



# FRESH THINKING

N°02/2012 | QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

## Is EU foreign policy destined to fail?

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PROGRESSIVE STUDIES



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**“Study languages including French.** Know how to run a meeting efficiently.” The advice echoed in a beautiful house located on the corner of Park Avenue and East 64th St on Manhattan’s Upper East Side. It was my first major interview. I scribbled down my notes nervously, taking no risks in case my Walkman failed to record the conversation with Sweden’s ambassador to the UN.

I had been invited to a UN conference – in New York City! All I needed to do was pay the airline ticket myself, which was way beyond my meagre student means. But my dad, always creative in a crisis, gave me a present.

It was a shoebox with a hole in it. Out of the hole poked a piece of string. He told me to pull on it. I did, and attached to it were Swedish Krona banknotes. One by one they came out. He wasn’t rich, but he had scratched around and saved up the flight fare for me to make my dream come true.

Inspired by New York, I came up with the idea to interview the UN ambassador for the university’s newspaper. I took his advice to my fellow students very seriously and spent the following year studying in Tours and Montpellier. My humble ambition? Become an EU diplomat and help save the world, of course.

“Just take a bed-sheet or a towel. Make a white band for your wrist!” I’m at a conference with Ecosy, the Young European Socialists, learning that the ambassador had a point about the efficiency of international meetings. We’re committed

Europeans, determined to make poverty history. But the white rubber bands, the symbol of the campaign to eradicate poverty, had not yet arrived. It didn’t matter; we were the youth of Europe and the world was ours for the taking. We could draw a map of a new global order in our sleep and it was a social democratic alternative to the Washington consensus! We were not going to wait.

What happened to the progressive dreams of a united Europe as a powerful player in the new global order? While the EU is preoccupied with its own internal crisis, we use this issue of Fresh Thinking to put a call out to Europe: stop navel gazing. The world changes quickly and the choice is ours. Do we want to be a main player on the global stage? Or are we becoming an old continent with a disintegrating political union, great museums and entertaining football? Personally, I think it’s time for Europe to come together, or the world won’t listen.

The Guardian’s Ian Traynor frames the broad questions for us: does the EU have an idea of its role in the world? Are we finally developing a common foreign policy? He also looks at what the election of a new socialist president in France (hurray!) might imply (p. 8).

Since we like to ask hard questions we meet with Mark Leonard – a big advocate of the EU’s soft power. Would he write a book called *Why Europe Will Run The 21st Century today?* (p. 30). And what about that new European “foreign ministry”? We combine a closer look at the EEAS (p. 26) with a guide to the jungle of EEAS-related acronyms (p. 21). To give you a clear picture of the EU’s foreign policy – photo-stories are a regular feature here in Fresh Thinking – we asked a photographer to tag along with one of the EU’s diplomats embarked on yet another foreign mission (p. 14).

But in a magazine about EU foreign policy, we don’t just want to give the floor to Europeans. We’ve collected voices from Brazil to Burma (p. 32) and beyond. From across the Atlantic we are urged to stick with the US in the new global order (p. 29), from India we are warned that world influence cannot just rely on soft power (p. 32), while Turkey tells us that the “New Ottomans” are turning their heads away from Europe – for them, Beirut is a greater draw than Paris (p. 22).

Personally, I agree with Mark Leonard that the EU has something unique to offer the world and we might very well emerge stronger from the current crisis. A first step would be to mix the wisdom of an ambassador, the creativity of a loving dad, and the burning international ambition of young progressives.

Eric Sundstam  
Editor-in-Chief





Front cover and photo essay by  
**Sebastian Cunitz** | Photographer

Sebastian Cunitz was born in 1983. He is a freelance photographer based in Hannover, Germany. He grew up near Lake Constance close to the Swiss border. He has been studying photojournalism and documentary photography at the University of Applied Sciences in Hannover since 2009 (FH Hannover).

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3,611: the number of staff working for the European External Action Service; that's 1,643 permanently employed people and 1,968 non-permanently employed persons (contract agents, seconded national diplomats, local staff delegations and so on) compared with the 12,000 diplomatic staff of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs (in Paris and overseas).

Source: EEAS

(Read Eric Sundström's guide through the EU's foreign policy jargon on p. 21)



€487.5m: the European

External Action Service's budget for 2012, compared with €12.7bn for all US Department of State appropriations in 2010.

The combined spending of the EU 27 countries for foreign services was €7.5bn.

Sources: EEAS, US Department of State, Hemra/Raines/Whitman: *A Diplomatic Entrepreneur*



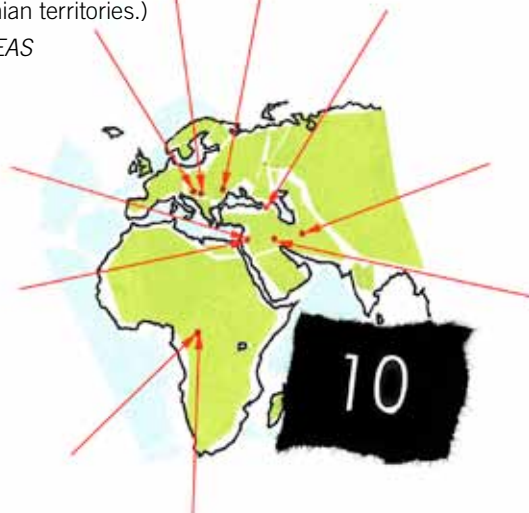
136: the number of EU Delegations representing the EU abroad.

(See *A Day in the Life of an EU Diplomat* in Sebastian Cunitz's photo essay on p. 14)

Source: EEAS

10: the number of EU civilian missions currently being conducted (Moldova/ Ukraine, Georgia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Kosovo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, two in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, two in Palestinian territories.)

Source: EEAS



4: the number of Social Democratic and Socialist Foreign

Ministers in the EU today (from the S&D group). They are Finland's Erkki Tuomioja, Ireland's Eamon Gilmore, Luxembourg's Jean Asselborn and Slovakia's Miroslav Lajcak, a diplomat representing Slovakia's Social Democratic government. And when you read this, there might be five progressive FM's, depending on the results of the French legislative elections ...





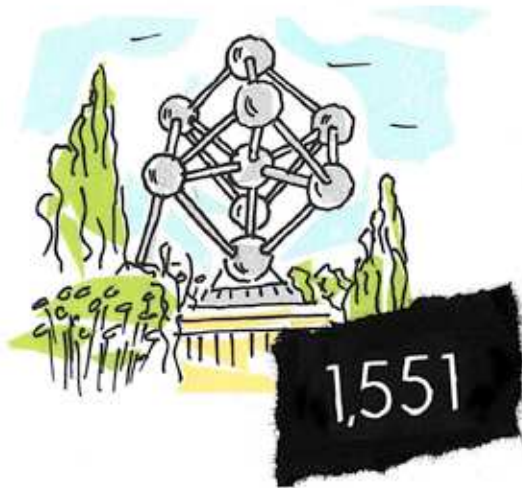
3: the number of EU military missions currently being conducted (two in Somalia, one in Bosnia-Herzegovina)

Source: EEAS

3,956: the total staff of EU civilian missions worldwide (international and local staff).

Source: EEAS

(Read Mark Leonard in conversation with Piotr Buras on the future of the EU's soft power on p. 30)



1,551: the number of people working in the European External Action Service's headquarters in Brussels, compared with 2,060 people working in EU delegations worldwide.

(Read Ian Traynor's analysis of the EU's foreign policy on p. 26)



3,751: the total staff of EU military missions worldwide (international and local staff).

Source: EEAS



1,643: the number of permanent officials that were transferred from the European Council and European Commission to the European External Action Service (EEAS) in December 2011.

(Read Piotr Buras's report on the EEAS on p. 26)

Illustrations by **Regina Berg**

# A hard test for Europe's soft power

The talks with Tehran highlight the nascent power and abilities of Europe's new foreign policy office. But with a financial crisis, competing national interests, and changes of governments and leaders, **Ian Traynor** asks: will the EU ever be able to harness its diplomatic capability?

**It's a curious and unusual fact** about one of the hottest topics in international diplomacy that the western effort to defuse the worsening confrontation over Iran's nuclear ambitions has been placed in the hands of three politicians, all of whom might be termed progressive (social) democrats and all of whom are women.

