

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), increasing threats in cyberspace, and other developments as new security challenges.

To adapt to such 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 developing their own capacities to cope with these new challenges, taking into consideration their increasingly tough financial limitations.

## 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<sup>1</sup>. This shift requires forces that can be quickly deployed to distant areas to perform a wide range of missions and fight against new threats. For this purpose, NATO has transformed its military capabilities<sup>2</sup> through the organizational reform and the development of the NATO Response Force (NRF)<sup>3</sup>.

In the NATO Summit Meeting held in Lisbon in November 2010, NATO adopted a new Strategic Concept<sup>4</sup> for the first time in 11 years to propose a guideline for the next 10 years for a reform towards a more effective and flexible alliance. The document created by NATO lists the proliferation of WMD and ballistic missiles, terrorism, instability or conflict beyond NATO

borders, and cyber attacks as examples of major threats, defining three items as 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.

The Lisbon Declaration, adopted at the same time, states that NATO will, in order to more effectively utilize its resources for such capacity developments that would be required to achieve these missions, continue further work on more cost effective and innovative ways of capability building, including multinational approaches, and promotion of the reform process.

NATO has been promoting the concept of Smart Defence<sup>5</sup> which is identified as an approach to innovative capacity building. This is the concept with the objective of building greater security with fewer resources through multinational

<sup>1</sup> 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.

<sup>2</sup> The NATO defense ministers meeting held in June 2003 decided to transform its command structure based on functionality rather than geography, and divided it into Allied Command Operation (ACO) responsible for all alliance operations and Allied Command Transformation (ACT) in charge of the transformation of its military capabilities and promotion in interoperability through training and education, and studying and developing of doctrines. With regard to its civilian structure, the Emerging Security Challenges Division was established within the International Staff, in August 2010, which is in charge of new risks and challenges including terrorism, the proliferation of WMD, cyber defence, and energy security, and providing NATO with a strategic analysis capability to monitor and anticipate international developments.

<sup>3</sup> The NRF enables NATO to respond swiftly to various types of crises anywhere in the world. The NRF initiative was announced in November 2002, and was declared to be at full operational capability in November 2006. It is operated through rotated management every six months by multinational high-readiness troops including the Eurocorps and the German/Dutch Corps.

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

<sup>5</sup> Faced with the reduction of defense expenditures in European countries and an apparent gap in military capabilities between the United States and Europe, the concept of Smart Defence was first advocated in the keynote address delivered by NATO Secretary General Rasmussen entitled "Building Security in an Age of Austerity" at the Munich Security Conference in February 2011, and has been promoted by NATO.

coordination with the following three pillars: 1) selection of prioritized areas to be invested in<sup>6</sup>, 2) specialization in areas where members have the strength<sup>7</sup> and 3) promotion of joint procurement and joint operations of equipment. The NATO Defence Ministers Meeting held in October 2011 approved the promotion of the concept of the Smart Defence and the NATO Defence Ministers Meeting in February 2012 reached an agreement on a way to share the cost for Alliance Ground Surveillance system by unmanned aircraft, which is the major

program of this concept<sup>8</sup>. The Chicago NATO Summit declared Interim Capability<sup>9</sup> for missile defence system<sup>10</sup> that links together missile defence assets such as interceptors and radars from allied members under NATO's command and control to protect the people and the territory of NATO from ballistic missile attack and also approved a package of more than 20 multinational projects, including joint procurement of remotely-controlled robots which can clear roadside bombs and joint pooling of maritime patrol aircraft.



## Column

VOICE

Commentary

Q&A

### Smart Defense

In the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), significant reduction in defense expenditure in member countries and disparities in terms of military capabilities among member countries, particularly between the U.S. and European countries, are escalating. At present, the U.S. accounts for more than 70% of total defense expenditure in all NATO member countries; the European-led military operation in Libya in 2011 exposed the European countries' lack of capabilities in such areas as intelligence gathering, warning and surveillance, and reconnaissance (ISR\*), which they depended on the U.S.

