

Section 8 Europe

1 General Situation

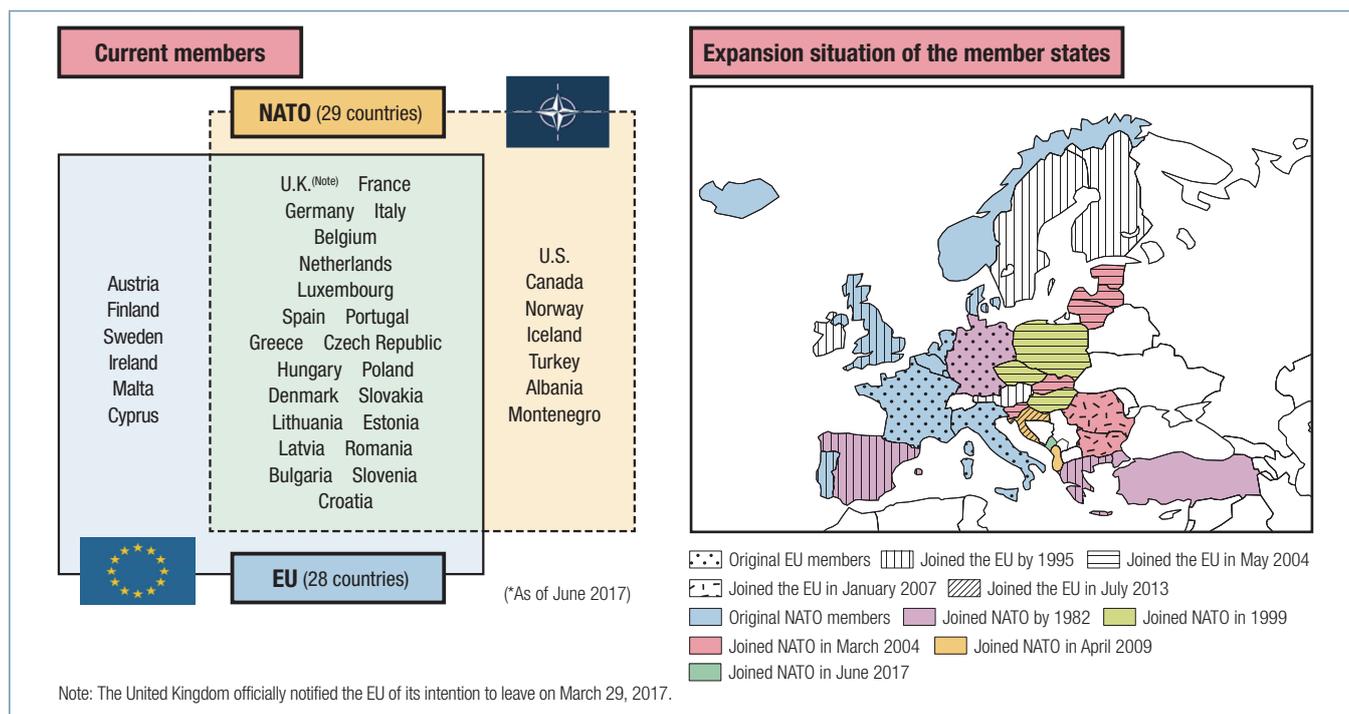
With the end of the Cold War, many European countries now recognize the need to address diverse security challenges, such as outbreaks of regional conflict within and around Europe, the rise of terrorism, the proliferation of WMDs, and an increasing number of cyberspace threats. At the same time, these same countries recognize that the threat of large-scale invasion by other countries has disappeared. Nevertheless, since the heightening of tensions in the Ukraine in February 2014, there is a growing need to revisit existing strategies and propose new concepts in order to deal with Russia's changing of the status quo through the use of force or coercion and "hybrid warfare." With regard to international terrorism, the incidents of terrorism occurring within European nations, including the terror attacks in Paris in November 2015 and the terror attacks in Brussels in March 2016, has made counter-terrorism efforts an urgent task.¹ Given this situation, the trend of reducing national defense spending and military strength due to severe financial circumstances has begun to change in recent years. In 2014, NATO member states agreed to allocate 2% or more of their GDP to national defense spending until

