



The NATO and EU in the Asia-Pacific Century

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Abstract

From a distance, NATO and EU are looking very similar, but both are very different when it comes to a more detailed discussion. NATO is recognized as a more or less military organisation. It has a strong military experience. "Collective Defence" for all Member States is one core task, but crisis management and cooperative security are tasks, which are based on dialog and common procedures and processes.

Afghanistan and operation "Ocean Shield" are providing a structured dialog on all political and military levels. Special programs for Central Asia are focused on a comprehensive approach. They offer a broader spectrum of partnership from defence policy and planning to civil emergency planning, including cooperation on science and environmental issues. Bilateral talks with regional governments are important as well. NATO is offering access for all contributing nations to all NATO Member States, including the United States in a different and sometimes more pragmatic way. Major issues which will dominate the summit in Chicago, are Afghanistan, Smart Defence, Cyber Security and Missile Defence. The dialogue, based on the operations in Afghanistan and the Indian Ocean, must be continued and structured for a future after these operations.

Unlike NATO, which itself has no political rights, the European Union has a political weight. Through its "European Security Strategy" it assesses challenges and threats to European security as less visible, more divers and less predictable. "The European Common Foreign and Security Policy" is an agreed policy for mainly security and defence diplomacy. The EU has low military experience and profile, which is not adequate in accordance with its interests, ambitions and responsibilities.

Europe's efforts to security are mostly based on trade and commercial issues as well as environmental ones. Europe has a low profile in Asia and it is lacking a strategy for this area. NATO and EU should be complementary partners and not competitors.

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ANALYSIS

From a distance, NATO and EU look to a certain degree very similar: both are consisting of almost the same nations, both are looking into a similar area of responsibility and both are to different degrees political “organizations”. But on closer inspection we have to recognize some very important differences.¹

NATO is a political organization with great operational experience and military capabilities provided to the alliance by member states following a national decision. Members of NATO are sovereign states. NATO council is providing political guidance, and the political level of ambition differs from nation to nation. This has an impact on the coherence of the alliance. Past experiences with decisions, the latest being NATO’s mission to Libya, where only ten Member States contributed to the mission, showed this very clearly. Common agreements on the strategic level are achievable but the sovereign member states are using their right of own national decisions. Both, NATO and EU went through a very challenging enlargement process after the end of the Soviet Union.² In the early nineties of the last century the strategic challenge was to develop and decide on criteria for becoming a candidate first and ultimately a member. There was a common understanding in EU and NATO that this process would increase stability and security in Europe and beyond. And from the point of view of the former soviet ruled nations it was an urgent desire to join both, NATO and EU, in order to achieve the best situation for beginning their internal changes to become sovereign nations. NATO and EU were prepared to welcome all nations, which are able to fulfil the criteria. It is important to state that NATO and EU were able to achieve a common understanding and consensus for this huge and difficult process of enlargement. It should be kept in mind that this process was not a process initiated but welcomed by EU and NATO. At the same time, it was a clear demand of sovereign states after they have achieved their independence. This still is an ongoing process and to keep the right balance between deepening the internal relations on one hand and to accept new members on the other hand is a very demanding and permanent political task. There are still candidates in different stages of their internal developments; Turkey is the most important one. Turkey is a long-standing and well-respected member of NATO. The process of becoming a member of the EU is still ongoing. It is obvious that this process has a much greater strategic dimension than the reception of other candidates.

It is of great importance to keep this in mind, when we are looking outside the traditional areas of responsibility of NATO and EU.

All capacities were dedicated for a long time to these processes and the principal consensus on the strategic level of political decisions was not transferable to the operational and tactical level, to describe it in military terms. So we have to recognize that NATO is not always acting in full consensus with all member states.

This might seen as a weakness of the alliance, but it proves that the perception of NATO, as an US-dominated organisation is a stereotype on one hand and that NATO no longer has a common destiny, but it is more or less a well-functioning security alliance with common values but different risk and threat assessments.

¹ Basic documents for NATO and EU are available for further detailed information:

http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_publications/20120214_strategic-concept-2010-eng.pdf

<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2010:083:FULL:EN:PDF> (accessed on May 7. 2012)

http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2004_04/2009_03_D8B67F56A5CD4F44805365DB21B29108_enlargement_eng.pdf (accessed on May 8. 2012)



NATO has agreed upon a new “Security Strategy”³, dated November 2010, it has a “Maritime Security Strategy”⁴ and a “Political Guidance”⁵ which both were approved in the wake of the “Security Strategy”.