In response to this situation, under the leadership of Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen, NATO has been promoting the concept of "Smart Defense", with the objective of "building greater security with fewer resources through multinational cooperation". NATO approved a package of more than 20 multinational projects at its summit in May 2012. In an age of austerity, it is necessary to continue to focus attention on such initiatives by NATO in order to maintain more effective and efficient security capabilities.

\* Intelligence Surveillance Reconnaissance

- 6 At the Lisbon NATO summit meeting in November 2010, the allies committed to focus their investment on 11 prioritized areas, including missile defence, cyber defense, medical assistance, and intelligence activities.
- 7 It indicates that every Allied country does not necessarily need to possess all the defense capabilities, but each nation specializes in areas where it has the strength. As an example already in place, Baltic states depends its air policing operations on NATO allies while making a certain contribution to ISAF mission in Afghanistan and abandoning the investment in procurement and maintenance of expensive aircraft.
- 8 Five unmanned aircraft RQ-4 (Global Hawk) of the United States will be procured by 13 countries, including the U.S., Germany and Italy and will be deployed between 2015 and 2017. The procurement contract was signed in the margins of the Chicago NATO summit in May 2012.
- 9 Although details are not fully known, it seems to indicate that NATO acquired limited capability against missiles by installing command and control functions that links interceptors with radars.
- 10 NATO has been developing its unique Theater Missile Defense system, called Active Layered Theater Ballistic Missile Defence (ALTBMD) since 2005 to protect deployed NATO forces from short- and medium-range ballistic missiles with a range of up to 3,000 kilometers. The Lisbon Declaration of 2010 has expanded the area protected by this system to all the NATO populations and territories.

With respect to the promotion of organizational reform, NATO Defence Ministers Meeting in June 2011 approved the reform plan for more deployable and streamlined command configuration and NATO-related organizations, which is currently under implementation<sup>11</sup>.

The EU tries to enhance its initiatives in security under the strategy of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)<sup>12</sup>. The first security document adopted in 2003, “A Secure Europe in a Better World,” says that the EU will enhance its capabilities to deal with new threats, will make a contribution to stability and good governance 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 and other partner countries as well as international organizations including the United Nations.

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 necessary system in order to conduct military activities of its own, such as peacekeeping, in cases

where NATO does not intervene. In January 2007, the EU prepared a posture to have two battle groups<sup>13</sup> in a permanent state of readiness and established its own operations center in Brussels. In 2009, the EU demonstrated a policy of improving effectiveness and flexibility for the operation of the battle group which had been limited to use only in emergency operations.

Under High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy<sup>14</sup>, established in 2009, and the European External Action Service (EEAS), established in 2010<sup>15</sup> as a supportive organization of the former, the EU pursues more integrated approaches while keeping consistency among the policies of the EU to produce synergistic effects. (See Fig. I-1-8-1)

## (2) Commitment to a New Role

As the first operation outside Europe, NATO has led the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan since August 2003. The NATO Summit Meeting held in Lisbon in November 2010 agreed to continue their support in line with the schedule of completing the transition to full Afghan security responsibilities and leadership by the end of 2014 and has engaged in the progressive transfer of security responsibilities to the Afghanistan National Security Force (ANSF) since July 2011. At the Chicago NATO Summit held in May 2012, leaders agreed to complete transition of security responsibilities at the end of 2014, shifting ISAF’s main role from combat to supporting the ANSF, while the ANSF takes the lead for combat operations across the country in the mid-2013. It was also affirmed that NATO will continue to be involved in Afghanistan in activities such as training, advice, and support for the ANSF, even after the completion of the ISAF’s missions.

Since June 2004, the NATO Training Mission-Iraq (NTM-I) had been training the Iraqi security forces in Iraq, but ended its mission in Iraq and NATO withdrew its personnel from the country in the end of 2011<sup>16</sup>. The Kosovo Force (KFOR) has been implementing its missions of maintaining security since

11 With respect to military command structure, it has been proposed to reduce the number of command bases from 11 to 7 and the overall number of staff from 13,000 to 8,800. All the command bases for operations will come under direct control of the existing Allied Command Operation/Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe (ACO/SHAPE). As for reform of NATO-related agencies, 14 existing external agencies will be consolidated and streamlined into three sections: namely, procurement, communication and information and support.