2024. At the NATO Summit held in May 2017, President Trump strongly urged countries that have not yet done so to increase defense spending by more than 2% of their GDP.² Furthermore, following the "Arab Spring" democratization movement that spread across the Arab world from 2010 to 2012, refugees from the Middle East have risen amid the sharp increase in people fleeing their countries to escape suppression and persecution. The number of refugees and migrants crossing into Europe has soared especially since 2015, but the influx has slowed as of late. Nevertheless, border security remains a challenge. To respond to such challenges and situations, Europe has sought to further strengthen and expand multilateral frameworks, such as NATO and the EU.³ 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 bilateral⁴ and multilateral⁵ defense and security cooperation.

 See Fig. I-2-8-1 (Expansion Situation of NATO/EU Member States)

- 1 Recent terrorist incidents in Europe include an ISIL sympathizer driving a truck into a crowd of people in Nice, France in July 2016, a truck being driven into a Christmas market in Berlin, Germany in December 2016, a vehicle being driven into a crowd of pedestrians in London, United Kingdom in March 2017, and a suicide bombing in Manchester in central United Kingdom that occurred in May 2017. European countries are now reviewing their security systems and tightening immigration controls, among other measures. Part I, Chapter 3, Section 1.
- 2 In 2014, NATO member states agreed to allocate 2% or more of their GDP towards national defense spending until 2024. However, as of 2016, only five (United States, United Kingdom, Greece, Estonia, and Poland) of the 28 member states have reached this level. Currently, the United States accounts for approximately 70% of total national defense spending by all NATO countries. During the joint press conference by the NATO Secretary General and U.S. Defense Secretary Mattis held on the margins of the NATO defense ministers meeting in February 2017, the NATO Secretary General stated, "The U.S. has been clear that we need more defense spending, and fairer burden-sharing," while U.S. Defense Secretary Mattis shared his view as follows, "And it's absolutely appropriate as a European minister of defense said last week: it's a fair demand that all who benefit from the best defense in the world carry their proportionate share of the necessary cost to defend freedom."
- 3 NATO has continued expanding towards Central and Eastern Europe with the aim of stabilizing the entire European and Atlantic regions. In December 2015, at the NATO Foreign Ministers meeting, Montenegro was invited to begin accession talks. In June 2017, Montenegro acceded to NATO. Currently, two countries—Macedonia 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.
- 4 For example, the United Kingdom and France signed the Treaty between the United Kingdom and the French Republic for Defence and Security Co-operation and the Treaty between the United Kingdom and the French Republic relating to Joint Radiographic/Hydrodynamics 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. Joint training exercises have been conducted on several occasions between 2012 and 2016.
- 5 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. Luxembourg joined EATC in 2012, Spain in July 2014, and Italy in December 2014.

Fig. I-2-8-1 Expansion Situation of NATO/EU Member States



2 Enhancement of Multinational Security Frameworks

1 Security and Defense Policy of NATO/EU

Founded for the core task of collective defense among member states, 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 held in Lisbon in November 2010, NATO adopted a new Strategic Concept⁶ 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 cites major threats such as proliferation of WMDs and ballistic missiles, terrorism, conflict or instability beyond NATO borders, and cyber attacks, and prescribes three core tasks as follows: (1) collective defense in accordance with Article 5 of the NATO Treaty, the basic treaty of NATO; (2) crisis management including conflict prevention and post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction assistance; and (3) cooperative security including active contribution to arms control, disarmament, and non-proliferation.

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, which had taken place from 2004 when the three Baltic nations joined NATO.⁷ Additionally, 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 forces.⁸ This plan was created in order to deal with the influence of Russia and threats from the Middle East and North Africa. Based on this plan, NATO has continued to maintain its presence in eastern allies, while steps have been taken to significantly improve the readiness of the existing multinational NATO Response Force (NRF) and create the Very High

⁶ 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).

