

Section 8 Europe

1 General Situation

With the end of the Cold War, while many European countries now recognize that the threat of large-scale invasion by other countries has disappeared, diverse security challenges have emerged, such as outbreaks of regional conflict within and around Europe, the rise of terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs), and increasing numbers of cyberspace threats. In addition, in recent years, the financial situation, which is becoming increasingly severe, has had a great impact on the security and defense policy of each country.

To respond to such new and emerging threats and situations, Europe has sought to strengthen and expand the multilateral frameworks, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU)¹. At the same time, it is working to contribute to the security and stability of the international community by proactively participating in activities outside the European region. Moreover, initiatives are made at the national level for reviewing security and defense strategies, reforming national defense systems, and strengthening bilateral² and multilateral³ defense and security cooperation.

See ► *Fig. I-1-8-1 (Expansion Situation of the NATO-EU Member States)*

2 Enhancement of Multinational Security Frameworks

1 Security and Defense Policy of NATO/EU

Founded for the primary purpose of collective defense among member countries, NATO has

¹ NATO has continued expanding toward Central and Eastern Europe with the aim of stabilizing the entire Europe and Atlantic regions. Currently, three countries—Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina—are approved to participate in the Membership Action Plan (MAP), which is a program that provides support to future member states in their preparation to enter the Organization (conditionally for Bosnia and Herzegovina). The participation in the MAP for six other countries—Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, and Moldova—has not been recognized as of the current point in time, as these countries support initiatives for integration into the Europe and Atlantic regions through frameworks such as the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP), which is a program offered to countries that have the intent to deepen political cooperative relationships with NATO.

² For example, the United Kingdom and France signed treaties relating to bilateral defense and security cooperation, and on the shared use of nuclear facilities, at a summit meeting held in November 2010. In these treaties they agreed to move forward on the establishment of joint troops, the joint deployment of equipment, training, and research and development initiatives. In addition, at a UK-France summit meeting held in January 2014, a declaration on security and defense was adopted, and the two countries agreed on conducting joint development of surface-to-surface missiles, joint research on unmanned attackers, as well as on aiming to begin deploying joint dispatch troops by 2016.

³ For example, in September 2010, the four European countries of France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium established the European Air Transport Command (EATC) to jointly deploy transporters from the respective countries such as C-130 and A-310, as well as approximately 150 aerial refueling aircraft. In 2012, Luxemburg became a new member of this initiative.

expanded the scope of its activities to conflict prevention and crisis management since the end of the Cold War.

In the NATO Summit Meeting held in Lisbon in November 2010, NATO adopted a new Strategic Concept⁴ for the first time in 11 years to propose a guideline for the next decade for the creation of a more effective and flexible alliance. The document created by NATO lists the proliferation of WMDs and ballistic missiles, terrorism, instability and conflict beyond NATO borders, and cyber attacks as examples of major threats, defining three items as the core tasks of NATO: (1) collective defense in accordance with Article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which forms the basis for NATO, (2) management of developing crises before they escalate into conflicts and to help consolidate stability and reconstruction in post-conflict situations, and (3) cooperative security including active contribution to arms control, non-proliferation, and disarmament.

NATO has recently been promoting the concept of Smart Defence, as the national defense budgets of member states are declining and gaps in military capacity are widening among member states, in particular between European countries and the United States⁵. This is the concept with the objective of building greater security with fewer resources through multinational coordination with the following three pillars: (1)⁶ Prioritization: selection of prioritized areas to be invested in: (2)⁷ Specialization: specialization in areas where members have strength and (3) Multinational cooperation: promotion of joint procurement and joint operations of equipment. As specific measures for realizing this concept, the Chicago NATO Summit, held in May 2012, declared that NATO has gained the Interim Capability⁸ for a missile defense system⁹ to protect the people and the territory of NATO from ballistic missile attacks

⁴ The Strategic Concept is an official document defining the objectives, characteristics, and basic security-related responsibilities of NATO. The document has so far been formulated seven times (1949, 1952, 1957, 1968, 1991, 1999, and 2010).