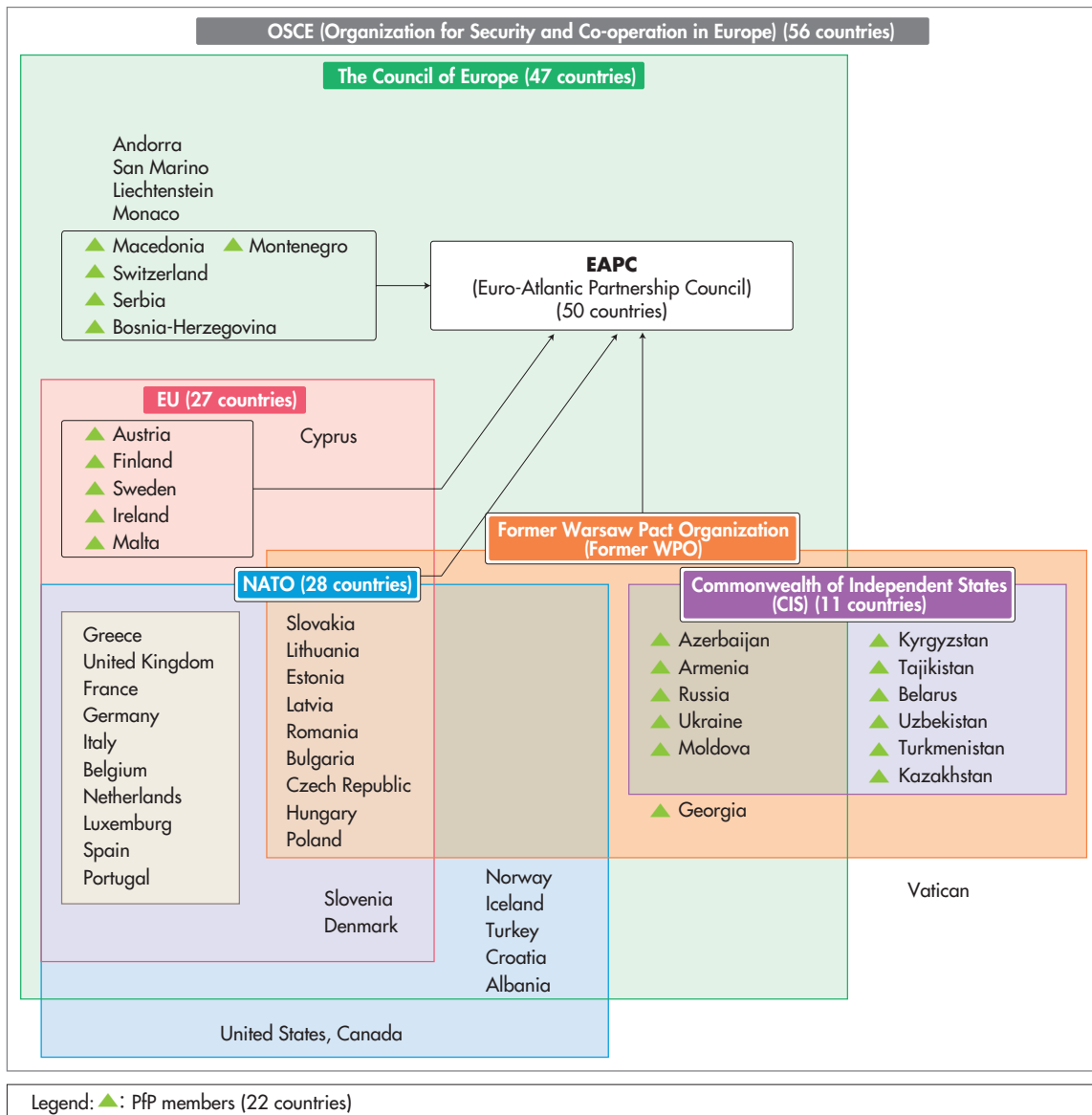
12 The EU, although it was non-binding multilateral cooperation in its characteristics, introduced the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) which covers all areas of foreign and security policy, based on the Treaty of Maastricht, which took effect in 1993. In June 1999, the European Council decided 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.