⁷ NATO has conducted air policing on a rotational basis since 2004. The missions involved patrolling the skies of a single country with four aircraft, but since the crisis in Ukraine, the missions were enhanced, shifting to patrolling the skies of four countries with 16 aircraft. In September 2015, the missions were reduced to patrols above two countries with eight aircraft. Similar air policing by NATO is conducted over Slovenia, Iceland, and Albania, in addition to the three Baltic nations. A mission was conducted over Bulgaria, too, in 2016.

⁸ RAP was approved as one of the concrete efforts of the Connected Forces Initiative (CFI). 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.

Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) that can be mobilized within two to three days.⁹ Furthermore, the declaration adopted at the NATO Summit held in Warsaw in July 2016 cited Russia's aggressive actions and terrorism by ISIL as threats. At the meeting, a decision was reached to deploy four battalions to the three Baltic nations and Poland on a rotational basis. Specifically, at the defense ministers meeting held in October 2016, it was decided that the battalions would be multinational in nature with more than 20 countries participating, including the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, and Canada, which would be leading the battalions, and they have been deployed in succession in and after January 2017. Member states view Russia in varying lights due to differences in their geographic distance from Russia and other factors. While measures are being taken to counter Russia's influence, member states are also maintaining opportunities for dialogue with Russia.¹⁰

In the Mediterranean, a permanent maritime force¹¹ has been deployed to the Aegean Sea since February 2016 due to the influx of illegal immigrants transiting the Mediterranean. This force monitors the influx of illegal immigrants and shares information with Turkey, Greece, and other countries. Also, in November 2016, Operation Active Endeavor, focused on collective defense held since 2001, was succeeded by Operation Sea Guardian, focused on crisis management, resulting in a wider array

of missions including counter-terrorism and capacity-building assistance, among others. Additionally, at the defense ministers meeting held in February 2017, a decision was made to set up a hub in Naples to gather intelligence and coordinate activities related to the Middle East and North Africa.

The EU seeks to enhance its security initiatives under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP),¹² and in June 2016, Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy detailing the EU's fundamental approach to foreign and security policy was adopted by the European Council for the first time in approximately 10 years. This document calls for initiatives towards enhancing the EU's internal and external resilience to threats against order in Eastern Europe, and the threat of terrorism or other events in the Middle East and Africa, in accordance with the principles of rules-based order and democracy. In November 2016, an agreement was reached on the execution of this strategy, with priority given to responding to conflict and crises outside of the EU, capacity building of partners, and protecting EU citizens from terrorism and other threats. It also required assigning priority to necessary capabilities and deepening relations between member states. In the same month, the European Commission released an action plan for reinforcing defense cooperation in Europe, including the establishment of the European Defence Fund.

In response to the crisis in Ukraine, the EU has condemned the military responses of Russia and implemented economic sanctions against Russia.¹³ In addition, to support the economic and political reforms in Ukraine, the EU continues its engagement in nonmilitary affairs, including the provision of large-scale financial assistance to Ukraine.

To deal with 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-

⁹ The NRF consists of 40,000 personnel, and the VJTF is a multinational force consisting of approximately 20,000 personnel from the NRF (including 5,000 land force personnel).

¹⁰ For example, France held talks with President Putin of Russia following the terror attacks in November 2015, and the two sides agreed to exchange intelligence between their military forces. The United Kingdom, in its strategy document SDSR2015, states that the issues of Ukraine would significantly change the rules-based international order, while it also states that the country would seek ways to cooperate with Russia on the issues of ISIL topping the list. Germany, too, has stated the need for deterrence and dialogue with Russia in its white paper on national defense published in July 2016. Additionally, in April 2016, NATO held the dialogue framework of the NATO-Russia Council in Brussels for the first time in almost two years, which was followed by meetings in July and December 2016 and again in March 2017 (each at the ambassador level). At the NATO Board of Directors meeting in December 2016, an agreement was reached to hold a meeting for improving air security over the Baltic Sea together with Russian experts at the beginning of 2017. In March 2017, representatives from the Baltic states including Russia, NATO, and the European Space Agency (ESA) met in Helsinki, where the same meeting was convened and it was agreed that discussions would continue to be held.