⁵ At present, the contribution of the United States accounts for 70% of the total defense budget of all NATO member states. In the deployment of military forces in Libya led by the EU in 2011, it became clear that EU countries lack operation execution capabilities, in particular, intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR) capabilities, for which they had to depend on the United States.

⁶ At the NATO summit meeting held in Lisbon in November 2010, the allies committed to focus their investment on 11 prioritized areas, including missile defense, cyber defense, medical assistance, and intelligence activities.

⁷ It indicates that every member state does not necessarily need to possess all defense capabilities, but each nation specializes in areas where it has strength, and shares it among the Allied nations. As an example already in practice, the Baltic states depend on air policing operations by NATO allies and make certain contributions to the ISAF mission in Afghanistan, instead of abandoning the investment in procurement and maintenance of expensive aircraft.

⁸ Although the details are not fully known, it seems to indicate that NATO acquired limited capability against missiles by installing command and control functions that link interceptors and radars.

⁹ NATO has continuously been developing its unique Theater Missile Defense system since 2005, called

by linking interceptor missiles and radars of the member states under NATO's command and control. At the same time, the 13 member states of NATO signed a procurement contract for five Global Hawk (RQ-4) unmanned aircraft, which will serve as a core of the Alliance Ground Surveillance (AGS) system¹⁰. In addition, at the Chicago NATO Summit, the Connected Forces Initiative (CFI) was set up, which promotes enhancing mutual trainings conducted jointly among member states, and enhancing interoperability by sharing education training programs among member states. CFI is considered to aim at maintaining NATO's readiness and military capacity by combining the concepts of Smart Defence and CFI in reducing defense budgets in each country.

The EU tries to enhance its initiatives in security under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security Defense Policy (CSDP)¹¹. The first security document adopted in 2003, "A Secure Europe in a Better World," says that the EU aims to enhance its capabilities to deal with new threats, will make a contribution to its security through involvement in its immediate neighborhood, and will play a leading role in building an international order based on effective multilateralism by working with the United States, other partner countries, and international organizations including the United Nations.

Triggered by the reduction of defense budgets in EU countries and the capacity gap among members¹², the concept of "pooling and sharing" has been promoted, in which member states jointly manage and use more military capacities. In specific terms, cooperation has been promoted in the areas of air-to-air refueling, helicopter training, and field hospitals. The EU intends to make sure all the initiatives within this concept will complement, rather than interfere

Active Layered Theater Ballistic Missile Defence (ALTBMD), to protect deployed NATO forces from short- and medium-range ballistic missiles with a range of up to 3,000 kilometers. In the Lisbon Declaration of 2010, expansion of the area protected by this system was decided to all the NATO populations and territories. At present, NATO is promoting connection and integration with the MD system, which the U.S. deploys in a stage-wise manner, towards establishing a wide-ranged MD system based on ALTMID.

¹⁰ At the same Summit meeting, 22 multilateral projects were approved. These included the joint procurement of remote-controlled robots for clearing roadside bombs and the joint management of maritime patrol aircraft.

¹¹ The EU, although it has a property of non-binding multilateral cooperation, introduced the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), which covers all areas of foreign and security policy, based on the Treaty of Maastricht, which took effect in 1993. In June 1999, the European Council decided to implement the European Security and Defence Policy (ESDP) to offer peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance activities in conflict areas, as a part of the CFSP framework. The Treaty of Lisbon, made effective in 2009, renamed the ESDP the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) and clearly positioned it as an integral part of the CFSP.

¹² The European Defence Agency, an organization established to improve the EU's defense capabilities, reports that the military operations in Libya and elsewhere revealed the EU's lack of air-to-air refueling capability and precision-guided weapons, and its dependency on the United States.

with, the activities covered by the NATO framework, such as the Smart Defense initiative.