13 An EU Battlegroup is engaged in the EU-led peacekeeping missions in which NATO is not involved. It has been developed since 2004 and reached full operational capacity in January 2007. Based on contribution from a single state or multinational framework, the groups are deployed on a rotational basis.

14 By integrating separate contact points for diplomatic purposes, the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy was given the position to represent the EU externally.

15 The EEAS is an assisting organization to the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy and composed of regional desks covering Asia and Africa, as well as thematic desks covering development and cooperation, human rights and democratization, and so on. The organization coordinates and ensures the consistency of the CFSP as well as creates and executes policy proposals based on recommendations by the European Council.

16 Failure to agree with Iraqi government on the renewal of immunity granted to NATO troops from prosecution is mentioned as a ground for the withdrawal of NATO troops from Iraq.

**Fig. I-1-8-1** European Security Organization (as of April 2012)

Notes: 1. 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.  
2. Albania withdrew from WPO in 1968.

June 1999 in Kosovo, which declared independence in February 2008. Following Qadhafi regime's assault on its people in Libya, NATO launched Operation Unified Protector in March 2011 and led the mission for about seven months, which included air strikes against Qadhafi forces to protect civilians, inspection of ships to enforce arms embargo, and establishing and maintaining a no-fly zone.

NATO has been implementing Operation Active Endeavor

(OAE) since October 2001 based on its determination to maintain its solidarity for the war on terror and to help detect and deter terrorist activities in the Mediterranean area. For this purpose, the Standing NATO Maritime Group (SNMG), composed of navy forces of member states, has been delivering on its responsibility activities such as monitoring shipping, providing escorts to non-military ships, and boarding any suspect ships<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> The operation was implemented as one of the first NATO missions based on Article 5 initiated by the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, basically allowing participation only by its member states. However, since 2004, it has positively accepted the support from its partner countries, with Russian and Ukrainian deploying vessels in the operation by the end of 2010. In addition to the dispatch of personnel by Georgia to the operation, Morocco, Israel, Finland and Sweden have also shown their willingness to offer some assistance to the operation.

In addition, various European countries have actively been engaged in anti-piracy operations off the coast of Somalia/Gulf of Aden. Since October 2008, NATO has deployed 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 waters<sup>18</sup>.

The EU led peacekeeping operations in Macedonia in 2003 for the first time using NATO's assets and capabilities<sup>19</sup>. Since then, the EU has been actively involved in risk management and maintenance of security by sending troops not only to Europe, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also to outside Europe including Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad and Central Africa<sup>20</sup>.

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

Fig. I-1-8-2

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"> <li>•Standing joint task forces formed mainly by brigade-scale ground units (approx. 4,000 troops), plus maritime, air, and specialized units</li> <li>•Size of force: Approx. 25,000 troops</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Thirteen 1,500-strong units will be formed. Of these, two units are capable of rapid simultaneous deployment.</li> </ul>
Capabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Deployment begins within 5 days of an order</li> <li>•Capability of 30-day operations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Deployment begins within 5 days of an order and is completed within 15 days</li> <li>•Capability of 30-day operations</li> </ul>
Operations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•One year rotation (in the case of ground units, 6 months of training, and 6 months on standby)</li> <li>•Basic operational concept: to be dispatched as an initial response unit</li> <li>•Segmentation of units is possible depending on the mission</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Units will be formed and on standby by rotation within the unilateral or multinational framework</li> </ul>
Force building	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Initiative was formulated in November 2002</li> <li>•Prototype force was formed in October 2003</li> <li>•Initial operational capability was acquired in October 2004</li> <li>•Complete operational capability was achieved in November 2006</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Initiative was formulated in June 2004</li> <li>•Complete operational capability was achieved in January 2007</li> </ul>

