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Addressing the Atlantic's Emerging Security Challenges

Bruno Lété

The German Marshall Fund of the United States

ABSTRACT

As the Atlantic space is expected to continue to play a global role, it is not surprising that nations around the Atlantic have become increasingly concerned about securing the region's commons at land, at sea, and in the air. In much contrast to the territorial disputes and military tensions defining the Pacific Rim, the Atlantic remains a relatively stable geo-political sphere, largely due to the lack of great power conflict. But the prominence of the region in security and military considerations is rising, especially with the aim to combat illegal activities. This paper identifies three emerging security challenges that may jeopardize the future peace and prosperity of all the countries surrounding the Atlantic Ocean if they are left unresolved.

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1. Introduction

The new Atlantic environment is largely shaped by a rapidly evolving political and economic equation not only involving the traditional North-North links, but also the global South. There are many reasons to take a more expansive approach to classic transatlantic relations, embracing a wider geographic space, and with greater weight given to actors and issues in the southern Atlantic. The rise of Brazil, South Africa, and other players is increasingly relevant to global themes, from trade to climate and energy to mobility and security. In this light, understanding the factors and the actors shaping the new security dynamics of the Atlantic Basin has become increasingly compelling.

2. The Atlantic remains a key region in a rapidly changing global system

Despite the emergence of the Pacific Basin at the heart of a new intellectual and strategic framework in international affairs, it is in fact the Atlantic that may continue to dominate the economic and diplomatic global system in the 21st century. The security of the region should consequently be seen against the backdrop of five principal socio-economic trends:

- First, the Atlantic space is the world's economic engine, and will continue to do so well into the 21st century. The region is home to powerhouses such as the United States and the European Union, as well as to two BRICS countries, Brazil and South-Africa. In 2014 the region accounted for roughly half of global production, and was the largest market in terms of foreign direct investment. Moreover, existing and prospected free trade agreements across the Atlantic will further stimulate the flow of goods and services and have global impact (Serbin, 2014).
- Two, the Atlantic space is undergoing an energy boom while the Pacific is becoming more energy dependent. New energy productions in the U.S., Canada, Brazil, Angola or Nigeria are changing the global energy landscape. New technologies for oil and gas exploration and extraction combined with the pressure to reduce emissions, offer new perspective and enables the Atlantic to rival the Middle East in terms of energy supply.
- Three, despite aging societies in Europe and North-America, the wider Atlantic space constitutes the landscape for an urban and demographic revolution. At both sides of the ocean, metropolises like London, New York, Sao Paulo or Lagos continue to sprawl. And Africa's population is projected to double in size by 2050 to around 2.4 billion people, making it the region with the largest population growth in the world (Population Reference Bureau, 2014).
- Four, the Atlantic harbours many of the world's most potent military powers, with NATO remaining at the epicentre of a security architecture with global reach. Meanwhile African and South American nations are investing rapidly in military modernization. The accumulated defence spending in the Atlantic space is likely to remain the world's highest in the foreseeable future.
- Five, it is important to consider shared culture and values in the Atlantic space, such as religion, language, democracy and human rights, especially with the recent consolidation of democratic systems in South America, and to a large extent throughout Africa. These shared values have the potential to facilitate coalition-building, or bilateral and multilateral security cooperation.

3. Three emerging challenges affect security in the Atlantic

As the Atlantic space is expected to continue to play a global role, it is not surprising that nations around the Atlantic have become increasingly concerned about securing the region's commons at land, at sea, and in the air. In much contrast to the territorial disputes and military tensions defining the Pacific Rim, the Atlantic remains a relatively stable geo-political sphere, largely due to the lack of great power conflict. But the prominence of the region in security and military considerations is rising, especially with the aim to combat illegal activities. This paper identifies three emerging security challenges that may jeopardize the future peace and prosperity of all the countries surrounding the Atlantic Ocean if they are left unresolved.

- ***Piracy endangers the Atlantic's expanding maritime transportation network***

Growing trade flows and new maritime transport routes come hand in hand with the need for more surveillance and security at sea. Free and secured shipping lanes are essential to continued peace and prosperity in the Atlantic space.

Aggregate volumes of trade are changing rapidly in the Atlantic. Emerging economies, like Brazil or South Africa, continue to increase their shares of the world imports of raw materials and world exports of finishes goods, and often they do so choosing routes involving the Atlantic Ocean. At the same time, once applied, free trade agreements like the EU-Canada Comprehensive Economic and Trade Agreement, or agreements in the making like the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) or the EU-MERCOSUR Association Agreement are expected to further boost trade and economic transport routes across the Atlantic.

