

INTRODUCTION

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This monograph is part of the Atlantic Future project, financed by the European Commission's 7th Framework Programme. It is an important part of Atlantic Future, as the monograph provides a synthesis of the project, along with its main results and an update on the research work carried out over the past three years. The monograph, which forms part of the project's outreach goal, is intended to reach an interested public, academics and political and economic decision-makers, who will be able to see the Atlantic Space as a laboratory for globalisation and for the multilateral solutions with which to face the world's new challenges. The Atlantic Future project has made an analysis of the state of affairs in the Atlantic Space in relation to the global space, presenting its evolution and trends in four main areas: the economy and trade flows, energy and natural resources, institutions and citizens, and security. Beginning with this analysis, possible future scenarios have been envisaged with the aim of using this information as the basis for greater knowledge of the Atlantic Space. The objective of Atlantic Future, as set out from the start, has been to study patterns of cooperation in the Atlantic Space and present strategies on how the EU can involve itself in transatlantic relations in the context of the new redistribution of power that is unfolding and the rebalancing of relations around and within the Atlantic Space. An answer was to be provided to the question of what the Atlantic is, through understanding the space itself and its conceptualisation as a space of international relations, comparing it with other oceans and setting it in the context of its own history.

Throughout the project the Atlantic Space has been affected by various events which would have been impossible to predict at the start. Others, such as the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) negotiations, which began in 2013, had been in preparation for years. The negotiations of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) were also already underway at the time, although significant doubts surrounded their conclusion. Nevertheless, in October 2015, the TPP negotiations were concluded while, by contrast, only slow progress was being made on the TTIP. The TTIP is an agreement that fully engages with the concept of the Atlantic Space, although it is limited to the North Atlantic, and, by virtue of being a bilateral agreement between the EU and the United

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States, leaves out all the countries of the South, as well as those, such as Canada and Mexico, which form part of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Not only did the negotiations on the TPP outstrip those on the TTIP in speed of conclusion, but the TPP itself also responds to a different conceptual approach. The process began with the existing Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum and an exclusively Asian group of countries, but in the end it was the United States and Japan – not present at the beginning – who drove the agreement's conclusion. The dynamic in the Atlantic Space is very different. For the moment, no project exists for a North-South agreement of this kind, whether promoted by the EU or the US, or initiated by the South, which for the moment, restricts itself to bilateral initiatives such as that between Mexico and the EU, to the long negotiations between the EU and the Common Market of the South (Mercosur), to the free trade agreement (FTA) between Morocco and the United States and to specific cooperation agreements between Brazil and African countries such as Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.

Among the unexpected events directly connected to the EU and the Atlantic Space was the conflict between Russia and Ukraine. In November 2013, the protests against the Ukrainian Government's decision not to sign the association agreement with the European Union began. The so-called Maidan revolution would lead, in March 2014, to the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation and to the conflict in the east of Ukraine. These events prompted the EU and US to impose sanctions on Russia. What is more, the development of terrorism into territorial control beginning in Iraq and Syria and moving into sub-Saharan areas also affects the countries in the Atlantic Space. Terror in various European countries due to the terrorist attacks in 2015 and those that have taken place in Egypt, Tunisia, Lebanon and Mali affect the Atlantic Space from different security angles. In particular, the attacks in Paris on the 13 November could mark a before and after on the international scene, above all following the activation of article 42.7 of the EU Treaty, referring to the aid and assistance of a member state facing armed aggression, activated for the first time by the EU Foreign Affairs Council. This will affect the Atlantic Space despite the non-invocation of NATO's article 5, wherein an armed attack against one or various signatory states, whether in Europe or North America, shall be considered a direct attack on all. The incident in which Turkey – a NATO member – downed a Russian fighter-bomber in November this year gives us an idea of the proximity, commitment and risks in the Atlantic Space resulting from the conflict in Syria and the terrorist actions of the so-called Islamic State (IS).