That the attempt to resolve Tehran's nukes quandary will be led by three progressive females sitting down with a bunch of males from an ostensible Islamic

theocracy and a regime not broadly seen as sympathetic to feminism or women's rights, could at the very least be seen as something of a culture clash.

Culture clash or not, the success or failure of the negotiations to talk the Iranians into renouncing weapons-grade uranium enrichment will go a long way towards making minds up about the viability of European foreign policy. Talks are being led by Catherine Ashton, Europe's first de facto foreign minister, on behalf

of Europe, US, China, and Russia. At her side, handling the fineprint of the negotiations is Helga Schmid, one of the top figures in the new European External Action Service (EEAS). For the US there is State Department number three Wendy Sherman, a veteran on non-proliferation and Democratic Party campaigns. It would be difficult to understate how high the stakes are for this trio of high-powered women.

War or peace in the Middle East, perhaps. An international crisis that would





*Balkan presence: EU-mediated talks between Serbia and Kosovo are now inching forwards, but the Nato force KFOR has been required to keep the peace in the country since 1999.*



*Leadership issues: The EU might agree that isolating President Alexander Lukashenko (centre) in Belarus is a good idea, but it doesn't have much of a policy to tackle President Assad (bottom) and his regime in Syria. The newly formed EEAS is handling negotiations with Iran's President Ahmadinejad (top).*

overshadow the Arab Spring, Iraq and Afghanistan.

The future of European foreign policy, its soft power, in such a potentially inflammatory context might look less important, but it is nevertheless an important component on the diplomatic stage and it is being tested.

On lots of non-contentious issues, there is of course a broad consensus in the EU that approaches a foreign policy. Sanctions on the Burmese junta? Yes. Lifting sanctions on the Burmese junta? OK. Isolating the Lukashenko regime in Belarus? Fine. But where the interests or priorities of the big European nation states differ, concerted European foreign policy becomes a casualty.

Take the war against Libya's Gaddafi. David Cameron and Nicolas Sarkozy were gung-ho, seized the leadership from a reluctant White House and bombed the Libyan rebels into power, although they could not have managed it, of course, without the crucial US contribution.

Germany, meanwhile, the EU's biggest power and swing country, notched up a historical first in the Libya crisis. It went to the UN and voted with Russia and China against the US, Britain and France on Libya. A turning point or a diplomatic debacle unlikely to be repeated?

Besides Libya, there are many other key international issues on which the Europeans are divided, confecting a united policy only on minimalist terms on the basis of the lowest common denominator. This extends to backyard or neighbourhood questions where the overall European interest is strong.

There might be broad common views, but they seem to come with conflict too. In Europe, big countries have foreign policies while the smaller ones tend to have regional policies, with the odd exception of countries such as Sweden with a long pedigree of international activism. Stability in the Balkans? Sure. But five of the EU's 27 countries still refuse to recognise an independent country called Kosovo, complicating efforts to develop consistent policies.

Putin's Russia? Poles and Swedes, due to their geographical closeness and historical experiences, push a hard line. But Germany's extensive business interests and utter dependence on Gazprom and Russian gas supplies mean that attempts to forge a tough European policy are usually diluted.

Syria? Sanctions aside - and financial and trade sanctions have become Europe's default position in dealing with unsavoury regimes - the EU doesn't have much of a policy. But then, who has?

The Arab Spring? Has Europe made a difference? It's hard to see where. The uprisings in the Maghreb and the Middle East meant that the British, the French and the Italians had to perform abrupt U-turns on their cosy relationships with dictators in Libya, Tunisia or Egypt. And the Anglo-French response on Libya, of course, made all the difference in settling the fate of the regime. But the emerging European policy on the Maghreb will essentially be defensive, more concerned

about containing and halting emigration across the Mediterranean.

And now, the election of Francois Hollande in France is being seen by some as a transformational event in European politics. He has been quick off the mark, promptly going to Washington to see Presi-

## Besides Libya, there are other key international issues on which the Europeans are divided.

dent Obama and attending G8 and Nato summits. He has already laid down one marker - to the chagrin of his western allies - announcing that all 3,000 French combat troops in Afghanistan will be withdrawn this year, earlier than the Brits,

Germans or Americans. The best one can say about "European" foreign policy is that it is a work in progress, proceeding in fits and starts, notching up occasional successes and suffering as many setbacks. Then there is the question of a leader's influence. Again, France's new position raises questions. Will Hollande transform European foreign policy, taking Europe in a more "progressive" direction? What effect will his position have in the quest to settle the long-running financial and currency crisis?

It's a truism of international relations that governments come and go but foreign policy pretty much remains the same, that national interests trump ideology. But leaders matter. Sarkozy went to war against Gaddafi's Libya and took France back into Nato's command structures after 30 years of boycott. In the 1990s Tony Blair performed a 180-degree U-turn on the foreign policies of the previous conservative Major government, especially in the Balkans, and in his doctrine of

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*New direction: Will France's new president, Francois Hollande, make EU foreign policy more "progressive"?*

liberal humanitarian interventionism that morphed into "Blair's Wars", in Kosovo, in Africa, in the Middle East.

In comparison, Obama's foreign policy has been about undoing the damage of the Bush administration, in Iraq, in Afghanistan, in relations with the Islamic world.

The frustrations of Europe's dissonance on foreign policy are familiar and formidable since it is usually difficult, sometimes impossible, to distil the competing views and interests of disparate players into not a single, but a common, position: more the UN than a traditional foreign ministry.

There have been some recent gains though. Behind the scenes the EU has been instrumental in encouraging the breakthrough in Burma, not least because of the senior EU diplomat and strategic thinker, Robert Cooper, who is a long-standing personal friend of Aung San Suu Kyi. The Iranian negotiations are a further plus. EU-mediated talks between Serbia and Kosovo are inching forward. But half-way through Ashton's likely five years as the EU's first foreign minister, the sniping, backbiting and ridicule of the British peer is unrelenting. She finds much of the criticism personally hurtful and sexist as it has

frequently focused on her appearance, her lifestyle and her (extremely high) salary. Perhaps because of those and other criticisms, Ashton keeps a low public profile in Brussels, rarely giving interviews.

Getting the EEAS established was a major if gruelling achievement for Ashton,

## **Hollande has been quick off the mark, promptly going to Washington to see President Obama and attending G8 and Nato summits.**

probably the biggest single thing she has accomplished. The turf wars in Brussels were intense. The European parliament was determined to have as much say as possible over the new service. The external relations department of the European Commission, which controls so much of the EU funds spent abroad,

has traditionally practised not so much a foreign policy as an aid and development policy. It was, and remains, fixated on retaining as much power as possible.

Additionally, national governments were wary of allowing Ashton to hijack their foreign ministries. And Herman Van Rompuy, who chairs EU summits, was appointed to his post of president of the European Council at the same time as Ashton and sees the EEAS more as an instrument for implementing the policies decided by leaders at the meetings he organises.

The battles have been for assets, resources, office space, budgets. It has been unremitting and wearying, but Ashton's staff say things are now settling down and believe the second half of her five-year term will bring more effective policy-making. If many of these problems appear petty and bureaucratic, they are also structural, part of the fallout from the Lisbon Treaty that created Ashton's post and service. Some of the biggest losers in the Lisbon regime are Europe's foreign ministers, ejected from almost all EU summits. Van Rompuy, moreover, even though he has his hands full with the financial



crisis and the euro's travails, is also seeking to make the European Council, made up of heads of government and state, the decisive foreign policy forum, with Ashton playing second fiddle. In national regimes, too, in recent years, the "presidentialisation" of politics has sidelined traditional foreign ministers and ministries. Does Guido Westerwelle decide German foreign policy? Did Bernard Kouchner under Sarkozy? Was Tony Blair's doctrine of liberal interventionism abroad a product of the Foreign Office? Given these constraints, Ashton sets great store by building close personal relationships with key individuals. Hillary Clinton, for example, or her main Chinese interlocutor. Slowly, the approach may be paying off. But Europe seems condemned to be forever on the back foot in trying to fashion common policies towards the big and emerging global powers, from the US and Russia to China, India, or Turkey.

Ashton is a prisoner of the big member states, manoeuvring in the art of the possible. The Russians or the Chinese, say



*Putin power: Because of its internal competing interests, the EU's attempts to form tough policy on Russia are often diluted.*

expert observers, don't really need to play divide and rule with Europe because the divisions are already there.