## 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 framework<sup>21</sup>.

The new Strategic Concept adopted in 2010 states, that the door to NATO membership is fully open to all European nations, which share its value<sup>22</sup>. It has also deployed the

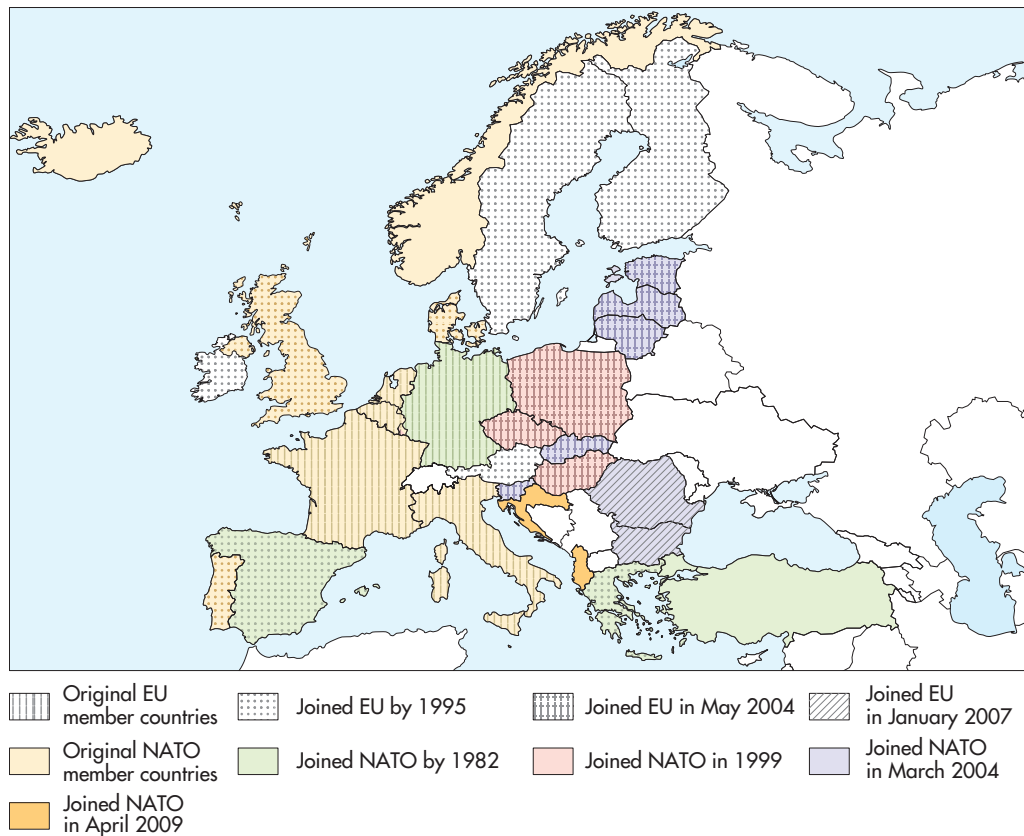
18 As of 2011, units from EU member states are participating in the operation, and non-EU member states, such as Norway, Croatia and Ukraine have also took part in the operation.

19 The EU-NATO Framework for Permanent Relation allowing the EU to have an access to NATO assets and capabilities was established in December 2002.

20 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) contingency management, including peace making.

21 Four Central/Eastern European countries and three Baltic States (Romania, Slovenia, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria and Slovakia) joined the NATO in March 2004 and Albania and Croatia joined in April 2009. Also, through the foreign ministers meeting held in April 2010, Bosnia-Herzegovina was allowed to join the Membership Action Plan (MAP) with certain conditions attached.

22 The Lisbon Declaration showed the intention to integrate Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, existing members of the MAP, as well as Serbia into the Europe-Atlantic region. Furthermore, it also stated its support to integrate Ukraine and Georgia into the Europe-Atlantic region through existing frameworks (the NATO-Ukraine Commission and the NATO-Georgia Commission).