At the European Council Meeting (EU Summit) held in December 2013, CSDP was taken up as the main topic of discussion for the first time in five years, and a resolution about strengthening CSDP was adopted. Leaders agreed to take countermeasures against new security issues. These measures included the formulation of an EU cyber defense policy framework and EU maritime security strategy, promoting the joint development of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAV) from 2008 to 2013 as a measure to cope with the insufficient capability that became evident in recent military combat, as well as the procurement of aerial refueling capabilities.

2 NATO/EU's Activities Outside the Region¹³

Since August 2003, NATO has been leading the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. At the Chicago NATO Summit held in May 2012, leaders agreed to complete transition of security responsibilities by the end of 2014, shifting International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)'s main role from security enforcement to training, advice, and support for the Afghanistan National Security Force (ANSF), while the ANSF takes the lead for security operations across the country after mid-2013. It was also affirmed that NATO will continue to provide support for Afghanistan after the end of 2014. The Kosovo Force (KFOR) has continued to be implementing its missions within its framework, such as maintaining security since June 1999 in Kosovo, which declared independence in February 2008¹⁴.

In 2003, the EU led peacekeeping operations in Macedonia by using NATO's equipment and capabilities for the first time. Since then, it has been actively committed to the operations in crisis management and maintenance of peace and order¹⁵ by, for example, sending troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad, and Central Africa. Since February 2013, the EU has been implementing training mission to support training Malian troops and realignment in Mali, in which Islamic guerrillas and others pose serious threats. Also in January 2014, the EC decided to dispatch security forces to Central Africa, where the

¹³ While NATO has mainly focused on leading military operations, the EU has undertaken a number of civilian missions. Meanwhile, NATO asserts that a comprehensive approach, including police, civilian and military personnel, is required for crisis management. Thus, the EU keeps the EU Battle Groups on standby in order to take the initiative in peacekeeping missions when NATO is not involved. The division of roles between NATO and the EU is to be defined on a case-by-case basis. As the EU-NATO cooperative relationship, a permanent agreement between EU and NATO regarding EU's access to NATO assets and capabilities was established in December 2002.

¹⁴ In July 2013, NATO announced that the Kosovo Security Force possesses full operational capabilities in line with NATO standards to carry out their existing missions.

¹⁵ These are called Petersberg tasks. They consist of combat missions in crisis management, including 1) humanitarian assistance and rescue operations, 2) peacekeeping mission, and 3) combat mission in crisis management, including peacemaking.

situation has been of constant tumult. The forces commenced operations in April of the same year.

In addition, NATO and the EU have actively been engaged in anti-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden. Since October 2008, NATO has deployed Standing NATO Maritime Group (SNMG) ships in these waters for anti-piracy operations. It has also shouldered the responsibility to assist in the development of capacity to combat piracy activities for requesting countries since August 2009, based on Operation Ocean Shield. The EU has been engaged in Operation Atalanta against piracy in these waters, its first maritime mission, since December 2008, deploying vessels and aircraft. The vessels and aircraft dispatched from Allied countries are engaged in escorting ships and surveillance activities in the waters¹⁶.

3 Security / Defense Policies of European Countries

1 The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has maintained the perception that there is no direct military threat against the country after the end of the Cold War. In order to deal with new threats such as international terrorism and the proliferation of WMDs, the country has advanced national defense reform with particular focus on the improvement of its overseas deployment capability and readiness.

As it has been faced with the fatigue of its military organizations due to prolonged operations particularly in Afghanistan, and an increasing demand for reducing its defense budget¹⁷ due to the deteriorating financial situation, the Cameron administration, formed in May 2010, released the National Security Strategy (NSS) and Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR)¹⁸ in October 2010 under the newly-established National Security Council (NSC)¹⁹.