Ashton can only be as effective as the bigger EU member states want or allow her to be. Take information and intelligence,

the lifeblood of any diplomatic service. There is plenty of information and intelligence-sharing among the member states, but it tends to be between governments, by-passing Brussels. It is thought that the only national diplomatic traffic made

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available to Ashton is the UK's, reflecting the fundamental fact that in the end Ashton is also the British commissioner in Brussels.

And underpinning everything is Europe's existential crisis – the euro, the debt and deficits, the fights over fiscal union, the paradox of a union struggling to make a leap forward while being rent between opposing forces. Without a successful resolution of the financial crisis, it's difficult to see the European elites, either in Brussels or in the national capitals, forging an effective, coherent foreign policy. Successful foreign policy is usually a reflection of an international actor's power, confidence and dynamism. Ashton has been unfortunate in taking her position at a time of European doubt, crisis and weakness. But despite the uncertain future and current experiments, the EU has been steadily building itself and learning a new diplomatic language. Its most successful foreign policy – "enlargement"



*Libyan girls wave their new flag: France and the UK were gung-ho about bombing the rebels into power.*

– has not involved conventional diplomacy at all. Over the past few decades it has moved from a community of six, to 12, to 15, to 25, to 27 countries – and next year to 28 with Croatia. That has been a bureaucratic exercise in soft power. The aim now, under the new European

diplomatic service, will be to ally that with more traditional hard power, a more muscular projection of European interests in the world. It will take a while. ■

*Ian Traynor is Europe Editor of The Guardian, based in Brussels.*

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# Find your way through the EU foreign policy's acronym jungle

Understanding the EU's foreign policy isn't easy and getting a grip on the jargon is almost as hard. Don't panic. Fresh Thinking's editor-in-chief **Eric Sundström** has put together a pocket guide to help you find your way through the complicated language in Brussels' corridors of power.

## EEAS

Shorthand for the EU's fledgling foreign ministry – the European External Action Service – tasked with coordinating EU policy in Brussels and linking up with EU delegations across the world. The acronym illustrates a fundamental dilemma: first member states decide to set up a foreign ministry to increase global impact, then – fearing that an EU-level foreign ministry might make national foreign ministries redundant – they agree to undermine the new entity by giving it a name suitable for a postal service.

## HRVP

The title of the person leading the EEAS – currently the UK and Labour's Catherine Ashton. The first two letters stand for High Representative. In that capacity Lady Ashton is supposed to represent the 27 member states in matters of traditional foreign policy. The last two letters signify that she is also Vice President of the European Commission, and in that role responsible for coordination of Commission activities in areas such as enlargement, aid, and neighbourhood policy. Difficult job, and a title that's almost impossible to say in one breath.

## FAC

Best not read out loud. It stands for the Foreign Affairs Council. It's where EU foreign ministers meet every month

to coordinate policy, make decisions and gossip. The latter comes naturally; the other two are normally prepared in Coreper (French acronym for the Committee of Permanent Representatives) or the PSC (Political and Security Committee). In addition, there are dozens of working groups specialised in various areas of foreign policy. They all have their own acronym, of course.

## CFSP

An absolute must-know abbreviation for EU foreign policy making. Remember it? Common Foreign and Security Policy: the traditional foreign policy measures upon which the 27 member states agree. Does not include trade and aid – which is dealt with by the Commission. But when the EU negotiates peace in Balkans, when it criticizes human rights abuses in China and when it imposes sanctions on Iran or Syria – then it is practicing CFSP.

## CSDP

A branch of the above. C still stands for Common and P for policy. S changed its place but not its meaning – and D stands for Defence. This is what the EU does when it sends military and police missions abroad, which it actually has done quite frequently over the past decade. But the CSDP remains a hot political potato and can only work if member states are ready to deploy soldiers, constables and carabinieri abroad.

## ENL

Simply means “enlargement” and it is by far the most successful aspect of EU foreign policy. For various reasons, some member states have taken a dislike to it. Sure, there will soon be 28 of us when Croatia joins, but the more distant future (read: Turkey) is still unwritten.

## ENP

European Neighbourhood Policy is the framework through which the EU engages the former Soviet republics west of Moscow and in the Caucasus, as well as the countries in Northern Africa and the Middle East. The trick is to copy the enlargement logic without offering membership. Mixed results.

## ESS

The European Security Strategy is the most advanced expression so far of what the EU actually wants to do in the world. Almost ten years since it was agreed – it might now be time for a new version.

## ROTW

The Rest of the World. A place where most of the global developments take place and where people tend to take Europe seriously only when it can get its act together through a coordinated policy – and without getting lost in the acronym jungle...



# ‘A day in the life of an EU special representative on a mission’

Bernardino Leon has been the EU special representative for the southern Mediterranean region since 18 July 2011. Travelling to northern African countries, it is his duty to advocate and strengthen communication and cooperation between the EU and the countries that are developing new governments after the Arab Spring. Fresh Thinking had the chance to accompany Bernardino Leon’s delegation’s visit to Cairo, Egypt.

His plane lands in the middle of the night, but his day always starts early. Every morning he trains for the marathon that he will run in his home country, Spain. It’s not just about the competition, says Leon, the workout also gives him the strength to keep calm during important discussions, which are the main part of his job. After following him for a day it is striking how he keeps his concentration during his many appointments with high-level representatives. He always tries to create a friendly atmosphere, whether he is talking to Hassan Malek, the executive of the Muslim Brotherhood, or the Grand Imam. The EU’s special representative stays focused and receptive while keeping to a daily schedule packed with meetings. Late in the evening his plane takes off and he flies to another country, another hotel, another mission.

Photographs by **Sebastian Cunitz**





















# The New Ottomans and the dark cloud of Europe

Where once Turkey looked to the west, longing to join the European club, it is now turning its gaze to the east. **Ece Temelkuran** charts the change in mood of a country gaining a new sense of self-worth by rejecting the EU and embracing the Middle East

**Seven years ago in a private kindergarten in Istanbul**, I asked the children a question: What is the European Union? They answered with a huge amount of imitated adult appropriateness, mostly reflecting the emotions they had picked up from family conversations on the subject. They spoke with mixed facial expressions of awe – almost as if they

**The new Turkey is the fit,  
athletic man of the Middle East,  
well equipped to lead the region as the  
“model country” for the Arab world**

were talking about the Wizard of Oz – about a scary but wondrous creature called the European (wow!) Union (wow!).

At that time, I wrote an article in *Le Monde Diplomatique*. The headline was “The dark, grey cloud of Europe” and it was mostly about the general psyche of Turkey – caught between a proud feeling of superiority due to its Ottoman heritage on one side, and a sense of inferiority for begging for EU membership on the other. The dark, grey cloud has always been an intimidating, troubling issue for ordinary Turkish people. But today it seems as if the Turkish sky is suspiciously clear, not a cloud in sight. It is time to admit that the “New Ottomans” have cleared the Turkish sky of grey for good.

## **The Turkish big fish**

Egemen Bagis, the minister responsible for EU-Turkey relations, is one of the most skilful international spin doctors of the governing AKP party. He is a phenomenal figure in Turkish politics and one of the most popular personalities on Twitter, according to



a survey done by PR firm Burson-Marsteller. Even though his area of interest is European countries, he tweets in Turkish. In one particularly memorable tweet he said, “The European Union should know that the fish you miss is always the bigger one.” It’s a Turkish expression and one that is hard to translate. It implies that Europe will regret that it missed the chance of having Turkey as a member. His “we don’t need you, but you need us” attitude wasn’t only apparent in tweets. He let it out in several interviews he gave to international news outlets. Needless to say, his attitude was sometimes welcomed by the TV hosts, and sometimes it was met with implicit smiles, even with giggling innuendos.

## **Turkish people now have a tendency to embrace the good old lands of the Ottoman empire**

Let’s be clear. When it comes to his we-set-the-rules-now-not-the-EU approach, Egemen Bagis is not acting alone. Turkey’s prime minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, referring to the European economic crisis, emphasised several times that Europe should learn from prosperous Turkey, not the other way around.

Since all these statements and tweets were almost always in Turkish, it is hard to say if they had any effect on EU-Turkey relations. But it is fair to assume that they have influenced the already mixed emotions that Turkish people have about the EU. Since the AKP government tailored its new foreign policy vision for Turkey, putting an emphasis on the Middle East, Turkish people now have a tendency to embrace the good old lands of the Ottoman empire, rather than facing rejection once again by the arrogant Lady Europe who has, for many years now, humiliated the proud Mr Turkey.

