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 conflicts within and around Europe, the rise of terrorism, the proliferation of WMDs, and an increasing number of cyber 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 have made counterterrorism efforts an urgent task.[1] In addition, border security problems remain a challenge, including those regarding refugees and migrants that have rapidly increased due to Middle East turmoil such as the prolonged civil war in Syria.

To respond to such challenges and situations, Europe has sought to further strengthen and expand[2] 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[3] and multilateral[4] defense and security cooperation.

Further, in light of changes in the security environment, the downward trend of defense expenditure, and the expanding gap of defense expenditure between the United States and other member states, NATO member states in 2014 agreed on the goal to allocate 2% or more of their GDP to national defense spending by 2024.[5] Regarding the matter, U.S. President Trump at the NATO Summit in July 2018 strongly demanded defense spending expansion by member states failing to attain the goal, emphasizing a feeling of unfairness about larger defense spending as a percentage of GDP in the United States than in other NATO member states.[6]

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

2 Enhancement of Multinational Security Frameworks

1 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 in November 2010, NATO adopted a new Strategic Concept[7] 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,

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1   Recently, a man attacked passersby with a knife at a station in the United Kingdom (December 2018), a man raided passersby with a gun and a knife near a Christmas market in France (December 2018), and a man assaulted shoppers with a knife at a supermarket in Germany (July 2017). European countries are now reviewing their security systems and tightening immigration controls, among other measures. See Part I, Chapter 3, Section 7

2   NATO has continued expanding towards Central and Eastern Europe with the aim of stabilizing the entire European and Atlantic regions. In February 2019, North Macedonia was approved as a new NATO member, leading NATO members to take ratification procedures for the first new NATO member since Montenegro's accession to the alliance in 2017.

3   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 bilateral summit meeting held in November 2010. At a summit in January 2019, the two countries signed the Aachen Treaty on cooperation in enhancing European integration. The treaty aims to further enhance military cooperation, implement joint exercises and deployment, and create a joint force to stabilize third countries.
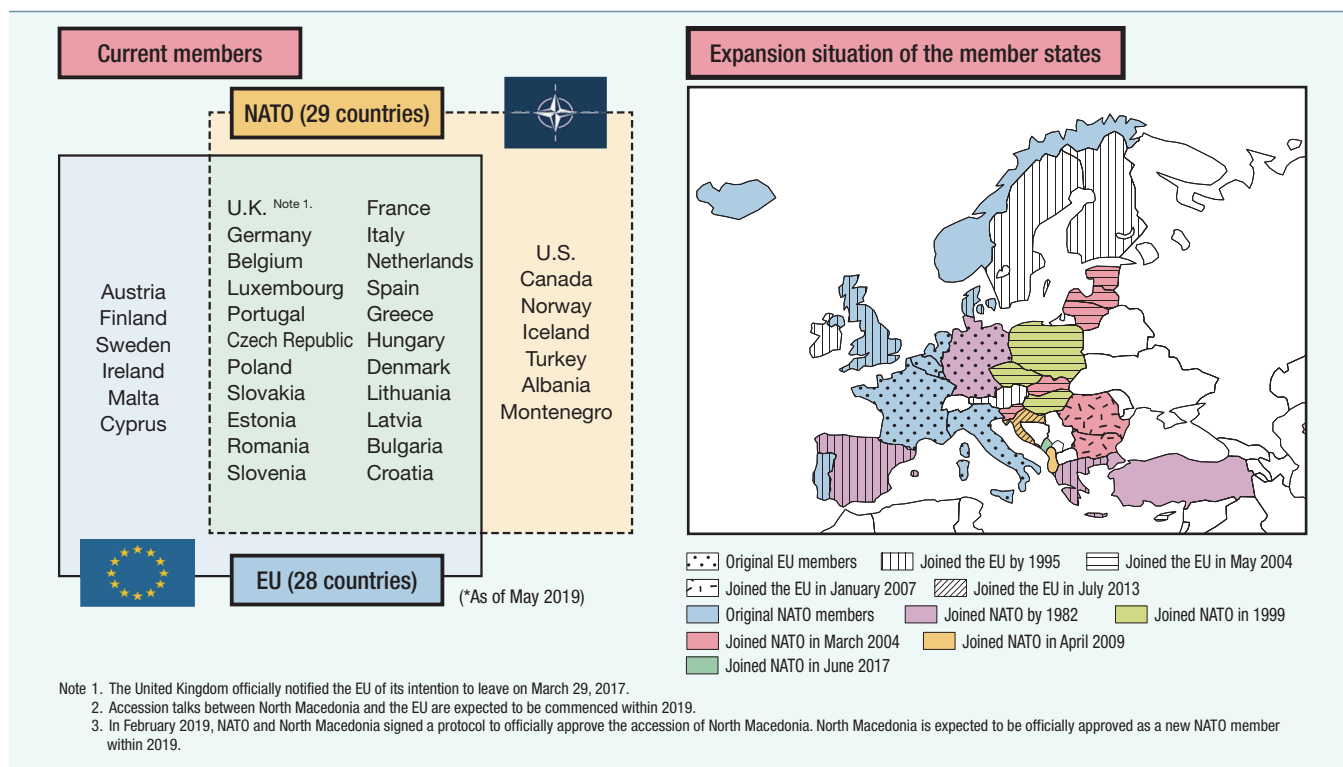
4   In June 2018, for example, nine European countries—France, Germany, the United Kingdom, Estonia, the Netherlands, Spain, Denmark, Belgium, and Portugal—launched the European Intervention Initiative with a common firm intention to promote the revitalization of Europe in the strategic field. At a ministerial meeting of the 10 countries, including Finland, which had joined the initiative in November 2018, they approved a political guideline as the base for their future operational work. The initiative pursues visible achievements including building capacity to jointly address natural disasters and enhancing capabilities to conduct high-intensity military operations. However, details are still under consideration.