But most important: it has a very successful Command Structure, it has reached a great coherence through more than 60 years of common training, exercises and operations, common policies and procedures and a high degree of technical standardization. NATO’s command structure is covering all three levels of responsibility: strategic, operational and tactical.⁶ It has its own procedures to develop adequate capability packages. The military command structure is an integrated one: all member states are represented in the various Headquarters and it is a permanent process to keep the appropriate balance. NATO has assigned forces, and depending on national decisions, nations transfer operational command or control to these integrated Headquarters. A core element is the NATO Response Force, which is a multinational/combined joint force.⁷ The established “Combined Joint Task Force” is not only open to European lead operations but also to the participation of non-NATO member states.⁸ It is very obvious that NATO is opening itself for a broader participation on

³ http://www.nato.int/strategic-concept/pdf/Strat_Concept_web_en.pdf (accessed May 8, 2012)

⁴ http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_03/201110318_alliance_maritime-strategy_CM_2011_23.pdf (accessed on May 7, 2012)

⁵ http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_09/20111004_110922-political-guidance.pdf (accessed on May 7, 2012)

⁶ http://www.nato.int/nato_static/assets/pdf/pdf_2011_06/201110609-Backgrounder_Command_Structure.pdf (accessed on May 8, 2012)

⁷ http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49755.htm (accessed on May 8, 2012)

⁸ <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/1999/9904-wsh/pres-eng/16ciff.pdf> (accessed on May 7, 2012)



one hand and is opening itself for global ambitions on the other hand. This is a serious opportunity for bi- and multilateral agreements in the Asia-Pacific region. And NATO is addressing almost all kinds of security and defence issues, reaching from humanitarian aid/disaster relief up to war fighting. As other examples for these multi- and bilateral forces there are two “NATO Standing Naval Forces”, established 1963 and 1969. Both forces have changed their names, tasks and areas of operation since then several times, but both they are backbones for immediate action and reaction when politically agreed on.⁹ Another option is to establish an “On Call Force”¹⁰ which has been decided by the European Union, as a part of the “Common Security and Defence Policy”.¹¹ In the wake of these decisions, the European Union and some member states have created similar military capabilities. But it is obvious the both NATO and EU are depending on a “single set of forces” when it comes to the force generating process. The critical question if this would be a duplication of effort is still valid and will remain valid. But on the other hand, both NATO and EU are offering a broad spectrum of politically and military options, which is an added value for all countries being members of NATO and EU.

NATO has proved its abilities in waging wars and managing crisis. It has adopted its ambitions after the end of the Cold War, all members agreed in the end that NATO is no longer a “North Atlantic” focused organisation – without defining in detail if NATO is to become a global player with regional roots. All changes in NATO’s long history had been initiated by the political leadership, all ideas about new “integrated” Headquarters before and during the accessing process were political decisions. From a purely military point of view some of these Headquarters were questionable, from a political point of view they were the only way to establish trust and confidence and mutual understanding. We were observers of a process where the military commanders were not always in favour of these political intentions. In the end the value and therefore the existence of these Headquarters depended on their ability to contribute a significant portion to a military operation.

Afghanistan and the Indian Ocean are much closer to the Pacific than to the North Atlantic. Despite some successful maritime and air operations, today NATO is recognized as a land centric organization. The new strategy puts a lot of emphasis on the development of good relations to the Russian Federation, which includes “cyber awareness” as one new topic. Another focus will be the ambition to “develop a deeper security partnership with our Gulf partners and welcome new partners in the Istanbul Cooperation Initiative.” This initiative is focused on the nations in the Broader Middle East.¹²

Unlike the European Union, which is primarily an economic and a political union, NATO is a political organisation without own rights. This might be one reason why NATO is recognized as a military alliance. NATO’s acceptance outside its traditional area of responsibility, defined by its name, the Atlantic, is the image of a strong and influential actor with its own voice.

