

EURODEFENSE IME/RIE XXIII

London

14-16 September 2017

Programme and supporting papers

(updated 9th Sep 17)

Threats to European peace and security over the next ten years

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THURSDAY 14th – CONFERENCE DAY Based at

RUSI, 61 Whitehall SW1A 2ET <https://rusi.org>

12.30 – 13.30 Registration lunch (bags can be left in cloakroom)

14.00 – 14.20 **Introduction** Chairman: John Howe – President ED 2017-18

Keynote Speaker: Peter Watkins Director General Security Policy,
Ministry of Defence; “The big picture”

14.20 – 15.45 **Conference session 1 (Future theatres?)**

Chairman: John Howe – President ED 2017-18

Session Speaker: Prof Malcolm Chalmers, Deputy DG, RUSI

Panel contributors:

Arctic – Tim Reilly, Arctic Advisory Group

Russia – Andrew Monaghan, Oxford University

South China Sea – Bill Hayton, BBC

15.45 – 16.10 **Comfort Break**

16.10 – 17.30 **Conference session 2 (Implications)**

Chairman: John Howe – President ED 2017-18

Keynote speaker: Angus Lapsley Director for Defence and International
Security in the UK Foreign and Commonwealth office “View from the
FCO”

Session Speaker: Rt Hon Lord Arbuthnot of Edrom Minister of State for
Defence Procurement at the Ministry of Defence 1995-97;
Chairman, House of Commons Defence Select Committee 2005 - 2014
“Home grown”

Panel contributors:

John Everard, former Ambassador in North Korea

Francis Tusa, Editor, Defence Analysis

Gareth Williams – MD Thales Security

17.30 – 18.30 **Drinks reception** (Kindly sponsored by Wm Cook Defence)

Evening: FREE or

18.30 onwards informal visit to historic haunted English pub by 87 bus to Morpeth
Arms, Millbank www.morpetharms.com (Stop : Vauxhall Bridge
Road) or 88 (Stop : Chelsea Arts College) and then walk to typical
“curry house” Millbank Spice, Vauxhall Bridge Road
www.millbankspice.co.uk

*(Ladies: Please see accompanying list of Galleries and Exhibitions which may be of
interest on page 20. 17.30 Join drinks reception at RUSI)*

FRIDAY 15th – Working Group day

Based at Army and Navy Club, 36 Pall Mall SW1Y 5JN

www.therag.co.uk

- 10.00 – 10.50 Reports from permanent WGs/ observatories
Migrants and refugees (ED-Fr Jean Cody Appendix 4 15mins);
MENA (ED-Esp Herminio Fernandez 15mins); Arctic (ED-D 5
mins); Cyber (EWG17 ED-UK Nick Watts 5mins); Internet &
social media (Aurelien Seguin & Robin Ashby report Appendix
5 page 19 10mins)
- 10.50 – 11.20 Working groups – plenary EWG24
(PESCO) Paper previously circulated
- 11.20 – 11.30 Comfort break
- 11.30 – 12.15 Working groups – plenary EWG23
(European military training and simulation. Paper previously
circulated – summary Appendix 3)
- 12.15 – 13.00 Working groups – plenary EWG18bis
(EU funding for defence R&T/R&D. Previously circulated)
- 13.00 – 14.00 **Lunch break**
- 14.00 – 15.00 Informal discussion on impact of Brexit on EU defence &
security
(Led by Howard Wheeldon - Defence and Hugo Rosemont -
Security. Extra reading : <http://www.iris-france.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/08/Ares-19-Brexit-25-August-2017-IRIS.pdf>)

Private session

- 15.00 – 16.00 Presidents' meeting – part 1
(Agenda and minutes supplied by ED SG – Appendices 1 and 2)
- 19:00 – 22.30 Dinner (Kindly sponsored by Thales UK)
(Please note Army & Navy Club dress code – jackets and ties for men)

Keynote speaker: Lt Gen Sir Simon Mayall – The Middle East in flux
*(Ladies' programme during day – visit to Tate Modern followed by light lunch.
See page 8)*

SATURDAY 16th – PRESIDENTS’ COUNCIL

09.00 – 12.00 - Presidents’ meeting – part 2 Army & Navy Club
(Agenda as supplied by ED SG – Appendices 1 and 2)

12.00 Disperse

BIOGRAPHIES

Peter Watkins CBE became Director General Security Policy in the Ministry of Defence (MOD) in April 2014, a three-star role.

