

Section 8 Europe

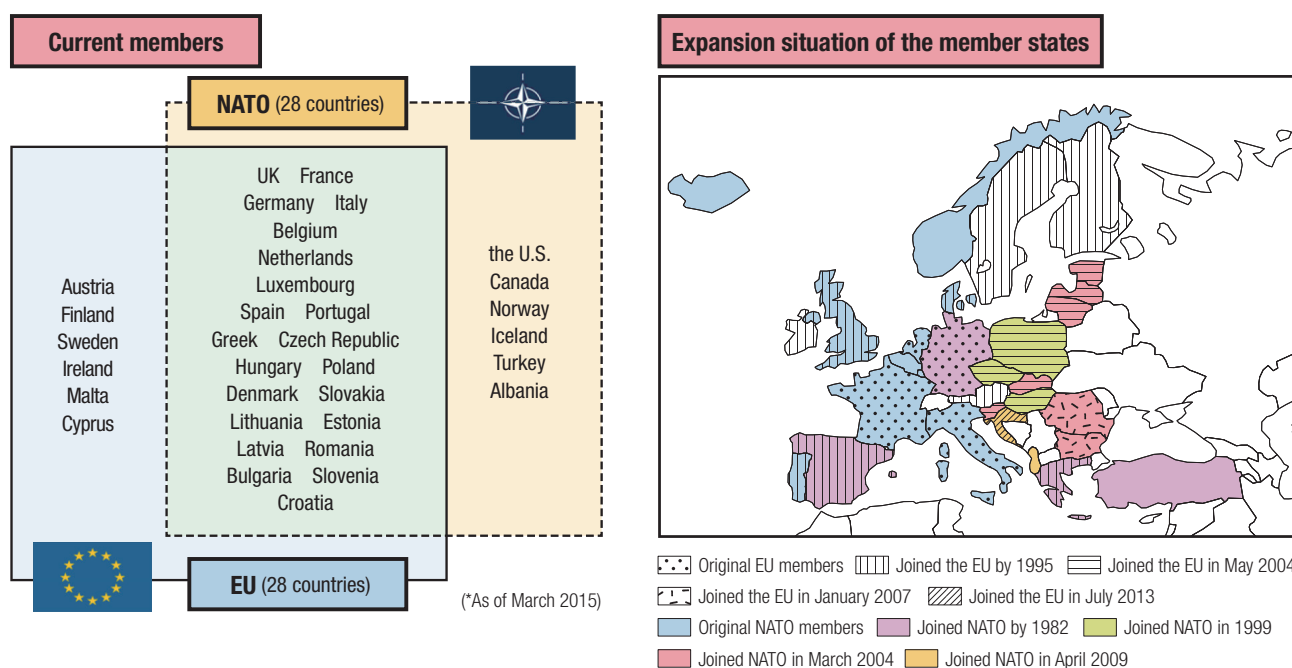
1 General Situation

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 (WMD), and increasing numbers of cyberspace threats. With regard to terrorism in particular, the outbreak of incidents of “home-grown” and “lone-wolf” terrorism domestically has made counter-terrorism efforts an urgent task¹. In addition, in recent years, the increasingly severe financial situation has had a great impact on the security and defense policy of each country. Under these circumstances, the growing tense situation in Ukraine has made it imperative that countries reexamine their existing strategies and design new concepts

to deal with Russia’s attempts to change the status quo by force or coercion and with “hybrid warfare.” To respond to such challenges and situations, Europe has sought to further strengthen and expand multilateral frameworks, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the European Union (EU)². 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 bilateral³ and multilateral⁴ defense and security cooperation.

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

Fig. I-1-8-1 Expansion Situation of NATO/EU Member States



1 For example, Belgium, France, and Denmark are reviewing their security arrangements and strengthening their immigration control, due to acts or attempted acts of terrorism that occurred in those countries. See Part I, Chapter 2, Section 1.

2 NATO has continued expanding toward Central and Eastern Europe with the aim of stabilizing the entire European and Atlantic regions. Currently, three countries—Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia and Herzegovina—have been 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 NATO (conditionally for Bosnia and Herzegovina). The participation in the MAP of six other countries—Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Kazakhstan, and Moldova—is currently undecided, as these countries support initiatives for integration into the European 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.

3 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 addition, at a U.K.-France summit meeting held in January 2014, the Declaration on Security and Defence was adopted, and the two countries agreed on conducting joint development of anti-ship missiles and joint research on unmanned combat air vehicles, as well as on aiming to begin deploying a Combined Joint Expeditionary Force by 2016. With regard to unmanned combat air vehicles, in November 2014, the U.K. and French governments reached agreement on contracts related to the development of unmanned combat air systems.