Partnership for Peace (PfP)<sup>23</sup> targeted for improved trust and interoperability with non-NATO states and the Mediterranean Dialogue (MD)<sup>24</sup> oriented for the stability in the Mediterranean area. The organization has gone beyond these existing initiatives and started to enhance its partnership with nations inside and outside its area and with international organizations including the U.N. and the EU by establishing collaborative relations similar to those established with the so-called Partners across the Globe<sup>25</sup>, which include Australia, Japan, and the ROK.

Since the 9/11 terrorist attacks, NATO and Russia have sought to improve relations, and established the NATO–Russia Council (NRC)<sup>26</sup> 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<sup>27</sup>.

The number of EU member countries in Central and Eastern Europe has also been 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-1-8-3)

<sup>23</sup> This program was established in 1994. Through this program NATO and non-NATO countries of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), mainly from Central and Eastern Europe, established bilateral cooperation agreements.

<sup>24</sup> Established in 1994, currently joined by seven countries (Algeria, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia). It aims to stabilize the Mediterranean region through political dialogues and the participation of Mediterranean nations in NATO-related activities.

<sup>25</sup> NATO defines "Partners across the Globe" as countries that cooperate in the area of common interests including emerging security issues, and that actively contribute to military affairs by NATO and other operations. Currently, "Partners across the Globe" include eight countries: Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, and Mongolia.

<sup>26</sup> The summit level meeting of the NRC has been held three times since its establishment in 2002: in Rome in May 2002 in Bucharest in April 2008 and in Lisbon in November 2010. Also, ministerial level (foreign ministers/defense ministers) and chief of staff level meetings are held on a twice a year basis.

<sup>27</sup> See Chapter 1, Section 4-5 for details concerning the relations between NATO and Russia



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

Many countries in Europe are making efforts to reduce their defense budget with their financial situations becoming increasingly serious. They work on the modernization of their military capabilities along with the quantitative reduction and the rationalization, and aggressively trying to cooperate with other countries in defense and security, especially through joint research/development/procurement of weapons and joint operations<sup>1</sup>. The United Kingdom and France signed bilateral treaties on defense and security cooperation and on a joint nuclear facility<sup>2</sup> at the summit meeting held in November 2010, reaching an agreement to the establishment of joint forces, as well as joint use of equipment, and promoting training and research and development activities<sup>3</sup>. These initiatives implemented by each country to reform defense and military organizations, combined with bilateral and multilateral approaches, are going to be what is needed for further study in the future.

#### 1 The United Kingdom

The United Kingdom has maintained the perception that it is not subject to any direct military threats after the end of the Cold War. In particular, the country regards international terrorism and the proliferation of WMD as major threats and has reformed its military organization to improve its overseas deployment capability and readiness.

The Cameron administration, formed in May 2010, has aimed to develop coherent defense capability and a sustainable defense program for the future, as it has been faced with the fatigue of its military organizations due to prolonged operations in Afghanistan and an increasing demand for reducing its defense budget due to deteriorating financial situation. It implemented the Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) under the newly-established National Security Council (NSC)<sup>4</sup> and announced the results of the work together with the National Security Strategy (NSS) in October 2010<sup>5</sup>.

The NSS identified the full range of potential risks which might materialize over a 5- and 20-year horizon, based on their likelihood and impact and defined four items, including international terrorism, attacks upon UK cyberspace, major accident or natural hazard, and international crisis as risks to be of highest priority<sup>6</sup>. The SDSR proposed what should be an ideal status of the British forces in 2020 under the restrictions related to its missions in Afghanistan and the British national defense budget<sup>7</sup> and stated that the UK would reduce the workload of its soldiers by forming mobile and flexible force structure and deployment schemes, decrease the number of military personnel and major equipment, and review its procurement plan<sup>8</sup>.