¹¹ See Chapter 3, Section 3 for more information about the permanent maritime force

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 EU takes measures, such as capital regulations and ban on exports of equipment and dual use goods, along with asset freezes and travel bans. In December 2016, the EU decided to extend these measures until July 2017.

building assistance in counter-terrorism measures, among other activities. In November 2015, in accordance with a request from France after the terror attacks in Paris, the EU, for the first time, activated the “mutual assistance clause”¹⁴ stipulating a mutual defense obligation, and EU member states expressed their support to France.¹⁵

In May 2015, the EU started Operation Sophia conducted by European Union Naval Force Mediterranean (EUNAVFOR Med) to respond to the surge of refugees and migrants crossing the Mediterranean Sea into Europe. The first phase focusing on the monitoring of smuggling and human trafficking networks was completed in October 2015. The operation has entered the second phase involving the search, seizure, and diversion on the high seas of vessels suspected of being used for smuggling and human trafficking. Furthermore, at the foreign ministers meeting held in June 2016, agreement was reached to add two tasks to Operation Sophia: training of the Libyan Navy Coast Guard; and providing support for implementing the UN arms embargo on the high seas. Also, in October 2016, the European Border and Coast Guard was established, with its own equipment and at least 1,500 personnel ready at any time for emergency deployment in order to crack down on the inflow of refugees and immigrants.

In June 2016, the United Kingdom conducted a national referendum to decide whether or not the country should leave the EU. Following the victory of the pro-Brexit camp, the United Kingdom gave official notice to the EU of its intention to exit the EU in March 2017. With suggestions that this could raise momentum for other countries to leave the EU, future developments including decline in the centripetal force of the EU will be the focus of attention.

Advancements have been seen in cooperation between NATO and the EU. At the NATO Summit held in July 2016, a joint declaration was released citing fields which NATO and the EU should prioritize cooperation, and at the NATO and EU Council meetings in December 2016, 42 recommendations were adopted for implementing the joint declaration. These recommendations included responding to the threat of hybrid warfare by reinforcing

information sharing and bolstering resilience, and expanding operational cooperation on migration and maritime monitoring in the Mediterranean and other seas. Based on these recommendations, NATO’s Operation Sea Guardian and the EU’s Operation Sophia are now mutually collaborating in the Mediterranean.

2 NATO/EU’s Activities Outside the Region

Since August 2003, NATO had been leading 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). NATO still deploys approximately 13,000 personnel to Afghanistan. At the NATO Summit held in July 2016, it was determined that RSM would continue in 2017 and that support including the financing of the ANDSF until 2020 would continue. Besides Afghanistan, NATO is also carrying out missions in Kosovo, Somalia, and other countries.¹⁶ Since October 2008, NATO had dispatched ships from the permanent maritime forces to the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean to take part in Operation Ocean Shield to combat piracy, but these activities ended in December 2016.

With regard to ISIL, NATO has taken the stance of emphasizing prevention over intervention. The Wales Summit Declaration of September 2014 strongly condemned ISIL’s violent acts and affirmed that NATO would activate its collective defense if any member state were attacked by ISIL. Furthermore, the Warsaw Summit Communiqué of July 2016 set forth the decision to dispatch early warning and control forces to fight against ISIL, with surveillance and reconnaissance missions taking place since October 2016.

In 2003, the EU led peacekeeping operations for the first time in Macedonia by using NATO’s equipment and capabilities. Since then, it has been actively committed to the operations in crisis management and maintenance of peace and order¹⁷ by, for example, sending troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Democratic Republic of the

¹⁴ Article 42, Paragraph 7 of the Treaty on European Union provides for a mutual defense obligation, where if a EU member state is the victim of armed aggression on its territory, the other member states shall have towards it an obligation of aid and assistance by all the means in their power in accordance with Article 51 of the UN Charter.

¹⁵ On November 17, 2015 after the terror attacks, then Minister for Defence Jean-Yves Le Drian of France requested the application of the “mutual assistance clause” at the EU Foreign Affairs Council meeting. The application was agreed upon unanimously. Based on the application of the clause, France requested other EU member states to: (1) contribute to counter-ISIL operations in Iraq and Syria; and (2) help reduce the military burden of France by contributing to France’s counter-terrorism operations in Mali, Central Africa, and other areas. Nevertheless, the extent of cooperation has remained relatively small, except for that from the United Kingdom and Germany.