¹⁶ To tackle piracy in this area, the EU has undertaken “European Union Training Mission to Somalia” and “Regional Maritime Capacity Building Mission for the Horn of Africa and the Western Indian Ocean” in addition to “Operation Atalanta.” Based on a comprehensive approach, the EU not only implements piracy countermeasures, but is also working to develop and strengthen its coastal policing and judicial system capabilities.

¹⁷ “Spending Review 2010,” published by the Treasury Department in October 2010 following the NSS and SDRS, plans to reduce the defense budget by 8% in real terms by 2014-2015, including saving at least 4.3 billion pounds for the country’s non-frontline activities costs, except for what is required for operations in Afghanistan.

¹⁸ The Council is chaired by the Prime Minister and attended by major ministers related to national security and, if required, by the Chief of the Defense Staff, heads of intelligence agencies, and other senior officials. The newly-created National Security Adviser (NSA) coordinates the whole proceedings. The Council will be responsible for coordinating responses to dangers the United Kingdom faces by integrating at the highest level the work of the foreign, defense, energy, and international development departments, and all other arms of government contributing to national security; and proposing high-level strategic guidelines to the departments involved.

¹⁹ The Cameron administration leveraged the new NSS to analyze the strategic background surrounding the United Kingdom and to define the strategic objectives of the country. In the SDRS, it defined policies

The NSS evaluated the full range of potential risks, which might materialize over a 5 to 20-year horizon, from the perspective of their probability and impact; and then defined four items, including international terrorism, attacks upon cyberspace, major accidents or natural hazards, and international military crises as risks of the highest priority²⁰. The SDSR would decrease the number of military personnel and major equipment, and review its procurement plan due to increasing pressure to reduce the defense budget. At the same time, it aims to convert the forces into specialized, flexible, and modernized war potential through preferential allocation of resources to new threats, such as attacks in cyberspace and terrorism²¹.

In July 2012, “Army 2020,” an army reorganization plan, was released. In this document, the United Kingdom seeks to promote the integration of active and reserve forces in view of the completion of combat missions in Afghanistan, assigning the reserve forces a wide range of tasks, such as overseas engagements, United Nations missions, and enduring stabilization operations. While the number of active personnel is to be reduced in this plan, the number and the role of reserves are to be expanded, and more attention should be paid to future developments²².

2 France

Since the end of the Cold War, France has focused on maintaining independence in its defense policies, while having led initiatives to enhance the defense structure and capability in Europe. It has worked on the development of its military capacity by reducing military personnel and integrating military bases, dealing with operational requirements to strengthen its defense capability, and also enhancing its intelligence capabilities and modernizing equipment required in the future.

and measures required to achieve the goals specified by the NSS, so that the comprehensive national strategy related to defense and security could be formed. It also stipulates that a new NSS and SDSR are to be produced and published every five years, based on periodical readjustments to be done by the NSC.

²⁰ Analyzing the strategic background in this way, the new NSS defined two strategic objectives comprising (1) ensuring a secure and resilient United Kingdom, and (2) shaping a stable world, and specified eight crosscutting National Security Tasks, including tackling the root causes of instability, and working in cooperation with alliances and partnerships as required.

²¹ The SDSR has decided to reduce the Royal Navy, the Army, and the Royal Air Force personnel by 5,000, 7,000, and 5,000 respectively by 2015. It also plans to reduce the Ministry of Defense Civil Service by 25,000; decommission the aircraft carrier, Ark Royal, immediately; reduce the holdings of main tanks by 40%; and reduce the planned number of F-35 Joint Strike Fighter aircraft. In addition, the United Kingdom plans to withdraw half of the British forces stationed in Germany, currently estimated to number 20,000, by 2015 before they are completely withdrawn by 2020.

²² In “Army 2020,” a plan drawn up for the restructuring of the land forces, it is stated that there are plans to reduce the number of active soldiers in the land forces from 102,000 to 82,000 by 2020. On the other hand, there are plans to increase the number of soldiers on reserve duty from 15,000 to 30,000 by 2018.