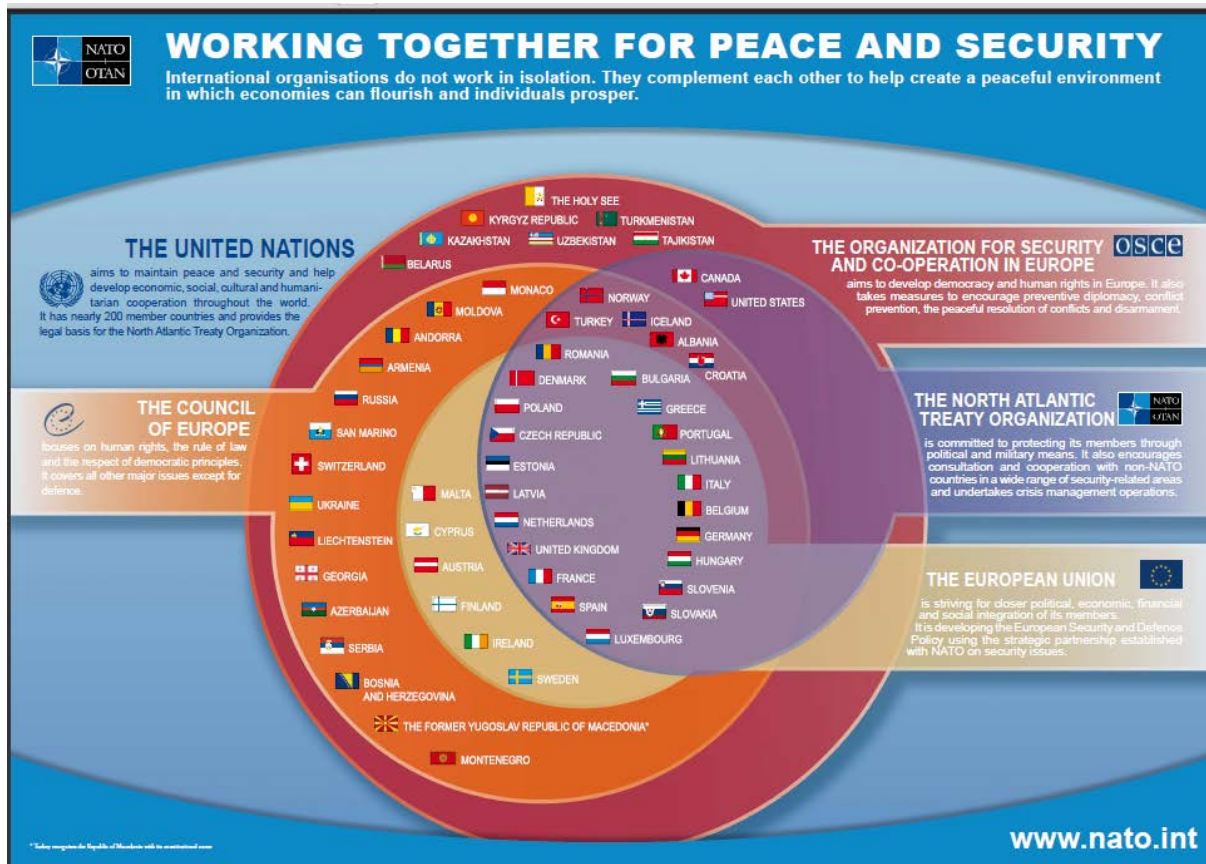
The enlargement process during the last decades proved this very impressively. This process was driven by the wish of all new members to be a part of an alliance, which addresses itself to a core task “collective defence”. When this was accomplished, it was only consequent to enhanced partnership initiatives. But these initiatives are not focused on future membership of participating nations. These relations are heading beyond the European-Atlantic area.

⁹ <http://www.aco.nato.int/page13615814.aspx> (accessed on May 7. 2012)

¹⁰ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Maritime_Force (accessed on May 5. 2012)

¹¹ <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/eeas/security-defence/csdp-structures-and-instruments.aspx?lang=en> (accessed on May 7. 2012)

¹² <http://www.nato.int/docu/comm/2004/06-istanbul/docu-cooperation.htm> (accessed on May 7. 2012)



Here NATO is acting as an alliance offering a forum to exchange common values and common concerns. Topics are global: NATO mission to Afghanistan, Cyber Defence, Maritime Security, Missile-Defence and Counter Terrorism.

This describes the political level of ambition and is founded on the term “partners across the globe”. The adoption of a more flexible and efficient Partnership Policy in April 2011 paved the way to enhance the political dialog and practical cooperation.

NATO’s other core tasks and principles are crisis management and cooperative security.

Under this framework high-level led discussions are conducted. These include arms control, disarmament, non-proliferation and peace-keeping operations. Most of these are global challenges and can only be solved in close regional cooperation and in a global context.

NATO’s military mission in Afghanistan has created strong relationships with nations in the Asia-Pacific region.

Countries like New Zealand, Australia and Singapore are contributing by sending troops. Others, including South Korea are supportive to the operation by leading an integrated civilian-military Provincial Reconstruction Team.



A very encouraging initiative is underway between the Republic of Korea and NATO's Political and Partnership Committee, drafted in March 2012. This Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programme follows the political context of reaffirming the partnership, which had been agreed upon in December 2005. It is based on a shared commitment to peace, democracy, human rights, rule of law and international security. NATO's new strategic concept, adopted at the Lisbon Summit 2010, has paved the way for better, deeper cooperation and dialog on an equal basis. The ambition is to enhance and "promote understanding through consultation, develop on common approaches to enduring and emerging security challenges. Enhance, develop mechanism for crisis prevention and civil emergency planning, and build capacity through exchange, education and training."¹³

Furthermore priority areas for cooperation are recommended:

Cyber Defence, response to Terrorism, Energy Security, Science for Peace and Security, Consultation, Command and Control (C3), Deplorability and Mobility, Defence Research and Technology, Arms Control, Disarmament and Non-Proliferation and Defence Policy and Strategy.¹⁴ This initiative might be seen as a blueprint for other bi- or multilateral agreements in the region. The recommended areas for cooperation are reflecting perfectly the spectrum of urgent challenges inside NATO and with partners outside NATO. But again the initiative is promoted through the active engagement of South Korea in Afghanistan. The civilian led and military supported Provincial Reconstruction Team is an actual example for excellent cooperation and a common understanding. And what seems of utmost importance: it proves that one engagement in a specific area is opening the window of opportunities for further cooperation in other arenas as well.

All nations, which are contributors to this common effort to stabilize Afghanistan, are therefore integrated in most of the information sharing networks and they have the right and responsibility to be involved in policy and decision-making processes.

Meeting on all levels: strategic, operational and tactical is now common practice, and the level of cooperation is high.