5   In 2018, only seven member states (the United States, Greece, the United Kingdom, Estonia, Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania) achieved the standard. On the other hand, the declaration adopted at the NATO Summit in July 2018 indicated that some two-thirds of the NATO members had national plans in place to spend 2% or more of their GDP on defense by 2024.

6   In this respect, reports said U.S. President Trump doubted the necessity of the military alliance and discussed the United States' possible withdrawal from NATO with senior government officials before and after the July 2018 NATO Summit. At a press conference after the summit, the President indicated his idea that NATO members' defense spending should finally reach 4% of their respective GDP.

7   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).

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

Current members

NATO (29 countries)

U.K. Note 1.
Germany
Belgium
Luxembourg
Portugal
Czech Republic
Poland
Slovakia
Estonia
Romania
Slovenia

France
Italy
Netherlands
Spain
Greece
Hungary
Denmark
Lithuania
Latvia
Bulgaria
Croatia

Austria
Finland
Sweden
Ireland
Malta
Cyprus

U.S.
Canada
Norway
Iceland
Turkey
Albania
Montenegro

EU (28 countries)

(*As of May 2019)

Expansion situation of the member states

Original EU members　Joined the EU by 1995　Joined the EU in May 2004
Joined the EU in January 2007　Joined the EU in July 2013
Original NATO members　Joined NATO by 1982　Joined NATO in 1999
Joined NATO in March 2004　Joined NATO in April 2009
Joined NATO in June 2017

Note 1. The United Kingdom officially notified the EU of its intention to leave on March 29, 2017.
2. Accession talks between North Macedonia and the EU are expected to be commenced within 2019.
3. In February 2019, NATO and North Macedonia signed a protocol to officially approve the accession of North Macedonia. North Macedonia is expected to be officially approved as a new NATO member within 2019.

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; (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" 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.[8] Additionally, at the NATO Summit 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.[9] 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.[10] Furthermore, the declaration adopted at the NATO Summit 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, which became fully operational in 2017. The declaration adopted at the NATO Summit in July 2018 cited the following: (1) the establishment of the Joint Force Command Norfolk in the United States, the headquarters aimed at strengthening the defense of Atlantic Ocean sea lanes that link the United States and Europe, (2) the establishment of the Joint Support and Enabling Command in Ulm, Germany, the headquarters aimed at expediting transport of troops and equipment within and outside Europe, and (3) the 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 be used within 30 days or less. From October to November 2018, NATO implemented the "Trident Juncture 2018," one of the largest NATO drills in recent years, to train the readiness and joint operations

8　NATO has conducted air policing on a rotational basis since 2004. The missions involved patrolling by one country with four aircraft, but since the crisis in Ukraine, the missions were enhanced, shifting to patrolling by four countries with 16 aircraft. In September 2015, the missions were reduced. Currently, NATO air policing is being conducted over Slovenia, Iceland, Albania, and Montenegro in addition to the three Baltic nations.