The expansion of the Panama Canal scheduled for completion in 2016 will bring another important additional link to Atlantic and global trade. Today the Canal accommodates an estimated five percent of the world's total cargo volume and this will likely increase. The Panama Canal expansion will impact ports and inland infrastructure across North and South America as it will allow for the passage of larger container vessels, and to a lesser extend also benefit the ever more important China-Brazil sea route (U.S. Dept. of Transportation, 2013).

The appetite of non-Atlantic actors - like India, China and wider Southeast Asia - for energy and minerals adds another explosive boom in maritime transport, from the Atlantic toward the Pacific. For instance, between 2000 and 2012 trade between China and Latin America grew 25 times from approximately \$10 billion to \$255.5 billion. Brazilian export goods to China were worth 75 billion USD in 2012 (Tang, 2013), making the Asian country Brazil's number one trading partner, and leaving the United States behind on a second place at 72 billion USD in 2013 (Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, 2013)

The importance of the Atlantic maritime transportation system is ever increasing. But as a result of more economic activity and growing populations — especially in the South Atlantic —maritime insecurity is increasing too.

Piracy is the biggest threat against open and secure maritime transportation routes in the Atlantic Ocean, and in particular the situation faced in West-Africa. Acts of piracy and armed robbery in the Gulf of Guinea represent more than a quarter of worldwide reported attacks (Vircoulon, Tournier, 2014). Maritime insecurity in this region affects the trade of 455 million people. It also affects the shipment of five million barrels of oil per day (Africa's total is nine million), which are by large destined for Europe or the United States. Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea remains of great concern to countries in

West and Central Africa, with the worst affected countries being Nigeria, Togo, and Cote d'Ivoire. In 2013 the United Nations Office for West Africa (UNOWA) registered that for example, out of 47 cases of piracy 29 took place off the coast of Nigeria alone. Six ships were hijacked but subsequently released. UNOWA also recorded 62 attacks on ships in West and Central Africa in 2011 and 60 in 2012. Since 2002, 610 attacks occurred in the region (UNOWA, 2013).

The modus operandi for piracy attacks in the Gulf of Guinea is distinct from those taking place off the Horn of Africa. Attacks in West Africa have primarily taken the form of 'oil bunkering'. Oil tankers are attacked and oil is siphoned from the vessel on-site, before being sold on the black market. In an attempt to help governments face the challenge, the United Nations supported a regional initiative launched at the Yaoundé Summit in June 2013 which brought together the gulf countries, as well as the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Gulf of Guinea Commission (GGC). But combating piracy will remain an effort of long process. The emergence of a regional collective security system is hampered by political rivalry between countries. There is mistrust because of ongoing border disputes (Ghana/Ivory Coast, Angola/Congo, Gabon/Equatorial Guinea), and countries disagree how to share the financial burden (Vircoulon, Tournier, 2014).

A second hotspot for piracy and acts of robbery can be found along the north coast of the Americas and in Caribbean waters. It seems though that events reported off the shores of Venezuela and Brazil, or around offshore oilfields in South America are more small theft than real piracy or serious robbery. The economic incentive for piracy, which springs largely from poverty, is lower in this area and the capacity of the region's authorities to counter piracy operations is much higher. However, significant acts of sabotage against critical energy infrastructure have been reported in the region (Richardson, Guedes, De la Gorce, De Saint Sely, Holtus, 2012). This paper will look deeper into this problematic on the next pages.

Coping with piracy has become increasingly complex in an environment ripe for direct, indirect, and deliberate cooperation between criminal trafficking organizations and violent or extremist groups. Piracy is a problem that affects maritime trading lanes at pan-Atlantic and global level. In order for governments to rise to this cross-regional challenge, they will need to be able to monitor what is happening on the seas, detect illegal activities, and develop legal and administrative frameworks, as well as adequate coastguard capabilities. The situation today lacks in each of these areas. A long-term and sustainable international response to the challenge of piracy and maritime insecurity is still unclear. Policy and legal tools as well as enforcement capabilities to stop impunity on high seas are still incomplete. Keeping maritime trading lanes open is in the interest of all the countries surrounding the Atlantic Basin, and should serve as a driver for more cooperation between North and South.

- ***The convergence between trafficking, organized crime and terrorism spurs instability***

Across the Atlantic space, transnational organized crime manifests itself in many forms and activities, with elastic structures and the ability to move quickly, transform, and to be controlled from multiple locations. Transnational organized crime is also the root cause for the bulk of illicit trafficking in weapons, drugs and humans across the Atlantic. This output is directly linked to money laundering and corruption, which eventually erodes state authority and creates areas of unsecured, ungoverned or under-governed territory. In addition, a growing convergence of trafficking, transnational organized crime, and terrorism in the Atlantic space has emerged.