There is an urgent need for a discussion between NATO and its partners: how to keep this high level of cooperation after the ending of this mission? A permanently structured dialog should create coherence between all partners. This situation is comparable to the situation in Europe during the enlargement process: we need institutions to exchange information and to achieve a common understanding. The implementation of bi- or multilateral Headquarters and/or forces to facilitate this process was one of the pragmatic solutions to structure dialogs and built trust and confidence. Accepting that each region is unique and therefore looking for its own solutions, the initiatives taken by Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand to secure the Strait of Malacca are an important step from coordination to cooperation. The process had been initiated through "The Co-operative Mechanism between Littoral States and User States on Safety of Navigation and Environmental Protection in the Straits of Malacca and Singapore".¹⁵ Through this mechanism the littoral states executed in a very sensitive process their common responsibility by starting with "safety" aspects but they were able to

¹³ Annex 1 to PPC-N (2012) 0055, Para 1.

¹⁴ Annex 1 to PPC-N (2012) 0055, Para 3.1

¹⁵ http://www.google.de/search?rlz=1C1AVSX_enDE382DE382&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8&q=Malasia%2C+Cooperative+mechanism (accessed on May 7. 2012)



extend their common actions to “security”. This political driven and guided mechanism has proven its efficiency by two fundamental basics:

First: the maritime domain is offering much more opportunities for coordination and cooperation without touching on the sovereignty issue and

Second: a “step by step” approach is the most successful way to achieve progress.

Another initiative in the maritime domain, which could be used as an example, is “ReCAAP”, the Regional Cooperation Agreement on Combating Piracy and Armed Robbery against Ships in Asia, which was founded in 2004 and came into force in 2006, with fourteen contracting parties. Its main contribution for maritime safety and security is the Information Sharing Centre based in Singapore with its fourteen national focal points. The issue of “information sharing” was and still is the facilitator for coordination and subsequently cooperation.¹⁶

Bilateral cooperation between NATO and Asian Nations are vital but the Asian Regional Forum is a very important partner as well. NATO’s experience with multinational planning and execution is a value which NATO can offer through seminars, exercises and planning of real worldwide operations. NATO’s maritime operation in the Indic and the US lead “Combined Maritime Operation” are proving the alliances contribution to regional threats with a global impact. We have to recognize that some European nations are making their choice to contribute in one or the other operation.

Nations like the states of Central Asia have established their own relations to NATO. All five nations, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan are part of the very successful “Partnership for Peace” program. Their ambition is not to become a member of NATO but to create a reliable linkage into NATO.

It is important to understand that NATO’s mission in Afghanistan largely defines its relation to the Central Asian Region. The Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programme, IPCP, offers the whole spectrum of practical cooperation: from defence reform to education and training and military to military cooperation including common exercises.

In the context of Central Asia NATO’s partnership program has to reflect on two other existing organisations. Several Central Asian states are also members of the “Collective Security and Treaty Organisation, CSTO” and the “Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, SCO”. Both organisations however don’t have the weight in the international arena that NATO has and their goals are not clearly defined. NATO has no official links to either of them. There is a need for further internal discussions in NATO and, of course, it needs to clarify the position of the Central Asian states in relation to CSTO and SCO. For NATO and EU it is important to learn more about SCO. There is confusion about the “actions and motivations of SCO member states” and “it is difficult to observe a clear picture of the organizations nature and label it as either anti-Western or neutral.”¹⁷

NATO is not in competition to either of these organisations and its ambitions and initiatives are shaped to the individual needs of the nations. The aim of the cooperation is not build an integrated security structure but to support the nations own capabilities. In this context it is worth to recall the foundation of the NATO-Russia

¹⁶ <http://www.recaap.org/AboutReCAAPISC.aspx> (accessed on May 7. 2012)

¹⁷ Enrico Fels: Assessing Eurasia’s Powerhouse, An Inquiry into Nature of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (Bochum 2009, p. 53.) <http://dnb.d-nb.de>



Council in order to have a forum for a political dialog in areas of concern or in critical situations. Topics are and will for the near future remain areas of shared interests like missile defence, counter-narcotics and counter-piracy.

To conclude so far:

- NATO is involved in Asia through its mission in Afghanistan and in the Indian Ocean. Strong links have been established on all political and military levels. NATO's maritime engagement against piracy in the Indian Ocean creates good opportunities to strengthen links with partners of the Indo-Pacific area.
- NATO's strategy is built on three pillars: collective defence for its members, crisis management and cooperative security with members, partners and the international community. In this context NATO is offering a variety of options.
- NATO could be seen as a political partner for Asian nations, the North Atlantic Council is a place to explain the Asian security situation, including China and North Korea.
- NATO offers military cooperation, and through this access to information and decision processes.
- NATO is an opportunity to establish communications to the United States under the framework of its "Partners across the globe" initiative.
- NATO is offering huge experience for multilateral cooperation.

The NATO summit in Chicago in May 2012 should provide some answers to the announced shift of the United States policy to the Pacific. For security and defence of all nations in Europe and in Asia this needs careful analysis and political decisions, which should be integrated into a comprehensive approach.

