

### FRANCE AND SECURITY IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC



#### Foreword by the Minister

The White Paper on Defence and National Security published in April 2013 put a strong emphasis on the Asia-Pacific and on French and European defence and security interests within this vast geopolitical entity.

This choice is justified by an increasing interdependence between European and Asian countries. In 1980, economically and technologically, Asia accounted for less than 20% of the world gross domestic product; however, by 2030, it is predicted to become the main centre of wealth creation and scientific and technical innovation, accounting for over a third of the world gross domestic product.

The importance of Asia in our environment is also linked not only to our exposure to common threats, such as the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems, international terrorism, or piracy, but also to trans-boundary risks, such as natural, health, or technological disasters. Additionally, our regions are linked because any crisis or conflict occurring in one of the two continents will inevitably affect the interests of the other. Despite the geographical distance between our continents, our security and prosperity are now inextricably linked.

France is a power in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Along with its territories, it must protect and guarantee the security of an increasing number of citizens who live in these regions. In addition, as a permanent member of the Security Council, France is true to its international commitments as well as to its friends and partners. It seeks to contribute, as much as possible, to the regional security in all its dimensions through its presence, cooperation, and commitment alongside its European allies and partners. It is deeply committed to contributing to an international order based on peace, justice, and law.

The Asia-Pacific region is characterized by the importance of its maritime areas and the sea lanes of communication (SLOCs) which extend from the Yellow Sea to the Arabo-Persian Gulf. These SLOCs are vital both for Asia and Europe and they form globalization's "jugular vein". France is a major maritime and naval power committed to the principle of freedom of navigation. We are willing to share our long experience and expertise and contribute to the security of the maritime domain. We have developed strong ties with many Asia-Pacific countries that are developing their ambitions and capabilities in this specific area, and more generally in the field of defence and security. These countries appreciate not only the independence of our policy and our openness to dialogue, but also bilateral relations with our personnel and armed forces, as well as the opportunities of cooperation we offer in the field of defence equipment.

This document was prepared by the Ministry of Defence, in close collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It presents France's policy on defence and security in the Asia-Pacific. This explanatory document is intended to demonstrate our country's long-term unremitting commitment to develop useful linkages and joint actions in favour of our shared security in the decades to come.

Jean-Yves Le Drian

#### France and security in the Asia-Pacific

"Like its European partners, France is not directly threatened by potential conflicts between Asian powers, but it is nevertheless very directly concerned, for several reasons: it is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and of UNCMAC (United Nations Command Military Armistice Commission, Korea) and a power with a presence in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. It is also a US ally that plays a key role in the security of this strategic part of the world. Its companies and its citizens are present in increasing numbers in the region and its prosperity is now inseparable from that of the Asia-Pacific region."

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Asia's economic, scientific, technological, and military emergence cannot but have defence and security implications for France and Europe. In an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world from which a new multi-polarity has emerged, risks and threats of all kinds affecting the Asia-Pacific have led France to play an active role in ensuring the region's security and stability. Although France has its own interests and specific political commitments in this region, it also understands the need to join forces to face common risks and threats that affect us all in this globalized world. France's foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific and the rest of the world is founded on values of democracy, respect for the rule of law, and international law, as well as the objectives of security and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

Although France's mainland territory is geographically remote from the Asia-Pacific, its territories in New Caledonia, Wallis and Futuna, French Polynesia, and Clipperton Island make it a regional Pacific power. It is also present in the southern part of the Indian Ocean with the islands of Mayotte, La Réunion and the Scattered Islands and French Southern and Antarctic Territories, and in the northwest region of the Indian Ocean through its permanent military presence in the United Arab Emirates and Djibouti. This presence, which is unique among European countries, gives France specific responsibilities regarding defence and security in the Asia-Pacific.

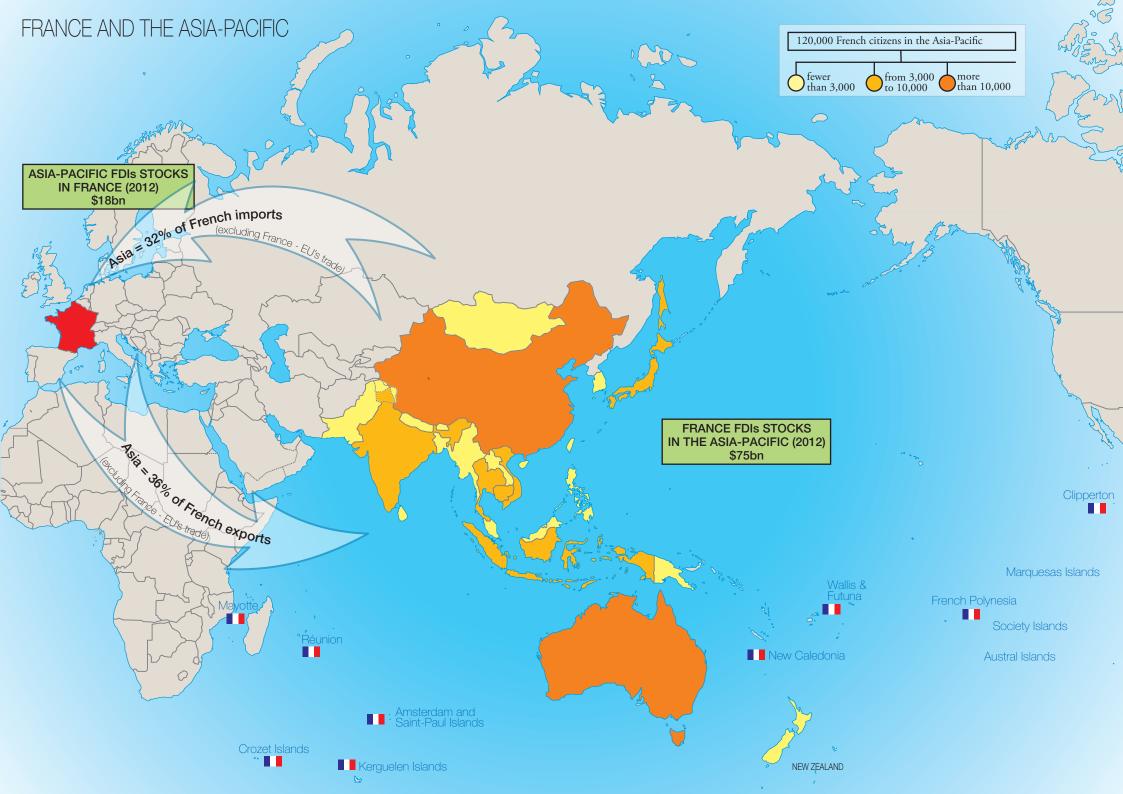
Since the mid-1990s, France has heavily re-engaged in this part of the world and has taken many initiatives to further interconnect Europe and Asia politically and economically, including promoting with Singapore the establishment of the *Asia-Europe Meeting* (ASEM) in 1996. France has developed its security action: by taking part in multiple multilateral military operations within the framework of the UN, EU, and NATO;

by actively participating in several dialogue frameworks, in particular on maritime issues; and finally, by significantly strengthening its bilateral defence relations with key countries in Asia and Oceania.

French policy in this area is characterized by a desire to develop comprehensive defence and security relations based on three pillars: political and military dialogue, military cooperation and armaments cooperation. This overall approach helps structure quality partnerships between sovereign states based on mutual knowledge and trust and common interests. This demonstrates France's desire for strong, responsible, and lasting political engagement in the region.

Since the mid-1990s, France has in this way established high-level dialogues and "strategic partnerships"\* with Japan (1995, elevated to ministerial level in 2012), China (1997), India (1998), Indonesia (2011), Australia (2012), Singapore (2012) and Vietnam (2013). It has also established a close strategic defence relationship with Malaysia. These strengthened dialogues and cooperation frameworks, presided over by senior officials within the Office of the French President or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, always include a section on international, defence, and security issues. Specialized committees, in particular for defence and security, are most often responsible for deepening the bilateral cooperation and report on their progress to the highest level.

<sup>\*</sup> Although each strategic partnership is specific and has different names between countries, they remain in all cases strong political commitments based on mutual recognition of the key role of each partner country on the international stage that potentially lead to the pooling of resources and expertise as well as identifying common objectives. Strategic partnerships involve the implementation of a framework for in-depth exchanges and strengthened cooperation across all key areas of national interest for both partners.



## A changing strategic context marked by inter-state tensions

"However, the intensity of the arms race in Asia is primarily a reflection of the antagonisms that divide the continent. In that respect, one cannot entirely exclude the hypothesis that the combination of persistent sovereignty conflicts, the sharp increase in military expenditure and the rise of nationalism could pose a risk of instability in Asia; a risk which could be exacerbated if economic growth, which has made the region a driver of the world economy, were to slow dramatically."

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Asia's economic and technological development is accompanied by an acceleration in modernizing defence and security equipment, a move which can also be explained by continuing inter-state tensions (often deeply rooted), and the evolution of transnational risks and threats, which have been exacerbated by globalization.

While Asia has become Europe's largest trading partner, any crisis or conflict in the Asia-Pacific is likely to adversely affect the interests of Europe and France, the latter being the world's fifth largest exporter and third global investor. More broadly, 70% of European containerized merchandise trade transits through the Indian Ocean and it is expected that by 2020, 45% of world containerized merchandise trade will be exchanged between Europe and Asia.

The legacy of the Cold War remains (in the Korean peninsula, between Russia and Japan, and in the Taiwan Strait), and many territorial disputes in South and East Asia create tensions that could lead to an open conflict. Moreover, since the 1990s, there has been a considerable increase in defence spending and military equipment modernization which contributes to changes in the region's stability and equilibrium.

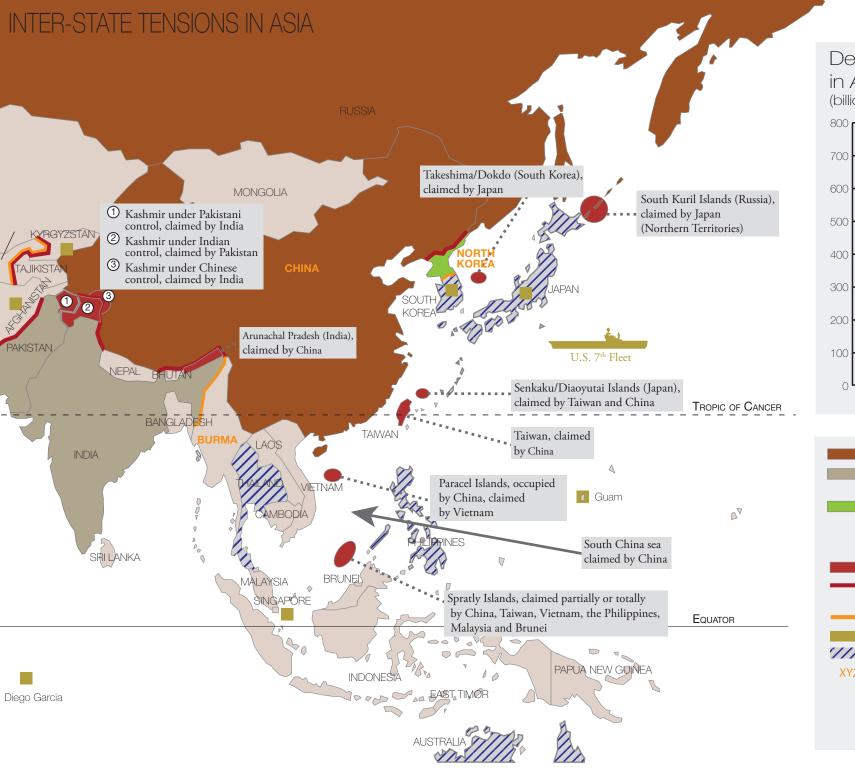
Similarly, in an interconnected world, the development of proliferation in Asia and of piracy activities in the north-western part of the Indian Ocean and in south-east Asia, the increased competition for access to resources and control of supply routes, the rapid increase of cyber threat and the risks linked to natural, health, and technological disasters affect not only Asia's security but also the entire international community.

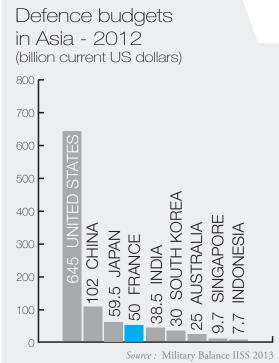
To control these risks and tensions, new multilateral cooperation frameworks have been created - such as the *ASEAN Regional Forum* - which have to be developed in order to provide the region with proven mechanisms for prevention and peaceful conflict resolution, as well as tools for acting against common risks and threats. The annual meeting of ASEAN Defence Ministers (ADMM), which opened up to other

countries involved in the Asia-Pacific security (ADMM +) and, more broadly, the project of creating an *ASEAN Community 2015* based on three pillars: economic, socio-cultural, political and security, all contribute to the creation of a stronger regional security architecture that France supports and wishes to be involved in.

Within this fluctuating and uncertain strategic context, France intends to contribute to the regional security, as a power present in the region, faithful to its commitments, committed to the respect of international law and the freedom of navigation, and eager to defend its interests and global responsibilities.

The White Paper on Defence and National Security published in April 2013 stressed that globalization favours the development of transnational threats and interdependencies. It reiterates that it is in France's interest to pursue its strong commitment to the security in the Asia-Pacific region, which in turn contributes to its own security. This engagement will be sustained, especially with regards to combating terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery, cyber threats, as well as in favour of the security of global sea lanes of communication.







M. Foucher, *La bataille des cartes* 2011, T. Sanjuan, *Atlas de la Chine* 

### France and its defence and security interests

"Asia therefore plays a vital role in globalization." Today it is the main driver of growth worldwide. but also a region where the risks of tension and conflict are among the highest in the world. The security of the Indian Ocean, a maritime access to Asia, is a priority for France and for Europe from this point of view. As a transit region for international trade, the Indian Ocean is at the heart of world strategic challenges, as illustrated by the permanent presence of the US, Asian and European navies. The fact that the European Union's first large-scale naval operation was the Atalanta operation against piracy clearly illustrates the importance of the Indian Ocean, not only for France but for Europe as a whole." 2013 French White Paper on Defence and **National Security** 

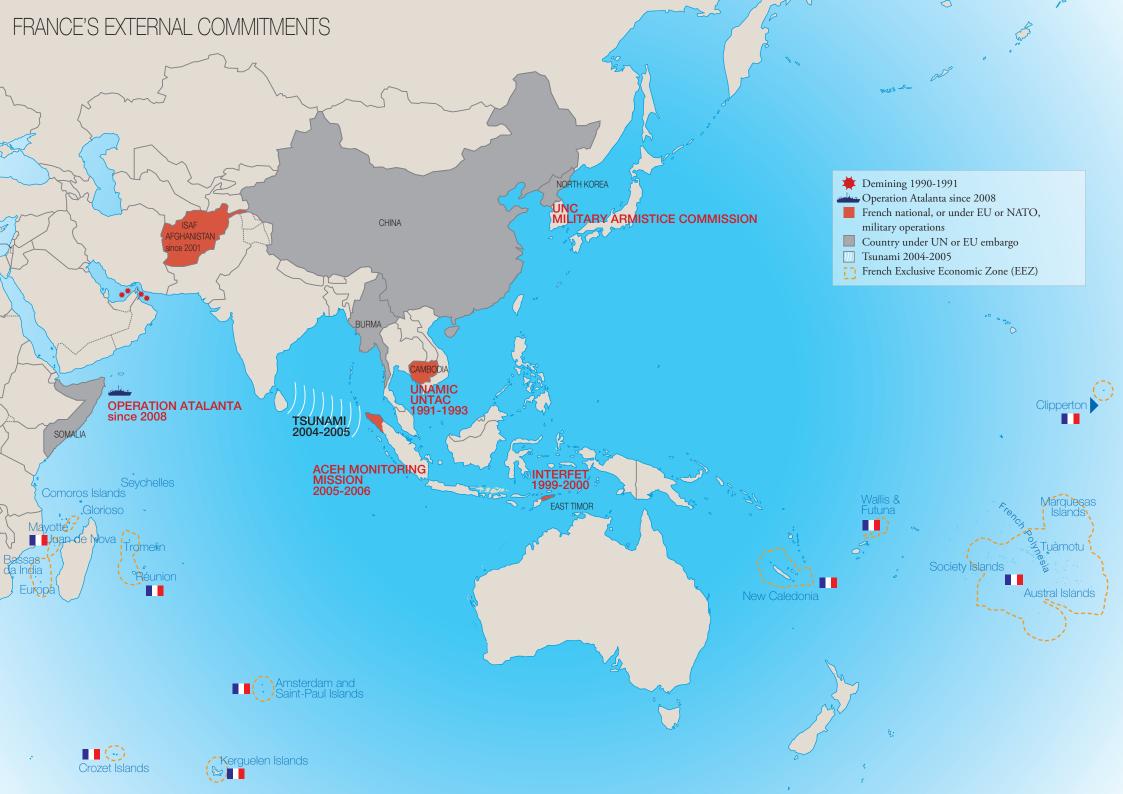
France is present in all of the world's oceans thanks to its overseas territories, which are increasingly integrated in their regional environment and to its blue-water navy which is one of the first in the world. France's primary obligation is to protect its territories and population (500,000 in the Pacific and over one million in the Indian Ocean). It also has a duty to protect its citizens in Asia-Pacific countries whose number has increased by 220% over the last twenty years, to exceed 120,000 in 2012 - almost as large as the French population in sub-Saharan Africa.

France has the second largest exclusive economic zone in the world (11 million km²) after the United States, located mainly in the Pacific (62%) and Indian Oceans (24%), and, as such, it is responsible for protecting the fragile maritime environment and its extensive fish, mineral, and energy resources. France performs its protecting mission thanks to its defence and security forces stationed in the region, as illustrated by the many maritime and humanitarian relief missions following the frequent natural disasters, including tsunamis and cyclones. An example of this was France's contribution in December 2012 of locally stationed military assets to emergency relief operations, after Cyclone *Evan* severely hit Wallis and Futuna, Samoa and Fiji. More recently, France has provided a significant assistance to the Philippines' authorities in the aftermath of typhoon *Haiyan* in November 2013.

France's foreign and security policy goes well beyond the immediate scope of the defence of its sole national interests. As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, it takes on its global responsibility for the international security. France is one of the few nations of the world having the capacities for an independent situational assessment and for taking action worldwide. Being a space, naval and air power, it has significant force projection capabilities through its global network of aerial and naval deployment platforms enabling France to contribute to the international security alongside its allies

and partners. It is only through an independent assessment of risks and threats thanks to an accurate analysis of the hydro-oceanographic and meteorological environment, and some autonomous intelligence capabilities that are among the best in the world, that we are able to combat proliferation, international terrorism, piracy, organized crime, and illegal trafficking (drugs, weapons...).

France has taken its share of responsibility in these areas via active and responsible actions under the UN authority (e.g. Cambodia, 1993-1994), with its European partners (e.g. Operation Atalanta combatting piracy in the Indian Ocean), with its NATO allies (Afghanistan, since 2001), and at a national level (e.g. tsunami in the Indian Ocean, December 2004).



### France's international commitments in the Asia-Pacific

"The strengthening of the American military presence in the region may contribute to control of tensions in Asia and facilitate rollout of stabilizing instruments aimed at ensuring peaceful management of disputes. But American engagement does not relieve France, as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council and a signatory of the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia, of its responsibilities, France supports the role of the European Union in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) and is keen to play a more active role with regional security organizations. It enjoys relations of confidence with all the countries in the region, notably with South Korea and Japan, and supports Japan's bid to become a member of the UN Security Council. For our country, the stability of Asia and freedom of navigation are diplomatic and economic priorities. Alongside its allies, France would, in the event of an open crisis, make a political and military contribution at the appropriate level."

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France is linked to the Asia-Pacific through several treaties and political and security commitments:

- the peace treaty with Japan, known as the "San Francisco Treaty", signed on 8 September 1951;
- the Korean Armistice Agreement signed on 27 July 1953. France is a member of United Nations Command and participates in the Military Armistice Commission (UNCMAC);
- the Collective Security Treaty in South-East Asia, known as the "Manila Treaty", signed on 8 September 1954, which remains in force even though its military organization, SEATO, was dissolved in 1977;
- the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in South-East Asia, known as the "Bali Treaty", signed on 24 February 1976, which France joined in January 2007.

France complies with embargoes and other restrictive measures decided by the UN Security Council and the European Council on the Asia-Pacific countries of Burma, China, and North Korea as well as on entities and individuals associated with the Taliban and Al Qaeda.

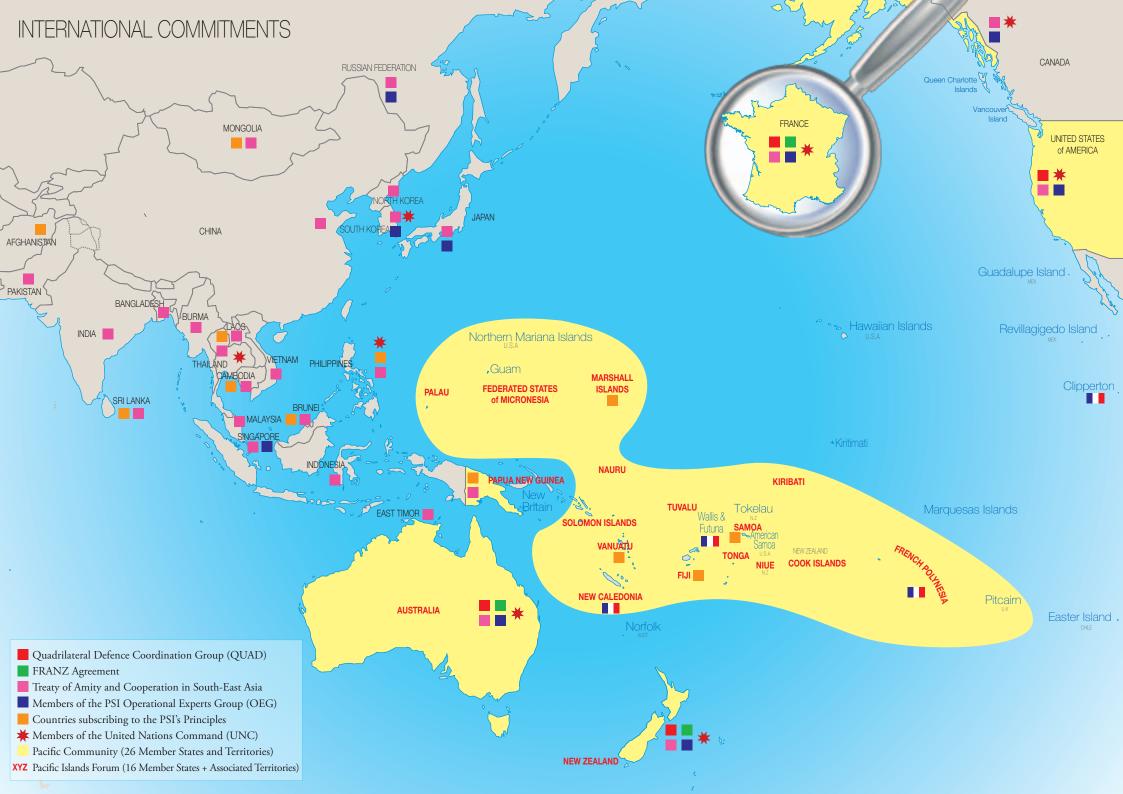
France is a particularly active member of various non-proliferation instruments and regimes (NPT, CWC, BWC, MTCR, NSG, the Australia Group, the Wassenaar Arrangement, and the *Proliferation Security Initiative*) together with several Asian countries with which it works closely.

France is party to the FRANZ Agreement signed on 22 December 1992 with Australia and New Zealand to coordinate civil and military

assistance to Pacific island countries affected by natural disasters. It is also part of QUAD (*Quadrilateral Defence Coordination Group* involving France, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand), which coordinates the security effort in the Pacific, particularly in the maritime domain, by supporting island states to robustly and sustainably manage their natural resources, including fisheries.

Over the past twenty years, France has been engaged in a large number of peacekeeping and military operations in the Asia-Pacific as part of its international security responsibilities including in:

- Cambodia (Paris Conferences in 1991 and participation in UNAMIC and then UNTAC);
- The Arabo-Persian Gulf in 1990-1991 supporting the protection of tankers and the campaign against drifting mines;
- East Timor, under INTERFET in 1999-2000;
- providing significant assistance to countries hit by the tsunami in December 2004 using naval and air land assets deployed in the region;
- Indonesia in 2005 as part of the monitoring mission in Aceh involving the European Union and ASEAN countries;
- Afghanistan since 2001 as part of the NATO-led stabilization operation, contributing to combating terrorism;
- in the Gulf of Aden and in the Indian Ocean, launching the initiative to combat piracy as part of the European Operation Atalanta launched in 2008.



### A significant French military presence

"In the context of tensions around access to resources, France must have the capacity to affirm its sovereignty and defend its interests in its overseas territories. In other words, it must be able to monitor, control and if necessary take military action to counter a threat that could jeopardize the integrity of its national territory. This threat, which would most likely be of a non-state nature, calls for a visible, deterrent presence of military forces. In the less likely case of a state-led threat, France must be able to rapidly deploy appropriate means of intervention. This requires preserving points of entry (ports and airports) and maintaining certain capabilities."

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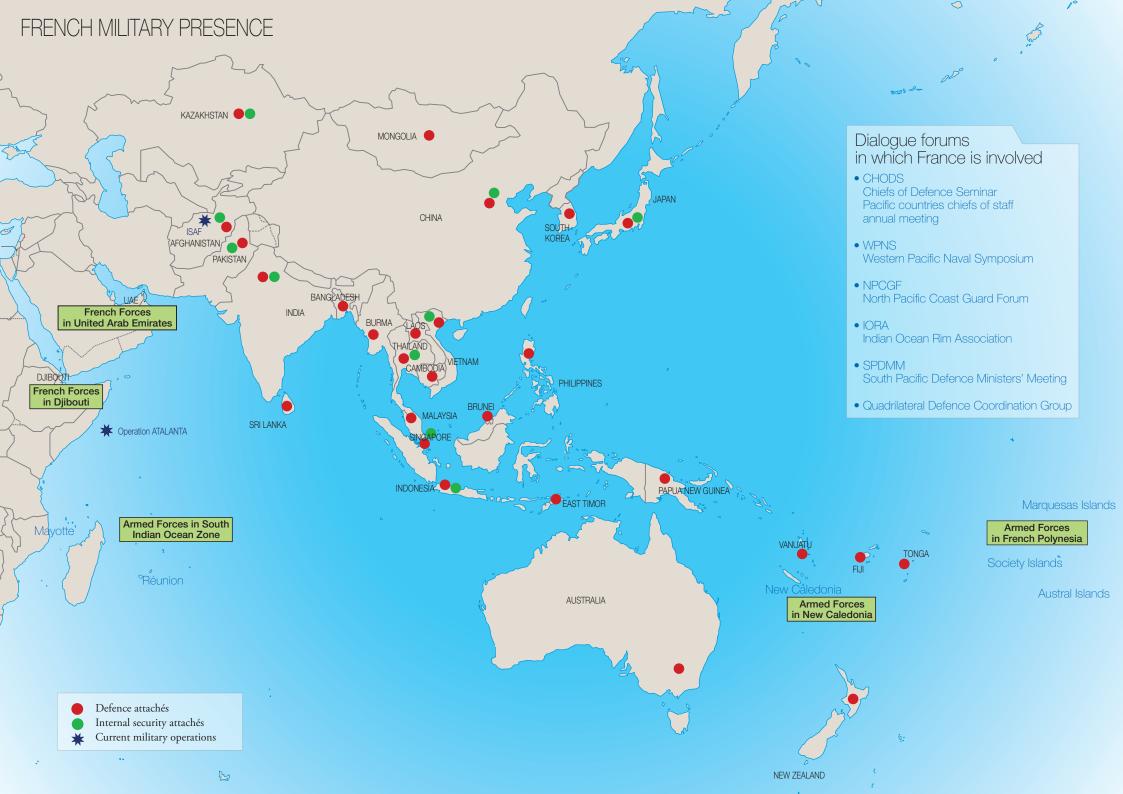
France's permanent and non-permanent military presence in the Asia-Pacific is adapted to its defence and security needs. With over 2,500 military and civilian defence staff present in the Pacific, the Armed Forces in New Caledonia (FANC) and those in French Polynesia (FAPF) ensure the protection and safety of French territories, the surveillance of our exclusive economic zones, and the State's action at sea. This is performed through the deployment of two surveillance frigates, three patrol vessels, four maritime surveillance aircraft, four tactical transport aircraft, and six helicopters which participate in relief missions, fight against illicit trafficking, and protect the environment. They are also involved in a number of regional maritime cooperation activities.

Our permanent forces are stationed in the Indian Ocean, including the Arabo-Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea, and the Gulf of Aden. Around 700 French soldiers are stationed in the region, including the Foreign Legion's half-brigade. Up to 6 *Rafale* combat aircraft can be rapidly deployed from the United Arab Emirates. An additional 1,900 soldiers, of which 1,400 are permanent, are also stationed in Djibouti and are permanently operationally ready, with the support of seven *Mirage-2000* fighter aircraft, eight helicopters, one transport aircraft, and two support ships. There is also an average of 700 sailors serving permanently in the Indian Ocean aboard French Navy warships such as frigates engaged in combatting piracy (Operation *Atalantal*), or terrorism (Operation *Enduring Freedom*), or on board of some occasional carrier battle group deployments structured around the aircraft carrier *Charles-de-Gaulle*, some amphibious task group led by a Combined force projection and command ship (BPC) or some mine warfare group.

France maintains a close network of eighteen defence attachés accredited in almost all Asian countries that, with the help of permanent advisors in charge of military cooperation, develop the bilateral cooperation in all areas related to defence. This is complemented by a network of thirty internal security attachés who are present in twenty-one Asian countries and who, with the support of gendarmes, police and public safety experts, are chiefly responsible for combatting terrorism, organized crime and illicit trafficking.

As a leading maritime power, France is particularly involved in various regional cooperation forums specialized on maritime issues both in the Indian Ocean (the *Indian Ocean Naval Symposium* and the *Indian Ocean Rim Association*) and in the Pacific (the *Central and South Pacific Coast Guard Forum* and the *Western Pacific Naval Symposium*).

On a political and military level, France participates in the South Pacific Defence Ministers' Meeting (SPDMM), the USPACOM Chiefs of Defence Seminar, the South Pacific Chiefs of Defence Seminar, and the annual Asia-Pacific Intelligence Chiefs Conference (APICC). Within these different settings, France supports the development of mechanisms for cooperation and peaceful settlement of disputes and the implementation of confidence-building measures. During the Shangri-La Dialogue forum in June 2013, the Defence Minister, Jean-Yves Le Drian, announced that France was considering joining the ReCAAP agreement to combat maritime piracy and participating in its maritime security activities in South-East Asia.



# France: a dynamic and reliable defence cooperation partner

"As a neighbouring power in the Indian Ocean, France plays a particular role here, reinforced by the development of privileged relations with India. A strategic partnership signed in 1998 enables cooperation in areas that concern the major interests of both countries. France supports a reform of the United Nations Security Council that would create a place for new permanent members, including India [...]

"In the Pacific, France fully assumes its responsibilities as a political and maritime power with a presence in the region. It signed a strategic partnership agreement with Australia in 2012, which marks the growing convergence of the two countries' interests on a great many international and regional matters relative to the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. It also confirms a renewed interest in a French presence on the part of countries in the region, seen as a factor of stability and a source of immediate assistance, particularly in the event of a natural disaster, thanks to France's pre-positioned resources in the overseas territories in the region."

2013 French White Paper on Defence and National Security

France has established strong partnerships with all major countries in the region embodied by defence cooperation agreements that are generally based on three pillars: political and military dialogue, military cooperation, and armaments cooperation. Such agreements, which can vary in intensity according to the country, have been concluded with Afghanistan, Australia, Cambodia, China, South Korea, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, and could soon be extended to Mongolia.

France has built a particularly close and ambitious relation in all of these areas with India, Malaysia, and Singapore. France has developed a major strategic partnership with India based on common values and interests, organized around a top-level dialogue, a particularly close military cooperation (annual navy (*Varuna*), air (*Garuda*), and army (*Shakti*) drills), and an exceptional armaments cooperation.

France has enjoyed a close and trusting partnership with Singapore for many years, which it intends to strengthen and sustain over time as shown by the continued strengthening of the bilateral cooperation in defence research and technology and Singapore Air Force training held in France. More recently, Malaysia has become a key partner through close political dialogue and exemplary defence cooperation demonstrated by France's assistance in forming Malaysia's submarine force.

In the South Pacific, France has established a very close relation with Australia based on an increasing convergence of interests on a large number of international and regional issues relating to the Pacific and Indian Ocean. France organizes biennial *Croix du Sud* military exercises with its partners from Australia, Canada, the USA, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Tonga, Vanuatu, the United Kingdom, and Japan. These exercises specifically intend to enhance interoperability between armed forces as well as capacities in humanitarian aid and evacuation of country nationals. These exercises may be extended to five other Asia-Pacific countries in 2014.

The structural component of defence cooperation focuses on the sharing of expertise, advice, and training skills with partner countries in order to help them structure their own defence. Designed and implemented by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in consultation with the Ministry of Defence, this cooperation is long-term and is not intended to intervene in times of crises; instead it focuses on crisis prevention or crisis recovery process. Training and counselling primarily involves training foreign officers in French military institutions (one hundred officers from Asian countries have been trained in France in 2013), conducting expert missions for the local armed forces, and supporting peacekeeping training centres.

