Section 8. Europe

1. General Situation

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

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

2. Enhancement and Enlargement of Security Frameworks

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

1) Commitment to a New Role

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Geographical Expansion and Partnership of Security Frameworks

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

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

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

Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, NATO and Russia have sought to improve relations, and established the
NATO-Russia Council (NRC) in 2002 in light of the need to deal with common issues concerning security. NATO and Russia have continued to pursue dialogue and cooperation in areas such as the fight against terrorism, arms control, and theater missile defense\textsuperscript{193}.

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

![Fig. I-2-8-3 Enlargement of NATO and EU Membership](image)

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

Since the end of the Cold War, each individual country—conscious of the new threats of terrorism and the proliferation of WMD—have begun to place emphasis on the allocation of personnel to missions other than national defense. As a result, there has been an emphasis on strengthening transport capacity for overseas deployment, giving consideration to the role of NATO and other defense organizations. Moreover, many European countries have implemented quantitative reductions and restructuring of their military power, while channeling efforts into modernizing their military and increasing national defense expenditures\textsuperscript{194}.

1. The United Kingdom

The U.K. has maintained the perception that it is not subject to any direct military threats and therefore has pursued military reform focused on enhancing capacity in order to cope with new threats with the end of the Cold War. In particular, the U.K. regarded international terrorism and the proliferation of WMD as major threats and improved its overseas deployment capacity and readiness has been advanced\textsuperscript{195}.
The first National Security Strategy of the United Kingdom was announced in March of this year. The strategy highlights the broadened view of national security to include threats to individual citizens, and it considers transnational crime, pandemics, and flooding, etc., as threats along with terrorism and the spread of WMD. It also cites factors such as climate change, competition for energy, and poverty as the causes of these threats. To cope with these diverse and interrelated threats, the strategy takes a multilateral approach through the U.N., EU and NATO while seeking the cooperation not only of the military and the police, but also the private sector and regional governments, with a view to addressing threats at an early stage.

As outlined in the strategy, the international security environment has grown more complex and less predictable in terms of state-led military threats, which existing assessments conclude cannot be expected in the foreseeable future\textsuperscript{196}. The strategy nevertheless states that while the reemergence of such threats in the long run is unlikely, they cannot be discounted, and thus sets forth a policy for maintaining strong defense capabilities\textsuperscript{197}. To be specific, the U.K. will give priority to the procurement of equipment for supporting its current operations, including strategic airlift, support helicopters and protected patrol vehicles. At the same time, it realizes that a complete rebuilding of its aircraft carriers, air defense and anti-submarine warfare will be difficult and therefore plans to invest for the long term in a broad range of military capabilities related to the defense of the United Kingdom. Furthermore, in a white paper, “The Future of the United Kingdom’s Nuclear Deterrence” issued in December 2006, the U.K. announced it would maintain its own nuclear deterrence based on submarine-launched ballistic missiles in the 2020s and beyond\textsuperscript{198}. These military capabilities will guarantee the United Kingdom’s future security while enabling it to make contributions to international efforts on peacekeeping and thus contribute to the international security environment.

2. Germany

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

To ensure the necessary military capabilities to meet the above mission, Germany plans to give priority in resource distribution to strengthening strategic transport capacity, global reconnaissance capabilities and efficient command capabilities with high interoperability. Specifically, Germany plans to introduce the A-400M transport aircraft and SAR-LUPE, a synthetic aperture radar satellite. It is also restructuring its military into integrated units divided by function: intervention, stabilization and assistance\textsuperscript{199}, while reducing personnel and relocating its domestic camps and facilities.

3. France

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

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

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

4. Efforts toward Stabilization in Europe

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

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

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

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

The Open Skies Treaty, designed to improve openness and transparency of military activities carried out by signatory countries through mutual inspection flights and also supplement arms control verification measures, was signed by 25 countries in 1992 and entered into force in January 2002.