Arms trafficking is one source feeding the phenomenon. In today's world, conflicts are fought with light rather than heavy weapons. The illegal trade of small arms and light weapons alone is now estimated to represent a \$1 billion-a-year global business. In the Atlantic, Mexico represents but one example where the threat posed by the illegal arms trade has increased significantly. From late-1994 to mid-2010, Mexican authorities seized over 306,000 illegal firearms in addition to 26 million rounds of ammunition. The growth of the Mexican arms trafficking industry not only threatens its internal security but the security of neighbouring states such as the United States (Jacobson, Daurora, 2014). Central and West Africa is another Atlantic focal point of concern. Here weapons are bartered for drugs and natural resources (oil, precious stones, metals, and timber). As a result, arms trafficking and organized crime fuel conflicts - and vice-versa. Initiatives such as the Global Project on Firearms, by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2014), or the 2013 landmark UN Arms Trade Treaty – signed by 17 EU nations, the United States, and a majority of South Atlantic countries including Colombia, Brazil, Angola or South Africa– aim at mitigating the risk of illicit international transfer of conventional weapons. But without addressing the drivers of this trade, such as conflict, poverty and the weaknesses in state structures, the impact of these broader efforts will remain limited.

The trafficking of drugs and drugs usage is another source stimulating the convergence between organized crime and terrorism in the Atlantic and beyond. An estimated 183,000 drug-related deaths were reported worldwide in 2012 (UNODC, 2014). In the Atlantic, cocaine tops the list of problem drugs causing the highest burden of disease, death and crime. Practically all of the world's cocaine is produced in three countries in South America, in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia. It is usually shipped through Mexico, or via Caribbean waters, for consumers in the U.S. and Canada. For Europe, there are at least two distinct trans-shipment hubs that have emerged in West Africa: one centred on Guinea-Bissau and Guinea, and one centred in the Bight of Benin which spans from Ghana to Nigeria. Some of this cocaine then proceeds onward by sea to Spain and Portugal. Additionally, West Africa accounts for a large share of global seizures of non-specified amphetamines. In North Africa, large seizures of cannabis herb are also reported from Morocco. The inability of Atlantic governments to reduce drug demand and usage remains a problem. The most precarious use of cocaine is in the Americas. In North America, the United States remains the number one destination market in the world. But consumption in South America is on the rise too, particularly in Brazil due to factors including its geographical location and a large urban population. In Western and Central Europe, the second largest market after the Americas, the demand remains stable but indicators of overall supply suggest a possible rebound in the availability of cocaine. Moreover, in Africa pockets of emerging cocaine use appear, mainly in those regions that also serve as transit-hubs to Europe (UNODC, 2014), while South-South trade, between Brazil and South Africa, is on the rise too.

Not only criminal organizations are involved in trafficking. Trends show that extremist groups or terrorist networks are involved in trafficking – independently or in cooperation with organised crime - either with the aim to fund their operations or to smuggle terrorists or terrorist materials into a targeted country. The necessary actions to counter this kind of terrorist threat are more those of onshore and port authorities than maritime ones. The U.S. Container Security Initiative provides a good way to address the threat posed by terrorists using for instance a maritime container to deliver a weapon, by ensuring that all containers that pose a potential risk are identified and inspected, In accordance with this initiative, several countries in the South Atlantic have installed container screening equipment in their ports. With the exception of South Africa, in its port at Durban, no African states have such equipment, but Brazil, Argentine and several Caribbean states do. Countries in the North Atlantic have a direct interest in assisting the countries in the South Atlantic with their resources and expertise to

develop more robust infrastructures and capabilities to detect these threats (Richardson, Guedes, De la Gorce, De Saint Sely, Holtus, 2012).

Moreover, the traffic of drugs, weapons, and people from Latin America to Europe and North America, through transit countries in the Caribbean, Central America, and West Africa has grown money laundering dramatically. From corrupt public officials laundering bribes, public funds or development loans, to organized criminal groups laundering the proceeds of drug trafficking and commodities, to terrorist groups using money-laundering channels to get cash to buy arms. The social consequences of allowing these groups to launder money can be disastrous. Its interactions with the global financial system and economic crises are posing an increasing danger to global economic stability. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) links money laundering directly to the financial instability of national financial institutions, to countries attracting lower foreign investments and to distorted international capital flows. Moreover, problems in one country can quickly spread to other countries in the region or in other parts of the world (IMF, 2014).