Previous appointments in the MOD include Director General of the Defence Academy; Director Operational Policy; Director of the Typhoon programme; Command Secretary (i.e. Finance Director) of RAF Strike Command (now Air Command) and before that Private Secretary to the Defence Secretary

He has also served as a Counsellor in the British Embassy in Germany.

Angus Lapsley has just become Director for Defence and International Security in the UK Foreign and Commonwealth office (a two star post). He was until recently the UK’s political and security ambassador to the EU, replacing Julian Braithwaite on his appointment as UK Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva.

Lapsley was previously director for European and global issues at the UK’s Cabinet Office in 2012-15, where initially he was working for Sir Ivan Rogers, who was until January this year the UK’s permanent representative to the EU. In 2010-12 Lapsley was director for the Americas in the UK’s foreign ministry. In 2006-10, he was in the UK’s representation to the EU, working on foreign, security and defence policy and EU enlargement.

Professor Malcolm Chalmers became Deputy Director-General of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) on 30 November 2015. He is RUSI’s acting Research Director, and the Director of its Proliferation and Nuclear Policy programme. His research focuses on UK defence, foreign and security policy. He was previously Senior Special Adviser to two UK Foreign Secretaries.

Bill Hayton is a BBC producer specialising in the South China Sea. He is the author of 'The South China Sea: the struggle for power in Asia' published by Yale University Press and named as one of The Economist's books of the year in 2014. His previous book, 'Vietnam: rising dragon', was published in 2010, also by Yale.

He has given presentations about South China Sea and Southeast Asian issues for think-tanks and government institutions in the UK, US, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore. Bill has worked for the BBC since 1998 and currently works for BBC World News television in London. In 2006-07 he was the BBC's reporter in Vietnam and spent a year in 2013 embedded with Myanmar's state broadcaster working on media reform. He is an Associate Fellow at Chatham House.

Tim Reilly is the Co-Founder of Arctic Advisory Group, (www.arcticadvisorygroup.eu) a UK/Norwegian Arctic Risk Management and Research consultancy working in the Energy, Mining, associated Infrastructure, and Shipping sectors. Tim was Shell's Government Affairs Adviser in the Caspian region in the nineties, as well as working in the Caucasus, Central Asia, Russia and Ukraine, for companies such as Chevron and JKN Oil & Gas. His first experience of the Arctic was as a young paratroop officer where he spent three winters inside the Arctic Circle, training in Arctic warfare.

Andrew Monaghan is Director of Research on Russia and Northern European Defence and Security at the Oxford Programme on the Changing Character of War based at Pembroke College, Oxford. He was previously a Senior Research Fellow in the Russia and Eurasia Programme at Chatham House and an Academic Visitor at St Anthony's College, Oxford. He is the author of "The new politics of Russia"

The Rt. Hon. Lord (James) Arbuthnot of Edrom, was an MP from 1987 to 2015, and Minister of State for Defence Procurement at the Ministry of Defence 1995-97

In 2005 he was elected by the whole House of Commons to chair its Defence Select Committee, a post he held until 2014 when he stood down and was elevated to the House of Lords. He is a Senior Associate Fellow of the Royal United Services Institute and is a direct descendant of King James V of Scotland

Francis Tusa is a defence journalist of over 20 years' experience. Starting at the Royal United Services Institute for Defence Studies, covering both Middle East defence and European defence topics, he branched out as a freelance writer on a wide range of defence and security matters. He has written for the Guardian, Times, Financial Times, Middle East Economic Digest, as well as for specialist defence publications including *Defense News* .

He has also been broadcasting on defence matters since 1987, with ITN, various radio/TV outlets of the BBC, CNN, ABC, CBS, and more recently as a regular contributor on Sky News. Most recently, to back up the unique nature of *Defence Analysis*, he established the first specialist publication on defence logistics/support affairs, *Military Logistics International*.