Those tweets and statements in Turkish, I assume, have been particularly focused on that angry young man, whose accumulated rage against Lady Europe was on the verge of exploding. The new Turkey is the fit, athletic man of the Middle East, well equipped to lead the region as the “model country” for the Arab world.

This new policy, for obvious reasons, seems to indulge the ego of the country and it banishes the big, grey clouds from the sky. It is not hard to imagine what the children in the same middle-class kindergarten would say about the EU today. Their parents now have their sights on completely different horizons and are travelling to them as well.

### **The Middle East is the new Europe**

“Welcome to Rafik Hariri Airport. We are honoured to...”

The announcement was interrupted by exaggerated laughter from the Turkish people chain smoking by the dustbin at Gate 11, the one where planes depart for Istanbul. They were smoking just because they can – not like those European airports. They kept on smoking simply because – how shall I put it? – they were the New Ottomans!

I know these people. I know them from the flights to Rome, to Paris or London. There is something different, almost strange about them. I’ve seen their anxiety when speaking to a British or French flight attendant – simply out of fear of pronouncing something wrong. Or their close attention to the wine list. God forbid they should choose the wrong wine, which could lead to them being ousted from civilisation! Western civilisation, of course. Obviously at Lebanon’s Hariri airport



they are off the map. This is the map of a virtual inferiority that they suffered from for generations. Now they are ready to discover uncharted soil: The vast land of their imagination that is commonly known as “the Middle East”.

### Map of our hearts

All these people, my generation and the preceding two generations, have been processed through the same primary school education. Our classrooms wore uniforms. Just like we did. There was the Ataturk portrait, of course. Starting at kindergarten you would see his iconic face so often that it became something different from a man’s face – more like some sort of divine creature. Like Jesus or Mary, sexless, stripped of its human aspect.

Below or near Ataturk’s photo, there was always a map of Turkey. This map which we saw throughout high school education more or less depicted the ideological and psychological relevance of Turkey with regard to the rest of the world. Looking back, you can tell that this map has shaped our imagination and approach. In the middle of the map Turkey sat as the furthest entity one can imagine, lonely in its “geo-strategical situation” and, of course, “surrounded by enemies”, as we were taught. There was Europe on top, just a little bit of it. But even that bit was extremely colourful and inviting – lively with

## Turkey’s prime minister, referring to the economic crisis, emphasised several times that Europe should learn from prosperous Turkey, not the other way around

running rivers, filled with cities. On the right hand side, below Turkey, there was a vast yellow land. You could hardly pick out the name of any other city besides the capitals: Tehran, Baghdad, Damascus and then ... nothing else.

The map was telling us in the loudest voice possible to look to Europe and overlook the other side where there is actually nothing but dust, desert, camels and backward Arabs with their funny white outfits. So now those who once tried very hard to see themselves as part of Europe and who made a huge effort to be an official member of the club, were at Hariri Airport, smoking in comfort and joy.

Once upon a time those consumed by an imagined inferiority on those European flights are now enjoying their imagined superiority, smoking at an airport gate. Probably, too, getting ready to Facebook their experience: “Beirut is much better than Paris”. Children, as we all know, are wide open receptors. It is not hard to predict that they will be repeating the same lines to a journalist asking them what the EU means to them in the near future. As Turkey’s perception of itself and its hinterland changes dramatically, it is possible that now – should a journalist ask them about the EU – those same children might answer proudly: “It was a dark, grey cloud. But it is long gone.” ■

*Ece Temelkuran is a Turkish journalist and political commentator who has contributed to Le Monde Diplomatique as well as The Guardian. She is based in Istanbul.*



# Why the US and Europe have a duty to unite

While Asia rises in its global influence, Europe and the US can work together to shape the future and ensure their shared values have a voice, says **Nina Hachigian**.



**I am writing this essay as the drama** of Chen Guangcheng unfolds across Twitter and the front pages of the world. A blind lawyer for the poor makes a dramatic escape to Beijing and hides out in the US embassy just as several American cabinet secretaries are on their way to that city for the major US-China bilateral meeting of the year. A deal is reached to help Chen, but it then unravels. Another deal follows. He is now in the US, but we do not yet know how this story will end.

This tale makes me think that for all Europe's problems, it remains as important as ever to the US and to the world. As a watcher of the US-China relationship, I am always struck when I travel to Europe about how much Americans and Europeans do not have to say to one another – how very deep our common ground is. A case like Chen's could never divide us.

As the US "rebalances" toward Asia, and away from the long, costly wars in the Middle East, Europe's importance

grows, not diminishes. Many in Europe seem to fear the possibility that the US is disengaging from Europe. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The US is welcoming Europe as a critical partner that no longer needs America's protection from nazism or communism, a partner that can forcefully express itself on the world stage in defence of the values its governments hold dear. Even as Europe experiences difficulties with austerity budgets and economic uncertainty, it must continue to stand up for its values.

We have entered a time that will test the international system that the US and Europe created. How will the rise of China and India, also Brazil and South Africa and others, shape the system?

So far China has been integrating itself in the system, not seeking to destroy it. At the UN, the IMF, G20 and elsewhere, it has played an increasingly large role. But Beijing is certainly seeking to shape the system to its own liking. So what will happen to the values that are now embedded in the system, such as transparency and respect for individual rights?

There is a debate in the US about what the final outcome will be. Some say that the values of the system may endure even as other nations, who were not architects of the system, gain power within it. Others suggest that as soon as the power balance shifts, the values of the system will shift as well.

We do not know what will happen. But we do know that Europe's vitality and its willingness to continue to strengthen, improve and reform the system, and fight for the values that underpin it, even as its relative power in these institutions declines, is vital for its future.

Europe also helps to answer the important question we are all asking: what kind of a world do we want to live in? A world where citizens have rights, where playgrounds are plentiful, where ordinary food is delicious, where the middle class thrives and where we preserve our environment by using fewer fossil fuels.

As countries like China, Brazil and India become greater participants in the global economy and in the international political scene, the US and Europe – as the world's democratic pillars – have a duty. We must partner together to integrate these rising powers in a way that ensures people everywhere will have the opportunities to feed their children, get a good education, express themselves freely, earn a respectable living and enjoy a habitable planet.

I hope that Europe and the US can put themselves on a path of growth again and together continue their work to make the world a better place. ■

*Nina Hachigian is a senior fellow at the Center for American Progress. She lives in Los Angeles and is the co-author of *The Next American Century: How the US Can Thrive as Other Powers Rise*.*



*José Manuel Barroso (left), president of the European Commission and formerly head of the representatives of EU foreign policy, before the creation of the EEAS and the appointment of its head, Catherine Ashton (right).*

# The not quite united state of Europe

It is a year and half since the European External Action Service was established. Its aim was to develop a coherent diplomatic voice as the EU's foreign ministry. But already the initiative has experienced conflicts of interest and exposed a choice that member states must face. Piotr Buras reports.

**2011 was set to be a crucial year** for EU foreign policy. When the European External Action Service (EEAS) began work on 1 December 2010, it opened a new chapter which only a few determined optimists ever thought would become a reality. The new EU foreign ministry, which until then didn't even have its own phone number, was now supposed to provide what the would-be world power had so far lacked: coherence, strategy and coordination. With a considerable budget of €500 million, a troop of diplomats from Brussels institutions and member states, and leadership from Catherine Ashton, the EU high representative for foreign and security policy, hopes were riding high on the Lisbon treaty's diplomatic wonder weapon.

As it turned out 2011 was indeed a crucial year for EU diplomacy – but not for

the reasons expected. Today, there is talk about re-nationalising foreign policy back to the member states, and the respectable European Council on Foreign Relations drew a harsh assessment in its recently published European Foreign Policy Scorecard: “The continent seemed to be losing its agency: where it once was seen as a critical part of the solution to international problems, it has now become a problem to be dealt with by others”.

The crisis in Libya saw Europe's great powers going in different directions. Financial hardship was responsible for shrinking the defence budgets even further. And Turkey, a strategically important state, is increasingly turning away from Europe. No sign of a new era. The main question posed now is whether the historic breakthrough of 2011 initiates a showdown of

foreign policy or a slow but steady recovery for the troubled continent. The new

**There are different institutional cultures [in Europe], different objectives and procedures, which are very hard to unite**

EEAS couldn't prevent Europe's decline as an international creative power. But the road to having the ability to implement EU



foreign policy can't do without this service either.