Afghanistan will be in the focus of the summit, and this is directly linked to the future policy for Asia. The US policy-shift towards the Pacific and Asia and its implications are of great importance for Europe and Asia in the mid and long term strategic assessments.

Three additional topics will be discussed.

"Smart Defence" as an answer to a limited or shrinking budget. "Pooling and Sharing" of assets, a more effective coordination and greater flexibility in training and education as well as research and development are some of the topics functioning as facilitators for Smart Defence.

Cyber Security has a high priority and could be used as a facilitator for Smart Defence.

Missile Defence will be a critical topic, especially concerning the relationship with Russia.¹⁸

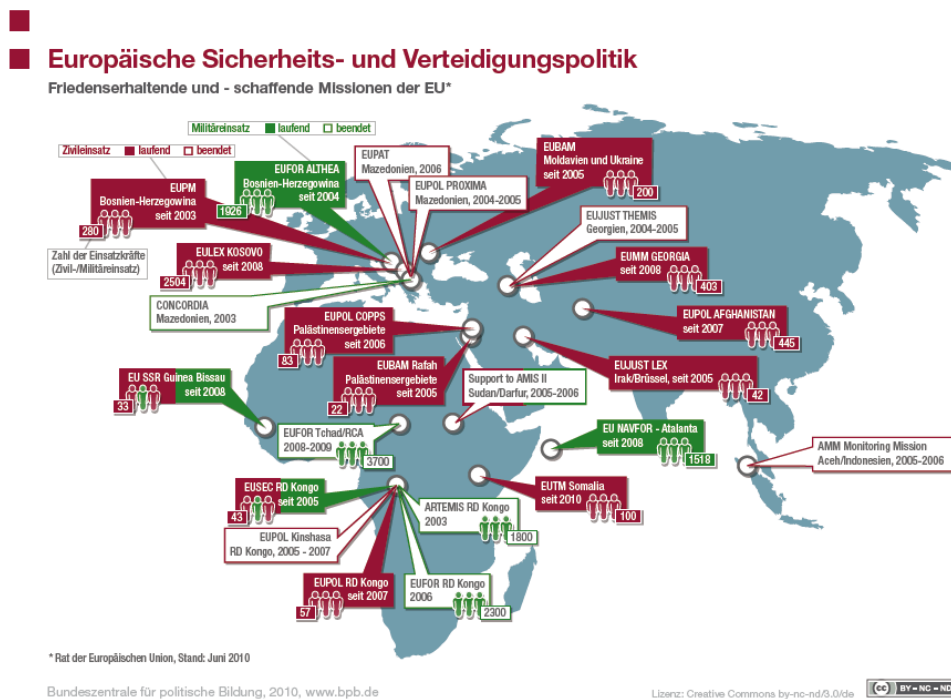
Europe's security interests are defined in a similar approach, but the answers are quite different.

The European Security Strategy from December 2003, named "A Secure Europe in a better World", and its implementation report dated December 2008 are still valid documents.^{19, 20}

¹⁸ http://www.deutscheatlantischegesellschaft.de/cms/upload/pdf/Atlantische_Beitraege_03_2012.pdf (Accessed on May 7. 2012)

The “Key Threats” are described as more diverse, less visible and less predictable. Terrorism, Proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction, Regional Conflicts, State Failure, Organized Crime and Piracy lead to the assessment “that in an era of globalisation distant threats may be as much a concern as those that are near at hand. The first line of defence often will be abroad. The new threats are dynamic, conflict prevention and threat prevention cannot start too early.”²¹

If we compare this with NATO’s new strategy we can find a very similar view.



Key words are again “cooperation and partnership”, and one conclusion is that security and prosperity are depending on an effective multilateral system. Europe is committed to upholding and developing International Law. The fundamental framework for Europe in international relation is the Charter of the United Nation.

ASEAN, MERCOSUR and the AFRICAN UNION are mentioned as important contributors for the development of future security structures.

Europe is interconnected to the Middle East, Africa, Latin America and Asia through history, geography and culture. These relationships are important assets to be built on. In particular to develop strategic partnerships with Japan, China, India and ASEAN nations is crucial.

This is the political ambition.

¹⁹ <http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/78367.pdf> (accessed on May 7. 2012)

²⁰ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/reports/104630.pdf (accessed on May 7. 2012)

²¹ <http://register.consilium.europa.eu/pdf/en/10/st05/st05842-re02.en10.pdf> (accessed on May 7. 2012)

²¹ European Security Strategy, Brussels, 12 December 2003, II Strategic Objectives, p. 6.



But unfortunately the European Union has no strategic idea or practical plan for an engagement in Asia so far. The stated ambitions need to be implemented and Europe needs a better political profile in Asia.

Europe is a political actor of its own rights, but in contrast to NATO it is primarily a civilian actor. This could be a complementary approach, but it needs a common understanding and intensive permanent coordination. Both, NATO and EU, have not reached a level to achieve this yet.