Transnational organized crime and other forms of violent networks have expanded and matured, threatening the security of citizens and the stability of governments throughout the Atlantic, with direct security implications for all countries in the Basin.

Central America is a key area of converging threats where illicit trafficking in drugs, people, and weapons—as well as other revenue streams—fuel increased instability. Transnational crime and its accompanying violence are threatening the prosperity of some Central American states and can cost up to eight percent of their gross domestic product, according to the World Bank. The Government of Mexico is waging a historic campaign against transnational criminal organizations, many of which are expanding beyond drug trafficking into human smuggling and trafficking, weapons smuggling, bulk cash smuggling, extortion, and kidnapping for ransom. Transnational organized crime in Mexico makes the U.S. border more vulnerable because it creates and maintains illicit corridors for border crossings that can be employed by other secondary criminal or terrorist actors or organizations. Farther south, Colombia has achieved remarkable success in reducing cocaine production and countering illegal armed groups, such as the FARC, that engage in transnational organized crime. Yet, with the decline of these organizations, new groups are emerging.

West Africa has become a major transit point for illegal drug shipments to Europe and for Southwest Asian heroin to the United States. The difference between transnational organized crime and extremist, violent groups is increasingly blurry. They exacerbate corruption and undermine the rule of law, democratic processes, and transparent business practices in several African states that already suffer from weak institutions. Due to the lack of law enforcement capabilities, susceptibility to corruption, porous borders, and their strategic location, countries like Guinea-Bissau, Liberia or Benin remain significant hubs of narcotics trafficking. A crippling lack of resources and capacity remains a hindrance to real progress in combating weapon, drug or human trafficking. Criminals or terrorists can operate in areas of weak governance and are threatening the democratic processes, and the rule of law in the region.

The convergence of trafficking, transnational organized crime and terrorism in the Atlantic space is a direct threat to the prosperity and security of both northern and southern Atlantic countries. If this phenomenon has succeeded to thrive it is principally due to the lack of efficient multilateral governance initiatives between Europe, Africa and the Americas. It is also a question of money. Richer countries in the Atlantic space have a direct interest to free up resources to assist the poorer countries, so they can develop more and better security and monitoring capabilities.

- ***The vulnerability of the critical energy infrastructure jeopardizes regional security***

The Atlantic is undergoing an energy boom that impacts the global energy landscape and a significant contingency of Atlantic nations rely on the trade of hydrocarbons for their economic development. Two Atlantic nations, Venezuela and Canada, currently hold the first and the third largest proven oil reserves in the world with estimates respectively at 297 billion barrels and 167 billion barrels (for Canada, including the sand oil). But other Atlantic nations are rapidly developing and exporting their oil reserves too. In Africa, Nigeria is the continent's biggest oil producer with proven reserves reaching 40 billion barrels, followed by Angola with an estimated oil reserve of 13 billion barrels, and Equatorial Guinea at 1.7 billion barrels of oil. In the Americas, other large oil nations are the U.S. with proven reserves at 30,5 billion barrels, followed by Brazil at 13,3 billion barrels and Mexico at 12,7 billion barrels of oil.

According to the International Monetary Fund's data, in 2013 the hydrocarbon sector represented more than 90% of government revenue and about 98% of export earnings for Equatorial Guinea. In Brazil, oil production has grown at an average rate of 6.9 percent since 2005. The United States now produces more hydrocarbons than any other country in the world, and its lead is increasing. It recently surpassed Saudi Arabia in combined oil and natural gas output and surpassed Russia in natural gas output. In 2015, the U.S. will produce more petroleum than either Saudi Arabia or Russia (Manhattan Institute, 2014).

Moreover, the European push for diversification of its sources of hydrocarbons has driven a surge for oil and gas production in the South Atlantic (Richardson, Guedes, De la Gorce, De Saint Sely, Holtus, 2012). In little less than a decade, from 2006 to 2014, the EU raised its crude oil imports from Africa by a fifth, from 18,02% to 22,97% of total imports, with Atlantic African nations such as Angola and Nigeria benefiting the most. In the same period, the EU nearly doubled its crude oil imports from the Americas, mainly from Columbia and Mexico, from 2,96% to 5,43% of its total imports (European Commission, 2014).

China, also, has developed and maintained a greater presence on both shores of the South Atlantic. Since becoming a net oil importer, the Chinese government and its national oil companies have pursued aggressive endeavours to secure oil supplies from Africa and South America. However, China's pursuit is often orchestrated to promote the country's own developmental interests with little regard for local environmental impacts, revenue transparency, and good governance, effectively raising concerns in Western capitals (Kong, 2011).