While EU foreign politicians long for a "strategic Europe" (according to Nicole Gnesotto, the former director of the European Institute for Strategic Studies in Paris, in her new book *L'Europe a-t-elle un avenir stratégique?*), a quick glance at efforts made at that level is sobering.

Anyone expecting that a foreign policy could come from one mould through the EEAS completely misses the prosaic reality that institutional reform cannot replace joint policy by member states. "The EEAS is being criticised for a lack of initiatives. But it is the EU member states who often prevent ambitious projects, or can't agree on a shared line," says Maciej Popowski, deputy secretary-general of the EEAS who works closely with Catherine Ashton. An example from the Libya crisis illustrates his point. To polish up the EU's bad image, having remained divided on the question

stabilisation mission (EUFOR) in Libya was developed. The EEAS composed the draft mandate. However, because of pressure from some EU member states, who highly value a UN mandate, it was drafted

## The structure of the EEAS has some rather Kafkaesque characteristics and it is difficult – even for insiders – to make sense of it

in such a way that an EU operation could only come into effect after being clearly requested by the UN. Moreover, everyone

operation would not be expected to happen for procedural reasons. Around 100 staff were stationed at the headquarters in Rome to plan the operation but after just three months they all went home. When dealing with the monitoring of the weapons embargo against Libya, EU member states trusted Nato with the task rather than use EU resources.

How illusory the hope was for a common EU voice became evident – even to non-insiders – in the absurd dispute over whether Lady Ashton, the high representative, could actually assume the position "in the name of the EU" in international organisations. After long negotiations, and after pressure from London, it was agreed to use the term "in the name of the EU and EU member states".

Allegedly, this is how national sovereignty is better protected. "Great Britain has – thanks to Lady Ashton, her adviser and a great number of diplomats in key



**solidar**

SOLIDAR is a European network of NGOs working to advance social justice in Europe and worldwide. Read "Through the Eyes of Migrants" case studies on [www.solidar.org](http://www.solidar.org)

EEAS. But it does everything to limit its influence,” says a German diplomat.

However, the claim that Lady Ashton follows London’s lead can be put into perspective. When the British vehemently protested against Poland’s proposal of a military EU headquarters, she was not impressed and supported the initiative. But it speaks volumes that British resistance to the project and France’s disinterest won in the end. A conflict of interests which involves all the powerful member states as well as European institutions, and specifically the European Commission, surrounds the EEAS’s first steps. There is a flaw in the construction of the EEAS in that it is linked to the Commission in such a way that conflicts are almost impossible to avoid.

The EEAS structure has some rather Kafkaesque characteristics and it is difficult – even for insiders – to make sense of it. In fact, most staff of the EU delegations, which previously called themselves representatives of the European Commission, are still subject to the Barroso authority despite the fact that their boss (the head of delegation) answers to the EEAS. The Commission staff also have the most money at their disposal and keep their authority concerned with policies that also have a foreign-political aspect (such as energy and trade). The EEAS diplomats who are primarily concerned

with foreign-political, strategic questions are just a small minority in the delegations.

“A thorough analysis of the political implications in sensitive areas and strategic planning cannot take place with such personnel capacities. The greatest amount of energy will be spent on the administration of EU projects and not on typical foreign policy,” says an EEAS diplomat who works for the EU in an important neighbouring state. His colleagues also reveal a lot about the disputes over competence. An important agreement in the area of justice and home affairs was signed by the Commission without informing EEAS diplomats in the member state in question in advance.

Development aid – in which the EEAS leads, but where the EC takes responsibility for implementation and funding – also creates tensions between the institutions. “There are different institutional cultures, different objectives and procedures, which are very hard to unite,” says one diplomat. It is no less important that the Commission maintains its influence in global questions such as climate policy and international trade, and that it protects them with a “cordon sanitaire” and a good dose of self-confidence.

But can an EU foreign policy, which has nothing to do with these areas, really come from one mould? “Everyone knows that the EEAS needs to improve, but no



*Maciej Popowski, deputy to Catherine Ashton, head of the EEAS.*

one knows how,” says the German diplomat. The national self-interests of the member states limit its political room for manoeuvre as do overlapping responsibilities with the Commission.

But this room for manoeuvre could be expanded by some courageous diplomatic initiatives from Catherine Ashton, even against the will of the member states. Instead, she is more and more in the spotlight for undiplomatic remarks and delayed reactions. Popowski responds to that criticism.

“Lady Ashton has persistently and successfully promoted a resumption of negotiations with Iran,” he says. “She has also supported the dialogue between Serbia and Kosovo with specific results.” It is also undisputed that the EU delegations have taken over coordinating the national embassies in foreign countries.

The new authority has achieved mixed results in its first year and a half, and that is unlikely to change in the short term. Anyone criticising the EEAS for its lack of self-confidence must first ask themselves how much freedom do they really want EU diplomacy to have – and if they are prepared to lose national sovereignty in that exchange. ■

*Piotr Buras is a contributing editor for Fresh Thinking and journalist for Gazeta Wyborcza*

*The EEAS drafted a mandate for an EU mission in Libya, but it never took place.*



# What the EU needs now is an army

Like Europe, India is a union of multi-lingual, multi-ethnic states and it could share some key diplomatic concerns with an EU that is able to focus its foreign policy, argues **Manoj Joshi**.



**There is something strangely familiar** about India and the European Union. India started out as a union of multi-lingual, multi-ethnic states, whereas the EU is trying to construct a union or a federation from a collection of nation states. Despite this, there are not too many political lessons that the two can teach each other, because our historical experiences are quite diverse. But both the EU and India confront a world that is witnessing great changes today. First, power is shifting from the Atlantic to the Asia-Pacific region. Second, with the rise of social media and non-state actors – both benign, such as the UN and NGOs, and malign such as terrorists – power is becoming increasingly diffused. This is not an easy moment to comment on the future of the EU. It is no secret that the so-called Eurozone debt crisis continues to grip Europe. Great and fundamental issues are currently being debated. The outcome of those debates could either see the acceleration of the EU to a single political-economic entity – or fatally affect it. It is a fact that India has excellent bilateral relations with a host of EU nations. But its policy towards the EU itself

is somewhat difficult to pin down. That is as much a function of the EU's own existential issues, as the inability of Indian policymakers to grasp the EU idea. Yet the fact that nearly a dozen incumbents have been defeated in elections in the EU area in recent times suggests that there is a European political identity; only it is different from those in other multi-national states. European notions on political economy are close to that of India. This country too believes that there cannot be any unbridled market capitalism and that government intervention is an important means of delivering goods and services to those who are poor and indigent. But there are larger issues that concern India and Europe such as climate change, the future of the world economy, energy and food security and so on. In many of these areas there is a commonality of interests between India and Europe. There are also common security concerns arising out of proliferation of nuclear weapons, WMD-technologies and terrorism.

This is where the disconnection between articulating a foreign policy and practising it comes in. With its decision to steadily reduce its defence profile within Nato, Europe is opting out of large and important areas of our concern.

Many European countries cannot countenance the idea of their personnel being involved in shooting wars. It is true that the Europeans were able to act in a united manner in the case of Libya. But even there, the key role was played by the US. But, given the steady drawdown of European defence budgets, the future will be bleaker. Yet there are challenges such as terrorism that even

the Europeans cannot ignore because many of their countries have home-grown linkages. Given India's interest in fighting terrorism, and the fact that the terrorists who strike India, and those who would threaten Europe, come from roughly the same pool, there is scope for serious and sustained security cooperation. Many of these trends, as well as the current Eurozone crisis, could actually encourage the emergence of a true European identity. On the other hand, it could also lead to a reversion to the past and a breakup of the EU as it exists today. That would be a pity. A great deal has been invested in the European Union idea and it has shown itself to be a great economic and cultural powerhouse of the world. It has not had the opportunity, as yet, to show its political side because it has been engulfed in an existential crisis that it needs to resolve.