The European Common Foreign and Security Policy, CFSP, is an agreed policy for mainly security and defence diplomacy and operations. It is understood as part of the Union's foreign policy, which is much more focused on trade and commercial and environmental protection issues.²² Until 2009 security and defence matters were separated from all other activities of the Union and were almost non-existent.

In 2009 the Treaty of Lisbon has brought this to an end and first steps to ensure better coordination and consistency have been made.²³ Briefly the military experience is very underdeveloped in the Union.

The common understanding of Europe's contribution to security is a civilian one, including "peace keeping" missions. Most European member states are members of NATO and when it comes to the nation's contribution both are depending on the same forces: "a single set of forces". The existing "EU Battle Group Concept"²⁴ was an encouraging step to more military visibility, its future is uncertain.

Arrangements between NATO and EU, concerning the allocation of capabilities to the EU, are available in case NATO decides not to act.

The EU has established a very comprehensive network to improve European safety and security and is still in dialog with nations from all regions. But the intentions are not devoted to the military part of security or to defence.

This is a rather different view on the global challenges, risks, threats and vulnerabilities. The EU has identified six objectives for the EU-Asia cooperation:²⁵

1. Contribute to peace and security in the region and globally, through a broadening of EU engagement with Asia
2. Strengthen mutual trade and investment flows within the region
3. Promote the development of less prosperous countries of Asia, addressing the root cause of poverty
4. Contribute to the protection of human rights, the spread of democracy, good governance and the rule of law
5. Build global partnerships and alliances with Asian countries in order to strengthen joint efforts on global environmental and security issues
6. Help to strengthen the awareness of Europe in Asia and vice versa.

²² http://www.iss.europa.eu/uploads/media/A_strategy_for_EU_foreign_policy.pdf (accessed on May 7. 2012)

²³ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/Background-HighRepresentative_EN.pdf (accessed on May 7. 2012)

²⁴ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/Battlegroups_February_07-factsheet.pdf (accessed on May 7. 2012)

²⁵ http://eeas.europa.eu/asia/rsp/07_13_en.pdf (accessed on May 7. 2012)



This dialog is complex and involves sub-regional partners such as SAARC and ASEAN and policy fore such as ASEM and ARF.

This is a brief look into the European Unions contributions to security.

This view might change in the near future. Herman Van Rompuy, the President of the European Council stated in a speech: "The twentieth century was an Atlantic century, while the twenty-first is going to be a Pacific one. Asia and the Pacific are quickly emerging scientific and research powerhouses, and the regions competitiveness is global standard. Whereas Europe used to be the most dangerous continent in the past century, the focus of security analysts and hard power strategic planners moved towards developments in Asia and the Pacific. They do not yet observe a full-blown arms race, but in terms of military spending and confrontational psychology, the premises of an arms race are there."²⁶

This quotation may be a first step towards a real comprehensive approach to security and defence, including all instruments, political, diplomatic and military.

But the concerns are still there: the EU has a low profile in Asia, some member states like Great Britain and France have more visibility and the one sighted view on security will not change in principle. The speech given by the UK Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs William Hague at IISS Fullerton lecture in Singapore on "Briton and Asia" is describing the political ambitions of the United Kingdom in relation to Asia. It includes a strong statement on security as well:

"We are a country that has never shirked its international security responsibilities, from our role in NATO to the "Five Power Defence Arrangements" which have now entered their 41st year. We are one of the few countries in the world that is willing and capable to deploy military force to address threats to human life or to security, as we did again recently in Libya. We are not a significant military power in Asia, but our role in NATO, in the Five Power Defence Arrangement and our defence expertise as a nation mean that we have a role to play. This includes the military dialogues we are building with countries like China and Vietnam, which is another valuable aspect of our diplomacy in the region."²⁷

The challenge for Europe as a Union is now to use this and similar bilateral initiatives as windows of opportunity and as bridges to Europe.

The strategy to use trade and economic growth as factors to guarantee security is questionable, and history offers little prove of it as a success story. It is absolutely right to pay higher political attention to Asia, accompanied by greater European activity in the Indo-Pacific area. But the political level of ambition, which is reflected in the six objectives, is to export the European experience into this part of the world without raising the question of if and when and to what degree this is applicable to the Asian area.

The further development of the Common Foreign and Security Policy as an integrated part of a comprehensive approach would increase the profile of the EU. Europe is acting in Asia as an economic and as a political power. The Treaty of Lisbon has opened the European view to a better coordination between civilian and military coordination. But the political implementation is still unsolved. In this context it is important to avoid competi-

²⁶ <http://europeangeostrategy.ideasoneurope.eu/2011/11/11/herman-van-rompuy-churchill-provides-the-model/> (accessed on May 7. 2012)

²⁷ <http://euroasiasecurityforum.wordpress.com/2012/04/28/uk-strategic-thinking-and-european-dimension-to-move-into-asia-pacific/> (accessed on May 7. 2012)



tion with NATO's military capabilities: a complementary approach is one solution, the other one is to achieve a deeper coordination and integration of the European armed forces. The European people are in favour of common European armed Forces, but European governments are not prepared to transfer military authority to the European Parliament yet.

