

# 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 the growing seriousness 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. 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 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.

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

## 2 Enhancement of Multinational Security Frameworks

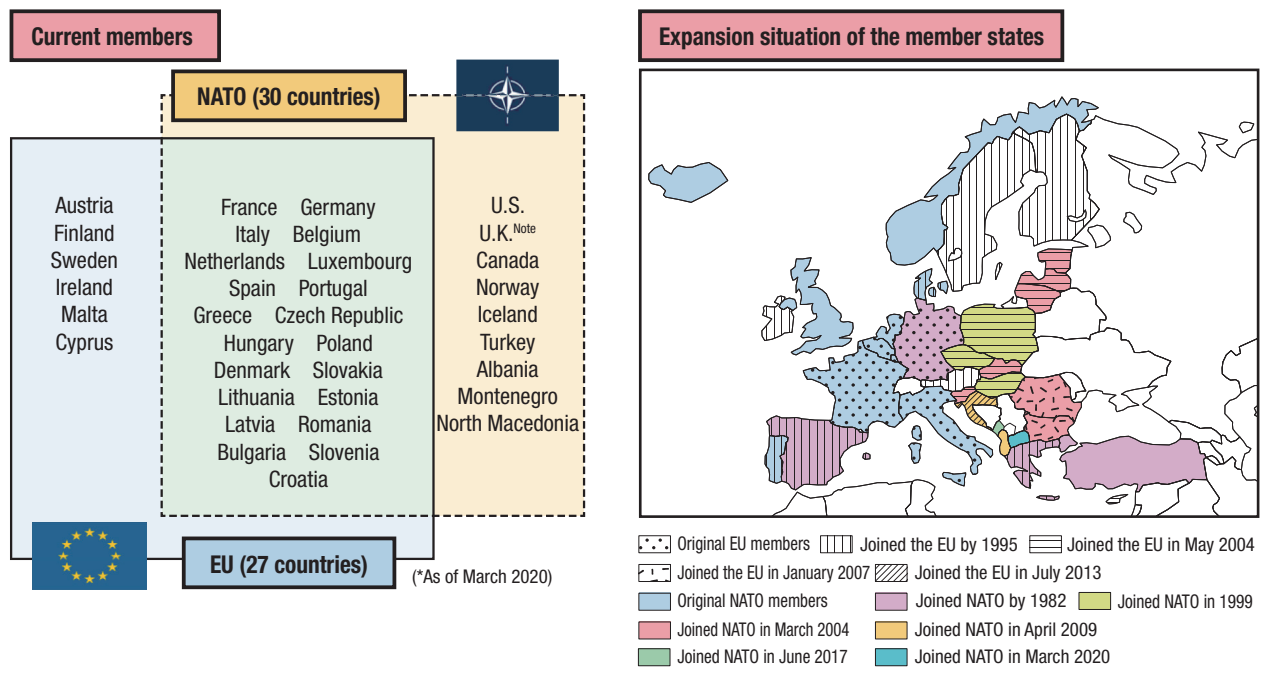
### 1 NATO

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 for the first time in 11 years to

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



Note: The United Kingdom left the EU on January 31, 2020.

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 Washington 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.

Defense spending has been trending downwards in recent years, but in light of changes in the security environment, 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 defense spending by 2024. The London Declaration was adopted at NATO's 70th anniversary summit in December 2019. The participating leaders reaffirmed therein their solemn commitment to collective defense as enshrined in Article 5 of the Washington Treaty and stated that they will increase defense expenditure further. Acknowledging that NATO faces not only the challenges of Russia and terrorism, but also cyber and hybrid threats, they also affirmed that NATO will address Russia's deployment of intermediate-range missiles and declared space an operational domain. China's rise to prominence was discussed for the first time and the Declaration explicitly states that China's growing influence and international policies present both opportunities and challenges that NATO members need to address together as an Alliance. With member countries highlighting a diverse array of issues, including matters concerning 5G and other critical infrastructure, discussions are continuing with a view to strengthening NATO unity.

Following Russia's development of "hybrid warfare" as well as the frequent "unusual flights" of Russian Armed Force aircraft over northern and eastern Europe, including the Baltic states, NATO and member states have recognized anew the threat posed by Russia and are working to bolster deterrence. 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.<sup>1</sup> 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, at the NATO Summit in July 2016, members decided to deploy four multinational battle groups to the three Baltic nations and Poland on a rotational basis. These became fully operational in 2017. At the NATO Summit in July 2018, members decided to put in place a readiness initiative called the "Four Thirties," to maintain a situation in which, by 2020, 30 mechanized battalions, 30 air squadrons, and 30 combat vessels can be ready to be used within 30 days or less. They also decided on reforms of the command headquarters, establishing the Joint Force Command Norfolk in the United States with the objective of strengthening the defense of Atlantic sea lines of communications between the United States and Europe, as well as establishing the Joint Support and Enabling Command in Ulm, Germany, to expedite the transport of troops and equipment within and outside Europe. Views on Russia differ between NATO member states against the backdrop of their different geographical distances from Russia and others. While taking measures to address Russian influence, NATO members have maintained opportunities for dialogue with Russia to narrow their differences in views and increase predictability.