4 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 transport aircraft of the respective countries such as C-130 and A-310, as well as approximately 150 aerial refueling aircraft. Luxemburg joined EATC in 2012, Spain in July 2014, and Italy in December 2014.

2 Enhancement of Multinational Security Frameworks

1 Security and Defense Policy of NATO/EU

Founded for the core task 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 Concept⁵ for the first time in 11 years to propose a guideline for the next decade for the creation of a more efficient 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 of 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.

In recent years, NATO has been promoting the concept of Smart Defence⁶ as the national defense budgets of member states are declining and gaps in military capability are widening among member states, in particular between European countries and the United States⁷. 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 in⁸; (2) Specialization: specialization in areas where members have strength⁹; and (3) Multinational cooperation: promotion of joint procurement and joint operation of equipment. At the Chicago NATO Summit held in May 2012, the Connected

Forces Initiative (CFI) was set up¹⁰. CFI is intended to provide a framework for conducting joint exercises and drills among member states. Furthermore, it is designed to strengthen joint drills among member states and with partner countries, enhance interoperability, and make use of advanced technology. CFI is considered to be aimed at maintaining NATO's readiness and military capacity by combining the concepts of Smart Defence and CFI in reducing defense budgets in each country.

Following Russia's "hybrid warfare" over Ukraine as well as the frequent "abnormal flights" of Russian Armed Force aircraft over the European front, including the Baltic states, NATO and member states reaffirmed the threat posed by Russia. In April 2014, they suspended practical cooperation with Russia and took other steps, including expanding its Baltic air policing mission. Furthermore, at the NATO Summit held in Wales in September 2014, leaders adopted a joint declaration demanding Russia to retract its "annexation" of Crimea and adopted the Readiness Action Plan (RAP) for enhancing existing readiness forces¹¹. Meanwhile, differences are observed in how member states regard Russia. While Nordic and Baltic states geographically close to Russia strive to strengthen their national defense systems, countries in Southern Europe and other regions call on NATO to not have a bias towards collective defense that prioritizes Eastern Europe and attach importance also to tasks outside the NATO region, such as North Africa.

With regard to ISIL, while no military action has been taken under the NATO framework, the Wales Summit Declaration strongly condemned ISIL's violent acts and affirmed that NATO would activate its collective defense if any Ally were attacked by ISIL.

The EU tries to enhance its initiatives in security

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

6 As regards concrete efforts undertaken under this concept, at the NATO Summit held in Chicago in May 2012, leaders declared that NATO gained an interim missile defense capability to defend the people and the territory of NATO against ballistic missile attacks by linking together interceptor missiles and radars of the member states under NATO's command and control. In addition, 13 member states of NATO signed a procurement contract for five Global Hawks (RQ-4), which will constitute the core of the Alliance Ground Surveillance (AGS) system that uses unmanned aircraft.

7 At present, the United States accounts for about 70% of the total defense spending of all NATO member states. NATO guidelines set forth that member states shall spend at least 2% of their GDP on defense. Nonetheless, in 2013, only 4 (United States, United Kingdom, Greece, and Estonia) out of 28 member states fulfilled this criterion.

8 At the NATO Summit 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.

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

10 As regards concrete specific efforts undertaken based on this concept, at the NATO Summit held in Wales in September 2014, leaders approved a Readiness Action Plan (RAP). It was unveiled to respond to the impacts of Russia's strategies as well as the threats emanating from the Middle East and North Africa. RAP presented that NATO forces would have continued presence in eastern allies, that the response capabilities of the existing multinational NATO Response Force (NRF) would be enhanced significantly, and that the Very High Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) that can be mobilized in two to three days would be created. In addition, at the NATO Defense Ministers Meeting in February 2015, ministers decided that NRF would be expanded from about 13,000 troops to about 30,000 troops and that VJTF would consist of one brigade (of around 5,000 troops). In April 2015, VJTF's first military exercises were conducted in the Czech Republic and the Netherlands.

11 See Footnote 10 for more information on RAP.

under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP)¹². The first security strategy document adopted in 2003, “A Secure Europe in a Better World,” states that the EU aims to enhance its capabilities to deal with new threats, would make a contribution to its security through involvement in its immediate neighborhood, and would 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 expenditure in EU countries and the capacity gap among members¹³, 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, unmanned aerial vehicle, satellite communication, and cyber defense. The EU intends to make sure all the initiatives within this concept will complement, rather than interfere with, the activities covered by the NATO framework such as the Smart Defence 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. Following this, in June 2014, the European Council adopted the EU Maritime Security Strategy¹⁴. At the EU Foreign Affairs Council meeting in November 2014, the EU Cyber Defence Policy Framework¹⁵ was adopted.