As countries in the Americas and across Africa are investing in systematic energy infrastructure development plans, one of the most important issues for governments and oil and gas companies is managing the security, safety and external threats that can affect the infrastructure. Various forms of attacks and attempted attacks against oil and gas installations have become more frequent in the past several years.

The Gulf of Guinea has recorded the most attacks against offshore platforms in the world (Harel, 2012). Attacks on the oil sector have cost billions of dollars in lost revenues, destabilized global energy prices and led to many environmental disasters along the West and Central coast of Africa. According to the UN Assessment Mission on Piracy in the Gulf of Guinea, in 2011 these crimes have caused economic losses of up to 2.0 billion U.S.D, mainly hitting local economies (Richardson, Guedes, De la Gorce, De Saint Sely, Holtus, 2012). Indeed, local violent or extremist groups are the biggest threat for Africa's energy infrastructure. For instance, the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), a militant group that is seeking a greater

share of oil revenue for the region, gained notoriety for attacks on critical installations in the Niger Delta, starting with oil pipelines ashore and later expanding to offshore oil platforms. In 2008, MEND launched a successful attack on the Royal Dutch Shell floating production, storage, and off-loading unit 'Bonga'. The attack had serious implications for Nigeria, the wider Gulf of Guinea, and beyond. Very often, criminal and extremist groups also employ the tactic of kidnapping expatriate oil workers and demand a ransom for their freedom (Kamel-Deena, Navy, 2015).

On the other side of the Atlantic, in Latin-America, the security of critical energy infrastructure also gives reason for concern. In September 2007, EPR, a rebel group in Mexico, took credit for a string of explosions that ripped apart at least six Mexican oil and gas pipelines, rattling financial markets and causing hundreds of millions of dollars in lost production, affecting supplies for the capital Mexico City and nine countries in the region (Hernandez, 2007). Colombia, the fourth-largest producer of oil in Latin America, has recently seen its net-output been reduced due to heavy attacks by insurgent groups. There were 259 attacks on oil installations in 2013, the highest number in a decade. The most recent large-scale attack occurred in July 2014, when FARC rebels attacked Columbia's vital Bicentenario pipeline which transports about 110,000 barrels of oil a day (Reuters, 2014). Even though the FARC is engaged in peace talks with the government, its leader Ivan Marquez most recently on July 8th, 2015, announced his consideration for a unilateral cease-fire, attacks have continued against economic and military targets (Reuters, 2015).

The sabotage or destruction of critical energy infrastructure in the Atlantic poses a threat to four critical security interests: First, to the national security of the target country. Second, to the regional security and stability. Third, to the investment security of multinational oil companies. And fourth, to global energy security. These four aspects are in many ways interlinked. Too often governments leave the securitization of critical energy infrastructure to the involved private investors. There is a disregard for the direct relationship between infrastructure and the country's and the region's economic and human security. International standards, intelligence sharing and financial solidarity mechanisms are limited in this relatively new domain. However, the consequences of not investing in the security of critical energy infrastructure are looming larger and demand greater transnational cooperation within the Atlantic space.

4. A pan-Atlantic approach is lacking

For the last century, the northern transatlantic relationship has been the most important partnership for both Europe and North-America. However, with the emergence of new rising powers in the South, the scope of the transatlantic landscape is shifting. This offers an opportunity for governments around the Atlantic to converge their security interests and establish the common policies, legal tools and institutional structures that will allow them to face the Atlantic's emerging security challenges such as piracy, trafficking, or terrorism.

Indeed, many of the security challenges that have been described in this paper demand a cross-regional or multilateral approach. While many governance initiatives between North and South are already in place, bilaterally or multilaterally, none to date has been sufficiently developed to encourage a systematic and pan-Atlantic dialogue among all the continents surrounding the basin. The next part will analyse whether current policy trends suggest a different future perspective.

1. The Northern Atlantic: Transiting from restricted to wider Atlanticism?

The cooperation and integration of Europe and North America in the Northern Atlantic space is well-advanced across many different domains. But Europe and the United States have a direct interest to assist with their resources, expertise and experience in the securitization of the entire Atlantic Basin. However, cleavages between North and South remain significant. Most Atlantic projects in the field of security and defence are U.S. and European driven, a fact often seen by the South as a traditional North-driven leadership and less about an equal partnership to form an Atlantic space.

