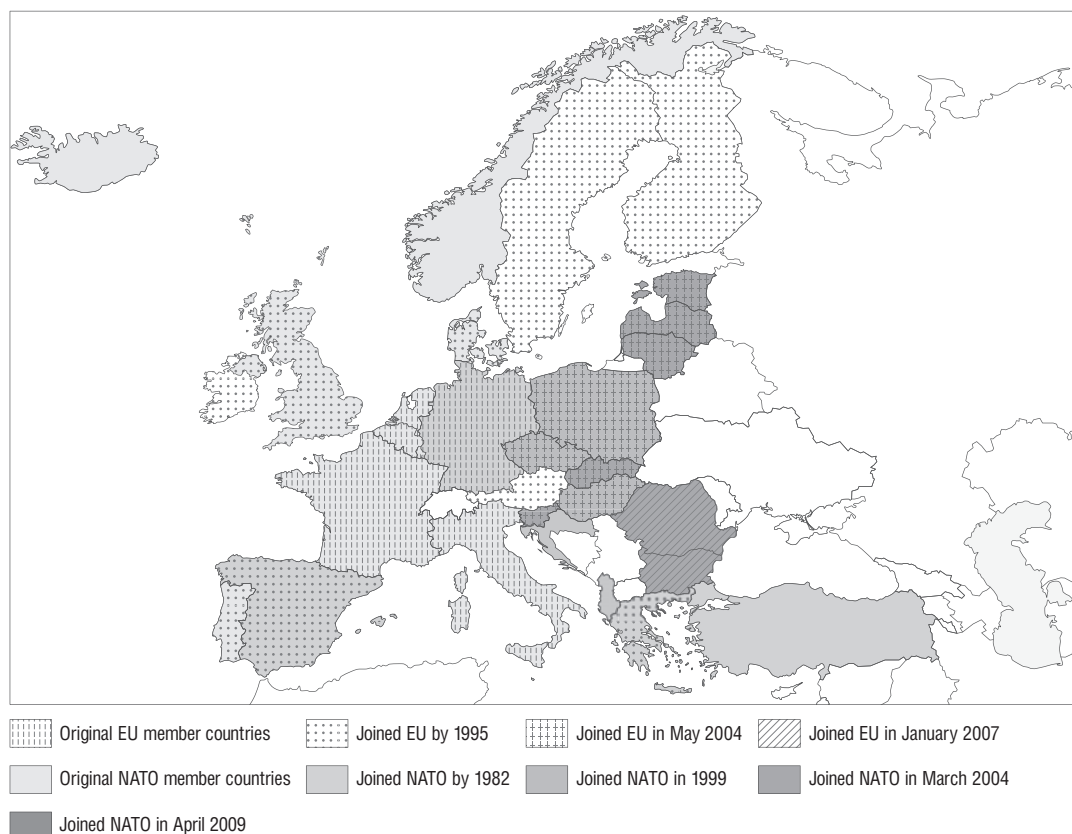
	NATO Response Force (NRF)	EU Battle Groups (Combat Groups)
Missions	Swiftly responding to situations worldwide	Responding to EU-led missions, such as peacekeeping operations, in cases where there is no NATO intervention
Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Standing joint task forces formed mainly by brigade-scale ground units (approx. 4,000 troops), plus maritime, air, and specialized units • Size of force: Approx. 25,000 troops 	Thirteen 1,500-strong units will be formed. Of these, two units are capable of rapid simultaneous deployment.
Capabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deployment begins within 5 days of an order • Capability of 30-day operations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deployment begins within 5 days of an order and is completed within 15 days • Capability of 30-day operations
Operations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One year rotation (in the case of ground units, 6 months of training, and 6 months on standby) • Basic operational concept: to be dispatched as an initial response unit • Segmentation of units is possible depending on the mission 	Units will be formed and on standby by rotation within the unilateral or multinational framework
Force building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiative was formulated in November 2002 • Prototype force was formed in October 2003 • Initial operational capability was acquired in October 2004 • Complete operational capability was achieved in November 2006 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiative was formulated in June 2004 • Complete operational capability was achieved in January 2007

Based on the agreement made at the NATO Istanbul Summit in June 2004, NATO is training the Iraqi security forces in Iraq, and also continues its missions such as the maintenance of security in Kosovo which declared independence in February 2008.

Moreover, European countries play an active role in counter-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden off the coast of Somalia. From October 2008, NATO sent the Standing NATO Maritime Group (SNMG) comprising navy forces of member states to waters off the coast of Somalia to conduct counter-piracy operations, alternately deploying the SNMG1 and SNMG2 fleets. In Operation Ocean Shield being carried out since August 2009, support to strengthen counter-piracy capabilities for countries which request it has been added to the mission of counter-piracy operations. In March 2010, NATO extended the period of this operation until the end of 2012. The EU has been engaged in Operation Atalanta, its first maritime mission, since December 2008, deploying vessels and aircraft from each nation³⁰⁸. In June 2010, the EU extended this operation until December 2012. The dispatched vessels and aircraft are engaged in escorting ships employed by the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) and surveillance activities in the waters.

The EU led peacekeeping operations in Macedonia in 2003 for the first time using NATO's equipment and capabilities³⁰⁹. The EU also conducted its first peacekeeping operations outside Europe without utilizing NATO's equipment and capabilities in the Democratic Republic of Congo in 2003. In December 2004, the EU took over the mission of the NATO-led Stabilization Force (SFOR), which had been operating in Bosnia-Herzegovina³¹⁰, and sent troops to Chad and Central Africa in January 2008³¹¹. These operations represent the EU's proactive

Fig. I-2-8-3 Enlargement of NATO and EU Membership



involvement in risk management/maintenance of security³¹².
(See Fig. I-2-8-2)

(3) Criteria for Arms Export in Europe

In December 2008, the Council of European Union Foreign Ministers adopted the Council Common Positions defining common rules governing control of exports of military technology and equipment (EU Common Position), which sets out a new common ground for approving exports based on arms export control laws of EU member states. Unlike the previous European Union Code of Conduct on Arms Exports (EU Code of Conduct), the EU Common Position has legally binding power and requires member countries to take more stringent measures.

2. Geographical Expansion of Security Frameworks and Partnership

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 framework³¹³. At present, most of the countries in 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)³¹⁴, which aims to foster confidence and improve interoperability with non-NATO European countries, and the Mediterranean Dialogue (MD)³¹⁵, which seeks stability in the Mediterranean region.

NATO is also strengthening relations with Contact Countries³¹⁶ such as Australia and Japan with a view to conducting activities outside 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 anti-terrorism efforts, arms control, and theater missile defense. While the NATO–Russia dialogue was temporarily suspended after the Georgia conflict in August 2008, at the NATO summit in December 2009 it was agreed to resume the official NRC to include the cabinet level talks, and the foreign minister level NRC was resumed in June of the same year. Further, a meeting was held in December of the same year between NATO Secretary General Rasmussen and Russian president Medvedev to discuss common areas of interest including efforts regarding Afghanistan and terrorism.

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 2007.

(See Fig. I-2-8-3)

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

Since the end of the Cold War, individual countries 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 homeland defense. As a result, there has been an emphasis on strengthening transport capability for overseas deployment in defense building, giving consideration to the role of NATO and other defense organizations. Moreover, many European countries have been implementing 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 United Kingdom has maintained the perception that it is not subject to any direct military threats and therefore has pursued military reform focused on enhancing capability in order to cope with new threats since the end of the Cold War. In particular, the United Kingdom regards international terrorism and the proliferation of WMD as major threats and has improved its overseas deployment capability and readiness³¹⁷.

The first National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom, announced in March 2008, highlights the broadened view of national security to include threats to individual citizens, and it considers transnational crime, pandemics, flooding and others as threats along with terrorism and the spread of WMD. It also cites factors such as climate change, the increasing demand for energy, and poverty as causes of these threats. To cope with these diverse and interrelated threats and risks, the strategy takes a multilateral approach through the U.N., EU, and NATO while seeking cooperation not only between the military and the police, but also with the private sector and regional governments, with a view to addressing threats at an early stage.

The strategy affirms the existing assessment, concluding that state-led threats will not emerge in the predictable future³¹⁸. The strategy nevertheless states that the international security environment has grown more complex and less predictable and that while the reemergence of such threats in the long run is unlikely, they cannot be discounted, thus it sets forth a policy for maintaining strong defense capabilities³¹⁹. To be specific, it gives priority to the procurement of equipment for supporting its ongoing operations, including strategic transportation, support helicopters and armored vehicles. At the same time, it plans to invest for the long term in a broad range of military capabilities for the defense of the United Kingdom such as aircraft carriers, air defense, and anti-submarine warfare, which are difficult to rebuild from zero. Furthermore, in a white paper issued in December 2006, *The Future of the United Kingdom's Nuclear Deterrent*, the United Kingdom announced it would maintain its own nuclear deterrence based on submarine-launched ballistic missiles in the 2020s and beyond³²⁰.

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

Further, the United Kingdom plans to carry out a "Strategic Defence and Security Review" in 2010 to review national defense policy for the coming security environment³²¹. It released "Adaptability & Partnership: Issues for the Strategic Defence Review" (green paper) in February of the same year, which lists and organizes the discussion points ahead of the deliberations for the Strategic Defence and Security Review, stating that it is necessary to reevaluate the role of the military in consideration of the complex and uncertain security environment and national defense budget restrictions³²².

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. However, it declared that in light of the expansion of new threats including terrorism and the proliferation of WMD, conflict prevention and crisis management, including the fight against international terrorism, are the most likely missions to come.

To ensure the necessary military capabilities to meet the above mission, Germany plans to give priority in resource allocation to strengthening strategic transport capacity, global reconnaissance and efficient command with high interoperability. Specifically, Germany is currently planning to introduce A-400M transport aircraft and has also completed launches of five satellites fitted with a synthetic aperture radar SAR-LUPE by July 2008. In addition to reducing personnel and relocating its domestic camps and facilities, it is also restructuring its military into joint units grouped by function: intervention, stabilization and assistance³²³.

3. France

France, in its White Paper on Defense and National Security, issued in June 2008, identified risks ranging from cyber attacks to environmental crises, in addition to the direct threats of mass terrorism and ballistic missiles, stating that these threats and risks are interconnected due to globalization and that the continuity between domestic and foreign security has taken on strategic significance.

The regions cited as those that have influence on the stability of France and Europe included the area extending from the Atlantic to the Indian oceans; sub-Saharan Africa; Russia, with whom relationship-building is important; the Balkans, whose stability is of essence; as well as Asia, which is growing in its importance. It specifies five statutes of France's national security strategy: prevention, nuclear deterrence³²⁴, protection, and overseas intervention, based on accurate perception, 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.

In July 2009, the "Loi de programmation militaire 2009–2014" was ratified by the parliament. This plan was the first midterm plan to take into account the national defense and security strategies laid out in the White Paper on Defense and National Security. It includes the establishment of a council for national defense and security as well as a council for national intelligence, an increase in the equipment related budget, and a force reduction of 54,000 personnel.

Regarding France's foreign relations, France calls for strengthening of EU security and renovation of transatlantic relations, and restored its full participation in NATO integrated military structure in April 2009 in view of the changes in the situation since France's withdrawal from NATO's military structure and, in particular, the complementary relationship between the EU and NATO³²⁵.