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

10　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).

Chapter 2

Defense Policies of Countries

Trident Juncture 2018, a NATO drill implemented from October through November 2018
[courtesy of the Ministry of Defense, Norway]

against every potential threat, enhancing its defense efforts. Views on Russia differ between NATO member states against the backdrop of their different geographical distances from Russia. While taking measures to address Russian influence, NATO members have maintained opportunities for dialogue to narrow their differences in views about Russia and increase their predictability.[11]

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 counterterrorism and capacity-building assistance, among others.

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 Summit in July 2018, NATO decided to maintain its presence in Afghanistan until seeing signs of changes in the local situation and enhance support for Afghanistan by extending financial assistance for ANDSF until 2024. It has stationed 17,000 personnel in Afghanistan.[12]

With regard to ISIL, while taking the stance of emphasizing prevention over intervention, NATO has affirmed that it 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 aircraft forces to fight against ISIL. Under the decision, NATO surveillance and reconnaissance missions started October 2016. NATO announced the commencement of the new NATO Mission Iraq (NMI) at the NATO Summit in July 2018, providing training and capacity-building support for Iraqi security forces.

NATO is also carrying out missions in Kosovo and other countries.[13]

2 EU

The EU seeks to enhance its security initiatives under the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP),[14] 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 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.[15] In November 2016, the European Commission released an action plan for reinforcing defense cooperation in Europe, including the establishment of the European Defence Fund.

In December 2017, the Permanent Structured Cooperation (PESCO) was launched as a defense cooperation framework for 25 countries among the member countries. Under this framework, the participating countries finance and cooperate in joint projects including the joint development of equipment and infrastructure that will contribute to developing readiness. It is expected that the framework would strengthen the EU's defense capabilities. In this way, the EU is trying to enhance capabilities for undertaking security and its strategic independence.

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11 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 a meeting of the NATO-Russia Council, a dialogue framework, in Brussels for the first time in almost two years. So far, nine meetings of the council have been held.

12 As of February 2019, U.S. participants numbered 8,475, accounting for approximately 50% of the total.

13 In Kosovo, NATO has carried out its mission within the framework of the Kosovo International Security Force since 1999. Today, NATO provides recommendations, training, and capacity-building assistance to the Kosovo Security Force.

14 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.

15 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 response to the crisis in Ukraine, the EU has condemned the military measures of Russia and implemented economic sanctions against Russia.[16] 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-building assistance in counterterrorism 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"[17] stipulating a mutual defense obligation, and EU member states provided their support to France.[18]

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 operation's main mission is to block smuggling and human trafficking, with its adjunctive mission being to train the Libyan Navy Coast Guard and enforce the UN arms embargo on the high seas. At its meeting in July 2017, the EU Foreign Affairs Council agreed to expand the operation by adding new missions including reconnaissance on illegal transactions in crude oil exported from Libya and information sharing with relevant organizations on human trafficking.

In 2003, the EU led peacekeeping operations for the first time in Macedonia (then) 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[19] by, for example, sending troops to Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Chad, Mali, Central Africa, and Somalia. 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. In addition, those vessels and aircraft conduct joint exercises with SDF units.[20]

3 Cooperation between NATO and the EU

Advancements have been seen in cooperation between NATO and the EU in addressing unprecedented challenges efficiently. At the NATO Summit in July 2016, a joint declaration was released citing hybrid threats, cybersecurity and other fields in which NATO and the EU should prioritize cooperation. The NATO Summit in July 2018 issued a joint declaration that identified substantial progress in NATO-EU cooperation and cited the mobility of military forces, counterterrorism and other fields for further cooperation. Based on these declarations, NATO's Operation Sea Guardian and the EU's Operation Sophia are now mutually collaborating through information support in the Mediterranean. The EU's PESCO includes a project for developing arrangements for smooth movement of military personnel and assets inside and outside the EU and is expected to contribute to NATO's quick military deployment in emergency. In this way, NATO and the EU are advancing their cooperation in a manner to complement each other for the purpose of enhancing security initiatives.

Signing of a joint declaration on cooperation between NATO and EU by President Tusk of the European Council, Secretary General Stoltenberg of NATO, and President Juncker of the European Commission [courtesy of NATO]

Chapter 2

Defense Policies of Countries

16　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.