Gareth Williams was appointed as VP Secure Communications and Information Systems (SIX) UK in November 2015. Prior to this, Gareth held the positions of Deputy VP SIX UK and Operations Director for both SIX UK and for the Thales E-Security Worldwide business. Gareth Joined Thales UK in May 2008 and has held roles in Purchasing, Supply Chain and Operations across the business.

Gareth joined Thales from General Dynamics European Land Systems where he was the Director of Materials Management. Prior to this he was the Operations Director for the Bowman Programme. Gareth has also previously worked for BAE SYSTEMS and Rolls Royce with a career in Engineering, Finance & Operations roles. He has background in both UK and International businesses, working overseas in both Austria and Spain on acquisitions and Integration activities.

Howard Wheeldon left the City of London in 2012 to provide independent strategic influence support primarily related to military and defence, air power and maritime capability, defence industrial and has supported many UKTI DSO sponsored defence industry export related programme campaigns in the USA, Saudi Arabia and other Middle East states.

He is a frequent speaker at major conference events (including DSEi this week), regular contributor to the UK and US press and also as a guest broadcaster across the BBC, Sky News and others on aerospace and defence related matters. His regular 'Commentary' which began in 1993 contains views on a wide range of macro-economic, geo-political, military, defence, aerospace, industrial and export related matters. This is received by 6,000 recipients and in addition, Members and Fellows of the Royal Aeronautical Society

In 2016, he was presented the 'Lifetime award for Air Power Advocacy' from the Air League by HRH Duke of Edinburgh.

Hugo Rosemont is the recently appointed Director - Security and Resilience at the ADS group, the UK trade organisation that promotes the Aerospace, Defence, Security and Space industries.

Prior to his current appointment, Hugo served as Policy Adviser on Crime, Security and Risk-related issues at the British Retail Consortium (BRC), where his main focus was on cyber security. Before this, he served as Teaching Fellow and Assistant Director of the Centre for Defence Studies within the Department of War Studies at King's College, London. In April 2015, he was awarded his PhD (also with King's College, London) with a thesis on the 'security-industrial complex' that reassessed the origins, characteristics and consequences of the private sector's involvement in the counter-terrorism aspects of contemporary UK national security strategy. He writes and lectures in an independent capacity on public-private security cooperation. In March 2017, he was appointed Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Department of War Studies, King's College, London.



Lt General Sir Simon Mayall became Commander of 1st Mechanised Brigade in 2001, which was subsequently deployed to Kosovo. He was the Deputy Commanding General of the Multi-National Corps – Iraq in late 2006 and early 2007. He was appointed Assistant Chief of the General Staff in January 2007 and in 2009 became Deputy Chief of the Defence Staff (Operations). He was made Defence Senior Advisor Middle East at the Ministry of Defence in May 2011, which position he left in late 2014 prior to his retirement from the Army in 2015. ★

EURODEFENSE

Ladies' programme

At the previous London conference, ladies suggested that they would like more free time to do as they wish. As a result, the Ladies' Programme for London 2017 is rather more flexible

Thursday 14th September

Afternoon: Free, suggested list for individual/collective visits attached at Appendix 6, page 20

17.30: Attend Conference RUSI Reception if you wish

18.30: Join the delegates on the trip to old English pub on River Thames and afterwards to a "curry house" if you wish

Friday 15th September

10.30am. Meet at Blackfriars Underground Station (NB NOT mainline station) to walk across Blackfriars Bridge to Tate Modern, Bankside, SE1 9TG (approx. 10 minute walk).

12.30pm light lunch at the Founders Arms, Bankside

Please can you let Juanita Sharman +44 7801 133889) or Caroline Watts (carolineloebwatts@btinternet.com +44 7718 752705) know if you do not wish to join us.

Afternoon: Free
(depending on the weather, for those who wish to, a walk along the South Bank past the Globe Theatre etc).