In the White Paper on Defence and National Security published in April 2013 for the first time in five years, it was laid out that although the country does not face any direct military threats through direct and clear conventional war potential, there is growing diversity in the types of threats it faces as a result of globalization. These include international terrorism, cyber threats, organized crime, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. It continued to position (1) intelligence, (2) nuclear deterrence, (3) protection, (4) prevention, and (5) deployment²³ as the five key mechanisms in the national security strategy, and states that France will use a combination of these mechanisms to respond to changes in the strategic environment over the coming 15 years. Regarding France's foreign relations, it positioned NATO'S functions as follows: (1) means of securing collective defense by member states; (2) an important means for strategic partnership in the Atlantic region; and (3) a common framework for military action in dealing with threats and crisis. On the other hand, with regard to the EU, the White Paper clearly stipulated France's leadership role in strengthening defense and security capabilities, and aimed to drive forward the CSDP in a practical and realistic manner. Furthermore, with regard to the Asia-Pacific region, it states that France holds overseas territories such as New Caledonia and French Polynesia, and that the country has maintained an important presence in these regions²⁴. Moreover, against the background of financial constraints, the White Paper stipulated that, in addition to the cuts announced previously, the government would cut a further 24,000 jobs by 2019, and achieve cost reductions via multilateral cooperation. In December 2013, the Parliament enacted a bill for military plans for 2014-2019, in order to implement plans laid out in the White Paper for realizing a national security strategy for the next 15 years. This bill stipulates a larger budget for equipment, the maintenance of defense industry capabilities, and a focus on the command and logistical departments in the 24,000-personnel cut.

3 Germany

While Germany has been implementing a large-scale reduction in its military personnel since the end of the Cold War, it has been gradually expanding the dispatch of its federal forces overseas. At the same time, Germany has advanced the reform of its defense forces to enable them to execute multiple responsibilities encompassing conflict prevention and risk management in the context of multilateral organizations, including NATO, the EU, and the

²³ In its White Paper on Defence and National Security released in April 2013, France defined the following regions as priority regions: (1) Europe and its surrounding areas; (2) the Mediterranean; (3) parts of Africa (from the Saharan Africa to equatorial Africa); (4) the Persian Gulf; and (5) the Indian Ocean. In these regions, France will maintain independent or multinational operational capabilities.

²⁴ France ranks second in the world for its Exclusive Economic Zones, and two-thirds of their Zones lie in the Pacific region. It has also stationed troops in Papeete, French Polynesia and Noumea, New Caledonia; and deploys frigates and amphibious tanks to these areas.

United Nations²⁵.

The Verteidigungspolitischen Richtlinien (VPR) (Defense Policy Guidelines), formulated in 2011 for the first time in eight years, states that the possibility of attacks on Germany by conventional forces remains low, but risks and threats come from failed states, international terrorism, natural disasters, cyber-attacks, and proliferation of WMDs. It then declares Germany's active participation in the prevention and containment of crisis and conflict, and takes cross-governmental measures. It also states that promotion of military collaboration, standardization, and mutual operability within the NATO and EU framework is essential, in addition to taking cross-government measures.

The amended Military Law, which entered into force in April 2011, stipulates the suspension of conscription for basic military service and the reduction of total personnel from the current 250,000 to 185,000, while it also aims for the sustainable deployment of military personnel by increasing the number of deployable personnel up to 10,000.

²⁵ Germany decreased its military personnel from more than 500,000 at the time of its reunification to 250,000 by 2010. In July 1994, the Federal Constitutional Court judged that dispatching the federal forces to international missions implemented under the multilateral framework such as the United Nations and NATO is constitutional, which has further prompted it to gradually expand the dispatch of its federal forces to participate in various international operations, including security maintenance and reconstruction activities in the Balkan Peninsula and Afghanistan, and anti-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden.