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 countries had recognized that the threat of large-scale invasion by other countries had disappeared. Nevertheless, since the heightening of tensions in Ukraine in February 2014, there is a growing need to revisit existing strategies and plan new concepts in order to deal with Russia’s changes to the status quo with force in the background 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. In addition, the number of refugees and migrants crossing into Europe since 2015 has soared due to turmoil in the Middle East, including the prolonged civil war in Syria. Although there has been a downward trend in the number recently, ensuring 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. 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, steps are taken at the national level by reviewing security and defense strategies, reforming national defense systems, and strengthening bilateral and multilateral defense and security cooperation.

Further, in light of changes in the security environment, the downward trend of defense expenditure, and the drastically expanding gap of defense expenditure between the United States and other member states, in 2014 NATO member states agreed on the goal to allocate 2% or more of their GDP to national defense spending until 2024. On this goal, at the NATO Summit held in May 2017, President Trump strongly urged countries that had not yet done so to increase their national defense spending by more than 2% of their GDP. Also, at a press conference held after the NATO Summit of July 2018, he said he believed their national defense spending should rise to 4% of their GDP.
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).

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 has been conducted over Slovenia, Iceland, Albania, and Bulgaria in addition to the three Baltic nations.

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.

Enhancement of Multinational Security Frameworks

NATO

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 Concept 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 cyberattacks, 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 “unusual fights” of Russian Armed Force aircraft over the European front, including three 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. 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. 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 Readiness Joint Task Force (VJTF) that can be mobilized within two to three days. 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 became fully operational in 2017. Member states view Russia in varying ways 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.

The declaration adopted at the NATO Summit in Brussels in July 2018 cited as follows: (1) establishment of the Joint Force Command Norfolk in the United States, the headquarters aimed at strengthening defense of Atlantic Ocean sea lanes that link the United States and Europe, (2) establishment of the Joint Support and Enabling Command in Ulm, Germany, the headquarters aimed at expediting transport of troops and equipment within or outside Europe (3) arrangement of the Readiness Initiative called the “Four Thirties” by 2020 to maintain a situation in which 30 mechanized battalions, 30 air squadrons, and 30 combat vessels can be ready to use within 30 days or less.

In the Mediterranean, a permanent maritime force 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.

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). At the NATO Defense Ministers Meeting held in November 2017, it was decided to strengthen support in Afghanistan, including reinforcements of 3,000 personnel, and the number of essential personnel in Afghanistan expanded to 16,000 personnel.

Besides Afghanistan, NATO is also carrying out missions in Kosovo, Somalia, and other countries. 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. In addition, in the fight against ISIL, 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.

EU

The EU seeks to enhance its security initiatives under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP), 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.

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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, March, July, and October 2017, and again in May in 2018.

11 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.

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.
in approximately 10 years. This document calls for initiatives towards enhancing the EU’s internal and external resilience against threats to 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 among 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 addition, in December 2017 Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) was launched as a defense cooperation framework participated by 25 countries among the member countries. Under this framework, the participating countries finance joint projects including joint development of equipment and infrastructure that will contribute to developing readiness. It is expected that the framework would strengthen the EU’s defense, so its future movements will be the subject of attention.

In response to the crisis in Ukraine, the EU has condemned the military measures of Russia and implemented economic sanctions against Russia. 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 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-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” stipulating a mutual defense obligation, and EU member states expressed their support to France.

In May 2015, the EU started Operation Sophia conducted by European Union Naval Force Mediterranean (EUNAVFORMed) due 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 Affairs Council 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 in March 2017 to the EU of its intention to exit the EU. In December 2017, the EU and the United Kingdom reached a basic agreement on the terms of the United Kingdom’s exit from the EU, and the negotiations moved into the “second phase,” including trade negotiations. In March 2018, the EU and the United Kingdom tentatively agreed on the introduction of a “transition period” of about one year and nine months to avoid an upheaval because of the economic environment following the United Kingdom’s exit from the EU.

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 order by, for example, sending troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Democratic Republic of the

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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, and extends its expiry date every six months.
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 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.  

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 Foreign Ministers Meeting and the EU Council meeting in December 2016, 42 recommendations in seven fields were adopted for implementing the joint declaration. At the NATO Foreign Ministers Meeting in December 2017, 32 cooperation items in three fields were added. Based on these recommendations, NATO’s Operation Sea Guardian and the EU’s Operation Sophia are now mutually collaborating in the Mediterranean, and NATO and the EU are also advancing cooperation in fields of responding to hybrid threats, cybersecurity, and capacity development.

**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 proliferation of WMDs.

Against this backdrop, in November 2015, the Cameron administration released the National Security Strategy and Strategic Defence and Security Review (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, the NSS-SDSR2015 calls for ending the defense spending

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17 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.

18 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.
cuts and explicitly proposes to increase the defense force in order to develop capacities to address the entire list of expanded threats. 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. In December 2017, the aircraft carrier Queen Elizabeth was put into commission.

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 warfare 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.

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 partner in Asia. In the National Security Capability Review (NSCR) issued in March 2018 as well, Japan and the ROK are considered to be strong partners for strengthening its defense capability, as well as enhancing military bases, dealing with operational requirements to streamline and integrate its military capacity by streamlining and integrating military bases, dealing with operational requirements to maintain independence of its defense policies, while 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.

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.

### 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 streamlining 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.

The Defence and National Security Strategic Review announced by the Macron administration in October 2017 states that the threats that France faces, including domestic terrorism, the refugee issue, and the Ukraine crisis, are diversifying, increasing in complexity, and rapidly becoming more violent, and amidst the increasingly multipolar international system, competition is intensifying among major military powers.
and the danger of escalation is growing. Under these conditions, France will continue to fulfill its duties within NATO including for collective defense and contributing to security, and will take a leading role in efforts to strengthen the EU’s defense. In addition, in the Military Planning Law for 2019-2025 announced in February 2018, a total of approximately 300 billion euros will be allocated for defense expenditure by 2025, and there was confirmation of President Macron’s commitment to the goal of allocating 2% of France’s GDP to its defense budget by 2025.

France has been conducting airstrikes against ISIL in Iraq since September 2014 and in Syria since September 2015. 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.

Since France has territories in the Indo-Pacific region, it places importance on its commitment to the region. The Strategic Review issued in October 2017 points out the potential for a threat to benefits, such as the freedom of navigation, due to the worsening strategic situation in the Asia-Pacific region, and clearly states that France will maintain its stance of protecting its sovereignty of its overseas prefectures and territories in the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. Further, France has indicated its policy to continue strengthening its worldwide partnership network, from Africa to the Middle East to the Asia-Pacific region. In May 2018, during his visit to Australia, President Macron stated that the Paris-Delhi-Canberra axis is absolutely key for the Indian-Pacific region. In addition, in February 2018, France had the Floréal class frigate Vendémiaire make a port call in Japan and conduct joint exercises with the MSDF, and has proactively organized the multilateral exercises Exercise Croix du Sud and Equateur in the South Pacific.

### 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 armed 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.

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, interstate conflict, 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

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23 As of January 2018, France has mobilized 1,100 personnel, 10 Rafale fighters, 1 frigate, among other assets.
24 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.
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.

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 disaster relief missions and goodwill visits, and does not include joint training.

25 The decision was made on 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. 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.