19.00 – 22.30: Dinner and briefing address at Army and Navy Club

Saturday 16th September

Free prior to departure

APPENDIX 1

Provisional agenda for Presidents' meeting



Conseil des Présidents / Presidents' Council

London- Samedi 16 Septembre 2017

(time permitting, there will be a first, closed, session late afternoon on 15th September)

Projet d'Ordre du Jour / Draft agenda

1. - Approbation de l'ordre du jour du Conseil / *Approval of the Council agenda.*
2. - Approbation du relevé de décisions du Conseil des Présidents de Vienne.
Approval of the statement of decisions of Vienna Presidents Council.
3. - Compte rendu du Secrétaire général EURODEFENSE / *Secretary General EURODEFENSE report:*
 - Information / *Information ;*
 - Suivi des décisions du Conseil des Présidents / *Follow-up of the Presidents Council decisions.*
- 4.- Organisation du réseau EURODEFENSE / *Organisation of the EURODEFENSE network :*
 - Extension du réseau EURODEFENSE / *EURODEFENSE network extension*
 - Planification des activités post 2017 / *Activities planning post 2017*
 - Annuaire / *Directory.*
5. - Point des travaux en cours / *Review of the works in progress :*
 - Groupes permanents-Observatoires / *Permanent groups-Observatories :*
 - Observatoire Bassin méditerranéen / *Mediterranean basin Observatory* (ED-España)
 - Site internet / *Internet website* (ED-France)
 - Cyber – (ED-UK)
 - Impact des migrants et réfugiés sur la sécurité en Europe. / *Impact of refugees and migrants on European security.* (ED-Deutschland)
 - Arctique / *Arctic .*(ED-Deutschland)
 - GTE / *EWGs*
 - 20 (United Kingdom) Relations UE-Russie / *EU-Russia relationship*
 - 18bis (ED-France) Financement par l'UE de R&T/R&D de Défense/EU financing defence R&T/R&D

- 23 (Nederland) *Cooperative education, training and simulation*
- Groupes nouveaux ? mandats à approuver / *New groups ? mandates to be approved : Cooperation Structurée Permanente (CSP)/ Permanent structured cooperation (PESCO)*

6. – Activités Réseau / *Network activities*

- Conseil des présidents à Prague (2018/1) – (ED-CZ)
Presidents Council in Prague (2018/1) – (ED-CZ).

7.- Actualité européenne / *Current European issues :*

- Suivi des actions de l'UE pour l'industrie Européenne de Défense. (ED-France)
Follow up of EU actions for European defense industries.
- Conséquence du Brexit pour la sécurité/défense /*Brexit consequences for security/defense.*
- Stratégie globale européenne / *EU global strategy*
- L'Europe et les crises, (Ukraine, EI) / *Europe and the crisis (Ukraine, IS)*

8.- Présentation des travaux et activités des associations EuroDéfense nationales.

Review of the works and activities run by the ED national associations

9. - Questions diverses / *Any other business.*



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APPENDIX 2

PRESIDENTS' COUNCIL - VIENNA

30th March/1st April 2017

Chaired by: Eurodéfense-Austria

List of decisions

(initial drafting-30 04 2017- not yet approved by the Presidents)

The Council regrets very much the absence of ED members from Greece, Luxembourg and Romania.

1.- Approval of the list of decisions of the Paris Council

The List of decisions –dated 15 11 2016- of the Presidents' Council of 5 November 2016 in Paris is approved with no amendment.

2.- EURODEFENSE organisation and functioning

2.1.- National associations.

2.1.1.- EuroDefense-Deutschland

Admiral Lutz Feldt left the presidency. Ralph Thiele (retired colonel), the new president, works for defense industries.

2.1.2.- EuroDéfense-Italia

Professor Fabrizio W Luciulli had been invited to participate at the Presidents Council as an observer. Vice-president of the Italian North Atlantic Treaty Association, professor at the Italian higher defence studies centre(CASD), he is very much involved in defence matters. He said that he would be interested in revitalizing EuroDéfense-Italia and had contacted ambassador P. Calamia.

2.1.3.- EuroDéfense-Grèce

President Theodosis Georgiu had apologized for not being able to participate at this Council where he had intended to be present.

2.1.4.- EuroDéfense-Luxembourg

Unfortunately, EuroDéfense-Luxembourg had not answered any attempts at making contact.

2.1.5.- EuroDéfense-Romania

President Liviu Muresan apologised for not being able to participate in the Council but wishes to stay linked via the net.

2.2.- Extension of the network.

President Fasslabend declare to have good contacts with some people interested in Poland (Senator Boglan Klich), Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungaria.

2.3.-Communication-Information

2.3.1.- Compendium

The Council asked the secretary general of the net to make a compendium of recent EURODEFENSE studies to facilitate the associations' presentation.

2.3.2- Directory

The Secretary general confirmed that the 2017 edition of the directory is progressing in spite of secretarial difficulties.

3.- Activities EURODEFENSE 2017-2019.

3.1.- Meetings

3.1.1.- XXIII° International Meeting EURODEFENSE (IME 2017)

This will take place in London from 14 to 16 September 2017. ED-UK intends to link the IME with the DSEI military equipment exhibition.

3.1.2.- Spring 2018 Presidents' Council

EuroDéfense-CZ confirms its invitation probably during the month of May 2018.

3.1.3.- Young Europeans EURODEFENSE Conference(YEEC)

EuroDéfense-Belgium proposes to try to organize the conference in summer 2018.

3.2.-Activities planned for after 2017 (see Annex 2)

The Secretary General commented on the lack of volunteers for the IME 2018.

3.2.1.- Presidents' Council:

in 2018, EuroDéfense-CZ.

- in 2019, EuroDéfense-España

3.2.2.- International Meeting EURODEFENSE - (IME)

- in 2017, EuroDefence-UK
- in 2018 ???
- in 2019, EuroDefence-Austria

4.- Work in the EURODEFENSE network.

4.1- Permanent groups/Observatories

4.1.1- Mediterranean basin Observatory

EuroDéfense-España has produced a very interesting paper: "The Middle East and North Africa" (Mars 2017). It will be put on the internet website. The president asks EuroDefence-España to realize a study on the destabilization risks in North Africa due to the Algerian president death. The debate on the war in Syria make clear the necessity for Europe to be present in the war against DAECH and the reconstruction of Syria.

4.1.2- EURODEFENSE website

EuroDefence-France, let know that the 14 associations data have been recently updated. Reports are on the web-site and necessary links also.

4.1.3.- EWG 17 (ED-UK) "Cybersecurity"

The report proposing a "Code of conduct" was sent to the EU authorities.

It has been decided to create a permanent observatory group for making recommendations at the European level if necessary.

4.1.4.- EWG22 (ED-Deutschland) Migrant and refugees

On EuroDefence-Deutschland proposal this group become a Permanent Observatory group.

4.2.- EURODEFENSE Working Groups (EWGs)

4.2.1.- EWG 18 (ED-France) – EDEM – EDTIB

EuroDéfense-France address the EWG report to the EU authorities after the Paris Council, and receive an answer from the Commission. For the June European Council, the Commission is preparing a proposal recognizing the necessity to finance some defence industries "Research and Development" with EU funds. That could be done in the framework of European cooperative programs managed by OCCAR with nations and EU financing. It seems possible to take example on the financing of Galileo program or other European space programs.

EWG18 is stopped, but EuroDefense-Belgium request to get a situation point at the London's Council.

4.2.2.- EWG20 (ED-AU) - EU-Russia relationship

The French working group proposed a document showing the role which might be played by EU in the occidental world/Russia relationship. This document, as decided at the Paris' Council, is now the working paper for the EWG20 to be amended and sent to EU. The report sent by EuroDéfense-France beginning of March had no commentaries before the Vienna Council. There was no agreement to adopt this report during the last Council. It has been decided to give one month for proposing amendment to this report.

4.2.3.- EWG21 European Defence cooperation

The initial mandate has been written by EuroDefense-Belgium and EuroDéfense-France took the chairmanship at the Paris Council. The EuroDéfense-France working group thought that it was urgent to send proposals to EU so they could be taken into account during the March European Council preparation. Having not reached agreement on the half-February sent report, EuroDéfense-France decided to send it under its proper signature. On this question, it has been remembered that the EURODEFENSE charter said that the report has to be sent at the net level, specifying the associations which do not support the report. Because of the urgency situation the EWG is closed.

4.2.4.- EWG23 Training and Simulation

The EDTA president propose to set up a working group "Training and Simulation". It has been recalled that it is important to make distinction between training and formation. There is a lot of things done in this area: European Defense Agency and NATO have to be consulted. It is decided to create an EWG under Nederland presidency.

4.2.5.- EWG24 "Permanent structured cooperation" (PESCO)

The proposal of creating a group on the PESCO is agreed. A mandate will be written by EuroDéfense-France.

4.3.- Studies in progress

4.3.1.- Survey "Attitude of our 14 European nations towards security problems"

Patrice Mompeyssin (ED-France) mentioned that he had received three documents only (CZ, SP, FR) in spite of several recalls. The Council decided to close the survey.

4.3.2.- Comparison of national defence efforts

EuroDefense-France prepare the 2017 document for July. It would be useful that national associations convey the relevant data of their own country to EuroDéfense-France.

5.- Current European issues

5.1- Brexit

The President of EuroDéfense-UK reminds the British government will go on working with EU on security and defense matters and to participate to CSDP operations. They look for the possibility to “Complement each other” by bilateral relations. Some delegations show reluctance for bilateral agreements between Member States...and wish an EU/UK agreement. Others mentioned the risk to see Great Britain prioritizing NATO, looking for dividing EU member States on CSDP.

5.2.- EDTA commentaries on Defense Action Plan.

The EDTA president thinks that the EU recent documents on defence capacity acquisition would not be effective. He highlights the necessity of “positive incentive” to help the industrials and regret that development European banks exclude Defense of their activities.

EuroDéfense-France reminds that defense industrial world is very different from the civilian industry: governments are financing and the industrials do not take risks. The Commission is aware of this difficulty and intend not only to support defence R&T (500 Meuros already decided) but also defence R&D. As for the rules of intellectual property an agreement has been reached in ASD (AeroSpace and Defence Industries Association of Europe).

6.- Any other business

EuroDefense-Austria intend to send invitations to join EURODEFENSE to the representatives of the four countries participating to the colloquy the day before: Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia and Hungary.

In concluding the meeting, President Van Eekelen for the Council thanked EuroDefense-Austria for the success of this Vienna meeting, with its very warm welcome and excellent organization, notably the spouses' program, and the interesting colloquy and visit of the day before.

15 April 2017

Presented by Gilles Combarieu Secretary General EURODEFENSE

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APPENDIX 3

EURODEFENSE/EDTA @@ September 2017 **DRAFT** 1/22

EWG23 draft #3 of 4 september 2017 – full paper previously circulated

Education, training and simulation

Executive summary

European cooperation on education, training and simulation however needs more attention as it has many important advantages to improve European cooperation, enhance skills, share European military culture for our military men and women, and reduce costs. The importance of cooperative training and the intention to make training an element of the permanent structured cooperation has been agreed in the Lisbon Treaty. This intention was reinforced in more recent papers on European cooperation, but omitted in the European Defence Fund.

In this document of EURODEFENSE and the Federation of European Defence Technology Associations (EDTA) the most important potential areas of cooperation are described as well as technical and funding opportunities. Main conclusion is that cooperative education and training improves procedural and cultural interoperability in the European armed forces. It promotes similar responses to the same situation and facilitates mutual understanding, integration and team building. For individual military men and women it builds lifelong personal networks that will help them to better understand their fellow Europeans.

Recommendations:

In military education the specific military culture is created and camaraderie is born. To stimulate European cooperation exchange programmes should be expanded throughout all Member States. Especially in regions with overlapping cultures and bridgeable language barriers. To better organise training throughout Europe, training should be integrated in just a few major European Commands. The issue of sovereignty is less important in training and exercises and other hurdles that often hamper cooperation in real life operations are also absent in these circumstances. Simulation for training has become an essential tool to meet training needs of forces in a national and multi-national context. Technical developments have made simulation more realistic than real life training and exercises in many cases.

A European technological advantage for simulation could be stimulated by the R&D window of the European Defence fund. Large European simulation and training facilities could be funded through the Capability Window or alternatively by private companies and used on a pay-per-use basis.

APPENDIX 4

A new approach to European migration policy and security challenges.

Illegal immigration is probably one of the main security challenges Europe is facing. Never in recent history have so many people wanted to settle in Europe, either because they are threatened in their home countries and they seek asylum, or simply for economic reasons, as they want to enjoy a better life. But can one really talk about a European migration policy?