Furthermore, the Ministry of Defense had conducted the Defense Reform Review since August 2010 with the aims of creating a simpler and more effective defense organization, and significantly reducing the running costs of defense. Then a report of the recommendation on reform developed

- 1 In September 2010, four European countries, namely the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, and France, established the European Air Transport Command (EATC) to jointly operate around 200 transport aircraft and aerial tankers in total owned by each country, including C-130s and A-310s. In addition, new frameworks have been created, including the Strategic Airlift Capability (SAC) Initiative to promote joint procurement/management/operation of 3 C-17 transport aircraft mainly targeted by NATO states and the Strategic Airlift Interim Solution (SALIS) to jointly charter the two AN-124 large-scale transport aircraft owned by Russia and Ukraine.
- 2 The agreements were reached to jointly establish and operate an experimental facility in radioactive imaging and fluid dynamics in France and a technology development center in the United Kingdom.
- 3 Agreed on the creation of Combined Joint Expeditionary Forces, joint operation of aircraft carrier, the development of a common support plan and joint exercise for A400M transport aircraft and the promotion of joint research and development of equipment, including unmanned aircraft and next-generation nuclear submarine.
- 4 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 coordinate 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.
- 5 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 SDSR, it defined policies 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 new NSS and SDSR are to be produced every five years based on periodical readjustments to be done by the NSC.
- 6 Analyzing the strategic background 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 at root the causes of instability and working in alliances and partnerships wherever possible to generate stronger responses.
- 7 "Spending Review 2010," published by the Treasury Department in October 2010 following the NSS and SDSR, plans to reduce the defense budget by 8% in real terms by 2014-2015, by saving at least 4.3 billion pounds for the country's non-frontline activities costs except for what is required for operations in Afghanistan.
- 8 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 more than 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. With regard to new-type aircraft carriers, it will build two carriers but will only use one carrier.

by the Defense Reform Steering Group composed of public and private sector experts was released in June 2011. All of the 53 recommendations in the report have been approved by the Minister of Defence<sup>9</sup>. Currently, efforts for each recommendation are under process with an aim to complete the reform by April 2014.

## 2 Germany

Germany has been implementing a large-scale reduction in its military personnel since the end of the Cold War and has been aggressively dispatching its federal forces outside the NATO areas, through the reform of its 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 United Nations<sup>10</sup>.

The White Paper on National Defense, published for the first time in 12 years in 2006, concluded that while the core responsibility of the federal forces will remain national defense and collective defense in their traditional sense, conflict prevention and risk management including the fight against international terrorism are most likely to emerge as a responsibility. It also stated that the federal forces will develop into three integrated functional units, including intervention, stabilization, and support units, to be compatible with the above responsibility<sup>11</sup> and that the country will mainly allocate its resources to enhance its efficient and interoperable command capability<sup>12</sup>. The Verteidigungspolitischen Richtlinien (VPR), formulated for the first time in eight years, declares Germany's active participation in the prevention and containment of

crisis and conflict. It also states that promotion of military collaboration, standardization and mutual operability within the NATO and EU framework is necessary in addition to taking cross-government measures, in order to address diversified threats within and outside Europe<sup>13</sup>.

In April 2011, the Military Law Amendment Act suspending conscription for basic military service and reducing total personnel from the current 250,000 to 185,000<sup>14</sup> was enacted. In accordance with this law, the outline of reformed organizations of the military and the Ministry of Defense, the number of major equipment and Die Stationierung der Bundeswehr in Deutschland were disclosed through September to October, 2011. The details of the military reform plan will be sequentially developed in the future<sup>15</sup>.