With respect to the provision of military power, France intends to meet operational requirements such as enhancing protection capabilities while reducing personnel and consolidating military bases, as well as to proceed with strengthening its intelligence functions and modernizing its military equipment.

Notes:

- 1) U.S. Code, Title 50 404a stipulates that the President must submit a national security strategy to Congress every year, but this responsibility has not necessarily been fulfilled every year. For example, the former Bush administration only released said strategic report in September 2002 and March 2006. The Obama administration released the strategy in May of this year for the first time.

The National Defense Strategy (NDS) is the United States' policy for implementing its national security strategy and indicates a framework for strategic documents of the Department of Defense, including the National Military Strategy (NMS). The NDS was released in March 2005 and then again in July 2008. The 2008 NDS stipulated that the United States' national interests were to protect itself and allied nations from attack or coercion, promote international security in order to contain conflicts and stimulate economic growth, and to secure access to the global commons, global markets that are born from the global commons, as well as to resources. The strategy indicates that, in order to pursue these objectives, military capabilities will be developed along with other efforts, including diplomatic and economic means, and said capabilities will be invoked if necessary. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates points out in the foreword of the NDS that, "The United States will soon have a new President and Commander-in-Chief, but the complex issues the United States faces will remain. This strategy is a blueprint to succeed in the years to come."

The QDR is a document that the Secretary of Defense must submit to Congress every four years according to US Code, Title 10 118. The document clarifies policies for national defense strategy, military composition, plans to modernize forces, national defense infrastructure, budget plans, etc., in view of the security environment over the ensuing 20 years. The Department of Defense reported it to Congress in February 2010.

The NPR is required to comprehensively review the nuclear posture of the United States over the ensuing five to ten years and submit a report to Congress. Reports were previously submitted in 1994 and 2002, making this the third report.

- 2) The QDR indicates that the rise of China, the world's most populous country, and India, the world's largest democracy, will continue to reshape the international system. In addition, the rise of China is one of the most consequential aspects of the evolving strategic landscape in the Asia-Pacific region. The United States welcomes a strong, prosperous, and successful China that engages in greater cooperation.
- 3) The QDR points out that North Korea and Iraq are developing and deploying new ballistic missile systems, and that these systems pose a threat to United States forces deployed forward. China, also, is developing and fielding large numbers of medium-range ballistic missiles and cruise missiles (CM), new attack submarines equipped with advanced weapons, increasingly capable long-range air defense systems, electronic warfare and computer network attack capabilities, advanced fighter aircraft, and counter-space systems. However, China has shared only limited information about the pace, scope, and ultimate aims of its military modernization program, raising a number of questions regarding its long-term intentions. Therefore, U.S.-China relations must be multidimensional and undergirded by a process of enhancing confidence and reducing mistrust in a manner that reinforces mutual interests. Both countries should sustain open channels of communication to discuss disagreements.
- 4) The 2001 QDR stipulated that forces were to be composed based on the following four objectives: 1) to defend the U.S. homeland, 2) to provide forward deterrence in the four major regions (Europe, Northeast Asia, East Asian coastal areas, and the Middle East and Southwest Asia), 3) simultaneously defeat the enemy quickly in any two theaters of operation while also decisively defeating the enemy in one of the two, and 4) address the limited number of small contingency situations. The 2006 QDR, however, indicates that experience from recent operations has made clear that it is necessary to conduct operations not only in the four major regions but also globally, and that the ideas of "defeat quickly" and "defeat decisively" are not

necessarily suited for long-term irregular warfare. As this is the case, the 2006 QDR indicates that military potential should be composed in a way that prepares the necessary capabilities in the following three fields: 1) homeland defense, 2) war on terror / irregular warfare, and 3) conventional campaign(s).

- 5) At a press conference on February 1, 2010, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates made the following statement, voicing that the current way of thinking for handling two major regional conflicts was insufficient, “one of the steers that I gave to the folks working on the QDR was that I felt that, for some time, the two-major-theater-of-operations construct was out of date, that we are already in two major operations. What if we should have a homeland disaster? What if we have another encounter? What if we have a Haiti? The world is very much more complex than when the two-MCO concept came together in the early 1990s.”
- 6) Joint press conference by then U.S. President Bush and then President Kufor of Ghana (February 20, 2008).
- 7) 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. The new NPR includes that the United States is to retain a dual-capable fighter capable of equipping both conventional and nuclear weapons and apply a Life Extension Program to the nuclear warheads that would be equipped in these aircraft.
- 8) This is commensurate with counterterrorism expenses under the previous Bush administration and includes expenses for operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- 9) Warheads that have been equipped in deployed ICBMs and SLBMs and nuclear warheads equipped in heavy bombers.
- 10) The figure as of September 30, 2009. This figure includes all deployed and non-deployed, strategic and non-strategic nuclear warheads. The United States also released the number of nuclear warheads possessed each year from 1962 and the number dismantled each year since 1994.
- 11) The Secretary of Defense Task Force on Department of Defense Nuclear Weapons Management was set up in June 2008 because of two nuclear management-related incidents. The task force released a report on the Air Force’s nuclear mission in September 2008 and a similar type of report on the overall Department of Defense (except for the Air Force) in December 2009.
- 12) 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.
- 13) The budget proposal for FY2011 includes a budget for researching next-generation bombers and maintaining production infrastructure for bombers.
- 14) The budget proposal for FY2011 states that no additional production of the C-17 airlifter will be requested. The U.S. has sufficient C-17 to meet airlift needs with the 223 that are already in force or in production.
- 15) While there is the possibility for changes in specifics and timing, this is a plan to improve BMD capabilities over four phases by deploying SM-3 Block IA by 2011, SM-3 Block IB by 2015, SM-3 Block IIA by 2018, and SM-3 Block IIB by 2020.
- 16) Briefing by Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Vice Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff James Cartwright (September, 17 2009).

- 17) As cyber-related units, Fleet Cyber Command (FLTCYBERCOM), 24th Air Force, and Marine Forces Cyber Command (MARFORCYBER) have been newly formed. In addition, Army Forces Cyber Command (ARFORCYBER) is going to be established no later than October of this year.
- 18) The figures of U.S. military mentioned in this paragraph are the numbers of active personnel recorded on the publication source of the U.S. Department of Defense (as of December 31, 2009), and it could change according to unit deployment.
- 19) North Korea says it will open the door to the “powerful and prosperous nation” in 2012, which falls on the 100th anniversary of the birth of the late President Kim Il Sung.
- 20) Joint editorial of the Korean Workers’ Party’s journals *Rodong Shinmun* and *Workers* (June 16, 1999).
- 21) Constitutionally, the Chairman of the National Defense Commission, “commands and takes the reins of all armed forces” as the “Supreme Leader” of North Korea. The Ministry of People’s Armed Forces, the equivalent of the Ministry of Defense in other countries, appears to be placed under the National Defense Commission, not under the Cabinet.
- 22) 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.
- 23) Then White House Press Secretary Dana Perino announced in a statement on April 24, 2008 that North Korea had assisted Syria’s covert nuclear activities. The Director of National Intelligence (DNI)’s Annual Threat Assessment released in February 2010 pointed out, “Despite the Six-Party October 3, 2007 Second Phase Actions agreement in which North Korea reaffirmed its commitment not to transfer nuclear materials, technology, or know-how we remain alert to the possibility North Korea could again export nuclear technology.”
- 24) Generally, missiles propelled by liquid fuel can only be fueled right before the launch. On the other hand, missiles based on a solid fuel propellant system are considered to be militarily superior to those based on a liquid fuel propellant system because they are capable of immediate launches with their propellant stored in airframes beforehand, signs of their launches are unlikely to be detected in advance, and they are easy to store and handle.
- 25) 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.
- 26) In June 2008 North Korea submitted a declaration of its nuclear program. However, as of May 2009, no agreement has been made concerning a specific framework for verification.
- 27) The DNI Annual Threat Assessment released in February 2010 said that “while we do not know whether the North has produced nuclear weapons, we assess it has the capability to do so.” On plutonium-based nuclear weapons, U.S. Forces Korea commander Walter Sharp testified before the House Appropriations Committee in March 2010 that “we assess North Korea currently holds enough plutonium to make several nuclear weapons.” Regarding uranium-based nuclear weapons, the DNI Annual Threat Assessment released in February 2010 pointed out, “The Intelligence Community continues to assess with high confidence North Korea has pursued a uranium enrichment capability in the past, which we assess was for weapons.”
- 28) In his statement to the Senate Armed Services Committee in March 2009, Lieutenant General Maples, Director of the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA), stated that “North Korea may be able to successfully mate a nuclear warhead to a ballistic missile.” Further, the Ballistic Missile Defense Review (BMDR) Report released by the U.S. Department of Defense in February 2010 pointed out that “we must assume... if there are no major changes in its (North Korea’s) national security strategy in the next decade, it will be able to mate a nuclear warhead to a proven delivery system.”

- 29) In his statement to the Senate Armed Services Committee in March 2009, Lieutenant General Maples, Director of the DIA, stated that “North Korea has had a longstanding chemical warfare program,” and “We believe that Pyongyang possesses a sizeable stockpile of agents.” He also stated that “North Korea is believed to have a long-standing biological warfare program that could support the production of biological warfare agents.” The ROK Defense White Paper 2008 pointed out that “It is believed that approximately 2,500 to 5,000 tons of chemical agents remain stored in a number of facilities scattered around the country and that North Korea is able to produce biological weapons such as anthrax bacteria, smallpox, and cholera.”
- 30) North Korea admitted 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)
- 31) The ranges of Scud B and Scud C missiles are estimated to be about 300km and 500km, respectively.
- 32) Of a total of seven ballistic missiles North Korea launched in July 2006 after completely abandoning the freeze on ballistic missile launches announced in 1999, the third one is believed to have been a Taepodong-2 fired from the Taepodong district in the northeastern coastal area. The launch of other Scud and Nodong missiles had more practical characteristics, based on the indication that the missiles were launched before dawn, a number of different types of ballistic missiles were launched in succession over a short period of time, the launch was carried out using a transporter-erector-launcher (TEL), and ballistic missiles with different ranges were landed within a certain area. This leads to the assumption that North Korea has improved the operability of ballistic missiles.
- 33) All seven ballistic missiles launched were assumed to have landed in the military target practice area (the area surrounded by the points at 1) 39 degrees 9 minutes north latitude and 127 degrees 37 minutes east longitude; 2) 41 degrees 12 minutes north latitude and 129 degrees 50 minutes east longitude; 3) 41 degrees 30 minutes north latitude and 131 degrees 59 minutes east longitude; 4) 41 degrees 15 minutes north latitude and 132 degrees 6 minutes east longitude; and 5) 38 degrees 55 minutes north latitude and 128 degrees 2 minutes east longitude), for which the navigation warning was issued by the Japan Coast Guard upon notification by North Korea on June 22, 2009.
- 34) For instance, making a three-stage missile by installing a booster at the warhead of a two-stage missile.
- 35) In his statement for the House Armed Services Committee in March 2009, General Sharp, Commander, U.S. Forces Korea, stated that preparations are currently underway in North Korea to field a new intermediate-range ballistic missile capable of striking Okinawa, Guam, and Alaska. The BMDR Report released by the U.S. Department of Defense in February 2010 noted, “A mobile intermediate-range ballistic missile (IRBM) is also under development (by North Korea).” The ROK Defense White Paper 2008 points out that North Korea has been developing IRBM with a range of over 3,000 km since the end of the 1990s and has recently deployed them.
- 36) In March 2007, then U.S. Forces Korea Commander Burwell B. Bell testified before the House Armed Services Committee that, “North Korea is developing a new solid-propellant short-range ballistic missile. Recently, in March 2006, North Korea successfully test-fired the missile. Once operational, the missile can be deployed more flexibly and rapidly than the existing system and North Korea will be able to launch the missile in a much shorter preparation period.” The BMDR Report released by the U.S. Department of Defense in February 2010 pointed out, “North Korea has developed an advanced solid-propellant short-range ballistic missile (SRBM).”

- 37) The DNI Annual Threat Assessment released in February 2010 noted that “North Korea’s export of ballistic missiles and associated materials to several countries including Iran and Pakistan... illustrate the reach of the North’s proliferation activities.” Some point out that North Korea conducts tests in importing countries such as Iran and Pakistan and is making good use of the test results.
- 38) Four Military Guidelines were adopted at the fifth Plenum of the fourth Korean Workers’ Party’s Central Committee in 1962.
- 39) Covert operations to infiltrate enemy territories by dispersed small units.
- 40) 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. Moreover, General Burwell B. Bell, Commander of U.S. Forces Korea, stated at the Senate Armed Services Committee in March 2009 that “North Korea still keeps the world’s largest Special Forces with more than 80,000 troops.” Also, the ROK Defense White Paper 2008 points out “North Korea’s special forces number some 180,000. Considering the operational environment in the Korean Peninsula, North Korea has intensively improved the capabilities of its special operations by strengthening training programs for night, mountain, and street-to-street fighting.
- 41) Kim Jong Il was re-elected as Chairman of the National Defense Commission at the Supreme People’s Assembly in April 2009. 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 Kim Jong Il in attendance.
- 42) In 2009, North Korea is believed to have increased the number of members of the National Defense Commission and took measures to strengthen or clarify the functions of the National Defense Commission, centering on the Chairman of the National Defense Commission, by positioning the Chairman of the National Defense Commission as the “supreme leader” of North Korea under constitution and specifying the mission of the Commission as “making decisions on important national policies in order to carry through the military-first revolution.”
- 43) On a U.S. TV program broadcast in September 2009, President Barack Obama, relaying an assessment by former President Bill Clinton who visited North Korea in August 2009, said Kim Jong Il, Chairman of the National Defense Commission, seems “pretty healthy and in control.”
- 44) There were no official reports on public activities by Kim Jong Il, for 50 days since mid-August 2008 (the longest period of such “disappearance” since he assumed the post of the General Secretary of the Korean Workers’ Party in 1997). Since November 2008, however, he has been appearing in the public scene more frequently than ever, including a meeting with former U.S. President Bill Clinton in August 2009 and talks with Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao in September 2009.
- 45) In December 2008, the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) and the U.N. World Food Programme (WFP) forecasted that North Korea would produce approximately 3.34 million tons of crops between November 2008 and October 2009, estimating required imports at 1.79 million tons.
- 46) It has been pointed out that acceleration of inflation as a result of the simultaneous raising of wages and commodity prices amid the unresolved shortage of commodities, the widening of income gaps as a result of the implementation of these new measures, as well as an increased inflow of outside information, have led to rising dissatisfaction with the regime in some areas, or at least signs of such dissatisfaction are emerging.
- 47) In public activities by Kim Jong Il, the number of activities related to economic affairs exceeded that of activities related to military affairs for the first time since he assumed the post of General Secretary of the Korean Workers’ Party in 1997.
- 48) The Joint Investigation Group assessed that the sinking was caused by a torpedo due to precise measurement and analysis of the damaged part of the hull which indicated that a shockwave and bubble effect caused

significant upward bending of the keel, compared to its original state, and the shell plate was steeply bent, with some parts of the ship fragmented. As for evidence that the torpedo was launched from a North Korean midjet submarine, the Joint Investigative Group stated that the torpedo parts recovered at the site of the explosion by a dredging ship on May 15 perfectly matched the schematics of the CHT-02D torpedo included in the introductory brochures provided to foreign countries by North Korea for export purposes, among other reasons.

- 49) The same day, ROK Defense Minister Kim Tae-young announced that the ROK would take measures against North Korea, including the restarting of psychological warfare, the implementation of a joint ROK–U.S. anti-submarine exercise, and preparations for marine blockades in and outside of ROK territorial waters.
- 50) From the May 20, 2010 announcement of a spokesman of the National Defense Commission of North Korea.
- 51) From the May 25, 2010 statement of a spokesman of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea.
- 52) The Country Report on Terrorism 2008 published in April 2009 states that “the United States rescinded the designation of North Korea as a state sponsor of terrorism in accordance with criteria set forth in U.S. law, including a certification that the North Korean government had not provided any support for international terrorism during the preceding six-month period and the provision by the government of assurances that it will not support acts of international terrorism in the future.” In February 2010, President Obama submitted a letter to the President of the Senate and the Chairman of the House of Congress stating that as a result of the careful examination of North Korea’s behavior up to November 2009, North Korea “does not meet the statutory criteria to again be designated as a state sponsor of terrorism.”
- 53) In October 2009, the ROK government announced that at the request of North Korea, the ROK will provide 10,000 tons of corn to North Korea in the first assistance program under the Lee Myung Bak administration, and in January 2010, North Korea notified the ROK of its acceptance of the aid offer.
- 54) North Korea signed an agreement on economic cooperation and a number of other agreements with China.
- 55) The previous treaty contained the provision that if either of the signatories (Russia and North Korea) is attacked, the other would immediately provide military and other assistance by any means available. This provision, however, was dropped from the new treaty.
- 56) In August 2009, Russian Chief of the General Staff Nikolai Makarov was quoted as saying that the Russian Armed Forces have deployed the new surface-to-air missile S-400 in order to ensure Russia’s safety in the event of North Korea’s missile launch failure.
- 57) For example, the United Kingdom and Germany established diplomatic relations with North Korea in 2000 and 2001, respectively. In October 2009 French President Nicolas Sarkozy appointed a special presidential envoy for an analysis of the situation for the consideration of the establishment of diplomatic ties with North Korea, and the special envoy visited North Korea in November 2009. In December 2009, North Korea agreed to the establishment of a French diplomatic office in Pyongyang.
- 58) After the ARF ministerial meeting in July 2008, North Korea signed the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia (TAC).
- 59) According to a remark by the spokesman of the ROK Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, the “grand bargain” package deal proposal seeks a comprehensive agreement on the nuclear issue by putting a complete set of denuclearization steps by North Korea and the corresponding measures that North Korea wants from the five countries of Japan, the United States, the ROK, China, and Russia.

- 60) 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.
- 61) The United States is advancing the realignment of its forces stationed in the ROK in line with the June 2003 agreement to relocate its forces to the southern side of Han Gang in two stages and the October 2004 agreement to cut the number of its forces stationed in the ROK by 12,500 from approximately 37,500. The two countries agreed at the summit meeting in April 2008 to maintain the current strength of 28,500 as the appropriate level. With the realignment process, the United States is investing in the modernization of the U.S. forces stationed in the ROK and striving to maintain and strengthen the deterrence of the U.S.–ROK combined forces under the U.S.–ROK Mutual Defense Treaty.
- 62) The Joint Vision states, “Over that time, our security Alliance has strengthened and our partnership has widened to encompass political, economic, social and cultural cooperation. Together, on this solid foundation, we will build a comprehensive strategic alliance of bilateral, regional and global scope, based on common values and mutual trust” and “The Alliance is adapting to changes in the 21st Century security environment. We will maintain a robust defense posture, backed by allied capabilities which support both nations’ security interests.”
- 63) The SCM joint statement reemphasized the non-acceptance of North Korea as a nuclear-armed state and stated that North Korea’s ballistic missile launches and nuclear tests represent direct and serious threats. U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates emphasized anew the strong and robust U.S. commitment in the event of crisis for the defense of the ROK, not only through its forces deployed on the Korean Peninsula but also by strategically and flexibly boosted and deployed U.S. forces and capabilities available in all parts of the world for the defense of the U.S.–ROK alliance. Furthermore, Gates reaffirmed the U.S. commitment to provide extended deterrence using the full range of military capabilities, including the nuclear umbrella, strike capabilities of conventional weapons and missile defense capabilities, to ensure the security of the ROK.
- 64) The ROK Defense White Paper 2008 described North Korea as follows: “North Korea’s conventional military capabilities, weapons of mass destruction such as nuclear weapons and missiles, and forward military deployment pose direct and serious threats to our national security.”
- 65) The reform plan has four pillars: (1) expansion of a civilian base for national defense, (2) build-up of military structure and system of the forces in conformity with characteristics of modern wars, (3) reorganization of the national defense management system into a low cost, high efficiency system, and (4) improvement of barrack culture in accordance with the trends of the time.
- 66) The Defense Reform Basic Plan (2009–2020) revised the force strength from 500,000 to 517,000.
- 67) The Defense Reform Basic Plan (2009–2020) prioritizes the following measures in order to prepare for North Korean threats: 1) organize front-line troops in a manner that allows them to exercise their combat strength immediately after the outbreak of war to secure the security of the metropolitan region; 2) boost surveillance/reconnaissance, precision strike, and interception capabilities in order to block and eliminate North Korea’s asymmetric threats in enemy areas to the utmost extent; 3) secure strong reserve mobile power for each unit in order to counter enemies with a numerical advantage; and 4) secure combat sustainability by stabilizing noncombat zones and nurturing elite reserve forces.
- 68) Based on the ROK Defense White Paper 2008.

- 69) The primary missions of the Seventh Mobile Corps are described as the protection of sea lanes, deterrence against North Korea and support for the government's external policies. The Seventh Mobile Corps consists of three mobile squadrons. In addition to the 71st Mobile Squadron (Busan), the 72nd Mobile Squadron (Jinhae) is scheduled to be created in August 2010 and the 73rd Mobile Squadron (Jeju) in 2014. The Seventh Mobile Corps has one Aegis-equipped vessel and six destroyers under its command, and more Aegis vessels and destroyers to be put in service in the future are expected to be deployed to the corps.
- 70) At a press conference, then ROK Minister of National Defense Lee Sang Hee referred to an agreement reached at the ROK–Russia summit meeting in 2008, and said his meeting with Russian Defense Minister Anatoly Serdyukov provided a momentum to elevate the bilateral military relationship a notch higher.
- 71) Based on the ROK Defense White Paper 2008.
- 72) The ROK intends to further improve the legal and institutional foundations for the ROK armed forces to expand their participation in PKO activities. In December 2009, a bill concerning the participation in U.N. peacekeeping operations passed parliament.
- 73) It is reported that there are 55 ethnic minorities living in China, besides the Han Chinese ethnic group.
- 74) “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 the Third Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CCP) 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 CCP in October 2006).
- 75) Building a moderately prosperous society in all respects by 2020 is a goal of the Party and the state as outlined in General Secretary Hu Jintao's report to the 17th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CCP) in 2007.
- 76) China traditionally adopted the strategy of a “People's War” based on the recognition that a world-scale war was possible. 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 such as conflicts that occur over its territorial land 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 a local war under highly technological conditions. Recently, it has been stated that the core of military modernization is to strengthen capabilities to win a local war under informationized conditions.
- 77) Military parades carried out during events celebrating the 50th anniversary of the foundation of the PRC in 1999.
- 78) China amended Regulations on the Political Work of the People's Liberation Army in 2003 to add the practices of Media, Psychological and Legal Warfare to its political work. The Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China (August 2010) of the U.S. Department of Defense explains Media, Psychological and Legal Warfare as follows:
 - Media Warfare is aimed at influencing domestic and international public opinion to build public and international support for China's military actions and to dissuade an adversary from pursuing policies perceived to be adverse to China's interests

- Psychological Warfare seeks to undermine an enemy's ability to conduct combat operations through psychological operations aimed at deterring, shocking, and demoralizing enemy military personnel and supporting civilian populations.
 - Legal Warfare uses international and domestic laws to gain international support and manage possible political repercussions of China's military actions.
- 79) China's National Defense in 2008.
 - 80) The U.S. Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) (February 2010) states that it will be necessary to retain the capacity to protect the United States and its allies in an environment wherein states with a wide range of sophisticated weapons exercise anti-access capability to impede the deployment of U.S. forces. It points out that "China is developing and fielding large numbers of advanced medium-range ballistic and cruise missiles, new attack submarines equipped with advanced weapons, increasingly capable long-range air defense systems, electronic warfare and computer network attack capabilities, advanced fighter aircraft, and counter-space systems."
 - 81) China's National Defense in 2008 states that "... it works to increase the country's capabilities to maintain maritime, space and electromagnetic space security and to carry out the tasks of counter-terrorism, stability maintenance, emergency rescue, and international peacekeeping."
 - 82) China's National Defense in 2008.
 - 83) The CCP'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 (in 2049), the nation shall achieve a medium level of development for per-capita gross domestic product, realizing modernization on a basic level."
 - 84) China's National Defense in 2008 states that "in the past two years, senior PLA delegations have visited more than 40 countries, and defense ministers and chiefs of staff from more than 60 countries have visited China."
 - 85) China disclosed some fighter aircraft and submarines which had previously been generally undisclosed to foreign delegates, including delegates from Japan, at the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the Navy (in April) and of its Air Force (in November), which were held in 2009. This is thought to be a sign of its posture of working to improve transparency with regard to the military.
 - 86) For example, China's National Defense in 2008 provides details of personnel expenses, operation maintenance costs, and equipment costs only for the defense budget for FY2007 each by active force, reserve force, and militia.
 - 87) National defense budget within central fiscal expenditures. The national defense budget amount for FY2010 within nationwide fiscal expenditures is said to be 532.1 billion yuan. This budget amount represents growth of approximately 10.7% compared to the national defense budget (initial budget) within the nationwide fiscal expenditures for the previous fiscal year.
 - 88) Simply applying rates of foreign exchange to the national defense budgets of foreign countries to convert them into another currency does not necessarily reflect the accurate value as revealed in the country's price level. But hypothetically speaking, if China's national defense budget for FY2010 were converted at a rate of 14 yen per yuan, then this would result in approximately 7.2671 trillion yen. The 2009 Yearbook of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI; June 2009) estimated that China's military expenditures for 2008 were approximately \$84.9 billion, ranking it second place in the world behind the United States.
 - 89) China announced that the rate of growth for its FY2010 national defense budget is "an increase of 7.5% compared to the previous year," but this is the growth rate by comparing the spending of FY2009 with the initial budget of FY2010.

- 90) China's announced national defense budget achieved a double-digit-percent growth on the initial-budget basis for 21 successive years up through FY2009.
- 91) U.S. Defense Department's Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China (August 2010) estimates China's defense spending on military-related expenditures as more than \$150 billion in FY2009. The same report indicates that China's official defense budget does not include major categories of expenditure.
- 92) Missions of the PAP include security of party and government, border security, social projects, and firefighting activities. According to China's National Defense in 2002, it is to maintain state security and social stability, and assist the PLA in wartime in defense operations.
- 93) The militia engages in economic development in peacetime and other activities and has a duty to provide logistical 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 disaster relief efforts, and maintaining social order."
- 94) Formally, there are two Central Military Commissions — one for the CCP and one for the state. However, both commissions basically consist of the same membership, and both are essentially regarded as institutions for the CCP to command the military forces.
- 95) Generally, liquid-propellant missiles require a long time for liquid fuel to be injected immediately prior to launch, whereas with solid-propellant missiles the propellant is loaded in advance and they can be launched immediately. Therefore, compared to liquid-propellant missiles, it is more difficult to detect signs of the launch of solid propellant-missiles in advance, and the risk of suffering a preemptive attack is believed to be lower.
- 96) The Annual Threat Assessment of the Director of National Intelligence of the United States published in February 2009 states that China is developing conventionally armed short- and long-range ballistic missiles with maneuverable reentry vehicles (MaRV) that could be used to attack U.S. naval forces and airbases.
- 97) U.S. Defense Department's Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People's Republic of China (August 2010) states that by December 2009 China had deployed 1,050 to 1,150 SRBMs on the shore opposing Taiwan, and it is engaged in efforts to increase offensive capability, including the introduction of derived models with improved ranges, accuracies and payloads.
- 98) At the press conference on the day after it was announced that the test had been carried out, a spokesperson from China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs said, "The test would neither produce space debris in orbit nor pose a threat to the safety of orbiting spacecraft. The test was defensive in nature and targeted at no country. It is consistent with the defensive national defense policies that China has consistently pursued. There is no change in China's position on missile defense issues."
- 99) China's National Defense in 2008.
- 100) In the "Stride 2009" exercises, it was reported that the four individual army divisions, belonging to each of the military regions of Shenyang, Lanzhou, Jinan, and Guangzhou, traveled long distances from their own military region to a different one, after which they engaged in exercises with simulated enemy forces. In order to transport personnel and equipment, they are reported to have used civilian cargo aircraft, passenger airplanes, and the "Hexie" high-speed train, as well as air force cargo aircraft and freight trains.
- 101) This hospital ship is reported to have circled around the coast of the Chinese continent and the islands and reefs of the Spratly and Paracel Islands for the span of roughly a month beginning in October 2009, delivering medical services to the stationed military personnel and inhabitants there.
- 102) Remarks made at the Japan–China Defense Ministers' meeting held in March 2009.

- 103) Remarks made at the Japan–China Defense Ministers’ meeting held in November 2009.
- 104) Positive remarks by several government and military officers about possessing and constructing an aircraft carrier have been reported since 2005. Recently, in November 2008, Major General Qian Lihua, director of the Defense Ministry’s Foreign Affairs Office, reportedly said that the navy of any great power has the dream to have one or more aircraft carriers. In December 2008, a Ministry of Defense spokesman commented on building Chinese aircraft carriers, “The Chinese government will incorporate all aspects of factors, and carefully examine and consider related matters.” In March 2009, a series of positive remarks on the possession or construction of an aircraft carrier were made by senior Navy officers.
- 105) Since the 1980s, in addition to *Varyag*, China has purchased *Melbourne*, a decommissioned Majestic-class aircraft carrier made in the United Kingdom, and *Minsk* and *Kiev*, Kiev-class aircraft carriers made in the former Soviet Union, nominally for recycling for scraps of iron or leisure facilities. 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. It was also reported in 2007 that China had plans to purchase arresting wires that are used on aircraft carriers from Russia. In September 2008, it was reported that China was planning cooperation with Ukraine, which has a simulation training facility for carrier-based aircraft, with respect to the education and training of navy pilots. China is reported to have imported a Su-25UTG, a training airplane for carrier landing, from Ukraine in 2007. U.S. Defense Department’s Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People’s Republic of China (August 2010) highlighted the fact that “China has an active aircraft carrier research and development program. The PRC shipbuilding industry could start construction of an indigenous platform by the end of this year. China is interested in building multiple operational aircraft carriers with support ships in the 2020s.”
- 106) In a television interview broadcast in November 2009, Air Force Deputy Commander He Weirong said with regard to China’s next generation fighters that they could be deployed to units in 8 to 10 years. In addition, in testimony before the House Armed Services Committee in May 2009, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates gave the prospect that China’s fifth generation fighters would achieve initial operation capability in 10 to 12 years.
- 107) China’s National Defense in 2008 explains that China’s Air force is “working to accelerate its transition from territorial air defense to both offensive and defensive operations, and increase its capabilities for carrying out reconnaissance and early warning, air strikes, air and missile defense, and strategic projection, in an effort to build itself into a modernized strategic air force.” 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.”
- 108) China’s National Defense in 2006 notates that, regarding science, technology and industry for national defense, “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.” Also, the entire manned space project, including Shenzhou-7, is said to be commanded by Director of the PLA’s General Armaments Department.
- 109) For example, Air Force Commander Xu Qiliang is reported to have said, “China’s Air Force has established a strategy of having both offensive and defensive unified aerospace capabilities.”
- 110) U.S. Department of Defense’s Annual Report to Congress: Military and Security Developments Involving the People’s Republic of China (August 2010) points out that, “The PLA has established information warfare units to develop viruses to attack enemy computer systems and networks, and tactics and measures

- to protect friendly computer systems and networks. These units include elements of the militia, creating a linkage between PLA network operators and China's civilian information technology professionals."
- 111) China's National Defense in 2008 refers to an increase in the capabilities to maintain space and electromagnetic space security.
- 112) Concerning the Chinese military forces, there is a view that believes that by turning exception into normality through uniform peacetime and wartime force deployment and exceeding traditional activity spaces, they intend to desensitize the alertness of others and make the international society tolerate and accept changes in the situation. (Taiwan's 2009 National Defense Report).
- 113) China's National Defense in 2006 states "The Navy aims at gradual extension of the strategic depth for offshore defensive operations." Additionally, with regard to Chinese Navy training, Chinese Navy Commander Wu Shengli is reported to have stated in April 2009 that, "Open sea training has been normalized".
- 114) This was the first identified passage by Chinese surface combatants through the Tsugaru Strait.
- 115) These vessels are reported to have passed through the Bashi Channel and advanced to the South China Sea, cruised in the waters adjacent to the Spratly Islands, and conducted military drills in the waters of the Paracel Islands.
- 116) In April 2010, PLA Daily, the official newspaper of the PLA, reported that a multi-branch joint force of the East Sea Fleet, which consists of submarines, destroyers, frigates, supply ships, and ship-borne helicopters, had begun an open sea deployment training to conduct training for "Three Warfares" ("Psychological Warfare," "Media Warfare," and "Legal Warfare"), counter-terrorism, and anti-piracy as well as actual match-style exercises. Some of these ten vessels conducted exercises in the middle of the East China Sea before advancing to the Pacific Ocean. At the time, a Chinese shipborne helicopter flew near to the Japanese destroyer Suzunami, which was monitoring the Chinese vessels. At its nearest it came at a distance of approximately 90 m horizontally and the altitude was approximately 30 m. Since it was recognized that flying in this manner posed a danger to the safe navigation of the Japanese vessel, the recognition was conveyed to the Chinese government to inquire after the fact via diplomatic routes. Later, another Chinese shipborne helicopter approached destroyer Asayuki, which was monitoring the vessels in the Pacific Ocean and flew in a circle around it. At its nearest it came at a distance of approximately 90 m horizontally and the altitude was approximately 50 m, constituting an act that posed a danger to the safe navigation of the Japanese vessel. Since similar incidents occurred in succession, remonstrance was made to the Chinese government via diplomatic routes.
- 117) A view was presented that China is inclined to adopt a more confident and assertive stance than before, and the anti-satellite weapons test in January 2007 and the Chinese Song-class submarine incident in October 2006, where the submarine surfaced near the USS Kitty Hawk, can be seen in such a context. (The testimony of then Deputy Undersecretary of Defense Richard Lawless at the U.S. China Economy and Security Review Commission on February, 2007)
- 118) Director of National Intelligence Dennis Blair testified before the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee on March 10, 2009, that "in the past several years, they [Chinese] have become more aggressive in asserting claims for the EEZ."
- 119) It is reported that China is constructing a large-scale naval base that has underground tunnels for nuclear-powered submarines in the city of Sanya located in the southern tip of Hainan island.
- 120) When Haiti was struck by a major earthquake in January 2010, the China International Search and Rescue Team (CISAR), which includes military personnel such as engineers, departed for the scene the day after the earthquake struck.

- 121) China's National Defense in 2008 mentions that the Chinese Navy is developing cooperation in distant waters, and has been gradually boosting its capacity to respond to nontraditional security threats.
- 122) The organizations authorized to deal with cross-strait talks are the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS) on the Chinese side and the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) on the Taiwanese side.
- 123) Discourse at the discussion on December 31, 2008, commemorating the 30th anniversary of the announcement of Message to Compatriots in Taiwan.
- 124) The U.S. National Security Strategy (May 2010).
- 125) Remarks by Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission (CMC) Xu Caihou in a conference with Secretary of Defense Robert Gates (October 2009).
- 126) The U.S. Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR; February 2010).
- 127) Regarding the military field, this treaty mentions military confidence building or strengthening of mutual troop reductions in border areas, military cooperation such as military technical cooperation, and holding discussions in the event that there is awareness of any threat to peace.
- 128) The organization was established in June 2001 and the original members are China, Russia, and four Central Asian countries (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan). The missions of the organization include promoting cooperation between member 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 summit-level meetings, and establishing the organization's head office and the Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS).
- 129) 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.
- 130) Recent military exchanges between China and Southeast Asian countries include the China-Singapore joint army anti-terrorism drills in June 2009, the China-Thai joint army anti-terrorism drills in July 2007 and September 2008, and China-Vietnam naval joint patrols in the Gulf of Tonkin every year since 2006.
- 131) Taiwanese National Defense Report 2009 (October 2009).
- 132) Taiwanese National Defense Report 2008 (May 2008).
- 133) Taiwanese National Defense Report 2009.
- 134) With regard to China's and Taiwan's military strength, the Taiwanese National Defense Report 2009 assessed that, "Military superiority between the two sides has already clearly tilted toward the Chinese side."
- 135) In the speech of then President Putin titled "Russia's Development Strategy through to 2020," he said that Russia's military spending will be in keeping with the national capability and will not be to the detriment of their social and economic development priorities.
- 136) Annual State of the Nation Address by President Medvedev (November 2009).
- 137) With the impact from the slump in crude oil prices and the financial crisis in recent years, negative growth was recorded for the last year's economic growth rate (-7.9%; 5.6% in 1998) for the first time since the financial crisis in Russia (1998).
- 138) Troops were reorganized, in the midst of a military forces reduction after the launch of the Russian Federation's armed forces, to strengthen combat readiness through concentrating personnel. It is hoped that this will enable them to promptly respond during the first phase of a large-scale war or in the event of a minor conflict. In the meantime, in September 2008 the president approved the "Future of the Armed

- Forces of the Russian Federation” and it was decided that all the combat forces would be transformed into combat-ready troops.
- 139) This is a revised version of the Military Doctrine of the Russian Federation which was formulated in April 2000.
- 140) In the Doctrine, the general notion pertaining to threats is split into two categories: military dangers (a state of interstate or intrastate relations that may, in certain conditions, cause the emergence of a military threat) and military threats (a state of interstate or intrastate relations where there is the real possibility of the outbreak of a military conflict). It lists for the former’s example the approach of NATO’s military infrastructure to the Russian border, including the expansion of NATO, the construction and deployment of a strategic missile defense system, as well as the territorial claims and the intervention against Russia and its allies. For the latter it lists the radicalization of military and political situations, and ostentatious displays of military strength designed to provoke through exercises in its adjacent territories.
- 141) Russia supposes that it will use precision guidance weapons as part of its strategic deterrence.
- 142) The doctrine of April 2000 states that, “The Russian Federation reserves the right to use nuclear weapons in response to the use of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction against it and (or) its allies, as well as in response to large-scale aggression with the use of conventional weapons in situations critical to the national security of the Russian Federation.” The current doctrine deletes the wording on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states. Furthermore, it does not touch on the use of nuclear weapons as a “response” to a “large-scale” aggression in the event where conventional weapons have been used, and the description of the non-preemptive use of nuclear weapons has been made less clear. In an interview with the newspaper *Izvestia* last year (October 14, 2009), Secretary Nikolai Patrushev of the Russian Security Council stated that, “We also adjusted the conditions of use of nuclear weapons to counter a conventional aggression —not only to full-scale wars, but also to regional and even to local wars,” and, “In situations critical for national security we do not rule out a possibility of using a preemptive (or preventive) nuclear strike against the aggressor.”
- 143) According to the revisions of the law related to national defense signed by the president in November 2009, Russia can agilely use its armed forces outside of its territory for the following purposes: (1) to repel an armed attack against Russian armed forces overseas, (2) on the request of another country that has been attacked, (3) to protect overseas Russian citizens from armed attack, and (4) to crack down on acts of piracy and to ensure the safe navigation of ships. In the revision it was decided that the use of the armed forces outside of Russian territory would be adopted by the president based on a decision by the Federation Council of Russia, but in December 2009 the council resolved to grant authority related to the use of the armed forces outside of Russian territory to the president.
- 144) It was decided that the total military force would be limited to 1 million people as of 2016 by a presidential order in December 2008 (approximately 1.13 million people as of 2008).
- 145) The president approved the document titled “Future of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation” in September 2008, which resolved that the command structure be reorganized (reorganized from the four-tiered structure of military district–army–division–regiment to a three-tiered structure of military district–operational command–brigade), all combat forces be converted to permanent readiness units, and the class structure of commissioned officers be revised, etc. It claimed to have completed the structural reorganization to a three-tiered structure in December 2009, but hereafter there remains the challenge of setting in place a system to operate the structure. Moreover, according to reports, four “joint strategic commands” were established by presidential decree in July 2010 to operate the ground, naval, and air forces in a consolidated manner based on the current six military districts.

- 146) In his annual State of the Nation Address in November 2009, President Medvedev stated that Russia would promote upgrading equipment such as ballistic missiles to new models. Furthermore, giving priority to the procurement of high-tech equipment, the state policy on military equipment for the period of 2011 to 2020 is under preparation and takes into account the lessons learned from the Georgia conflict.
- 147) In April 2007, then President Putin stated that professional servicemen would account for two-thirds of the armed forces in his annual address. In addition, the period for conscription was reduced to 12 months as of January 2008. According to news reports, senior military officials have stated that contract soldiers will be reduced and conscripted soldiers will be increased since the challenge of creating a professional army has not been achieved. This will require further attention in the future.
- 148) President Putin's speech "Russia's Development Strategy through to 2020" (February 2008). In order to ensure the necessary number of junior officers, efforts are being made to ensure human resources, by restructuring the military academy, establishing an education center in private higher-education institutions (universities) to train officers on short-term assignment, setting up special education courses in the military academy to train professional non-commissioned officers.
- 149) Joint Statement by the leaders of the United States and Russia regarding negotiations on further reductions in strategic offensive arms (April 1, 2009)
- 150) Warheads mounted on deployed intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) and submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBM) (the number of warheads which is actually emplaced on them is counted) as well as nuclear warheads loaded on deployed heavy bombers (one nuclear warhead is counted for each heavy bomber).
- 151) In addition, it stipulated verification measures that are simpler and less costly than those in START I, while also touching on the mutual relationship between strategic offensive arms and strategic defensive arms. Following the entering into force of this treaty, the Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions (the Moscow Treaty), which stipulates that the deployed nuclear warheads of both countries should be reduced to between 1,700 to 2,200 (excluding stored nuclear warheads) by December 31, 2012, will be rendered invalid.
- 152) Based on the current situation wherein countries other than the United States and Russia retain intermediate range ballistic missiles (IRBM), Russia had hinted at withdrawing from the INF Treaty, which only regulates the United States and Russia. But in October 2007 Russia announced the globalization of the INF Treaty to the international community together with the United States.
- 153) The need for new equipment is touched on in the annual speech by President Medvedev in November 2009, and in the military doctrine that was formulated in February 2010.
- 154) While there are no clear standards for demarcating fighter generations, a fifth generation fighter is considered to have more advanced capabilities than those of previous generations by combining the latest technologies, such as various types of electronic equipment and stealth. According to various news reports, Russia aims to mass-produce and equip its fifth generation fighter PAK FA (Future Frontline Aircraft System) by 2015. Based on news reports (Russia Now, February 4, 2010), the features of Russia's fighters prior to the fifth generation are as follows.
- First generation: Subsonic jet fighters equipped with cannons that appeared after World War II (Examples: MiG-15, MiG-17)
- Second generation: Sonic fighters equipped with missiles (Examples: MiG-19, MiG-21)
- Third generation: Fighters equipped with more powerful engines and more advanced radar (Examples: MiG-23, MiG-27)
- Fourth generation: Fighters with new onboard equipment, powerful radar, and extensive armaments (Examples: MiG-29, Su-27)

- Advanced fourth generation: Fighters that are equipped with a thrust deflecting engine and phased array radar, have multi-functionality, and are furnished with a digital cockpit (Examples: MiG-29SMT, MiG-35, and Su-35)
- 155) In “Vostok 2010” conducted in June-July 2010 in the Far Eastern and Siberian military districts, there were the combat-ready troops in the Volga-Ural military district, ships from the Northern Fleet and Black Sea Fleet, as well as the units in the military districts mentioned above. Also, as part of the “Vostok 2010” exercise, a relevant drill was conducted on Etorofu Island.
 - 156) In October 2009 Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces Nikolay Makarov stated that, “Through the ‘Zapad 2009’ exercises we confirmed the truth of our views concerning the military organization for the transition to the ‘Future of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation.’” Moreover, Chief Makarov also indicated that, “In the ‘Zapad 2009’ exercises every service and army corps took part. Troops were moved through the use of railroad, aircraft, and maritime transport methods, and drills were carried out on all sorts of elements of combat behavior”.
 - 157) During the war with Georgia in August 2008, the Russian military not only put in troops from the North Caucasus region, but also those from other regions as well.
 - 158) Estimated number of military personnel within the Siberian and the Far Eastern Military Districts.
 - 159) In the Siberian Military District an exercise was carried out to evaluate the newly reorganized brigade in the wake of the military reforms in March 2009. In addition, there was a news report that then Commander in Chief of Ground Forces Vladimir Boldyrev said that exercises testing the brigades in the “Future of the Armed Forces” would be carried out 30 times in 2009. (*Russia Now*, March 23, 2009).
 - 160) The number of cases of the Russian fleet passing through the three international straits (Soya, Tsugaru, Tsushima) of Japan that have been identified and disclosed is as follows: three cases in the Soya Strait in FY2009 (two in 2007, three in 2008), none in the Tsugaru Strait (none in 2007, two in 2008), and ten cases in the Tsushima Strait (none in 2007 and one in 2008), showing an increase in the last few years.
 - 161) Long range flights in the vicinity around Japan were carried out in areas surrounding Japan by Tu-95 long range bombers in October and November 2009, and January, March, April, May, June, July and August 2010, by Tu-160 long range bombers in June 2010, and by Tu-142 patrol planes in September and October 2009.
 - 162) In August 2008, after the Georgia conflict, President Medvedev expressed the view that Russia has regions where it has its privileged interests.
 - 163) Aiming to maintain regional peace and security and implement a joint response to terrorism, etc., SCO conducts an anti-terrorism drill “Peace Mission” and makes efforts for the stability of Afghanistan.
 - 164) Russia and Belarus signed an arrangement on a united regional air defense system in February 2009.
 - 165) Some CIS countries attempt to maintain a distance from Russia. Each member state of GUAM, a regional structure formed by Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova (the acronym “GUAM” is composed of the initial letters of the member states) had been taking mostly pro-Western policies to reduce their security and economic dependence on Russia. Georgia seceded from the CIS in August 2009. On the other hand, in Ukraine Viktor Yanukovich, whose base of support is a region that is strongly influenced by Russia, was appointed as the new President in February 2010. Attention will be paid to trends in the improvement of relations with Russia in the future.
 - 166) 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 personnel. 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 force has expanded to nine battalions with 4,500 personnel.

- 167) In November 2005, U.S. forces withdrew from Uzbekistan. In February 2009, Kyrgyz notified the United States that it would close down its air base in Manas that the U.S. uses for anti-terrorism operations. But in June 2009 the United States and the Kyrgyz signed an agreement on the creation of a Transit Center at this base.
- 168) However, Uzbekistan and Belarus did not sign at the Non-Official Summit of the Heads of the CSTO (July–August 2009) concerning its creation.
- 169) Russia concluded a border security agreement with South Ossetia and Abkhazia in April 2009, and signed an agreement over the establishment of a Russian military base within Abkhazian territory with Abkhazia in February 2010.
- 170) The Chechen Republic was hit by large-scale terrorist attacks in 1999 with the involvement of insurgents. The Russian government conducted sweep operations against pro-independence opposition groups and many prominent terrorists were either killed or captured. The overall number of terrorist attacks has been on the decline since 2007, although attacks on VIPs and police officers have occurred sporadically in Ingushetia and Dagestan.
- 171) Joint Statement by the leaders of the United States and Russia regarding negotiations on further reductions in strategic offensive arms (April 1, 2009).
- 172) The United States plans to set in place MD systems which include sea-based missiles and mobile radar by 2011 and land based missiles in a phased manner from then until 2020, on the grounds that the threat to Europe from Iran's medium and short range missiles to which the United States needs to respond has developed more rapidly than predicted.
- 173) Statement by the Russian Federation concerning missile defense (April 8, 2010).
- 174) 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 means of delivery, 4) arms control and confidence measures, 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.
- 175) 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 to a possession limit 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 enter into effect.
- 176) In a statement released in September 2008, the Russian Foreign Ministry said that Ukraine's aspirations towards NATO membership are in conflict with the security interests of Russia.
- 177) Proposed by President Medvedev during a visit to Germany in June 2008.
- 178) The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (released in July 2008).
- 179) The 2012 APEC Summit Meeting is planned to be held in Vladivostok, based on suggestions by Russia.
- 180) "Peace Mission 2009," an SCO joint exercise for anti-terrorism, was held in July 2009.
- 181) Rosoboronexport became a subsidiary of Rostech, a state-run public corporation founded in November 2007.
- 182) From 2003 to 2004, Russia concluded contracts with Indonesia, Malaysia, and Vietnam to sell its Su-27 and Su-30 jet fighters and some fighters have already been delivered to the contracting countries. In March 2010 Russia agreed to deliver an aircraft carrier to India by the end of 2012, and concluded a contract to sell MiG-29K fighters to India. In 2006, Russia concluded agreements with Algeria and Venezuela to sell Su-30 jet fighters, and a number of them have already been delivered to these countries.

- 183) According to a report by the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) of the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC), the number of incidents of piracy in Southeast Asia has been declining every year, from 170 cases in 2003 to 158 cases in 2004, 102 cases in 2005, 83 cases in 2006, 70 cases in 2007, 54 cases in 2008, and 45 cases in 2009.
- 184) CARAT is a collective term for a series of the bilateral exercises held between the United States and six Southeast Asian countries (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand).
- 185) The ratio of defense spending to the national budget has stood at 26–32% from 2000 through 2009. Singapore has the policy of keeping its defense budget to no more than 6% of its gross domestic product (GDP), and this ratio has been in the 4–5% range between 2000 and 2010.
- 186) Based on the perception that national defense cannot be achieved by conventional military force alone, being faced with limited human resources and changes in the nature of modern warfare, Total Defense is promoted whereby people are organized in five components: Psychological, Social, Economic, Civil, and Military Defense.
- 187) The Third Generation Singapore Forces place emphasis on three aspects: integration/networking, holistic advancements, and technological advancement.
- 188) Singapore introduced early-warning aircraft E-2C in 1987, air tanker KC-135R in 1997, and a submarine rescue mother ship in 2008.
- 189) Singapore conducts flight training by establishing detachments in the United States, the F-15SG in Idaho and the F-16 in Arizona, and also carries out training by dispatching its troops for a long period of time to France, Australia, New Zealand, Brunei, and other countries.
- 190) Singapore concluded a Defence Cooperation Agreement with India in 2003; as well as other similar agreements with Germany in 2005; with China and Australia in 2008; and with New Zealand, Vietnam and South Korea in 2009. In December 2009, Japan and Singapore signed a Memorandum on Defence Exchanges.
- 191) Singapore dispatched landing ships, transport planes and air tankers to Iraq for a total of 11 times between November 2003 and December 2008, while it sent dental officers and construction engineering corps to Afghanistan between May 2007 and January 2010. Furthermore, Singapore dispatched a naval vessel for counter-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden in operations under the command of Combined Task Force 151 (CTF-151) from April 2009 to July 2009. In January 2010, Singapore took over command of CTF-151 from the United States and took charge of the task force until April 2010.
- 192) Based on the website of the Malaysian Ministry of Defense.
- 193) The Malaysian Ministry of Defense explains Self-Reliance, Regional Cooperation and Foreign Aid as follows:
- The pursuit of self-reliance involves not only combat forces but also a logistical support network and the defense industry.
 - Regional Cooperation involves the promotion of strong bilateral defense cooperation among ASEAN countries.
 - Foreign Aid involves seeking assistance from outside the region when the level of threat is beyond the country's capability as well as the utilization of the framework of the Five Power Defence Arrangements (FPDA).
- 194) In April 2009, Chief of Army Muhammad Ismail Jamaluddin stated that the Malaysian Army would not participate in any other multilateral joint exercises than the FPDA.
- 195) As of the end of April 2010, Malaysia has dispatched a total of 1,084 servicemen on U.N. peacekeeping missions, including 741 to the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) and 215 to the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT).

- 196) In August 2008, when two chemical tankers of Malaysian registry were attacked in succession by pirates in the Gulf of Aden, Malaysia dispatched naval vessels and special forces for rescue operations in order to protect Malaysian commercial ships passing through the waters there. Subsequently, in June 2009, the Malaysian Navy requisitioned a container ship from one of the country's private shipping companies and sent them to the Gulf of Aden for antipiracy measures.
- 197) Based on Indonesia's Defence White Paper 2008.
- 198) Based on Indonesia's Defence White Paper 2008.
- 199) IMET provides the military personnel of U.S. allies and friendly nations with opportunities for studying and training at U.S. military educational institutions. In action against Indonesia's suppression of independence movements in Timor-Leste, the United States in 1992 suspended IMET for Indonesia. Though sanctions against Indonesia were partially lifted in 1995, the United States suspended IMET again in 1999.
- 200) Based on Indonesia's Defence White Paper 2008.
- 201) Sigma-class corvettes have been built in the Netherlands, with the first of them commissioned in 2007. The corvette has a full displacement of some 1,700 tons, is about 90 m long, 13m wide and of 3.6m draft. Indonesia currently has four Sigma-class corvettes.
- 202) According to Defence of Thailand 2008, United Defence means the consolidation of national power by the armed forces in every dimension including military, political, economic, socio-psychological, and scientific and technological aspects, for national defense. Active Defence means that the armed forces prepare, reinforce, develop, and administer all military resources so that they are self-sufficient and ready to be used as a deterrent to solve problems and to settle disputes.
- 203) Based on Defence of Thailand 2008.
In southern Thailand, there have been frequent attacks and explosions reportedly caused by Islamic armed groups calling for separation and independence from Thailand. Since 2004 to the present, over 3,000 people were reportedly killed and several thousands injured in these attacks.
- 204) The aircraft carrier *Chakri Naruebet* was built in Spain and commissioned in 1997. The flattop has a full displacement of some 11,500 tons, and is some 180m long and some 30m wide. Its main tasks are search and rescue operations and EEZ surveillance; however, some point out that the aircraft carrier rarely goes to sea due to funding shortages.
- 205) Based on Defence of Thailand 2008.
- 206) Thailand, the United States, Japan, Singapore, Indonesia, and the ROK participated in the Cobra Gold exercise, with some 100 people taking part from Japan's Ministry of Defense and Self-Defense Forces.
- 207) 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 a designated country's close military cooperation with the United States. On top of Thailand, the 13 other countries of Australia, Egypt, Israel, Japan, ROK, Jordan, New Zealand, Argentina, Bahrain, the Philippines, Kuwait, Morocco, and Pakistan have been designated as MNNAs.
- 208) Remarks of then U.S. Deputy Secretary of State John D. Negroponte at the 5th annual United States Asia Pacific Council conference (April 11, 2008).
- 209) The all-people national defense is described as efforts to build up defense capabilities by combining the unity of people and the political system under the guidance of the Communist Party of Vietnam.
- 210) Based on Vietnam National Defence 2009.
- 211) The United States amended the International Traffic in Arms Regulations, opening the way for exports of nonlethal defense articles to Vietnam on the condition of case-by-case licenses or approvals.