In response to the crisis in Ukraine, the EU has condemned the military responses of Russia and implemented economic sanctions against Russia¹⁶. In addition, to support the economic and political reforms in Ukraine, the EU continues its engagement in non-military affairs, including the provision of large-scale financial assistance to Ukraine¹⁷.

To counter the threat of ISIL, the EU extends funds to carry out humanitarian assistance for Syria and Iraq. Additionally, the EU works with countries in regions such as the Middle East and North Africa to provide capacity-building assistance in counter-terrorism measures, among other activities.



Press conference following the NATO Summit (September 2014) [NATO website]

2 NATO/EU's Activities Outside the Region¹⁸

Since August 2003, NATO had been leading the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan. Its mission was completed in December 2014. In place of this mission, since January 2015, NATO has been leading the Resolute Support Mission (RSM), whose primary tasks are to provide training, advice, and assistance to the Afghan National Defense and Security Forces (ANDSF). The Kosovo Force (KFOR) has continued to implement its missions within its framework, such as maintaining security since June 1999 in Kosovo, which declared independence in February 2008¹⁹.

In 2003, the EU led peacekeeping operations for the first time in Macedonia by using NATO's equipment and

12 The EU, although it has a property of non-binding multilateral cooperation, introduced the 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 to CSDP and clearly positioned it as an integral part of the CFSP.

13 The European Defence Agency (EDA), 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.

14 See Part I, Chapter 2, Section 3-3-3

15 Its purpose is to implement the Cybersecurity Strategy that the European Commission released in February 2013. The Framework places focus on namely: (1) supporting the development of member states' cyber defense capabilities; (2) promotion of civil-military cooperation; and (3) improved education and training opportunities.

16 The EU takes measures, such as capital regulations and ban on exports of equipment and dual use goods, in addition to asset freezes and travel bans.

17 The EU will extend 11 billion euros of assistance between 2014 and 2020. In addition, in response to a request for assistance from the Ukrainian government, the EU has decided to provide additional assistance of 1.8 billion euros between 2015 and 2016.

18 While NATO has mainly focused on leading military operations, the EU has undertaken a number of civilian missions. Meanwhile, the EU keeps the EU Battle Groups on standby on a rotating schedule in order to lead peacekeeping missions when NATO is not involved (the number of countries on duty varies by the size of their forces). The division of roles between NATO and the EU is to be defined on a case-by-case basis.

19 In July 2013, NATO announced that the Kosovo Security Forces (KSF) possess full operational capabilities in line with NATO standards to carry out their existing missions.

capabilities. Since then, it has been actively committed to the operations in crisis management and maintenance of peace and order²⁰ 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 a training mission to support training Malian troops and realignment in Mali, where Islamic guerrillas and others pose serious threats. Also, in January 2014, the EU decided to dispatch security forces to Central Africa, where the 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 ships of the Standing NATO Maritime Group (SNMG), comprised of the navies of member states, to these waters for anti-piracy operations. In Operation Ocean Shield which NATO has been conducting since August 2009, it has the task of carrying out anti-piracy operations by ship, as well as helping requesting countries develop their capacities to combat piracy. Since December 2008, the EU has been engaged in the anti-piracy campaign, Operation Atalanta, in these waters, its first maritime mission. The vessels and aircraft dispatched from member states are engaged in escorting ships and surveillance activities in the waters²¹.

3 Security / Defense Policies of European Countries

1 The United Kingdom

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

Against the backdrop of the fatigue of its military organizations due to prolonged operations particularly in Afghanistan, and the pressure to reduce its defense budget²² due to the deteriorating financial situation, the Cameron administration, formed in May 2010, released the National Security Strategy (NSS) and the Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR)²³ in October 2010 under the newly established National Security Council (NSC)²⁴.

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 as risks of the highest priority: international terrorism; attacks upon cyberspace; major accidents or natural hazards; and international military crises²⁵. 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 forces into specialized, flexible, and modernized war potential through preferential allocation of resources to new threats, such as attacks in cyberspace and terrorism²⁶. Work is ongoing to review the existing NSS and to formulate the next SDSR. They are expected for release in 2015 or 2016.

In July 2012, "Army 2020," an army reorganization plan, was released. The plan presents that the United Kingdom would promote the integration of Regulars and Reserves in view of the completion of combat missions in Afghanistan, assigning Reserves a wide range of tasks, such as overseas engagements, United Nations missions, and enduring stabilization operations. While the number of

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

21 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.