In the economic field, many of the opportunities in the Atlantic Space relate to globalisation. The fragmentation of production and global value chains (GVC) occurs, largely, in the north of the Atlantic Space. Nevertheless, the levels reached by GVC in Latin American countries remain below those in Europe and Asia. Of course, Africa as a whole has much less developed global value chains. The incorporation of economies into GVC provides advantages such as technology transfer and stability in manufacturing exports with greater added value. However, to achieve these objectives, transport and logistical infrastructure is required. The technological revolution in transport is the result of the container revolution of the 1970s and the new information and

communication technologies developed at the end of the century. The advances in transport logistics, which are at the root of the fragmentation of production and GVC, are less developed in the southern Atlantic Basin than in the Asia-Pacific area. Despite these differences between the Pacific and Atlantic Basins, Asia and, above all, China is inserting itself into the Atlantic Space to provide itself with energy and food resources from both Africa and South America. Asia is present in the Atlantic, which is another sign of how globalisation affects the space. This is why the Atlantic can and should be a laboratory for globalisation in the relational and institutional field.

A significant factor exerting a negative influence on the economic development of the Atlantic Space relates to security. Guinea-Bissau and Haiti provide examples of the illicit trafficking trap into which fragile states fall. Likewise, terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda and Boko Haram benefit from the impossibility of territorial control by more powerful states such as Algeria and Nigeria and the weakness of states such as Mauritania and Niger. Piracy in coastal waters and ports (as opposed to the Indian Ocean high seas) is spreading and 25% of pirate attacks reported occur in the Gulf of Guinea. The low level of institutional and economic development and insufficient North-South coordination are the limitations faced by the Atlantic Space, despite some South-South initiatives such as the Zone of Peace and Cooperation of the South Atlantic (ZOPACAS), created in 1986 by a Brazilian initiative to promote regional cooperation and maintain peace and security in the region. Energy in the Atlantic Space, in turn, continues to present the duality of providing potential benefits because of its availability as well as real associated risks because of its impact on the environment. The exploitation of shale gas and the availability of oil in America and Africa pose equal risks to the Atlantic environment, regardless of whether energy prices fall and demand rises, or whether prices reach the last decade's levels and the exploitation of the resources is incentivised.

The main challenge in the Atlantic Space that has become clear throughout the investigation is the need to establish overall governance in which the North has no primacy over the South. A large trade and investment area, exceeding that of the TTIP, which could be extended to environmental and security agreements would be a good start. Concluding the TTIP negotiations would be a positive development as would give the agreement greater scope by having other countries sign up to it, as set out in the European Commission's Communication to the European Council and Parliament. The mentioned document, entitled "Trade for all", proposes supplementing FTA with appropriate mechanisms to allow other interested countries to sign up, although the agreement of signatory parties is mandatory. The European Union, which has already used this approach in the Trade in Services Agreement (TiSA) and the agreement with Colombia and Peru in 2012 to which Peru signed up in 2014, should be more proactive in agreements involving South Atlantic countries. In the same document, the European Commission proposes advancing the issue of dispute settlement in a first stage that includes "modern provisions in bilateral agreements, putting stronger emphasis on the right of the state to regulate, something which was not sufficiently highlighted in the past. EU bilateral agreements will begin the transformation of the old investor-state dispute settlement into a public Investment Court System composed of a tribunal of first instance and an

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appeal tribunal operating like traditional courts. The proposal's scope is broad and long-lasting as "the Commission will engage with partners to build consensus for a fully-fledged, permanent International Investment Court", an objective that, if achieved, would have global repercussions.

In conclusion, in analysing the challenges that the Atlantic Space presents, which are set out in this monograph, they are not much different, in general, from those posed to the rest of the world by globalisation. Nevertheless, their specificity in a complex space such as the Atlantic and the multiplicity of actors involved means new solutions must be found that are multilateral in nature and have a vision of the future, for both actors in the North and those in the South.

We would like to thank all the authors for their contributions to this monograph, as well as the thirteen members of the project consortium without whom we would not have been able to reach the culmination of the project.