Recent fundamentals of U.S. policies in the South Atlantic have traditionally been driven by security and military considerations, less by political or economic interests like in the North Atlantic. Most of the U.S. security policies in the South Atlantic are channelled through the AFRICOM and SOUTHCOM structures. Both military commands are mandated to work on issues ranging from terrorism to organized crime to energy security and geo-political security, and have put in place a wide range of partnerships with the region's multilateral organizations or individual states. These partnerships usually aim at delivering education and training, hosting joint-exercises and at bolstering partners' military, humanitarian and disaster relief capabilities. Examples of such initiatives include the Central American Regional Security Initiative (CARSI), the Caribbean Basin Security Initiative (CBSI), the Colombian Strategic Development Initiative (CSDI), the Africa Partnership Station (APS) or the Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance program (ACOTA).

No substantial linkages are put in place to seek synergy in-between the different projects. There is only little consultation or institutional coordination between AFRICOM and SOUTHCOM structures and the cooperation with non-regional partners, like the EU or the UN, is limited. In sum, to date U.S. policies in the Atlantic are extremely integrated in the North, but in the South they principally aim at tackling narrowly defined security and defence challenges, mostly at the local or regional level. There have been only little political incentives in Washington to pursue a pan-Atlantic or inter-continental approach to tackle the emerging security challenges.

But recent moves by the Obama Administration might suggest a broadening of Washington's vision. A first example was the first U.S.-Africa Leaders' Summit on Aug 2014 which represented an unusual and welcome development for a continent that struggles to make its voice heard inside the Beltway. Included on the agenda for President Obama's day-long session with his African counterparts were discussions on business, economy, security, transnational threats, and governance (Downie, 2014). Another example is the historical meeting at the Summit of the Americas in April 2015 between President Obama and President Castro of Cuba. Mr. Obama move was an important step to ease tensions with Cuba and defuse a generations-old dispute that has also affected relations with the other countries of the region. At the Summit President Obama also said that many disagreements between the U.S. and countries in the Southern hemisphere - on such issues as human rights and democracy - could be best addressed by engaging with each other (Hirschfield, Archibold, 2015).

In this respect, Europe's attempts to pursue pan-Atlantic cooperation on emerging security challenges has traditionally been more comprehensive – especially with regard to cooperation with the South, Perhaps because the continent is home to many countries with a historical, geographic or political Atlantic orientation. Europe bolsters an impressive arsenal of tools to conduct its security dialogue with the South Atlantic which is interlinked with political, economic and trade interests. Regional diplomatic meetings like the EU-Africa Summit and the EU-CELAC Summit (Community of Latin-American and Caribbean States) have forged relationships at the highest levels. These

contacts also resulted in ideas around security cooperation, enshrined in documents such as the Join Africa-EU Strategy, the Joint EU-Caribbean Strategy or the EU-CELAC Coordination and Cooperation Mechanism on Drugs. The EU has also signed 'Strategic Partnerships' with key individual countries, for instance with Brazil, Mexico and South Africa. These partnerships primarily focus around economic interests, but space is usually given to also reflect on shared responsibility in the fields of foreign and security policy.

The EU also funds the implementation of concrete cooperation projects that embrace pan-Atlanticism, mainly through several foreign policy instruments. The most prominent one being the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP), a € 7,05 billion fund, for the period 2014-2020 enabling the EU to take the lead in conflict prevention, peace-building and crisis preparedness. The IcSP sets up long-term assistance programmes with partner nations aimed at countering trans-regional threats and at building up capacity in traditional and new emerging threats such as cyber-crime, illicit trafficking and counter-terrorism. Several of these projects assemble a majority of the governments across the South-Atlantic. One example is the EU's Critical Maritime Routes Program in the Gulf of Guinea (CRIMGO), launched in 2013, which aims at complementing and reinforcing regional or international initiatives against piracy and armed robbery at sea in the Gulf of Guinea. Another example is the EU Cocaine Route Program which seeks to strengthen cooperation in Latin America and the Caribbean to fight against organised crime and money laundering, and seeks to establish gradual links with West Africa. The U.S. is regularly involved in these programs too, through consultation or effective cooperation. A variety of other EU initiatives with a more regional or national character include several military and civilian CSDP missions in Africa, a Multiannual Indicative Programme for Latin America 2014-2020 to reinforce the capacity of states to effectively ensure security conditions conducive for promoting development and good governance, and also the European Development Fund which boosts the EU's cooperation with Caribbean countries in the field of crime prevention and security.