But if Europe moves to that political identity, it cannot shun the traditional attribute of a nation state: military power. Soft power and culture are important, but in today and tomorrow's world, security continues to underline the role of the state. Whether the EU dares to use its union as a foundation for a military strength that could complement the US and Nato is another important matter that seems to be on hold while the Eurozone crisis takes all the attention. However, it will be of utmost importance as the EU finds its role in the new global order. ■

*Manoj Joshi is the comment editor for India's Mail Today. He lives in New Delhi and keeps a blog at [mjoshi.blogspot.com](http://mjoshi.blogspot.com).*





## Mark Leonard

Mark Leonard, born in 1974, is co-founder and director the European Council on Foreign Relations thinktank. Before that he was the director of foreign policy at the Centre for European Reform and director of the Foreign Policy Centre, a thinktank he founded at the age of 24 under the patronage of Tony Blair. In 2005 he published his book *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century*, three years later he wrote *What Does China Think?*

# The potential power of the union

Europe is in the middle of a crisis and how it emerges from it will define what influence it will have in the world. Piotr Buras talks to the writer and political thinker Mark Leonard about his vision and hopes for the EU, which could be a leading light of international diplomacy in the 21st century.

**It isn't easy** to get to London's Old Queen Street on a typical British afternoon. Swarms of tourists flock in front of Westminster Abbey blocking the way and making the short walk from the Houses of Parliament to the European Council on Foreign Relations (ECFR) a demanding one. Mark Leonard's office, where he and his staff work on aspects of European foreign policy, is bright and open. His role of executive director means he is often away from his desk. He has just returned from a tour of European capitals and talks to *Fresh Thinking* about his bestselling 2005 book, *Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century* and what has happened to his forecast for Europe.

**Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century ends with your prediction that a "New European Century" will emerge, because "the European way of doing things will have become the world's". Now Europe's appeal seems to have faded away. The euro is on the verge of collapse and the social situation in some countries is precarious. Has your vision simply been a dream?**

*Europe is in the middle of an existential crisis and the EU which comes out of*

*that will be totally different. It is possible that it will disintegrate along with the euro, but it is equally possible that we will have a strengthened EU after the crisis. What I meant in my book was that the EU's importance goes far beyond the performance of the European nations and economies. The significance of the EU is about how political power is organised. The EU's structure allows it to tackle global issues such as climate change or migration, but at the same time political decisions are taken closer to the people through national governments. Europeans completely revolutionised the understanding of security: we think about it not as defence from interference but as legal interdependence. I argued in the book that this model would become the world's in four ways: through the enlargement of the EU; through the dependence of 18 countries on the EU in terms of trade and investment; because of the creation of global institutions which embodied the European way of doing things; and lastly because of the regional integration in the world. The most likely outcome for the 21st century was neither a US hegemonic world, nor a global governance system led by the UN. Rather a*

*world of integrated, overlapping regions that muddle along together.*

**In such a world, Europe would transform other regions by its own successful example. You call it "transformative power". Does this template still work?**

*We have just had the wave of uprisings in the Arab world. Of course, the EU was not the driving force. But these countries made a step towards the European way of doing things – this is what counts. So, on this dimension the jury is out. There are positive things – and flaws, such as Ukraine which suffered a setback in terms of democracy. Regarding the role of global institutions, there has obviously been a big backlash against international cooperation. Just look at Doha or Copenhagen. Also, the logic of regional integration has become even more powerful in the time of economic and financial crisis. I still think all of the drivers of transformation can still carry on, although it has become more challenging.*

**The era of security and stabilisation seems to be over. The emerging powers, China and India, invest massively in**

**defence. The US is withdrawing from Europe. Is there a new rationale for a military power in the EU?**

*In a post-US world it would be irresponsible for Europeans to be demilitarised. However, we are spending more than enough on defence. The question is rather: can we spend the money in a more sensible way – collectively? Today the main purpose of defence spending has become to secure jobs rather than to increase capabilities. The British position especially is deeply frustrating as it is stopping common European capabilities from emerging. We can still do more than anybody else in the world apart from the US. In the last couple of years the EU conducted many operations – not least in Libya.*

**Is Libya a sign of hope for a common European foreign and security policy as the UK and France (and not the US) were the driving forces – or is it an example of the discord of the main European powers (with Germany's abstention) and thus an EU failure?**

*The goal in Libya was to stop the massacre in Benghazi and it was achieved. The EU was not paralysed by the fact that not every country was on board. Even though not all EU member states agreed on the intervention there was not a permanent split. Of course, it is worrying that the EU major powers had to rely on US military support which might not be available in the future. But in the diplomatic perspective it is striking how different the approach of the EU leaders was compared to the war against Iraq. Blair, Schröder, Aznar and Chirac did not bring their controversies to Brussels – they sat across the table from each other at the UN Security Council and argued there. Exactly the opposite happened with Libya.*

**Is Libya a template for future actions?**

*Europe is in an interregnum at the moment. The old Europe based on Maastricht is dying. A new Europe will emerge. What happened in Libya is part*

*of this interregnum. We have Germany and France working together closely on economic issues and France and Britain on defence issues. I do not think it is sustainable. If foreign policy is changing and the economy is becoming more and more important, the idea of having a European foreign policy without Germany is absurd. Germany is responsible for almost half of the European exports to China.*

**In one of your recent papers you wrote about the end of a unipolar Europe.**

**Who are the other players?**

*We are not the only actor in the European space in terms of security. Russia and Turkey have their own interests and agendas. And these countries do not buy into Europe's vision of an order based upon institutions such as the EU, OSCE and Nato. To some extent they even resent the European project. We can't ignore it. In the relationship with these powers the goal should be not so much to transform them or to enlarge the EU, but to recalibrate the relationship with them. By setting the agenda for a new institutional security framework in Europe and engaging with these two countries the EU can reinvent European leadership. It is a bit like what Obama was trying to do on a global level. Syria is a perfect example. We can not resolve this problem without Russia and Turkey.*

**You ask Europeans to take Medvedev's offer to set up a new security framework in Europe seriously. Will this proposal be disruptive for the EU and set off political dynamics running counter to the goal of a stronger, more coherent EU foreign policy?**

*The process of negotiating new institutional arrangements could be positive – also within the EU. The effect would be a European debate on foreign policy. The EU is the biggest provider of security on the continent, but it is not represented in any of the security institutions. If we created a new framework*

*with Turkey and Russia the EU could be represented there. The Arab spring and the political signals from the US suggest that the EU must be more active in foreign and security policy. Of course, we can do it in a more informal way without opening a debate about institutions. But the result could be that many decisions [are taken] without including some of the smaller member states. Merkel and Sarkozy met Medvedev and did not invite others along. This will happen more often if you do not institutionalise this cooperation. Since the current institutions do not work, we will witness the emergence of the great powers' politics in Europe – this is in the interest of Russia and Turkey, but not the EU.*

**Would you write a book called "Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century" now?**

*I would not write the book today, as we are in the middle of crisis and I would wait to see what kind of EU comes out of it. But I stick to the thrust of my arguments. I still think the EU can offer a lot to the world. In today's world you need governments to work together in a completely new kind of way. And the only people who really managed to develop such a method are the Europeans in the EU. There are many countries in the world that feel really uncomfortable about the world of great powers emerging and do not want to get caught in the middle between China and the US, and are looking for different ways to organise themselves. This is driving regional integration. At the same time I am very worried about the state of Europe. The next five years will be crucial. If the euro collapses it will have calamitous consequences for the way Europeans are seen in the world and for how their ideas could shape the 21st century.*

**Piotr Buras** is a contributing editor for Fresh Thinking and journalist for Gazeta Wyborcza.

# The world speaks

We asked some policy makers and thinkers from around the globe for their personal views on the EU's influence on the world



**Qin Liwen**

Senior analyst at the International Crisis Group and lives in Beijing.



**Reginaldo C. Moraes**

Professor at the University of Campinas (Unicamp) in Brazil, lives in São Paulo.

**As China's biggest trade partner**, the EU's foreign policy does matter to China. I disagree with many Chinese foreign policy makers who tend to brush off the EU as a follower of the US. Such an oversimplified view has ignored the EU's role as an indispensable balance of power in a shifting world and a major pillar of global order.

On many key global issues such as global warming, the invasion of Libya and regional peace and integration, the EU has played an irreplaceable, positively active role. However, as a relatively young and unprecedented political body, the EU still needs to find a more efficient way for its members to reach consensus on its foreign policy. In this way the EU can prevent individual members from undermining it, while increasing its leverage and will to assert a consistent policy of its own.