To conclude so far: the shift of international economy and politics including diplomacy and military to the Indian Ocean and Pacific area is a fact. But as a consequence Europe has to rethink its assessments of the Atlantic and Arctic area first.

Both strategies are based on cooperative and multilateral security solutions. Both, NATO and EU, have established different dialogs with Asia. But especially the European Union is lacking a clear profile and a strategic view on this area.

There is a window of opportunity for both, NATO and EU: the financial crisis should facilitate these moves: better European internal coordination, with the goal to integrate European armed forces on one hand, and on the other hand a common strategy towards Asia.

Asia should ask for this and motivate NATO and EU for a coordinated and common appearance.

Asia in general and South Korea in particular should explain to the European Union what kind of expectations countries have as to the relation with NATO and with the European Union.

There are some critical issues, which must be kept in mind when developing new ways to improve international relations and to make the already existing networks more robust.

It is important to avoid a political asymmetry: are NATO and EU talking to an international organisation like ASEAN or are they participating in the Asia–Europe Meeting on one hand or are they talking on bilateral meetings with China, Japan, South Korea or Australia for example on the other hand.

All existing or new created networks have to accept that there is one global critical issue for all nations, which is "sovereignty".

One reaction to globalisation is that all states are concerned about transferring parts of their sovereignty to international or bilateral institutions. In the case of NATO and the European Union it is a crucial issue, if bilateral agreements are paving the way for organisational agreements or replacing them. It must be in the Unions interest to increase its visibility and standing, and therefore there is a need to take regional security issues and concerns more seriously.

In essence the political level of ambition to be or become a responsible member of an international Organisation is the crucial issue. The ability to contribute to multilateral agreements and how to transfer decisions into reality is a benchmark for a common approach. All European Nations in NATO and EU are confronted with this key issue in the daily business and in the political level of ambitions in particular.

At this point it seems appropriate to have a brief look on China. The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation has been mentioned already, but this is only one aspect. It is a fact that China is one of the most important facilitators in the "Changing Security Dynamics in Europe and Asia". From a military point of view, the "Peoples Liberation Army", PLA, is going through an ambitious modernisation process, with the Army as the major service. It seems important to keep in mind that increasing budget for the Air Force and Navy have shifted the views of



analysts to this strategic change.²⁸ In principle, the modernisation is oriented on criteria, which we can find in other regions as well. Key words are: mobility, endurance and sustainability. The other strategic shift is China's engagement and practical contributions to international security initiatives under the Chapter VII, Article 39 of the Charter of the United Nations. The contributions of the PLAN to the maritime operations in the Gulf of Aden are one example for this strategic shift.²⁹ China's interest to become an international stakeholder in the maritime domain is obvious. Since 2002 China has increased its activities in the maritime domain. Non-military operations like "Search and Rescue", evacuation of civilians and military operations like mine counter measures with regional partners like Singapore, Thailand and Japan have been organized since 2003. But the tensions in some parts of the maritime domain, like the South China Sea, are for all regional nations a growing concern and incidents in the field of fishery protection are not in accordance with international law and therefore assumed as a threat by almost all nations in the region.

Japan has decided to participate in international security operations long before China and Japan's indirect support to the maritime operation "Enduring Freedom" and now the direct support to the anti-piracy operations in the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean are very much appreciated. It is obvious, that Japan is aware of the political options, which are deriving from this military engagement. NATO and EU are an opportunity for Japan to create awareness for the Asian security situation.³⁰

Europe and Asia are continents surrounded by seas and oceans. Parts of Asia have an archipelago structure with all the implications deriving from this geographical situation. European Union and NATO have been trying to achieve Maritime Domain Awareness. Again both, NATO and EU have chosen a different approach and are offering different answers. Some of these answers could be evaluated and after a modification used for solutions in the Indo-Asia-Pacific region as well.

NATO has implemented its "Alliance Maritime Strategy" dated 4 January 2011.³¹ It identified "...four maritime role areas that are both traditional and emerging:

- a) Deterrence and Collective Defence
- b) Crisis Response and Conflict Prevention
- c) Diplomacy, Outreach and Partnership through Forward Engagement
- d) Maritime Security – an Enduring Alliance Security Task
- e) The Maritime Dimension of a Comprehensive Approach

Taking "Deterrence and Collective Defence" as a traditional role, the other roles are offering opportunities for coordination and cooperation. Keeping in mind the archipelago and littoral geography of great parts of the maritime domain, maritime security and defence will have a significant impact in the near and midterm future. In this context Maritime Security will become more visibility and will challenge the different regions. The coor-

²⁸ http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/zeitschriftenschau/2010zs06_wuebbeke_ks.pdf (accessed on May 7. 2012)

²⁹ http://www.swp-berlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/studien/2009_S29_brn_lgs_oer_ks.pdf (accessed on May 7. 2012)

²⁹ http://www.chinasecurity.us/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=222&Itemid=8 (accessed on May 7. 2012)

³⁰ http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2009/Asia/nato_partner_asia/EN/index.htm (accessed on May 7. 2012)

³¹ Alliance Maritime Strategy (Shape, Begium and Norfolk, Virginia, USA, 2010, p. 6 to 10)



dination of civilian and military capabilities is a first step to achieve “good governance at sea”. The next step should be cooperation in areas of common maritime interests like:

- terrorism from the sea, trafficking Weapons of Mass Destruction
- narcotics and arms trafficking,
- piracy and smuggling of goods and contraband,
- disputes between coastal states over maritime borders and EEZ, including sea-bed exploration,
- environmental degrading, such as dumping of toxic waste at sea,
- illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing.