22 "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, 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.

23 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 a new NSS and SDSR are to be produced and published every five years, based on periodical readjustments to be done by the NSC.

24 The NSC 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 NSC 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.

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

26 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 holdings of main tanks by 40%, among other items. According to Military Balance 2011 and 2015, the U.K. has gone ahead with the reductions, including the reduction of the Royal Navy, the Army, and the Royal Air Force personnel by 2,580, 11,000, and 5,740, respectively, as well as about a 30% reduction in the holdings of main tanks.

Regulars 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 developments²⁷.

Since September 2014, the United Kingdom has conducted airstrikes against ISIL in Iraq. In addition, it carries out ISR activities using unmanned aerial vehicles, provides education and training to forces engaged in ground war such as the Iraqi Security Forces and Peshmerga, a military organization of the Kurdistan Regional Government, as well as extends humanitarian assistance to refugees, in alignment with the efforts of the U.S.-led Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.

2 France

Since the end of the Cold War, France has focused on maintaining independence of 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, as well as enhancing its intelligence capabilities and modernizing equipment required in the future.

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 WMDs. It continued to position (1) intelligence, (2) nuclear deterrence, (3) protection, (4) prevention, and (5) deployment²⁸ as the five key mechanisms of the national security strategy, and states that France would 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 of member states; (2) an

important instrument of the strategic partnership between the two sides of the Atlantic; 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. Moreover, against the background of financial constraints, the White Paper stipulated that, in addition to the cuts announced previously, the government would cut military jobs by 2019²⁹ and achieve cost reductions via multilateral cooperation. In December 2013, the Parliament enacted the 2014-2019 Military Programming Law, in order to implement plans laid out in the White Paper for realizing a national security strategy for the next 15 years. This law stipulated a larger budget for equipment, the maintenance of defense industry capabilities, among other items.

France has conducted airstrikes against ISIL in Iraq since September 2014. Following the acts of terrorism in France, it deployed aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle to the Persian Gulf to enhance its posture in February 2015. In addition, France provides education and training to the Iraqi Security Forces and Peshmerga, as well as extends humanitarian assistance to refugees, in alignment with the efforts of the U.S.-led Global Coalition to Counter ISIL.



French aircraft carrier "Charles de Gaulle" (back) and U.K. frigate "HMS Kent" (front), which were deployed to the Persian Gulf [U.K. Ministry of Defence]

27 In the army reorganization plan "Army 2020," it is stated that the Army's Regular personnel would be reduced from 102,000 to 82,000 by 2020, while the Reserve personnel would be increased from 15,000 to 30,000 by 2018.

28 In its White Paper on Defence and National Security released in April 2013, France identified the following regions as priority regions: (1) the periphery of Europe; (2) the Mediterranean basin; (3) part of Africa (from 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. In Saharan Africa, the French forces are singlehandedly engaged in a particularly large military operation called Operation Barkhane, which has its command center in Chad's capital city of N'Djamena.

29 The White Paper on Defence and National Security presented that military personnel would be reduced by 24,000. On this basis, the government planned to cut 25,800 military jobs between 2015 and 2019. However, following the acts of terrorism against Charlie Hebdo in January 2015, that same month President Francois Hollande held a Defense Council meeting and decided to scrap the loss of 7,500 jobs. In May 2015, the Council of Ministers decided on the 2015-2019 military programming proposal whose main components include: (1) the long-term deployment of 7,000 military personnel in France; (2) a 3.8 billion euro total increase in the 2016-2019 defense budget; and (3) an increase in the number of Reserves and the number of days of activities.

3 Germany

While Germany has been implementing a large-scale reduction of 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 United Nations³⁰.

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, and that risks and threats would come from failed states, international terrorism, natural disasters, cyberattacks, and proliferation of WMDs. It then indicates 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 was enacted in April 2011, stipulates the suspension of conscription for basic military service and the reduction of total personnel from 250,000 to 185,000, while it also aims for the sustainable deployment of military personnel and thereby, enable the continuous deployment of up to 10,000 personnel.

Work on the next defense white paper, expected for completion in 2014, has been postponed in order to re-examine the crisis in Ukraine, the rise of ISIL, and the equipment procurement of the Bundeswehr. In February 2015, Germany announced that it started working on the white paper. It is expected to be released in summer 2016.

In Iraq, Germany provides education and training to the Iraqi Security Forces and Peshmerga, supplies equipment and ammunition, and extends financial assistance for humanitarian assistance. It also conducts training of Kurdish troops in Germany.

³⁰ 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 multilateral frameworks 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.