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 an outbreak of regional conflict within and around Europe, the rise of terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD), and increasing threats in cyberspace. In addition, the financial situation, which is becoming increasingly severe, has a great impact on the security and defense policy of each country.

To adapt to such new and emerging threats and situations, Europe has sought to strengthen and expand the frameworks of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU). Moreover, efforts are made at the country level for reviewing security and defense strategies, and reforming national defense systems.

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 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 Concept[1] for the first time in 11 years to propose a guideline for the next 10 years for the creation of 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.

NATO has been promoting the concept of Smart Defence as the national defense budgets of member states are declining and the gap in military capacity is widening among member states, in particular between European countries and the United States[2]. This is the concept with the objective of building greater security with fewer resources through multinational coordination with the following three pillars: 1) Prioritization: selection of prioritized areas to be invested in[3], 2) Specialization: specialization in areas where members have the strength[4] and 3) Multinational cooperation: promotion of joint procurement and joint operations of equipment. As specific measures for realizing this concept, the Chicago NATO Summit declared that NATO has gained the Interim Capability[5] for a missile defense system[6] to protect the people and the territory of NATO from ballistic missile attacks 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 pro-

---

1   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).

2   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 capabilities, for which they had to depend on the United States.

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

4   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.

5   Although 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.

6   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.

curement contract of five Global Hawk (RQ-4) unmanned aircraft which serves as a core of the Alliance Ground Surveillance (AGS) system. In addition, the Summit approved a package of 22 multinational projects, including joint procurement of remotely controlled robots which can clear roadside bombs and joint pooling of maritime patrol aircraft.

The EU tries to enhance its initiatives in security under the strategy of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)[7]. 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, 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 members[8], 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. EU intends to make all the efforts so that this concept would complement, rather than interfere with, the activities covered by the NATO framework, such as the Smart Defense initiative.

2 NATO/EU's Activities Outside the Region[9]

At the Chicago NATO Summit held in May 2012, leaders agreed to complete transition of security responsibilities at the end of 2014, shifting International Security Assistance Force (ISAF)'s main role from combat to training, advice, and support for the Afghanistan National Security Force (ANSF), while the ANSF takes the lead for combat 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 been implementing its missions of maintaining security since June 1999 in Kosovo, which declared independence in February 2008.

EU led the peace keeping operations in Macedonia by using NATO's equipment and capabilities for the first time in 2003. Since then, it has been actively committed to the operations in crisis management and maintenance of peace and order by[10], for example, sending troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad, and Central Africa. In February 2013, EU launched a mission for the training and reformation of the military forces of Mali, where armed Muslim forces were imposing serious threats.

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 waters[11].

EU naval vessel (background) escorting a merchant ship (foreground) in anti-piracy Operation Atalanta [EU NAVAL FORCE]

---

7 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.

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

9 While NATO has mainly focused on leading the 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 effective for crisis management. Thus, the EU keeps the EU Battle Groups on standby in order to take initiatives in peace keeping 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. The EU-NATO Framework for Permanent Relation allowing the EU to have an access to NATO assets and capabilities was established in December 2002.

10 They are called Petersberg tasks. They consist of combat missions in crisis management, including 1) humanitarian assistance and rescue operations, 2) peacekeeping, and 3) contingency management, including peace making.

11 The EU has adopted a comprehensive approach to piracy countermeasures, and has undertaken European Union Training Mission to Somalia and Regional Maritime Capacity Building for the Horn of Africa and the Western Indian Ocean in addition to Operation Atalanta.

3 Security / Defense Policies of European Countries

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 national defense to improve its overseas deployment capability and readiness.

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[1] 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)[2] in October 2010 under the newly-established National Security Council (NSC)[3].

The NSS identified the full range of potential risks which might materialize over a 5- and 20-year horizon, from the perspective of 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[4]. 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, and at the same time, aims to convert the forces into a specialized, flexible, and modernized military through preferential allocation of resources to new threats, such as attacks in cyberspace and terrorism[5].

Army 2020 was released in July 2012. 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 engagement and United Nations commitments, in addition to providing troops for 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 much attention should be paid to future development.

2 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, through 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 United Nations[6].

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 the risks and threats come from failed states, international terrorism, natural disaster, cyber-attack and proliferation of WMD. Then, it 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.

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

---

1   "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.

2   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.

3   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.

4   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.

5   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.

6   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 of the United Nations or 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.

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[7], and modernizing equipment required in the future.

Following on from the previous White Paper, published five years earlier, the White Paper on Defence and National Security published in April 2013 positions (1) intelligence, (2) nuclear deterrence, (3) protection, (4) prevention, and (5) deployment[8] as the five key mechanisms in the national security strategy, and states that France will use a combination of these mechanisms to deal with changes in the strategic environment over the coming 15 years. Regarding France's foreign relations, the White Paper positioned NATO as a common framework for collective defense, collaboration between North America and Europe, and military action; on the other hand, with regard to the EU, the White Paper clearly described that France is playing the leading role in building up defense capability. 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.

French President Hollande making a speech at the release of the Defense White Paper (2013) [Office of the President of France (Présidence de la République)]

7　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.

8　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 published in June 2008, 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. Furthermore, the White Paper on Defence and National Security published in April 2013 states that France will maintain independent or multinational operational capabilities within 3,000km of its domestic territory or overseas bases.

Chapter 1　Defense Policies of Countries