The European Union, confronted with the same challenges, risks, threats and vulnerabilities has adopted an “Integrated Maritime Policy” in 2007 and has published a progress report in 2009.³² This policy considered all maritime activities with its regulatory power from the perspective of integration. After the implementation of the Lisbon Treaty the division of competences between the EU bodies is no longer an obstacle for further integration of civilian and military capabilities as it was before.

The IMP highlights, “maritime surveillance is of highest importance in ensuring the safe use of the sea and in securing Europe’s maritime borders. The improvement and optimisation of maritime surveillance activities and interoperability at the European level, are important for Europe to meet the challenges and threats relating to safety of navigation, maritime pollution, law enforcement and overall security”.³³ Another document which translates the more general terms of the IMP into reality is named: “Towards the integration of maritime Surveillance” and it has specified the issue:

The aim of integrated maritime surveillance is to generate a situational awareness of activities at sea impacting on maritime safety, border control, the marine environment, fishery control, trade and economic interests of the European Union as well as general law enforcement and defence so as to facilitate sound decision making”.³⁴

Such an aim calls for what has been defined in a document as a “Common Information Sharing Environment” i.e. a picture as common display basis from which each Country/Authority/Agency can extract, correlate, fuse and analyse collected data, thus transforming them into information, leading to action. It is worth pointing out that the totality of information collected by any agency will become knowledge, the real foundation for any policy decision, defined in the document as “situational awareness” or in other documents as “Maritime Domain Awareness”.

Information sharing is one key for Maritime Security. Information sharing has different aspects, from technical to legal, from financial to access and protection aspects. But the big challenge for all stakeholders, governmental, commercial and non-governmental is a real shift of the mentality. During the industrial age the well known “Need to Know” principle was more or less adequate, but since we are living in the information age the princi-

³² <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:2007:0575:FIN:EN:HTML>

³³ http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/EN/genaff/122177.pdf (accessed on May 8. 2012)

³⁴ http://europa.eu/legislation_summaries/maritime_affairs_and_fisheries/maritime_affairs/pe0011_en.htm (accessed on May 8. 2012)



ple does not serve the safety and security challenges any longer. We are responsible to share information, we have to switch to the “Need to Share” or better “Responsibility to Share” information.³⁵

Both, NATO and EU have recognized this challenge and they spare no effort to achieve this. In this process legal and technical problems are often used as an excuse for not sharing information. But in the changing security dynamics in Europe and Asia information sharing on all levels from strategic or political level to the more practical and level, is the only way to create trust and confidence between countries, organisations, agencies. A common understanding about these security dynamics and the exchange about regional experiences and the different ways to find solutions in Europe and Asia is the only way to achieve progress through a dynamic and hopefully trust and confidence building kind of mechanisms. The already existing bilateral relations should be used to transfer them into multilateral conferences, meetings and finally agreements.

³⁵ http://www.eda.europa.eu/Libraries/Documents/Wise_Pen_Team_Progress_Report_101222.sflb.ashx
http://www.eda.europa.eu/libraries/documents/marsur_wise_pen_team_report_-_26_april_2010.sflb.ashx (both accessed on May 8. 2012)



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Born on April 1945 in the hanseatic city of Greifswald, Vice Admiral Feldt joined the Navy in April 1965 and was commissioned in 1968.

Sea duty assignments for 13 years with leadership functions on all command levels, including two tours as Commanding Officer, provided a wide experience at sea with emphasis on operations, communication and electronic warfare.

Shore duty assignments in different naval staffs, the Federal Ministry of Defence, in NATO, as Assistance Chief of Staff Operations and Logistics; he became Commander Military District Coast, a national joint command, Commander in Chief of the German Fleet and Commander in Chief of Naval Staff in Bonn and Berlin. He retired after 41 years of active duty April 30, 2006.

Since retiring Admiral Feldt has taken over different posts of honour, he became President of the German Maritime Institute and he has been contracted by the European Commission for the "Instrument for Stability" specific "Critical Maritime Routes". From July 2009 to December 2010 he has been contracted by the European Defence Agency to be a member of the Wise Pen Team and working on the topic of maritime surveillance and maritime security. Since August 2011 the Wise Pens International are working on a study dealing with future maritime capabilities of the European Navies. As a senior mentor he participated in several Command Force Maritime Component Commanders Courses for the US Naval War College, Newport, Rhode Island.



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