17　Article 42, Paragraph 7 of the Treaty on European Union provides for a mutual defense obligation, where if an 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.

18　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.

19　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. In January 2014, for example, the EU decided to dispatch a security force to the Central African Republic, which was plagued with turmoil. The security force launched its operations in April 2014 and ended them in March 2015, when the European Union's Military Advisory Mission (EUMAM) was launched to support preparations for reforming the security sector of the Central African Republic. In July 2016, the EUMAM was succeeded by the European Union's Training Mission (EUTM). In July 2018, the EU decided to extend ETUM operations until September 2020, continuing training for the modernization of the Central African Republic forces.

20　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.

Chapter 2

Defense Policies of Countries

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 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 cuts and explicitly proposes to increase the defense force in order to develop capacities to address the entire list of expanded threats.[21] 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.[22]

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.[23]

In the NSS-SDSR2015, the United Kingdom recognizes the Asia-Pacific region as offering significant economic opportunities for the country and as exerting considerable influence on the future integrity and credibility of the rules-based international order, indicating its commitment to attaching importance to working with security partners in the region. In particular, the United Kingdom considers Japan as its closest security partner in Asia, conducting joint exercises with Japan.[24] It has also participated in the multilateral joint exercise RIMPAC and deployed naval ships in the region, enhancing its engagement in regional security. In February 2018, the Rt Hon Gavin Williamson, Secretary of State for Defence of the United Kingdom, noted that the British Royal Navy Frigate HMS Sutherland would be sailing through the South China Sea and that the Royal Navy has a right to such sailing. In early May 2018, in order to contribute to international efforts to monitor prohibited trading at sea by North Korea, the HMS Sutherland conducted information gathering activities regarding ships suspected of conducting "ship-to-ship transfers" in the high seas surrounding Japan.[25] Further, in April 2018, the Secretary of State for Defence announced that the Royal Navy's landing ship HMS Albion[26] was dispatched to the Asia-Pacific Region. In September

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21 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.

22 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.

23 Since 2014, the United Kingdom has conducted over 1,600 aerial bombings, held training for over 70,000 Iraqi military soldiers, and dispatched over 1,400 United Kingdom military personnel.

24 From October to November 2016, Typhoon fighters visited Japan to conduct a Japan-U.K. bilateral exercise. In April 2018, the Royal Navy frigate HMS Sutherland conducted a bilateral exercise with MSDF, including Destroyer JS "Suzunami." In August 2018, the Royal Navy landing ship HMS Albion conducted a joint exercise with the MSDF transport ship JS "Shimokita". In September 2018, the Royal Navy frigate HMS Argyll conducted a joint drill with Destroyer JS "Kaga" and other MSDF ships. From September to October 2018, a bilateral exercise was conducted in Japan between the army service branches of both countries. In December 2018, the Royal Navy frigate HMS Argyll conducted a joint exercise with MSDF and the U.S. Navy. In March 2019, the Royal Navy frigate HMS Montrose conducted a joint drill with MSDF and the U.S. Navy.

25 Furthermore, warning and surveillance operations were conducted in Japan's periphery, including the East China Sea, by the Royal Navy landing ship HMS Albion from late May to early June 2018 and in mid-June 2018, by the Royal Navy frigate HMS Argyll in mid-December 2018 and early January 2019, and by the Royal Navy frigate HMS Montrose from late February to early March 2019.
From the viewpoint of enhancing the effectiveness of the UN Security Council resolutions, Japan and the United Kingdom engaged in cooperation activities, including information sharing. In March 2019, a strongly suspected case of a ship-to-ship transfer between the Saebyol, a North Korea-flagged tanker, and a small ship of unidentified nationality, was confirmed and announced based on the sharing of information between a MSDF supply ship and a Royal Navy frigate that were engaging in patrol and monitoring activities.

26 In August 2018, the Royal Navy landing ship HMS Albion was reported as sailing around the Parcel Islands in the South China Sea. In response, China's Ministry of National Defense expressed its strong discontent with and resolute opposition to the action.