¹⁶ In Kosovo, NATO has carried out its mission within the framework of the Kosovo International Security Force since 1996. Today, NATO provides recommendations, training, and capacity-building assistance to the Kosovo Security Force. In Somalia, NATO takes part in transport operations and dispatches expert personnel to tactical divisions as support for the AU Somalia Mission.

¹⁷ These are called Petersberg tasks. They consist of: 1) humanitarian assistance and rescue mission; 2) peacekeeping mission; and 3) combat mission in crisis management, including peacemaking.

Congo, Chad, Mali, and Central Africa. For example, in January 2014, the EU decided to dispatch security forces to Central Africa, where the situation had been of constant tumult. The forces commenced operations in April 2014 and completed its mission by March 2015. In the same month, the EU launched the European Union's Military Advisory Mission (EUMAM) to support preparations for security sector reform in Central Africa. Since July

2016, the European Union's Training Mission (EUTM) has succeeded the mission, which continues to modernize military forces in Central Africa. Also, the EU has been conducting Operation Atalanta, the first maritime mission to combat piracy off the Somalia and in the Gulf of Aden since December 2008. Under this mission, vessels and aircraft dispatched from each country protect ships in the area and conduct surveillance in these waters.¹⁸

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 this backdrop, in November 2015, the Cameron administration released the National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review 2015 (NSS-SDSR2015) in the face of destabilization in the Middle East, including the rise of ISIL, the crisis in Ukraine, and the threat posed by cyber attacks. Recognizing that the United Kingdom confronts threats from both states and non-state actors, the NSS-SDSR2015 sets out the challenges that the United Kingdom should address in the coming decade as follows: terrorism and extremism; resurgence of state-based threats; technological developments including cyber threats; and the erosion of the rules-based international order. While the previous SDSR2010 committed to cutting the troop strength, reducing key equipment, and reviewing procurement plans due to pressure to decrease defense spending,¹⁹ the NSS-SDSR2015 calls for ending the defense spending cuts and explicitly proposes to increase the defense force in order to develop capacities to address

the entire list of expanded threats.²⁰ The NSS-SDSR2015 lays out that the United Kingdom would continue to be a key player in the international community, and promote procurement of equipment and formation of units with high readiness and mobility, in view of dealing with threats such as terrorism and cyber security.²¹

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. Furthermore, following the terror attacks in Paris, the United Kingdom decided in December 2015 to extend the scope of the airstrikes from Iraq to Syria, and commenced airstrikes in Syria on the day after the Parliament gave its approval.²²

With regard to the Asia-Pacific region, the NSS-SDSR2015 presents the view that the region offers significant economic opportunities for the United Kingdom, and has considerable influence on the future integrity and credibility of the rules-based international order. It then expresses commitment to attaching importance to working with the United Kingdom's security partners including Japan. In particular, it considers Japan as the United Kingdom's closest security

18 To tackle piracy in this area, the EU has undertaken "European Union Training Mission-Somalia" and "European Union Maritime Security Capacity Building Mission in Somalia," 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.

19 The SDSR2010 committed to decreasing defense spending by 8% by FY2014, including at least 4.3 billion pounds in non-front line savings, excluding spending for operations such as in Afghanistan. The SDSR2010 decided to decrease, by 2015, Royal Navy personnel by 5,000, Army personnel by 7,000, and Royal Air Force personnel by 5,000, along with reduction of the holdings of main battle tanks by 40%. In the Army realignment plan "Army 2020" released later in July 2013, the United Kingdom was to reduce the Army's active military personnel from 102,000 to 82,000 by 2020, while increasing reservists from 15,000 to 30,000 by 2018.

20 The NSS-SDSR2015 will maintain the size of the Armed Forces personnel and increase the Royal Navy and Royal Air Force by 700 personnel combined. It also decided to build two aircraft carriers, introduce nine new maritime patrol aircraft, and maintain a fleet of four strategic nuclear submarines. Underpinned by a stable economy, the NSS-SDSR2015 is to maintain defense expenditure amounting to 2% of GDP which is the NATO's target and to further increase defense spending, especially equipment procurement spending.