**Jim Arkedis**

Director of the PPI thinktank's National Security Project. He lives in Washington DC.



**Beatie Hofmeyr**

ANC activist based in South Africa working with most southern African countries.

**Walk into a cafe** in, say, Nebraska or South Carolina and ask the truck driver at the counter what he thinks of EU foreign policy. He'll laugh. The idea that the US has – or needs – strong alliances in Europe is not something most Americans consider.

If Americans acknowledge Europe's contributions to global security, they'll first think of Nato, which many will remember as the organisation that the US led to beat the Soviets. I'm not saying this is correct: European nations have made crucial contributions to Nato's new missions and it is a vital US partner on many, many issues.

If Europe is going to successfully "brand" what it can do, the EU must be more visible to the world, and more aggressive in promoting itself beyond Washington and New York.

**The EU represents** a moderating counter balance to the military and economic power of the US. The EU is Africa's biggest trading partner and members that are former colonial powers, still have many interests on the continent. Unfortunately we never know whether the beautiful values in your foreign policy or the more base commercial interests of member countries will determine actions. You played a constructive role in COP17, but at WTO negotiations, you continue to frustrate African farmers with your agricultural subsidies. It surprised many that, in spite of your commitment to work with regional bodies, the African Union position is often disregarded while the Arab League is treated with respect – even though there are few democratically elected leaders among them.





### Juri Durkot

Publicist and translator based in Ukraine.



### Aung Moe Zaw

Chairman of Burma's Democratic Party for New Society (DPNS) in Burma.

**From a Ukrainian point of view**, there is a lack of clear concepts in the EU's eastern policy. Brussels wasn't willing to provide a more generous offer to the Ukraine after the Orange revolution. The political chaos in Kiev only strengthened sceptical attitudes in European capitals. The Eastern Partnership, which was later initiated by Poland and Sweden, couldn't live up to expectations. The EU has also reacted too late to recent developments and the autocratic tendencies after the change in power in the Ukraine. As a result, only the association agreement (and later the UEFA Euro 2012 football championship) could be used as an instrument. Another problem is the EU member states' different interests. This often leads to ambiguous compromises sometimes in cases where active and resolute action is required.



### Vladislav Belov

Centre director (German studies) at the Institute of Europe, Russian Academy of Sciences.



### Nazik Isik

Economist and former secretary general of the women's branch of the Republican People's Party (CHP) in Turkey.

**The Lisbon Treaty provides** the EU with increased efficiency and avoids competition with Nato in the area of European security. Russia is especially interested in the EU being more successful when it comes to defining its own security space.

One of the problems of the RF-EU partnership is that the final aim, the criteria and key aspects of a foreign security space, hasn't been stated clearly. A detailed contract and legal base is missing which could make such a joint space possible. The foreign security space of Russia and the EU overlaps with Russia's and Nato's foreign security space. A new joint institution – the Russia-EU committee for foreign and security policy – should be involved in the solution of these problems.

**The EU has become less effective** in the Mena (Middle East and north Africa) region, but the positive role it played at the Durban climate conference illustrates its potential at the global level.

The EU needs to rejuvenate its structure and use its potential more fully on the global stage.

Turkey's candidacy to become an EU-member has contributed significantly to progress in many fields, for example women's rights and the abolition of the death penalty.

Its close relations with Mena and its role for security cooperation in the Balkans, means that a full membership would strengthen the regional and overall security of both the present EU27 and Turkey.

# What's making Europe talk

After the Arab Spring of 2011, unrest in Syria has led to an armed uprising against the Assad regime. After Europe's intervention in Libya, much of the media has focused its attention on what pressure can be put on Damascus to bring peace to the region.

We have collected together what some of Europe's leading newspapers had to say on the subject.

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The balance of forces around Syria would be different if the new, shared sovereignty model of the EU had reached out to embrace Turkey, as it has been promising to do – incredibly, in both senses of the word – for nearly 50 years, since the association agreement of 1963. But it has not. Europe, as Europe, is inaudible on Syria as on so many other issues. And so the fate of that country's brave resisters and suffering civilians depends on the old-fashioned regional competition of diverse sovereign powers.

*Timothy Garton Ash in the Guardian, UK*

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**Under current circumstances the best and probably the only push for peace the international community can create is the fledgling plan prepared by former UN Secretary General Mr Kofi Annan. [However] it isn't solely a sufficient response to the violence in Syria. Nor is Turkey's growing readiness to establish a safe haven along its border with Syria a solution. There is a need for resilient international effort and an active EU role to help the Syrian people. But there should be no fantasies about quick or easy gains.**

*Helsingin Sanomat, Finland*

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*It's part of the denial of reality that the [Syrian] regime underestimates the option that it might completely disgruntle Moscow and Beijing, who insist on the truce. Both powers want to maintain the status quo in the region, which is fragile – Assad can't be a part of this in his struggle for survival, involving neighbouring countries Turkey and Lebanon.*

*Der Standard, Austria*

”

**Public opinion has the power to challenge governments, which have a duty to intervene in the political, economic and judicial system to isolate the killers. Europe and France have a special responsibility in this regard because of their history, their geographical proximity and their cultural relations with Syria especially since they have a strong voice in international forums.**

*Libération, France*

Syria is the battleground where dominance for the region is at stake. [...] For the Saudis, trying to form a regional counter-balance against Iran and its allies, the collapse of the Assad regime would be highly desirable. It is undeniable that the showdown of the supposedly secular and pro-US dictatorships in Egypt and Tunisia and replacing them – in free elections – with local branches of the Muslim Brotherhood strengthened the perennial regional divide into two blocs: Sunni Muslims (Saudi Arabia and Persian Gulf) and Shia Muslims (Iran, Syria, Iraq, with Hezbollah in Lebanon). But in the Syrian arena interests besides the regional ones are also in conflict. Russia and China, who support the Assad regime, carry on their new version of the cold war against the US. [...] The Syrians – mostly young activists – are paying the price for this great game themselves. The fate of this young – already lost? – generation is subject to a regional and international game.

”

*Tygodnik Powszechny, Poland*

***The European Union announced in Brussels on Monday 23 April a package of restrictive measures – the 14th since May 2011 [...] adopted against the Syrian regime. This time, besides the equipment used in the crackdown, the EU indicated that it would soon ban exports of luxury goods to Syria.***

*Le Soir, Belgium*

”

Russia and China are gradually distancing themselves from Syria. It is beginning to dawn on them that loyalty to Assad might harm them more than help them. But as long as they use diplomatic tactics, Assad can devote himself to his delusion and continue his struggle for survival with all brutality, no matter how many human lives it costs.

It's at that point that the Europeans and the Americans have to apply diplomacy. They have to drive a wedge between Damascus and Tehran on one side and between Moscow and Beijing on the other. Only if that works can the international community close ranks. Only then will the Annan plan bear fruit. And only then will the fate of the Assad regime be sealed.

*Handelsblatt, Germany*

”

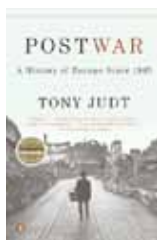
***There hasn't been anywhere where so many journalists have fallen victim to the hostilities than in Syria. What is more, such events have rarely happened in recent history, in the past few decades of international conflicts. The civil wars lasting for decades in Central-American Guatemala, Salvador and Nicaragua had many victims. There the killing of journalists provoked such an international protest, that it hastened the fall of dictators and military juntas.***

*Magyar Narancs, Hungary*



## FRESH THINKING BOOKS

In every issue of Fresh Thinking, we suggest what to read, watch and listen to – always in relation to our current topic. This time, we must admit that there are not too many rock songs written about the EU’s foreign policy in general, or the EEAS in particular. But we couldn’t hold our editor-in-chief Eric Sundström back from exploring the cultural intersection where Europe meets its global neighbours.



If you want understand the EU’s role in the world, it’s a good idea to start with the continent’s recent history. **Tony Judt’s** 834-page

**Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945** is comprehensive and compelling. The Guardian praised Judt, saying: “He dares to expound the sum total of Europe since 1945 in a seamless narrative. [...] This is history-writing with a human face. It is most unlikely that Judt’s achievement will be superseded soon”. So far, it hasn’t.