2018, the Royal Navy frigate HMS Argyll made a port call in Pakistan before being deployed in the region. The Ministry of Defence of the United Kingdom noted that the deployment of these three ships meant that the Royal Navy would have an almost unbroken presence in the Asia-Pacific region throughout 2018. In addition, the Royal Navy dispatched the HMS Montrose frigate to the region in October 2018 for operations to help stabilize the region and develop relations with the region. Such Royal Navy deployment in the Asia-Pacific region is viewed as unprecedented since the Korean War. Future relevant developments will attract attention, including the dispatch of the aircraft carrier Queen Elizabeth to the region.[27]

In March 2017, the United Kingdom officially informed the EU of its intention to leave the union. In November 2018, draft exit agreements were approved at a special meeting of the European Council. Later, however, the U.K. Parliament voted against the agreements three times with the result that the deadline for the exit has been pushed back until October 31, making the future course of the exit uncertain. Even after the exit from the EU, the United Kingdom is expected to retain the recognition of NATO as the cornerstone of security in Europe and pursue new security relations with the EU in which it would participate in the PESCO permanent EU defense cooperation framework open to non-EU countries if cooperation in research and development is concluded as benefiting both the country and the EU. Given the notion that the United Kingdom's exit from the EU would reduce the EU's influence on security, attention will be paid to the degree of the United Kingdom's engagement in EU security initiatives and its relations with the United States and other friendly countries outside Europe.

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 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 capabilities. In June 2018, the Military Planning Law for 2019-2025 was enacted, consisting of four pillars –human resources, equipment modernization, contributions to Europe's strategic independence, and technological innovation – to materialize the national security strategy given in the Strategic Review. The law confirms a plan to allocate a total of approximately 300 billion euros to defense by 2025 to fulfill President Macron's commitment to the goal of raising defense spending to 2% of France's GDP by 2025.

France has been conducting airstrikes against ISIL in Iraq since September 2014 and in Syria since September 2015.[28] Following the terror attacks in Paris in November 2015, France declared a state of emergency, and decided to deploy 10,000 military personnel to maintain domestic security and suspend troop reductions. The country enhanced its airstrikes against ISIL in Syria and deployed mobile units including the aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle to the Mediterranean Sea. 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.[29] The Strategic Review points out the potential for a threat to interests, 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 the sovereignty of its overseas territories in the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. France has cited Australia and India as major strategic partners in the Indo-Pacific region.[30] During his visit to Australia in May 2018, President Macron stated that the Paris-Delhi-Canberra axis is absolutely key for the Indian-Pacific region. In addition, France has proactively organized the multilateral exercises Croix du Sud and Equateur in the South Pacific. In February 2018, France had the Floréal class frigate Vendémiaire make a port call in Japan and conduct joint exercises with the MSDF. In March 2019,

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27　In February 2019, Defence Secretary Williamson announced that the United Kingdom would deploy the aircraft carrier Queen Elizabeth in the Mediterranean, Middle Eastern and Pacific regions.

28　As of July 2018, France had mobilized 1,100 personnel, 10 Rafale fighters, 1 frigate, among other assets.

29　As of June 2018, France had at least 200,000 of its citizens in the Indo-Pacific region, stationing about 7,000 soldiers in the region.

30　In addition to Australia and India, Japan, Singapore, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Vietnam are specified as partner countries.

a carrier strike group including the aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle left France, and conducted a multilateral exercise with Australian, U.S. and Japanese ships including MSDF Destroyer JS "Izumo" in May, when the group was deployed in the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, France dispatched Falcon 200 reconnaissance aircraft to support measures to implement UN Security Council resolutions related to North Korea, conducting warning and surveillance operations against ship-to-ship transfers involving North Korean ships.

In 2019, the frigate Vendémiaire conducted patrol and monitoring activities in the seas around Japan, including the East China Sea. From the viewpoint of enhancing the effectiveness of the UN Security Council resolutions, Japan and France engaged in cooperation activities, including information sharing.

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.[31]

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, cyberattacks, 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 provided education and training to the Iraqi Security Forces since 2015. In December 2015 following the terror attacks in Paris in November 2015, Germany expanded logistics support missions, such as reconnaissance and aerial refueling, for the Coalition that was conducting counter-ISIL military operations.[32]

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. However, Germany has allocated most of its military assets for NATO and EU missions outside the Asia-Pacific region and limited its military engagement in the region to disaster relief missions and goodwill visits, failing to participate in joint exercises involving naval ships in the region. Given that Germany is attempting to enhance its naval power by launching four new frigates by 2020, the German Navy's future engagement in the regional will attract attention.

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31 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.

32 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 (early warning and control aircraft) 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 (MINUSMA) and training personnel in Iraq.