

Yoroshiku minasan,

I wish to thank you, Adenauer Foundation, my friend Paul Linnarz and his able team, for their friendly invitation and words of introduction. Very clearly, if it was not for the KAS, who would cover this important subject of EU-Japan security cooperation? There is no other non-governmental organization around in town to cover the subject! Thank you Paul for your untiring efforts!

Basically I am very thankful for my ambassador's thoughtful previous speech. Mr Isticcia's speech was the party line to take. I can then take a little bit more liberties to express my own opinions, which is possible since my institutional affiliation has become a bit fuzzy between the EASS and the Quai d'Orsay.

I was tasked to cover "comprehensive security". Basically I hate this subject. I used to write speeches for a previous Commissioner, Ms Ferrero Waldner on the subject of "human security". We covered everything: food security, freedom from crime, from domestic violence, safe roads, a clean environment, no wars, domestic and international peace, all sorts of humanistic activities, pious wishes, more of a prayer meeting, but nothing operational. You could call this blabla bullshit. But what I found was a EU-Japan container safety agreement. Perfect for roll on, roll off, but this is not what you want to hear.

It is now almost 5 years after the Tohoku disaster. Clearly humanitarian aid cooperation has a security dimension. We know this from failures of our earlier responses to the Syrian refugee problem. With Japan this also implies lessons learned. 1995 the Swiss sent rescue dogs to help people trapped in collapsed Kobe buildings. What did Japanese customs do? They put them for three months into quarantine! In 2013 the EU sent air loads of blankets. Well Japan did not need them, and with the help of Keidanren they were put into some empty school building in Ibaraki-ken. When German rescue teams arrived with steel cutting equipment they were politely sent back. Japan could take care of earthquake damages without foreign help. Also when Scandinavians tried to build nice wooden houses for the homeless, they were told that they did not comply with Japanese building standards and that the people should rather stay in miserable container housing (where they still are, if they have not died yet). And when there were donations they were given to rehabilitate the Japanese whaling fleet, surely not what any donor had intended! Thanks to Commissioner Georgieva lessons have been learned and through exchanges of letters and expert meetings with MLIT. In catastrophes there are always emergencies, panic and the need for immediate decisions. Hence it is imperative that connections are well established in advance. Finally this has been done.

Let us discuss soft power. As an old soldier, I hate the concept as well. When I did my military service in Germany back in in 1975 the German Federal Army had 2500 battle tanks and a decent territorial defense doctrine. Now we have barely 250 tanks operational and President Putin seems less than impressed.

But ok, as Stalin used to say "How many divisions has the Pope?" Well, John Paul II and Solidarnosc overthrew a decrepit Communist system. And everywhere in East Germany, Hungary, the Baltics, round tables brought about systemic changes, in which the old rotten communist elites in deals could feel comfortable that their throats would not be cut. This is unfortunately not a scenario possible in North Korea where dissidents are either murdered outright or worked to death in slave labour camps.

But let us think about the hearts and minds of young Chinese. Clearly, unlike many Koreans, they are not taken by the anti-Japanese propaganda. Look at Taiwan. No one there has any anti-Japanese feelings. Japan is perceived as a country which brought the railways, universities, hot springs, a proper administration, sugar and textile mills, as a decent Japanese prefecture at the time.

I am almost inclined to think that winning the hearts and minds of young Chinese is more important than putting new frigates and Aegis destroyers into service, as essential as they are. Of course this means that Japanese institutions must move out of their comfort zones and engage actively in China on a large scale.

I experienced the Balaclan mass murders in Paris perpetrated by Islamist terrorists last November. A few lessons come to mind. First the security controls outside the Stade de France were effective. The terrorists blew themselves up, just killing one innocent person. Second, soft targets like the concert hall and the street café of Petit Cambodge were impossible to protect. Third, the demonstration of military power with soldiers with submachine guns all over the place was quite useless. Fourth, the fact that sloppiness and political correctness allowed Islamist cells to proliferate in places like Moelenbeek in Brussels and St. Denis in Paris was utterly irresponsible, as was the fact, that two of the mass murderers were able to use the Balkan route unchecked from Syria.

Basically the EU and Japan are seen globally as peace loving, harmless and non antagonistic medium powers. The only time we engaged in combat together happened 116 years ago when putting down the Boxer uprising in Beijing. The last time that a Japanese fleet was in European waters was during WWI for patrol duties in the Mediterranean, and the last time a European fleet was in Japanese waters, it was the Royal Navy during the battle of Okinawa, intercepting traffic between Taiwan and Okinawa proper, but doing very little otherwise. Later they snatched back Hong Kong, which the Americans had promised to Chiang Kai Check. Good news for the people of Hong Kong! European ground troops were last engaged during the Korean war in 1950-53 in the Far East. All this is military history by now.

The only country which has stationed troops on both our continents are the US, which kept the peace both in Europe and in East Asia, a fact for which we should remain forever grateful. This is a decisive criterion. EU-Japan security cooperation can hence only be in complementarity to our bilateral security relations with the US. Japan won't come to our rescue if we are attacked, nor will we, if Japan is aggressed. But the US are committed both ways.

Clearly there are constitutional and institutional constraints for bilateral security cooperation. Article 9 and its interpretation are a problem, and so is the EU's need to decide with unanimity with its 28 member states, four of them being neutral and two of them non-aligned.