- 212) The Philippine Constitution states that “foreign military bases, troops, or facilities shall not be allowed in the Philippines,” unless the Senate formally approves a treaty and furthermore, if Congress requires it, that the people of the Philippines vote for the treaty, since the end of the Military Bases Agreement in 1991. However, in addition to the mutual defense treaty and the military assistance agreement, the Philippines concluded the Philippines–United States Visiting Forces Agreement in 1998 and the Mutual Logistics Supply Agreement in 2002, maintaining close military relations with the United States.
- 213) When the 1947 Philippine–U.S. agreement on military bases was revised in 1966, the time limit for the presence of U.S. military bases in the Philippines was set for 1991. Negotiations regarding the Military Bases Agreement began in 1992 but were difficult, and furthermore Clark Air Base was rendered unusable due to the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1991. Although the two nations signed a U.S.–Philippines friendship cooperation treaty the same year, the Philippines Senate rejected it, and since they could not agree on an alternate treaty, in December 1991 the Philippines government announced, with U.S. agreement, that the Military Bases Agreement would be terminated. Clark Air Base Field was returned in November 1991, followed by the return of the Subic Naval Base in November 1991. U.S. forces stationed at the two bases were moved to Guam, Okinawa, and other locations. Subsequently, the two countries signed the Visiting Forces Agreement in 1998, providing for the legal status of U.S. military personnel visiting for joint military exercises in the Philippines.
- 214) Balikatan has been conducted since 1991, but it was suspended between 1995 and 1999 due to the domestic conditions of the Philippines. It was resumed in 2000.
- 215) See Notes 206 and 207.
- 216) Defence of Thailand 2008 states that “Major equipment of the Navy must be modernized to meet these needs and must also be balanced with our neighboring states so that the Royal Thailand Navy can jointly engage in regional security cooperation” and “submarines will be efficient deterrent weapons and offensive defence to enhance capability of underwater operation for naval force in the Gulf of Thailand and the Coast of Andaman Sea.”
In January 2010, Commander of the Royal Thai Navy Admiral Khamthorn Pumhiran reportedly remarked that “The reason for acquiring submarines is to fulfill our military strategy. The submarines can serve many purposes and is a necessity. We want to make sure that once we are able to afford submarines, we’ll be ready for them.”
- 217) The vice president of Rosoboronexport, Russia’s state-run weapons exporter, reportedly said in August 2009 that the company will supply Vietnam with eight Su-30 fighters by the end of 2010.
- 218) It was reported in December 2009 that Vietnam has agreed to purchase six Kilo-class submarines for a total of some \$2 billion and Russia will build them at the pace of one submarine a year.
- 219) Based on the Military Balance (2010), published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS).
- 220) Currently, China, Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei all claim territorial rights over the Spratly Islands, while China, Taiwan, and Vietnam 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.
- 221) 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.
- 222) The draft of the Regional Code of Conduct in the South China Sea was proposed by the Philippines at an ASEAN foreign ministers’ meeting 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 details.

- 223) China conducted military exercises in the Paracel Islands in November 2007 and it was reported in December 2008 that the Chinese government approved the establishment of “Sansha City” including the Spratly Islands, which provoked anti-Chinese public demonstrations in Vietnam. In 2008, Vietnam and the Philippines condemned and expressed concerns about the visit of then Taiwanese President Chen Shui-bian to Itu Aba Island of the Spratly Islands. In February 2009, China protested against the legislation of the Philippines Archipelagic Baseline Law, and Taiwan and Vietnam both announced that the Spratly Islands and others belonged exclusively to them and that they would not approve of any act of infringement of this. In November 2009, the Hainan provincial government of China decided to establish a committee of villagers in some islands of the Paracel Islands, which drew Vietnam’s denunciation as an act to infringe on its territorial rights, and when China sent ships to control fishery operations to the Paracel Islands, Vietnam lodged a protest with China that the act represented a serious violation of Vietnamese sovereignty. Recently, it has been reported that China considers the South China Sea to be its “core interest.”
- 224) In July 2007, a joint exercise codenamed Strike 2007 was conducted in Guangzhou, China, followed by the joint exercise Strike 2008 in Chiang Mai, Thailand, in September 2008.
- 225) A joint counterterrorism exercise code-named Cooperation 2009 was conducted in Guilin, China, in June 2009, with some 60 people each participating from China and Singapore.
- 226) The 3rd ASEAN Defense Ministers’ Meeting discussed a wide range of cross-border security issues, including natural disasters, terrorism, maritime security, pandemics, and three concept papers were adopted, on the principles for membership in the enlarged ASEAN Defense Ministers’ Meeting (ADMM Plus), the use of ASEAN military assets and capabilities in humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, and others. Also, at the 4th ADMM in May this year, a decision was made to establish the ADDM-Plus, to include eight nations from outside the ASEAN region, including Japan.
- 227) Based on the principles of the consensus system and of non-interference in internal affairs, ASEAN failed to take effective measures against Myanmar, etc., and thus the direction of organizational reform attracted much attention. The ASEAN Charter has adopted the principle of unanimity as before; thus, when a consensus cannot be reached, the ASEAN Summit may decide how a specific decision is to be made. Furthermore, the Charter prescribed that in the case of a serious breach of the Charter or non-compliance, the matter shall be referred to the ASEAN Summit for decision and that ASEAN shall establish an ASEAN human rights body. The ASEAN Charter strives for the enhancement of its organization and institutions as mentioned above.
- 228) The first ASEAN–U.S. Summit was held in conjunction with the ASEAN Summit held in Singapore in November 2009. The second Summit with Russia is scheduled to take place by the end of 2010.
- 229) Based on the Chairman’s Statement of the 15th ASEAN Summit.
- 230) 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. The ASEAN member countries (Indonesia, Malaysia, The Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar, and Cambodia), Japan, Bangladesh, China, India, The Republic of Korea, and Sri Lanka participated in the negotiations on the agreement. However, Indonesia and Malaysia did not sign the agreement. Meanwhile, Norway became the first extra-regional party to sign the agreement, bringing the number of parties to the agreement to 15.
- 231) The IMT comprised Brunei, Libya, and Japan, is chaired by Malaysia and has conducted truce monitoring in Mindanao since October 2004 based on the ceasefire agreement reached in July 2003 between the Philippines government and the MILF.
- 232) The newly resumed IMT comprised Malaysia, Japan, Brunei, including some NGOs.

- 233) In December 2009, Japan decided to join the International Contact Group (ICG), which comprises Japan, the United Kingdom, Turkey, and four nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The ICG is providing advice to parties for peace in Mindanao and participating in peace negotiations as an observer.
- 234) At present, the International Stabilization Force (ISF) consists of the two countries of Australia (some 400 members) and New Zealand (some 150 members).
- 235) The mandate of UNMIT has been extended to February 26, 2011, under the U.N. Security Council Resolution 1912 adopted in February 2010. As of the end of March 2010, a total of 1,553 members have been sent from 40 countries.
- 236) The country has a Muslim population exceeding 100 million.
- 237) The Annual Defense Report published in August 2009 states that the threats of terrorism and the proliferation of weapons, drugs, and nuclear technology are threats which require vigilance without rest with regard to relations with surrounding nations with the understanding that security threats to India are not limited by borders.
- 238) The number of personnel from the Indian forces engaged in U.N. peacekeeping operations has been ranked either third or fourth in the world since 2001.
- 239) In October 2008, the Indian government approved the dispatch of Navy vessels on a patrol mission to the Gulf of Aden, and in November 2008, a frigate of Indian Navy sank a fishing vessel which had been hijacked by pirates.
- 240) Regarding the procurement of multipurpose fighters, Defense Minister Antony has cited the provision of the contract which calls for introduction of technology created through joint development.
- 241) India also conducted a test launch of the Agni-2 in November 2009; however, it was reported that the test had failed.
- 242) In December 2007, Dr. V. K. Saraswat, Chief Controller at the Defence Research & Development Organization (DRDO) of India's Ministry of Defence said that "the 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." However, in February 2010, he stated to reporters that the Agni-5 is categorized as an ICBM with a range of over 5,000km and that there are plans for a test launch to take place within a year.
- 243) In March 2009, 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 similar tests in 2006 and December 2007.
- 244) U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates told reporters at the press conference during his visit to India in February 2008, "Missile defense talks with India are in the very initial stages. We have just started to talk about conducting a joint analysis about what India's needs would be in the realm of missile defense and where cooperation between us might help advance that."
- 245) 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.
- 246) Then U.S. President Bush called India a "natural partner" of the United States.
- 247) Both countries agreed to begin "strategic dialogue" to discuss wide ranging issues including the prevention of nuclear proliferation and measures for global warming. Minister of External Affairs S. M. Krishna expressed his understanding at the press conference following the talks that U.S.-India relations had entered a "third phase" on top of the existing relationship of cooperation in the realms of the economy and politics.
- 248) U.S. President Obama received Prime Minister Singh as the first state guest since the beginning of his administration. After the talks, he announced a policy to move forward with cooperation in new areas in addition to announcing a joint statement and reconfirming the "Global Partnership".

- 249) 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.
- 250) Originally, the “Malabar” exercise was a bilateral exercise between the United States and India, but five countries took part in Malabar 07-2, including Japan, Australia, and Singapore.
- 251) Seventeen Stryker wheeled armored personnel carriers participated from the United States.
- 252) India purchased an Austin-class Amphibious Transport Dock from the U.S. Navy in 2007, and the vessel was commissioned as INS *Jalashwa* in June 2007. This vessel is the first former U.S. vessel possessed by Indian Navy.
- 253) P-8 is a new type of U.S. Navy patrol aircraft. The United States had not exported the aircraft before it did to India.
- 254) 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.
- 255) 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.
- 256) At the talks, both countries agreed to continue talks in order to reach an equitable accord acceptable to both countries. They also verified that efforts would be made to protect the peace and security of border regions.
- 257) The objective of this exercise is reported to be the strengthening of mutual understanding/trust and the promotion of relationships between Chinese and Indian military forces. Hand-in-Hand 2007 in December 2007 and Hand-in-Hand 2008 in December 2008 saw the participation of about 100 military personnel from both sides.
- 258) India test-launched the said missile in January and March 2009.
- 259) The joint statement included deepening of the strategic partnership.
- 260) Both countries signed agreements including an agreement regarding a military technology cooperation program to run from 2011 through 2020, an agreement regarding maintenance for equipment and weapons sold by Russia to India, the November 12, 2007 agreement protocol regarding cooperation in the development and manufacturing of military transports, and an agreement regarding cooperation in nuclear energy use for peaceful purposes.
- 261) 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.
- 262) The joint exercise India has been conducting every other year since 2003.
- 263) 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.
- 264) President Zardari delivered the first address to the Parliament in September 2008. He said that his administration would continue the three-pronged strategy of the previous administration but that the use of force would only be used as a last resort against terrorism, advocating the necessity of renouncing violence

and making peace with those who are willing to make peace as well as of investing in the development and social improvement of the local people. He also stressed the need of FATA (Federally Administered Tribal Areas) reform to root out terrorism. While he asked the government to stay firm in its resolve to not allow its soil to be used for terrorist activities against foreign countries, he also stated that Pakistan would not tolerate the violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity by any power in the name of combating terrorism.

- 265) Pakistan also conducted a test launch of the Babur (Hatf-VII) cruise missile in March 2007.
- 266) From November to December 2006 Pakistan conducted a series of initial test launches of the Ghauri (Hatf-V) and Shaheen (Hatf-IV) intermediate-range ballistic missiles.
- 267) 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 a 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.
- 268) 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.
- 269) In December 2008, General Kayani, Chief of Army Staff, released a statement after a meeting with Chinese Vice Foreign Minister, He Yafei, who visited Pakistan to ease tensions. He demonstrated Pakistan's stance of avoiding armed conflict, highlighting the need to de-escalate and avoid conflict in the interests of peace and security.
- 270) While both Prime Ministers agreed that talks were the only method to move forward (with relations between the two countries) and to separate (Pakistani) anti-terrorism measures from (the restarting of) the multiple dialogues (between India and Pakistan), a specific date for the restart of talks was not touched on.
- 271) English papers in Pakistan dated March 8, 2009, reported that the Pakistani Air Force and a Chinese company had struck a deal to jointly produce 42 JF-17 fighter aircraft.
- 272) 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.
Further, in March 2009 the navies of twelve nations of Pakistan, China, the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Australia, Japan, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Kuwait, Nigeria, and Turkey participated in the Pakistan hosted the multinational joint military training exercise "Aman 2009." China deployed naval special forces to the exercise in addition to warships.
- 273) 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.
- 274) Regarding the possibility of extending nuclear energy cooperation to Pakistan, then 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.
- 275) The United States has expressed the intention to provide 12 RQ-7 "Shadow" unmanned aerial vehicles (UAV) to Pakistan.
- 276) In September 2005, then 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 allegations that he passed on nuclear secrets were false. In the interview, he said that there was pressure put on him to accept the charges "in the national interest."