These efforts at EU level add to many other initiatives led by individual member states, with France, the UK, Germany and Portugal playing a front seat role. But these are more narrowly defined than the European Union initiatives, or often pursue bilateral objectives. Member state efforts to bolster security cooperation in the Atlantic often evolve around military interventions, funding, capacity building, training and education and arms trade.

A joint EU-U.S approach for a new form of wider transatlantic security architecture could also include the structures of NATO. However, southern countries show little appetite for a NATO presence in the region. With Columbia as great exception, most countries in South America, including Brazil, see NATO as an instrument of an obsolete Western order, not as an organization respectful of their interests. In Africa similar feelings often prevail. NATO does entertain a close relationship with the African Union, and has helped the AU with planning, strategic air- and sealift capabilities, and with the development of the African Standby Force (ASF) brigades. However, following its Libya campaign in 2011, many African countries have started to seriously question NATO's objectives in Africa, effectively damaging the organization's legitimacy on the continent.

2. The Southern Atlantic: Rising Cradle of Atlanticism, without the North?

The relationship between the United States and Europe continues to dominate a concept of restricted Atlanticism. The integration of the South Atlantic is also more difficult because the region is marked by a higher degree of fragmentation compared to the North. But this does not preclude the appearance of certain security policy

alignments and even institutional arrangements at the regional and sub-regional levels. Collaborative security initiatives that could spur a notion of Atlanticism, are actually increasingly emerging from the South. Rising powers such as Brazil or South Africa see their ever increasing role in Latin America and Africa as a way to gain global influence. While many initiatives among southern countries already exist, none to date has arguably succeeded in creating a comprehensive framework for intergovernmental security cooperation. Often Europe and North-America are also left out of the equation effectively limiting the chances to create a pan-Atlantic space.

The main initiative so far for bridging the gap in the South Atlantic security framework is ZOPACAS. (South Atlantic Peace and Cooperation Zone) which brings African and South American states along the Atlantic coast together. The aim is to create a “zone of peace and cooperation” on explicitly South-South lines. The zone is a product of the Cold War and will be celebrating its 30th anniversary in 2016. In the immediate aftermath of the Cold War, ZOPACAS lost steam. It was only after the turn of the millennium that the organization began to be revitalized — an effort spearheaded by Brazil, whose new national defence policy makes the South Atlantic one of its top priorities. At the sixth and seventh ministerial meetings of ZOPACAS, member states refined a plan of action that boosts cooperation along nuclear non-proliferation, development, and economic relations. The January 2013 Declaration of Montevideo, in particular, underscores not only the common perception of the South Atlantic as a space of opportunity, but also shared views that certain threats, like the spread of illegal trafficking, demand collaborative efforts by states along both the South American and African margins of the South Atlantic.

The capacity of ZOPACAS, to deal with the Atlantic’s emerging security challenges remains largely untested. Coordination among member states is still incipient, and there is wide variability in the capacity and political willingness of those states to make ZOPACAS the focal hub of the South Atlantic. It is also worth noting that none of the Northern Hemisphere states with territories in the South Atlantic – UK, Norway, the Netherlands and France, are members of ZOPACAS, effectively excluding the opportunity for more North-South cooperation (Abdenur, 2014).

Although ZOPACAS may be, in the long term, the most promising institutional hub for fighting emerging security challenges in the (South) Atlantic, many other initiatives exist. However, these are often characterized by low degrees of institutionalization and weak results. One such initiative is the Africa-South America Summit (ASA) which has convened annually since 2010, and has called for more joint security and defence cooperation. The platform brings together heads of state in dialogues designed to boost diplomatic and security cooperation across the South Atlantic, but it has proven to be little more than a high-level talk shop. Moreover, like ZOPACAS it is built on strict South-South cooperation principles, excluding prospects for a pan-Atlantic approach.

A pan-Atlantic dialogue and concrete cooperation between North and South may well be easier to establish through Africa’s and South America’s regional institutions. Organizations like the African Union, ECOWAS or the Organization of American States, are interesting because they serve as fora for political coordination and consultation, and have proven to be able to prevent and solve conflicts in the region. All have also established extra-regional dialogues with the EU, the U.S. or the UN (Serbin, 2014).