21 The NSS-SDSR2015 is to add two Typhoon squadrons, establish a F-35 squadron capable of operating from new aircraft carriers, create two strike brigades of up to 5,000 personnel, and have a system that can deploy an expeditionary force of around 50,000 personnel overseas by 2025.

22 As of February 2017, the United Kingdom has mobilized more than 1,350 personnel, eight Tornado fighters, six Typhoon fighters, among other assets.

partner in Asia. Based on this view, in this region, the United Kingdom conducts Operation Patwin, a natural disaster assistance mission to the Philippines, participates in the multilateral joint exercise RIMPAC, and conducts goodwill trainings with Japan.²³

In March 2017, the United Kingdom officially informed the EU of its intention to leave the union. While the United Kingdom will continue to be a NATO member state, some have noted that the United Kingdom's exit from the EU would reduce the EU's military capacity by around one-fourth. Therefore, attention will be given to various trends, including the EU's security initiatives and relations with NATO. Additionally, the United Kingdom held a general election of the House of Commons in June 2017 in which the ruling Conservative Party led by Prime Minister May lost a number of seats, resulting in a loss of its majority, and its impact on the country's security policy will be the focus of attention.

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 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.

The White Paper on Defence and National Security published in April 2013 for the first time in five years outlines that although France does not face any direct, explicit conventional military threat against its territory, 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 continues to position (1) intelligence, (2) nuclear deterrence, (3) protection, (4) prevention, and (5) deployment²⁴ 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 positions 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 stipulates France's leadership role in strengthening defense and security capabilities, and aims to drive forward the CSDP in a practical and realistic manner. In May 2015, the Parliament enacted the Military Planning (2015-19) Act, the updated version of the Military Planning (2014-19) Act, in order to implement plans laid out in the White Paper for realizing the national security strategy. This law stipulated a larger budget for equipment, the maintenance of defense industry capabilities, among other items.²⁵

France has been conducting airstrikes against ISIL in Iraq since September 2014 and in Syria since September 2015.²⁶ Following the terror attacks in Paris in November 2015, France declared a state of emergency domestically, and decided to deploy 10,000 military personnel to maintain domestic security and suspend troop reductions. Outside of France, the country enhanced its airstrikes against ISIL in Syria and deployed mobile units including the aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle to the Mediterranean Sea. Furthermore, France has continued to provide education and training to the Iraqi Security Forces and Peshmerga, as well as humanitarian assistance for refugees.

France, which has territories in the Asia-Pacific region, expresses the view in its White Paper on Defence and National Security, that the region is a key actor of growth worldwide, but at the same time is a region where there is significant tension and many conflicts. In October 2015, the Floréal-class frigate Vendémiaire made a port call in Japan to display presence in the region and conducted a goodwill training with the MSDF. France actively hosts multilateral exercises, including Croix du

²³ From October to November 2016, Typhoon fighters visited Japan to take part in Japan-U.K. joint exercises. See Part I, Chapter 3, Section 3-4 regarding the maritime security strategy of the United Kingdom.

²⁴ 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.

²⁵ The Military Planning (2014-19) Act set forth that military personnel would be reduced by 25,800 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 of these personnel. In May 2015, the Council of Ministers decided on the Military Planning (2015-19) Bill 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. The same law stated that total personnel would be reduced by 7,000, but this plan was shelved following the terror attacks in Paris in November 2015.

²⁶ As of February 2017, France has mobilized 1,200 personnel, 12 Rafale fighters, 1 frigate, among other assets.

Sud and Equateur.^{27, 28} “France and Security in the Asia-Pacific” released by the Ministry of Defence in June 2016 states that threats include international terrorism, the launch of ballistic missiles by North Korea, and attempts to change the status quo in the South China Sea, and that France has begun rebalancing towards the India-Pacific Ocean region. Also, the document stated a policy of continuing to build strong partnerships with Asia-Pacific nations through defense cooperation and other means.²⁹

In April and May 2017, France held presidential elections in which Mr. Emmanuel Macron, former Minister for the Economy and Finance, was elected president. In June 2017, the country held legislative elections in which “La République En Marche” led by President Macron won a sweeping victory and gained a stable majority in the Parliament. The focus of attention will be on how future security policies will be affected by the new administration.