- 
- <sup>9</sup> The report proposed establishing a new and smaller Defense Board chaired by the Defense Minister, and clarifying the responsibilities of senior leaders, including the Permanent Secretary and the Chief of the Defense Staff, and streamlining the central organizations, etc.
  - <sup>10</sup> Germany decreased its military personnel, numbering 500,000 at the time of its reunification, to the 250,000-strong organization by 2010. In July 1994, the Federal Constitutional Court judged that dispatching the federal forces to international missions implemented under the framework of the United Nations or NATO is constitutional, which has further prompted them to actively 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/Gulf of Aden.
  - <sup>11</sup> 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 battle groups, 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. Although the transformation to functional units has already been conducted, the arguments are still underway on its effectiveness: for instance, the report of the Organization Review Committee, an advisory council to the former Defence Minister Guttenberg, released a report in October 2010 requesting a review of the reorganization since the transformation of federal forces into functional units has caused "unnecessary complexity" in the operation of the military forces.
  - <sup>12</sup> Specifically, the introduction of A-400M transport aircraft is underway, and five satellites equipped with synthetic-aperture radar (SAR-LUPE) were launched by July 2008.
  - <sup>13</sup> The VPR of 2011 states that the federal forces work only with other allies and partner countries in any military operations abroad, under the framework of the United Nations, NATO, or the EU, except for evacuation and rescue operations. It also mentions the necessity for the reform of military personnel model caused by discontinuation of the draft system.
  - <sup>14</sup> The draft system ceased in July 1, 2011 in accordance with this Act, and was replaced by a new voluntary serviceman system recruiting 15,000 soldiers. However, the stipulation related to the draft system will continue to stay in the German basic law.
  - <sup>15</sup> Major decisions made as of this writing include 1) reduction of army, navy and air force personnel from some 220,000 to a maximum of 185,000 (among which 170,000 are career soldiers (including reserves) and 5,000-15,000 are volunteers), 2) reduction of Defence Ministry employees from 3,400 to approximately 2,000, promoting integration of soldiers and civilians in each department and section and 3) reduction of 394 garrisons to 264.



### 3 France

Since the end of the Cold War, France has focused on maintaining independence in its defense policies, while having led efforts to enhance the defense structure and capability in Europe. It has worked on the development of its military power by reducing military personnel and integrating military bases, dealing with operational requirements to strengthen its defense capability, and also enhancing its intelligence capabilities<sup>16</sup>, and modernizing equipment required in the future.

The White Paper on Defense and National Security, issued in June 2008, states that France will enhance its capabilities in five pillars of its national security strategy including 1) precise explanations and predictions of situations, 2) prevention of crisis, 3) nuclear deterrence<sup>17</sup>, 4) protection of the people and land, and 5) overseas intervention<sup>18</sup>, and will combine them in a flexible manner to deal with changing strategic environments in

the next 15 years.

In July 2009, the “2009-2014 Military Program Law” was approved by the parliament as 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 the Council for National Defense and Security and the Council for National Intelligence<sup>19</sup>, an increase in the equipment-related budget, and a force reduction of 54,000 including military and civilian 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 NATO.

<sup>16</sup> Based on the 2009-2014 Military Program Law, France plans to increase intelligence personnel dealing with terrorism, organized crimes, and the non-proliferation of WMD and other weapons and to focus its investments in space-related projects, intending to double the budget for space initiatives and launch new optical satellites by 2020. In February 2009, it succeeded in launching “Spirale,” the first satellite in Europe verifying the technology for the early warning system. In July 2010, the country established the Integrated Space Command directly reporting to the Combined Chiefs of Staff.

<sup>17</sup> At the launching ceremony of the ship submersible ballistic nuclear-powered (SSBN), *Le Terrible*, in March 2008, then 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 the number of warheads owned by France would become 300 or less.

<sup>18</sup> France has defined the whole region including the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean as its priority area based on the White Paper on Defense and National Security and plans to intensively deploy its conflict prevention and intervention capabilities in the region. The 2009-2014 Military Program Law states that the country sets its military development goal of enabling to deploy 30,000 ground forces, 70 fighter jets, and one aircraft carrier unit within 8,000 kilometers from the country. In May 2009, the country established an overseas military base for the first time in almost 50 years in the UAE.

<sup>19</sup> The Council for National Defense and Security is chaired by the President and attended by the Prime Minister, Foreign Minister, Minister of the Interior, Minister of Defense, Minister of Economy, and Minister of the Budget as well as other ministers as required. It handles all issues related to national security, including military planning, nuclear deterrence, public order, and counterterrorism, based on the coordination provided by Secretary General of the Council for National Defense and Security. The Council for National Intelligence covers only intelligence issues within the framework of the Council for National Defense and Security, integrating various information from all intelligence agencies and defining strategic guidelines and priority areas for each agency under the leadership of the National Intelligence Coordinator.