Another concrete and perhaps more effective tool to drive pan-Atlantic security cooperation may also be the regular joint-military exercises between countries surrounding the Atlantic Ocean, mostly in the naval domain. The most prominent ones, ATLASUR and UNITAS, are important initiatives to effectively institutionalize security cooperation between the counties of the South Atlantic and beyond. ATLASUR is a

biennial naval exercise between Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and South Africa aimed at improving the interoperability of armed forces and at coordinating maritime interdiction and anti-piracy tactics in the South Atlantic. First held in 1993, the exercise increasingly lays the foundation for a combined maritime doctrine and improves the nations' ability to fight emerging security challenges such as piracy or trafficking. UNITAS aims largely at the same objectives but is more interesting from the perspective of Atlantic integration because it also includes the navies of Northern Atlantic countries, the United States and the United Kingdom respectively, alongside the naval forces of Argentina, Chile, Colombia and Peru. In the long run, these exercises may not only increase interoperability, but also enhance military and diplomatic understanding and cooperation in the Atlantic space.

Finally, one cannot ignore Brazil's growing interest in the South-Atlantic and its efforts to integrate the region by promoting international legal and institutional strategies and rapidly expanding defence co-operation along the perimeter of the South Atlantic. The Brazilian strategy for security in the South Atlantic is certainly innovative because it has a clear trans-regional focus., involving not only South America, where Brazil has a long history of political, economic and military ties, but also West Africa, where its involvement was, until recently, far more episodic. For example, the co-operation that forms part of this strategy suggests Brazil's growing relevance to security in Africa. Nevertheless, Brazil's strategy is also based on very clear South-South lines, and suggests no opportunities for pan-Atlantic approaches involving the countries of the Northern Atlantic. In 2008, when the U.S. announced that it was reactivating its Fourth Fleet (which had been disbanded in 1950) to operate in the Caribbean and the Atlantic, Brazil's minister of defence called the expansion of NATO forces in the South Atlantic 'inappropriate'. The administration of President Dilma Rousseff continues to reject a broader role for the Northern Atlantic countries within the region. In a recent speech at the UN Security Council, for instance, Brazil's former foreign minister Antonio Patriota stated that: *"We are still concerned that NATO may be seeking to establish partnerships outside of its defensive zone, far beyond the North Atlantic, including in regions of peace, democracy, and social inclusion that do not accept the existence within that space of weapons of mass destruction."* (Abdenur, Marcondes de Souza Neto, 2013).

5. Conclusion

The rapidly changing world order leads established and new Atlantic powers such as the EU, the U.S. or Brazil to reevaluate their traditional alliances in order to better address current global realities. In this light, adopting an expanded mind-set of "transatlanticism" that encompasses all four continents surrounding the Atlantic Basin is becoming increasingly useful to understand growing Atlantic interdependencies. Traditional forms of cooperation as well as broad partnerships will become increasingly critical to the future of wider transatlantic relations.

This paper recognizes that the Atlantic space will continue to play a prominent role in the shaping of the world order. Despite a tendency in international affairs to focus on developments in the Pacific Rim, the Atlantic is likely to continue to play a key role in global economic and demographic transitions for the next decades to come. And while the Atlantic space remains a relatively stable geo-political sphere, compared to the Pacific, the prominence of the region in security and military considerations is certainly rising.

In this context, this paper identifies three emerging trends that could jeopardize the future security and prosperity of all the countries surrounding the Atlantic. The threats faced in the Atlantic are unlikely to have a military character, but stem principally from illegal activities. First, the Atlantic's expanding maritime transportation network must be better protected against piracy. Two, the growing convergence between trafficking, organized crime and terrorism in the Atlantic must be tackled. And three, the Atlantic's critical energy infrastructure must be better secured against crime and sabotage. These trends do not exist independently, on the contrary they must be seen as intertwined and reinforce each other.

These three emerging security challenges cannot be solved by one country alone, and will require a transnational and pan-Atlantic response. The countries of the North should continue to assist the countries of the South with their resources, expertise and experience but need to think about a more egalitarian, collaborative and multi-vector dialogue. At the same time, rising powers in the South, like Brazil, should continue their efforts to integrate the South Atlantic but these initiatives will not be able to address the region's emerging security challenges if they keep excluding the North Atlantic from the equation.

In order for governments to rise against the Atlantic's emerging security challenges they will need to talk and work together much more than it is the case today. But the current situation is lacking impetus, and pan-Atlantic convergence is prevented not in the least because of the surprising absence of a cross-regional forum that encourages debate and cooperation between all the countries of the Atlantic Basin – both North and South. A platform urgently needs to be created involving Europe, Africa and the Americas, which would serve as a forum to stimulate and organize a much-needed dialogue on looming challenges and possibilities of cooperation. Admittedly, given the many different economic, social, political, military and cultural interests presiding within the Basin, this seems to be an impossible objective to reach, at least in the short to mid-term. However, without such initiative the Atlantic space is most likely at risk to remain a fragmented security space.

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