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 UN. However, following a worsening in the security environment, in May 2016 Germany changed policy and announced that it would increase military personnel by around 7,000 by 2023.³⁰

The country’s defense white paper released in July 2016 for the first time in about 10 years explains that Germany’s security environment has grown more complex and unstable, causing gradually rising uncertainty, citing

specific threats such as international terrorism, cyber attacks, disputes between countries, and the influx of refugees and immigrants. The white paper also states that Germany would continue to emphasize multilateral cooperation and cross-government approaches, while striving to realize rules-based international order. Furthermore, with regard to the number of military personnel, the white paper notes that although an upper limit was in place following the end of the Cold War and Germany has continually worked to reduce personnel, it would shift to a policy with no upper limit and perform regular reviews of its military force plan to adjust the number of personnel flexibly.

In Iraq, Germany has thus far provided education and training to the Iraqi Security Forces and Peshmerga, supplied equipment and ammunition, extended financial assistance for humanitarian assistance, as well as conducted training of Kurdish troops in Germany. In December 2015, following the terror attacks in Paris in November 2015, the Cabinet approved plans to provide logistics support to the Coalition that is conducting counter-ISIL military operations. This expanded German engagement in counter-ISIL military operations, albeit the commitment is limited to logistics support missions, such as reconnaissance and aerial refueling.³¹

With regard to the Asia-Pacific region, Germany considers it to be important from the standpoint of its large population and economic strength, and expresses the view that the region plays a central role in international politics, while on the other hand, the region faces issues such as being home to two-thirds of the world’s poor. Germany’s military engagement in the region is limited to dispatches in response to natural disasters and goodwill visits, and does not include joint training.

In September 2017, Germany will hold its federal elections, and, the focus of attention will be on the impact of the election results on the security policy of the country.

²⁷ See Part I, Chapter 3, Section 3-5 regarding the maritime security strategy of France.

²⁸ At the Shangri-La Dialogue in June 2016, then Minister for Defence Le Drian affirmed France’s renewed commitment to the Asia-Pacific region, stating, “Why shouldn’t the European navies, therefore, coordinate to ensure a presence that is as regular and visible as possible in the maritime areas in Asia? I will shortly explain this proposal in detail to my European colleagues.”

²⁹ France has actively taken part in such forums as the IISS Asia Security Summit (Shangri-La Dialogue), the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium, and the South Pacific Defence Ministers’ Meeting. For example, France and India have established a strategic partnership. They conduct joint exercises among their land, naval, and air forces, respectively, and have equipment cooperation. In addition, France carries out close political dialogue with Malaysia and extends cooperation, including capacity-building support for the submarine unit of the Malaysian Armed Forces.

³⁰ Germany decreased its military personnel strength which was once more than 500,000 at the time of its reunification to 250,000 by 2010. In 2016, personnel were cut further back to 177,000. However, since July 1994, when the Federal Constitutional Court judged that dispatching the federal forces to international missions under multilateral frameworks such as the United Nations and NATO was constitutional, Germany has gradually expanded 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.

³¹ The Cabinet approved the following commitment during the 12-month period from early January to end of December 2016: (1) dispatch the frigate Augsburg to escort the French aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle; (2) deploy Tornado fighters (up to six fighters) and aerial refueling aircraft to Incirlik Air Base in Turkey; and (3) deploy up to 1,200 personnel to areas of ISIL’s operations in Syria, their airspace, the eastern Mediterranean Sea, Persian Gulf, and Red Sea to collect intelligence using reconnaissance satellites and share this intelligence with relevant countries. In October the same year, the Cabinet approved extending the dispatch until the end of 2017. This decision also added the dispatch of personnel to NATO’s AWACS (airborne warning and control system) unit to the mission. Furthermore, Germany strives to reduce the operational burden of France by increasing the number of German personnel participating in the UN PKO in Mali (United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali [MINUSMA]) and training personnel in Iraq.