Undoubtedly some progress has been achieved.

The Dublin system which determines the EU member state responsible for examining each migrant's situation is working better and faster. But as the Dublin agreement gives the responsibility of examining asylum requests to the country in which the migrant entered the EU, it overloads Italy and Greece where most migrants arrive. Border security has been strengthened through reinforcement of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency, the European Guard teams and Operation Sophia in the Mediterranean.

But the fact remains that the burden falls unevenly on a number of countries. Refugees or illegal migrants land on the Mediterranean shores and not on the Baltic coast. Italy bears the brunt. It has been so for many years without much progress in other countries sharing the burden, very much to Italy's distress. We can make some progress in reducing the number of illegal migrants only by a coordinated action with the countries where they come from or through which they transit.

The countries involved are first the countries through which migrants transit, in particular Libya. The agreement with Turkey, which is a transit country, could be an example. But Turkey has an administration and state structures in working order. Nothing of the kind can be said about Libya. It is a failed state, power being shared between Tripoli and Benghazi and dozens of war lords. Illegal migrant smugglers are taking advantage of this absence of control of Libyan shores and are making a prosperous business of their criminal activities. France is taking the lead on the Libyan track as Germany did on the Aegean track.

Europe also needs to engage in negotiations with the migrants' countries of origin like Chad, Niger, the Central African Republic but also Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia. A new approach started with the August 28 Paris summit when a Franco-German-Spanish and Italian quartet began talking with their African counterparts. The basic idea is that under the supervision of UNHCR, Libya, Chad and Niger would identify their nationals who are eligible for asylum. It is a beginning. Nothing proves that this is going to be successful, as in these countries, state structures and administration are either non-existent or in a very poor condition.

To facilitate returns France gives each migrant a 2000€ lump sum to help them resettle in their country of origin. But this is not sufficient to motivate a majority to go back. Only a minority accepts to be sent back. And when they are deported, after having been refused political asylum in Europe, countries of origin refuse to take back their own citizens. In a nutshell, readmission agreements have always been challenging. Unless they receive palpable subsidies, countries of origin are reluctant to

honour their commitments. Often burdened with endemic unemployment, these countries are happy to see their nationals off, who – once established abroad – can raise state revenues by way of remitting money into their home countries. In addition, a return of migrants is sometimes simply impossible because there is no functioning government in place to issue the necessary identity papers.

For the moment there is hardly any decrease in the refugee influx. In 2016 more than 1.2 million requests for asylum were made in Europe, mainly by Syrians, Iraqis and Afghans. Citizens of these three countries receive special protection as it is « too dangerous for them to go back to their country and they need to take refuge elsewhere » as UNHCR declares. But people coming from north or west Africa do not have this special protection and are considered as economic refugees.

The main obstacle to a common European migration policy is certainly that there is a lack of common political will among the 27 EU members. Countries in Southern Europe face large numbers of unauthorized arrivals and have everything to gain from a joint European approach. Meanwhile, countries in Northern Europe have a more national and restrictive approach because they are sheltered by intra-European borders. Some countries, like Hungary, have enforced these borders by setting up physical barriers to migration. Countries in central and eastern Europe, in particular the 4 members of the Visegrád group (Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia) are very reluctant to accept migrants and are quite willing to bow to domestic pressure and sacrifice European solidarity. Not only are they opposed to accepting economic migrants, as are all countries in Europe, but also they do not want asylum seekers, even though they are bound by the Refugee convention of 1951.

Quite obviously illegal migration is not only a humanitarian issue but also a security problem.

Migration has always been linked to security for hundreds of years and illegal migration even more so. But the relationship between illegal migration and terrorism is more complex.