Bilateral cooperation should not be *l'art pour l'art*, and for the satisfaction of summit communiques, but serve a real purpose with operational results. Strategically it should serve to strengthen the democratic camp, as former PM Taro Aso put it nicely, the "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" (although the term has gone out of fashion by now), deter aggression and stabilize states and regions in risk of failure. Like in nature, a power vacuum attracts evil forces, especially in the Islamic world. Back in 2002 President Prodi announced that through our neighborhood policy the EU would be surrounded by a "ring of friends". This sounds like a sick joke today. Zbig Brezinski already earlier diagnosed an "arc of instability" at our Southern and Eastern borders. He was right. Failed states are

there from Yemen, Libya, Syria, Iraq, Somalia and Afghanistan. Fragile states proliferate. Who can guarantee for Algeria, Tunisia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, the Gulf States or Saudi Arabia? Succession problems for “presidents for life “ are notoriously tricky – and bloody! If I look at the travel advisory of the Quai d’Orsay, everything East of Morocco including Subsaharian Africa, through the Middle East up to Afghanistan and Pakistan is in Red, a few islands like parts of Egypt, Jordan and Ethiopia are still ok. Demographic pressures, lack and very unequal distribution resources, lousy education, and corrupt regimes have destroyed the social fabric. Now we are facing Sunni-Shiite proxy wars which could last some thirty years judging by European experiences....

We have a common neighbor: Russia: aging, in economic trouble (unable to diversify its raw material economy into manufacturing), difficult and aggressive, still hurting from the phantom pains of imperial loss and longing for spheres of influence. During the last ten years we saw the whole range of Russia’s military aggression: two destructive wars in Chechnya, one limited war against Georgia (with the annexation of Abkhazia and South Ossetia), a covert war (leading to the annexation of Crimea), a proxy war in the Donbass, and foreign intervention in Syria in order to secure a naval base in Larnaka. At the same time Russia since 60 years holds the Southern Kurile islands (Hopporyodo) hostage, while Putin had been perfectly happy to give waste tracks of the Ussuri to the Chinese.

On China, the EU is very clear on the freedom of navigation notably in the South China Sea. We insist on peace in the Taiwan straits and on restraints on territorial issues, like on the Senkaku. I think the leadership in Beijing is very alert to international responses to their policies. Playing up the nationalist card in case of domestic difficulties will certainly not go down well in Europe, nor in the rest of the world. The risk is that this could get out of control, and nobody will want this.

The most dangerous place on earth is finally North Korea. The Kim regime sees its nuclear arms no longer as bargaining chips or instruments of blackmail, but as legitimizing his evil rule. If operational his intercontinental missiles could not only hit US mainland, but also Europe. Hence we have a shared security concern.

As you see, our plate of shared security concerns unfortunately is more than full. Already in 2001 the EU-Japan Action Plan foresaw security cooperation. Currently the Strategic Partnership Agreement is in negotiation – in tandem with a Free Trade Agreement, which unfortunately is held up by lots of sectoral misgivings by protectionist minded line ministries.

More positively, where do I see joint fields of operations?

First the EU by now has lots of experience with missions in third countries, starting in Macedonia in 2003, the Congo and EUPOL in Afghanistan. Our flagship operation of cooperation with Japan since 2009 was surely Atalanta at the Horn of Africa; it was so successful that today the largest risk of piracy has now moved to West Africa to the coast of Nigeria. Naval vessels escorted convoys and our patrol aircraft in Djibouti exchanged information freely and informally. Japan has been involved in our West Balkan missions. Not all of our roughly 30 missions are success stories, given little local difficulties from Libya to Somalia. But the EU is ready accept third country participation of like minded partners such as Canada and Switzerland. Two such projects come to mind: EUCAP Sahel Mali which trains the Mali and neighboring military for more professionalism (not just shooting around in Toyota trucks) and for the EU Advisory Mission for Civilian Security Sector reform in the

Ukraine. It would be good to have a framework participation agreement, but ad hoc solutions (like right now with neutral Switzerland) would be fine as well.

Japan, like Korea, is an observer to the OSCE. The OSCE works wonders on the Balkans and the former Soviet space, from election monitoring to watching cease fires. Japan is engaged, but it surely could do more.

The European Defense Agency in Brussels: Europe has a problem with 28 member states doing public procurement for armament purposes individually and according to their bureaucratic standards. Currently we have three wonderful fighter aircraft in the air: the Eurofighter, Rafale and Gripen. One should be enough. Working on standardization, promotion of joint developments, procurement of components and last but not least export promotion this could also be a rich field also for cooperation with Japan, which should not be exclusively linked to US defense industries (which after all charge very heavily).

Our think tank, the EUISS in Paris: an input from a North East Asian perspective by a qualified fellow would surely be welcome anytime.

Finally: sanctions. Clearly a success story also of EU-Japan cooperation. I can witness that thanks to cooperation with Gaimusho this worked well with Iran. UN sanctions on which we jointly cooperate work well now against Al Quaida and ISIS. Towards North Korea the new sanctions will tighten up a lot (closure of branch offices, confiscation of ships, no purchases of rare and precious metals). If China had not irresponsibly sabotaged these sanctions and continued to supply the North with fuel, technology and money the world would now be a safer place!

In sum, where can the EU and Japan work best together? In view of our fundamental complementarity, geographically: where the US does not want to get involved or is clearly unwelcome. Central Asia is a clear example where Chinese and Russians are paranoid about US. "encirclement", as the story about Manas airbase in Kyrgyzstan shows. Both the EU and Japan are seen as neutral. As functional areas the usual subjects are global issues: cyber, outer space, anti-terror, non proliferation.

Yet it is important to start small with concrete results and build up confidence from below.

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