Alongside collective defense, NATO's core tasks include crisis management operations both within and outside the region. 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

<sup>1</sup> 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 training and exercises among member states. Furthermore, it is designed to strengthen joint training among member states and with partner countries, enhance interoperability, and make use of advanced technology.

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.

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 assistance for Iraqi security forces. At the February 2020 meeting of NATO defense ministers, participants agreed to enhance NATO's training mission in Iraq, to contribute to the stabilization of the situation in the Middle East.

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

## 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),<sup>2</sup> 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. In November 2016, the European Commission released an action plan for reinforcing

defense cooperation in Europe, including the establishment of the European Defence Fund (EDF).

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 by responding to the present and future security demand in Europe.

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 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" stipulating a mutual defense obligation, and EU member states provided their support to France.

Since 2003, the EU has proactively undertaken both military operations and nonmilitary missions under the CSDP.<sup>3</sup> Operation Atalanta, the EU's first maritime mission to combat piracy, has been under way off the coast of 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. In May 2015, the EU started Operation Sophia conducted by European Union Naval

<sup>2</sup> 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.

<sup>3</sup> 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.

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. Since July 2017, the scope of activities has been expanded through the assignment of new missions, including reconnaissance on illegal transactions in crude oil exported from Libya and information sharing with relevant organizations on human trafficking. The EU Foreign Affairs Council agreed at a February 2020 meeting to undertake a new maritime operation in the Mediterranean, Operation IRINI, whose primary mission is to monitor the arms embargo against Libya. Operation Sophia was therefore concluded in March 2020.

The United Kingdom left the EU on January 31, 2020, about three and a half years after the June 2016 referendum. Even after its 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.

### 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.

## 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. 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



HMS “Montrose” (U.K.), which came to Japan to monitor illegal ship-to-ship transfer

mobility, in view of dealing with threats such as terrorism and cyber security.<sup>4</sup>

Since September 2014, the United Kingdom has conducted airstrikes against ISIL in Iraq. In addition, it carries out ISR activities using UAVs, 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.

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 exercises with Japan. It has also participated in the multilateral exercise RIMPAC and deployed naval ships in the region, enhancing its engagement in regional security. In February 2019, Gavin Williamson, then Secretary of State for Defence of the United Kingdom, announced that the aircraft carrier HMS “Queen Elizabeth” was to be sent to the Mediterranean, Middle East, and Pacific. Recently, to assist in international efforts to monitor illegal maritime activities, including illicit ship-to-ship transfers involving North Korea-flagged ships, the Royal

Navy frigate HMS “Argyll” conducted patrol and monitoring activities in the seas around Japan, including the East China Sea, in December 2018 and January 2019, while the frigate HMS “Montrose” did the same between late February and early March 2019. Japan and the United Kingdom have also been cooperating in the sharing of information, with the aim of increasing the effectiveness of UN Security Council resolutions. Such Royal Navy deployment in the Asia-Pacific region is viewed as unprecedented since the Korean War. Future developments in the United Kingdom’s involvement in the region are set to attract 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 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

<sup>4</sup> The “NSS-SDSR2015” will maintain the size of the British Army 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.

commitment to the goal of raising defense spending to 2% of France's GDP by 2025.

Having positioned the fight against ISIL as one of its top national defense priorities, France has been conducting airstrikes against ISIL in Iraq since September 2014 and in Syria since September 2015. The aircraft carrier "Charles de Gaulle" supported anti-ISIL operations while at sea in the eastern Mediterranean in April 2019 and was among the naval task force dispatched to the eastern Mediterranean for a month in January 2020 to provide similar operational support. In addition, France has continued to provide education and training to the Iraqi Security Forces and Peshmerga, as well as humanitarian assistance for refugees. In January 2020, France and seven other European nations, including the Netherlands and Denmark, issued a political statement supporting the creation of the European Maritime Awareness in the Strait of Hormuz (EMASOH) surveillance mission, which has been launched in response to a series of incidents affecting the safe passage of civilian vessels in the Gulf of Oman since May 2019. Before the month was out, France dispatched a frigate to the gulf, where it has been conducting warning and surveillance operations.

Since France has territories in the Indo-Pacific region, it places importance on its commitment to the region. 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's Defence Strategy in the Indo-Pacific, which was published in June 2019, states that China's growing influence is shifting the balances of power in the Indo-Pacific region and highlights the importance of strengthening partnerships with the United States, Australia, India, and Japan. In addition, France has proactively organized the multilateral exercises Croix du Sud and Equateur in the South Pacific. In February 2018, France had the frigate "Vendémiaire" make a port call in Japan and conduct joint exercises with the Maritime Self-Defense Force (MSDF). In March 2019, 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 2019, when the group was deployed in the Indian Ocean.

Furthermore, France dispatched Falcon 200 reconnaissance aircraft to conduct warning and surveillance operations against illegal maritime activities, including illicit ship-to-ship transfers involving North Korea-flagged 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.

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 provided support for capacity building, including providing 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. In September 2019, the German cabinet decided to extend the nation's capacity building support mission until October 31, 2020, and its logistical support missions until March 31, 2020. In March 2020, the German cabinet reviewed the logistical support missions and decided to conclude the reconnaissance mission, but extended the aerial refueling mission until October 31, 2020.

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 region will attract attention.