In addition to port calls made by our surveillance frigates stationed in Nouméa and Tahiti and the occasional deployment of a carrier or amphibious battle group from mainland France or the Gulf (Jeanne d'Arc Group, specific missions), our cooperation is also demonstrated through contributions to the major regional exercises (RIMPAC, Pacific Partnership, Cobra Gold, Ulchi Freedom Guardian, Southern Katipo, Kurukuru, Takafula...) and regional programmes related to the security of maritime spaces, humanitarian aid, provision of support to the victims of natural disasters, and evacuation of nationals organized by our allies and partners. In 2013, the French Navy ships made around fifty port calls in Asia-Pacific countries.

Finally, with regard to multilateral dialogue frameworks on defence and security issues, France - through the European Union - indirectly participates in the *ASEAN Regional Forum*, whose defence and security actions began in July 1994. France also attends the *Shangri-La Dialogue* forum on a regular basis, a forum that has brought together major senior Asia-Pacific defence and security officials since 2002.



## An innovative, reliable and responsible armaments cooperation partner

"Through defence cooperation, France contributes to the security of several countries in the region, notably Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Vietnam. It bolsters its political engagement through an active presence, development of strategic partnerships and intensification of its cooperation networks.

With Singapore, our leading commercial partner in South-East Asia and number three in Asia (after China and Japan), it conducts regular political dialogue and very close cooperation in defence and security."

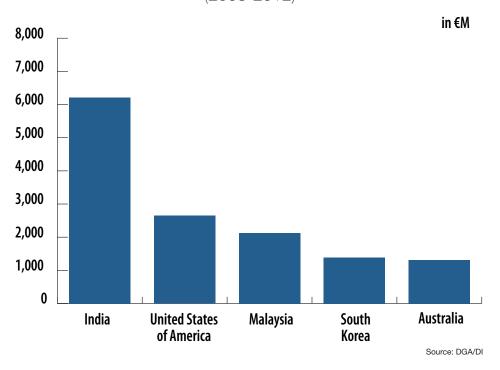
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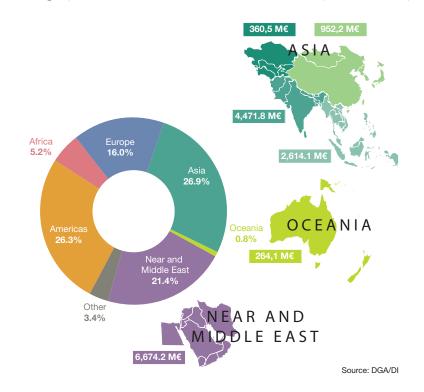
France is the fifth largest economy in the world. It owns comprehensive and independent military resources, as illustrated by its independent design and manufacturing of nuclear deterrence capabilities, satellites, fighter aircraft, submarines, ships, tanks, combat vehicles, missiles of all kinds, and all equipment contributing to C4ISR. This capacity is unique in Europe and is based on strong and innovative industrial resources, a significant defence budget, and domestic spending on civil and military research and development ranking France in the latter domain sixth in the world and second in Europe.

France is the fourth largest armaments exporter and it contributes to building Asian nations' self-defence capacities, which now account for a growing proportion of French defence equipment sales (28% during 2008-2012, versus 12% during 1998-2002). France's main partners for cooperation in this area are India, Malaysia, and Singapore (France's second largest partner in defence research and technology); however, France also maintains relations with most Asia-Pacific countries.

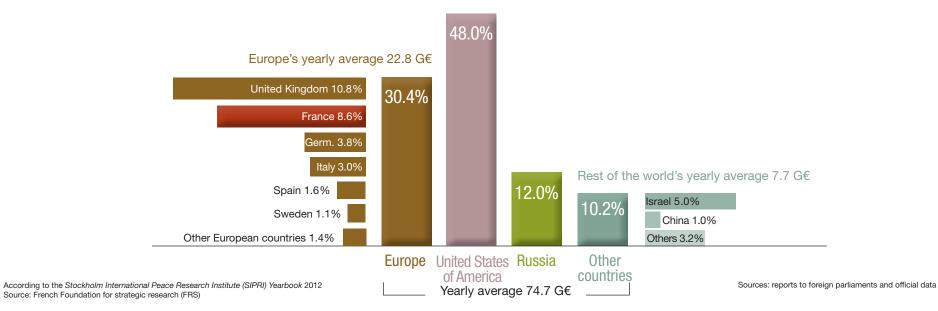
France's general armaments cooperation policy is characterized by its experience and openness to industrial cooperation and transfer of technology and expertise as well as the provision of long-term training and logistics support and assistance.

France's defence equipment export and industrial and technical cooperation policy is a remarkable tool for the benefit of strategic partnerships and global relations that France is keen to develop. Due to the special nature of this kind of equipment, the sale of French armaments to a third country is never a purely technical or commercial decision. It is governed by political and strategic considerations and is a symbol of trust between partners. France's export policy is also based on the principles of transparency, the protection of human rights, international stability and ethics.





Exporting countries distribution 2006-2011 - Assessed market shares (orders' yearly average)



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