- 277) Australia released its Defence White Paper previously in 1987, 1994, and 2000.
- 278) It has been decided that the destroyer combat system will be a U.S.-made Aegis system equipped with SM-6 long-range anti-aircraft missiles.
- 279) 2009 Defence White Paper.
- 280) 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.
- 281) Talisman Saber is a biennial joint exercise between the United States and Australia, first carried out in 2005, and aims to improve readiness and interoperability in operations ranging from traditional wars to peacekeeping and humanitarian aid. In 2009 it included more than 24,000 troops participating from the United States and Australia in amphibious assault training, urban combat training, and airborne training.
- 282) The Joint Combined Training Capability Memorandum of Understanding was concluded in 2009 to improve the quality of joint training and reduce cost.
- 283) Australia announced its participation in the U.S. missile defense program in December 2003. At the AUSMIN in 2004, the United States and Australia signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) that provides a 25-year framework for missile defense system development and testing (details of the MOU have not been disclosed). In August 2004, Australia selected the Aegis air warfare system as the combat system for new air warfare destroyers (AWD). It is suggested that the AWD would support the ballistic missile defense system.
- 284) 2009 Defence White Paper.
- 285) The 2009 Defence White Paper states that "China will also be the strongest Asian military power, by a considerable margin... But the pace, scope and structure of China's military modernization have the potential to give its neighbors cause for concern if not carefully explained, and if China does not reach out to others to build confidence regarding its military plans. China has begun to do this in recent years, but needs to do more. If it does not, there is likely to be a question in the minds of regional states about the long-term strategic purpose of its force development plans, particularly as the modernization appears potentially to be beyond the scope of what would be required for a conflict over Taiwan." In its regularly scheduled press conference of May 5, 2008, the Chinese Ministry of National Defense stated that "the modernization of China's military strength is not a threat to any nation. Related nations should view this objectively and without bias."
- 286) From a speech given by then Minister for Defence Joel Fitzgibbon at the Australian Defence Force Academy on March 10, 2009.
- 287) The 12th Australia–China Strategic Defense Dialogue was held in October 2001. Note that these talks were raised to the chief of staff/assistant defense minister level in 2008.
- 288) The 2009 Defence White Paper states, "Developing our defence relationship with China is therefore a priority. Greater engagement is essential to encourage transparency about Chinese military capabilities and intentions, understand each other's approaches and secure greater cooperation in areas of shared interest."
- 289) In addition to carrying out joint search and rescue exercises, the first such exercises between the navies of Australia and China off the coast of Qingdao in October 2004, a trilateral search and rescue exercise with the addition of New Zealand was carried out in the Tasmanian Sea in October 2007. It is reported that in September 2009, the Chief of the Australian Defence Force and the U.S. Commander, Pacific Command, agreed to approach China with the possibility of military training exercises between the three countries.
- 290) In July 2004, the ASEAN–Australia Joint Declaration for Cooperation to Combat International Terrorism was signed between Australia and ASEAN.

Australia signed a memorandum of understanding for counter-terrorism with the Philippines in March 2003 and a status of forces agreement in May 2007 regarding visiting units. Further, approximately 130 Philippine soldiers are being trained in Australia.

Regarding Vietnam, Vietnamese officers are being trained in Australia based on a bilateral defense cooperation program, and regional defense dialogues have been carried out since 1998.

Australia concluded a memorandum of understanding for counter-terrorism with Thailand in October 2002. Australia also signed a memorandum of understanding for counter-terrorism with Brunei in February 2002.

- 291) 2009 Defence Whitepaper.
- 292) In addition to signing a memorandum of understanding for counter-terrorism in February 2002, Australia and Indonesia jointly held a regional summit regarding counter-terrorism in March 2007.
- 293) The agreement regarding a framework for security cooperation, called the Lombok Agreement, was signed in November 2006 and took effect in February 2008. Its goals include the cooperation in the war on terror and transnational crimes, defense, law enforcement, counter-terrorism, intelligence, maritime and aviation security, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and response to contingencies.
- 294) A large scale military exercise called “Bersama Padu,” was held in 2006 around the South China Sea, and a joint air force training exercise called “Bersama Shield” is also held each year in Malaysia. Australia signed a memorandum of understanding for counter-terrorism with Malaysia in August 2002. Further, in addition to a permanent Australian Air Force presence in Malaysia’s Butterworth air base, the Malaysian military receives training in Australia based on the Australia Malaysia joint defense program which began in 1994, and joint exercises are carried out every year. Australia signed a memorandum of understanding regarding defense cooperation with Singapore in August 2008.
- 295) This took effect in 1971. The framework stipulated that in the event of an attack on or threat to Malaysia or Singapore, the nations of Australia, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom would discuss the response. In recent years focus has been expanded to include non-traditional threats such as terrorism and maritime security as well as humanitarian aid and disaster relief.
- 296) A Defence Update 2007 and 2009 Defence White Paper.
- 297) 2009 Defence White Paper.
- 298) The breakdown of the military forces is as follows: Army: approx. 27,500 personnel, Navy: approx. 13,200 personnel, Air Force: 14,100 personnel.
- 299) In April 2006 demonstrations by rebels in Dili, the capital of Timor-Leste, turned into riots, and the ADF was dispatched in response to a request from the Government of Timor-Leste. In December 2009, stating that the security conditions of Timor-Leste had improved, the Australian Department of Defence announced that the Australian military presence be reduced from 650 to 400 troops, and the ISF announced it would shift its focus to improving the capability of the Timor-Leste military.
- 300) The activities began 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 tribal conflict was out of control. The 15 participating countries include Australia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and Tonga.
- 301) This is from a statement by Australian Minister for Defence John Faulkner in a speech in support of the U.S. reevaluation of its strategy for Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Australian military is the largest contributor to the ISAF among non NATO member nations. Australia has expressed support for the reevaluation by the United States of its Afghanistan and Pakistan strategies and has not set a deadline for withdrawal from Afghanistan. However, it has stated that there is also no plan to increase the deployment.

- 302) The government announced on April 29, 2009 that it would deploy approximately 450 additional personnel to Afghanistan. The additional units include approximately 330 personnel engaged in training and support of the Afghanistan military in Uruzgan Province and approximately 120 troops deployed temporarily to maintain security during the elections in August of the same year.
- 303) Two sea patrol aircraft, three transports, and one frigate are operating in the Middle East. It was announced in May 2009 that in addition to their anti-terrorism mission, the patrol aircraft and frigate would also take on the mission of responding to piracy.
- 304) In contrast to the mission of collective defense (collective defense within the region) provided in Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, the mission of conflict prevention and crisis management is called a non-Article 5 mission.
- 305) Two strategic commands; Allied Command, Europe and Allied Command, Atlantic; were merged into one Allied Command Operations, and the Supreme Allied Commander Transformation (SACT) was established to supervise the transformation of capabilities and improvement of interoperability of NATO forces.
- 306) Also, in an effort to strengthen NATO's Strategic Airlift Capability, three C-17 airlifters were procured from the United States and began operations between July and October 2009.
- 307) Article 42 section 7 of the fundamental European treaty amended by the Lisbon Treaty stipulates aid and assistance by other member states if the territory of a member state is the victim of armed aggressions. However, it also stipulates that actions based on this article shall be consistent with commitments under NATO.
- 308) As of April 2010, units from Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Luxembourg, and Portugal are participating in Operation Atalanta. There has also been participation from non-EU member states such as Norway.
- 309) 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 roles and missions of the WEU were 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, NATO and the EU made a permanent arrangement concerning the above decision.
- 310) Stating that security conditions in Bosnia-Herzegovina remained unstable, the European Council announced that it was prepared to continue its military role in support of Bosnia-Herzegovina beyond 2010.
- 311) In March 2009, military missions in Chad and the Central African Republic were transferred from the European Union military operation in Chad and the Central African Republic (EUROR TCHAD RCA) to United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT).
- 312) They are called Petersberg tasks. They consist of combat unit missions in crisis management, including 1) humanitarian assistance and rescue operations, 2) peacekeeping, and 3) peacebuilding.
- 313) Four central/eastern European countries and three Baltic States (Romania, Slovenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria and Slovakia) joined in March 2004 and Albania and Croatia joined in April 2009. The Council of European Union Foreign Ministers meeting in December 2008 called for Georgia and Ukraine to accelerate political, military and other reforms towards accession to the EU.
- 314) Established in 1994. Separate cooperation agreements have been concluded between NATO and non-NATO countries of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) such as Central and Eastern European countries.
- 315) Established in 1994, the MD currently has seven participant 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 Mediterranean countries.

- 316) The term “Contact Country” has been used since the NATO Istanbul Summit Meeting in 2004. NATO pursues partnerships on a case-by-case basis with countries which share common interests and concerns with NATO.
- 317) The white paper titled *Delivering Security in a Changing World* published in December 2003, states the need for rapid and long-range deployment of military force in order to deal with international terrorism and the proliferation of WMD. It set the objective of establishing defense capabilities to support three concurrent operations, including one long-term peacekeeping operation.
- 318) The Strategic Defence Review (SDR) in 1998 stated that a direct military threat to the United Kingdom did not exist and that recurrence of such a threat could not be predicted.
- 319) *Delivering Security in a Changing World* released in December 2003 stated that there was no longer a need for capacity to prepare for the recurrence of direct, traditional, strategic threats to the United Kingdom or its allies.
- 320) 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.
- 321) The Cameron administration which was inaugurated in May 2010 has determined to implement the “Strategic Defence and Security Review” under the newly formed National Security Council.
- 322) The questions raised as requiring deliberation are: 1) “Given that domestic security cannot be separated from international security, where should we set the balance between focusing on our territory and region and engaging threats at a distance?”, 2) “What approach should we take if we employ the Armed Forces to address threats at distance?”, 3) “What contribution should the Armed Forces make in ensuring security and contributing to resilience within the UK?”, 4) “How could we more effectively employ the Armed Forces in support of wider efforts to prevent conflict and strengthen international stability?”, 5) “Do our current international defence and security relationships require rebalancing in the longer term?” and 6) “Should we further integrate our forces with those of key allies and partners?” In addition, according to the paper, the Review will also have to decide: “To what extent and in what areas should we continue to refocus .our current efforts on Afghanistan?”
- 323) 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 multilateral operations, such as those executed by NATO combat readiness troops or EU battlegroups, 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, through activities including the management of command, educational, and training organizations.
- 324) At the launching ceremony of the ship submersible ballistic nuclear-powered (SSBN) submarine, *Le Terrible*, in March 2008, French president Sarkozy expressed his view of the country’s nuclear capability; given the existing risk of nuclear proliferation and other threats, nuclear deterrence is the ultimate guarantee to protect France from any state’s aggression against vital national interests 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 would become no more than 300 warheads. Further, on January 27, 2010, the new SLBM (M-51) was successfully test launched from a submarine for the first time.

325) On March 17, 2009, the French government won a parliamentary vote on its plan to return to NATO's integrated military command. While the government announced its participation in NATO's integrated military command in April at the NATO Summit, President Sarkozy stated in his speech delivered in March 2009 that France will retain an independent nuclear deterrent.