Undoubtedly some terror attacks have been made by illegal migrants like the terror attack in Stockholm on April 7, 2017 or the terrorist who drove a lorry into a crowd at the Berlin Christmas market on December 19, 2016. But most attacks in France, Spain or the UK were made by homegrown terrorists who either became radicalized through the preaching of imams at the local mosque or were lured by internet to Daesh (ISIS) in Syria, were radicalized there and came back to their home countries as mass murderers. Examples are unfortunately numerous. The most recent examples are the attack in Barcelona on August 17, 2017, the London Bridge attack on June 4, 2017, the Finsbury Park mosque terror attack in London in June 2017, the Manchester attack on May 22, 2017, the attack in a church in the suburb of Rouen France on 26 July 2016, the Nice terror attack on July 14, 2016, and the Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris on January 7, 2015. Hundreds of innocent people died in those attacks. Response still needs to be improved through better coordination of all security forces, including of course defence forces. In particular progress still needs to be made on intelligence sharing.

Jean Cady Eurodéfense-France 6th September 2017

APPENDIX 5

Internet and social media report (data)

- 2 ED portals, one in English, one in French, through www.eurodefense.eu which are hosted and maintained by ED-Fr
- 9 national associations display their own website for their national activities and content
- 6 out of these 9 national websites are designed with recent standards and features (eg can be viewed on smartphones)
- 5 national associations have no websites
 - Romania
 - Czech Republic
 - Hungary
 - Italy
 - Luxembourg
- There is an unlinked page eurodefensejoven.es
- Traffic – In last 3 months 41 unique visitors to French version (35% from France) and 99 unique visitors to English version (15% from UK), substantially via Google
- Eurodefense (via ED-Fr) owns 16 web addresses

FACEBOOK

Eurodefense – 26 likes. Posts this year : 1

Eurodense cz – 50 likes. Posts/shares August – 6

Eurodefense joven espana – 430 likes. Posts/shares Jan-Feb – 8 (none since)

Eurodefense jovem-portugal 620 likes. Posts/share August – 6

No other Facebook pages identified. Two previous references by Eurodefense to eurodefense France

TWITTER

@eurodefense 1671 followers 3255 tweets/shares 5 likes (last post September 8th)

@eurodefensefr 193 followers 651 tweets/shares 12 likes (last post July 25th)

@eurodefenseJ 780 followers 3644 tweets/shares 519 likes (last 27th July)

@eurodefensePort 9 followers 0 tweets

LINKEDIN

Eurodefense-France 134 followers

Eurodefence UK Ltd 8 followers

Eurodefense Joven Espagna 124 followers (last update 6 months ago)

Eurodefense (group rather than page) 112 members (principal poster Jan Wind)

CONCLUSION : The more active a group/site, the more followers are attracted

APPENDIX 6

EXHIBITIONS etc in LONDON in SEPTEMBER

	Special Exhibitions	Museum/ Gallery	Price	Website
1	Perfume: A sensory Journey through Contemporary Scent	Courtauld Institute, Somerset House	£11.00; £9.00 concessions	https://www.somersetouse.org.uk/press/perfume-sensory-journey-through-contemporary-scent-0
2	Canaletto & the Art of Venice	The Queen's Gallery, Buckingham Palace	£11.00; £10.00	https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/visit/the-queens-gallery-buckingham-palace
3	Giovanni da Rimini	National Gallery	Free	https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/whats-on/exhibitions/giovanni-da-rimini-a-14th-century-masterpiece-unveiled.org.uk/whats-on
4	The Encounter: Drawings from Leonardo to Rembrandt	National Portrait Gallery	Gallery free; exhibition £10.00; £8.50	http://www.npg.org.uk/whatson/encounter/exhibition/
5	Queer British Art	Tate Britain	Gallery free; Exhibition £15.00	http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/exhibition/queer-british-art-1861-1967
6	Various	Victoria & Albert Museum	Gallery free; Exhibitions vary in price	https://www.vam.ac.uk/whatson
7	The new Blue Whale	Natural History Museum	Free;	http://www.nhm.ac.uk/bluewhale/hall/
8	Alma Tadema	Leighton House	£14.00; £12.00	https://www.rbkc.gov.uk/subsites/museums/leightonhousemuseum/almataademaathome.aspx
9	Scythians – warriors of ancient Siberia	British Museum	Gallery free; Exhibition £16.50	http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on/exhibitions/scythians.aspx
10	Collection	Sir John Soane Museum, Lincoln's Inn Fields	Free	http://www.soane.org/

September 15-17 is 'Open House' weekend when many buildings not normally open to the public are open to visitors <http://www.openhouselondon.org.uk>