And after that history lesson, you might need a “sweeping new assessment of the continent’s drift” – that’s how the Guardian praised **The**

**End of the West: The Once and Future Europe** by **David Marquand**, an academic and former Labour MP. His raw analysis has also been called a wake-up call for Europe’s politicians. To add to your understanding of recent events turn to **Paul Mason’s** **Why It’s Kicking Off Everywhere: The New Global Revolutions**. Mason, “possibly the most engaged mainstream journalist of our age” (New Statesman), connects the uproars of the last couple of years together. From Tahrir Square to Athens and from London to New York, Mason delivers brilliant accounts of how new forms of political activism are shaping our times.



Keeping on the contemporary path, **Judith Butler** poses some tough questions in **Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?**

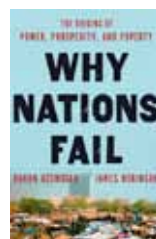
Are we taught to believe that some lives are more grievable than others? And talking of the tragedies of war, the war in the Balkans is a story of European failure that must not be forgotten. As Croatia enters

our Union, you can revisit a terrible part of Europe’s recent history with the acclaimed **The Death of Yugoslavia** by **Allan Little and Laura Silber**. That will give you a raw account of what happened.

Then look at **Richard Holbrooke’s** personal account **To End a War** for a behind-the-scenes description of how the horrors eventually stopped.

Then there’s the field of academia for some in-depth analysis of the EU’s foreign policy. Recent publications include **The Return of Geopolitics in Europe?** by **Stefano Guzzini**; **Does Europe Still Matter?** by **Ronald Tiersky** and **The Foreign Policy of the European Union** edited by **Federiga Bindi**.

A more political, fun and obligatory read about the EU’s soft power is **Mark**



**Leonard’s** pamphlet **Why Europe Will Run the 21st Century** (see our interview with Leonard on p. 30). **Daron Acemoglu and James Robinson** address the

role of the state and what they call “inclusive institutions” in economic development in **Why Nations Fail**.



To plunge deeper into the state of Europe’s global position today in a less scholarly way, we’d like to recommend two books from the Francophone world.

**Erik Orsenna** has previously taken the pulse of globalisation by telling the history of water and cotton. In **Sur la Route du Papier**, he shows that the history of paper is also that of the world. **Hubert Védrine**, instrumental in spreading the term “hyperpower” around the world, has collected his most recent writings in **Dans la Mêlée Mondiale 2009-2012**.

And to end on a multilingual note: **FEPS** has re-published the inspiring speech



on Europe by former German chancellor **Helmut Schmidt**, delivered to the SPD-congress last year, in no less than 15 languages.

A pan-European message in a truly pan-European book.

## FRESH THINKING MOVIES

An obvious link from books to films is a BBC-documentary that developed into one of the recommended reads above. The Death of Yugoslavia mixes harsh, never-seen-before archive footage with interviews with the key-players. It has been praised for stressing complexity and not taking sides.



Many good movies were produced during the aftermath of the war. **No Man's Land**, directed by **Danis Tanović**, revolves around two soldiers –

a Bosnian and a Serb – who get stuck together in a trench between their respective lines. It won an Oscar for best foreign language film.

Eight percent of Serbia's entire population went to the movies to see **Pretty Village**, **Pretty Flame** by **Srdan Dragojević**. The key scene portrays how a Muslim squad traps a group of Serbian soldiers in a tunnel. More recently, **Angelina Jolie** directed a romantic drama set against the background of the war in Bosnia: **In the Land of Blood and Honey**.

A good DVD box set is an excellent way to relax, but it can also keep you company on trains and planes on long work trips. The focus of the BBC-drama, **The Hour**, is a current affairs TV-show launched in 1956 – the year of the Suez crisis and the invasion of Hungary.

In six thrilling episodes you follow the interplay between journalists wanting to produce independent news about world events and the harsh realities of the cold war. Its careful casting and attention to the fashion of the mid-1950s have led to comparisons with the US series **Mad Men**.

Go back to the cold war by watching one of the best movies of 2011: **Tomas**

**Alfredsson's** stylish version of **John le Carré's** classic spy novel **Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy**. **Aki Kaurismäki's** comedy-



drama **Le Havre**, about a shoe-shine boy (Marcel) who tries to save a young refugee from Africa (Idrissa), was also one of the best

films last year.

**The State Within**, which was nominated for a Golden Globe, is a six-episode political drama from the BBC. Britain's ambassador in Washington gets tangled up in an intricate political conspiracy that eventually could lead to the fall of western governments.

Talking of trans-Atlantic issues, **The Special Relationship** is the third film in writer **Peter Morgan's** Tony Blair trilogy (the first two being **The Deal** and **The Queen**) and scrutinises Tony Blair's close relationship with Bill Clinton. The film starts in 1994, when Blair and his New Labour gang went to Washington to take lectures from Clinton's staff. It moves on through Blair's election victory, peace in Northern Ireland, Kosovo, the Lewinsky scandal and ends with Clinton warning Blair about incoming US president, George W Bush.

## FRESH THINKING MUSIC

**Bob Dylan** is the grand old man of protest music and you don't really think of him being associated with music videos. But his **Political World** video shows men of power at dinner, and is a perfect setting for the catalogue of troubles that Dylan describes in the song.



sharp contrast to **Kraftwerk's** minimal lyrics. But the pioneers of electronic

music often dealt with post-war Europe, urban life and journeys by train or on the autobahn. One example is the album **Trans-Europe Express** and its first song **Europe Endless**.

Songs about EU foreign policy? Believe it or not, there are some. Take **Fort Europa** by **Looptroop Rockers** which is as critical as it is explicit: "Nothing but claustrophobia. Right here on Fort Europa. Nothing but xenophobia. Right here on Fort Europa."

The most recent example of political revolt and music going hand in hand comes from across the sea from Fortress Europe. Music – in this case mostly rap – played a part in the Arab Spring. **Hani Almadhoun**, who blogs at Hot Arabic Music, was asked by NPR about songs that inspired the protests. Hani mentioned **The President of the Country** by **El Général**, **Leaders Wanted** by **Cairokee** and **Shame** by **Samih Shkair**.

El Général, or **Hamada Ben Amor**, is the young Tunisian rapper who was arrested after he posted his song about president Ben Ali online. But the arrest and his song helped spark the revolution.

Other artists who have been mentioned in relation to the Arab Spring include **DJ Outlaw** (famous for **Arab World Unite**), **Deeb** (financial analyst in Cairo by day, artist by night), **Arabian Knightz** (who has sampled **Lauryn Hill**), and **Dave Kirreh** (who tackles the inharmony between Fatah and Hamas).



If the hip-hop and rap gets too much,

you can turn to an artist who has to live with the comparison to Bob Dylan.

**Marcel Khalife**, a singer-songwriter from Lebanon, has been called the musical and political icon of the Middle East. As Khalife once said himself: "Freedom, democracy and bread are the things we lack in our region."

Let's hope that Europe's neighbours around the Mediterranean are truly experiencing, to paraphrase Mr Dylan, times that are a-changin', at last.

Europe is not necessarily doomed in the global world. On the contrary. I firmly believe it can (and must) play a central role, confident of its assets in terms of its values, culture and civilisation, won through centuries of history. Assets that make it unique and which we can assert. But in order to regain our place in the world, one of the major steps we need to take is to reinforce European institutions to make Europe act as one and so make its voice heard. This must be one of the pillars of a new progressive strategy for Europe.

– **Massimo D'Alema**,  
former prime minister and foreign minister of Italy, president of FEPS

After saying yes to Turkey, the EU is having difficulty finding clear and consistent grounds for saying no to other still more remote candidates – but being in the general vicinity of Europe does seem to be a continuing requirement.

– **Timothy Garton Ash**,  
University of Oxford

## The hour of Europe has dawned.

– **Jacques Poos**,  
former vice president of the EU parliament, Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party

The European model is in danger if we obliterate the principle of personal responsibility.

– **Jacques Delors**,  
former president of the European commission, Parti Socialiste

In America, there's a failure to appreciate Europe's leading role in the world.

– **Barack Obama**,  
the US president, Democrat

## If I want to call Europe, who do I call?

– **Henry Kissinger**, former US secretary of state, Republican

In 2050 each of the European nations will constitute just a fraction of one per cent of the world's population. In other words, if we cherish the notion that we Europeans are important for the world, we have to act in unison.

– **Helmut Schmidt**,  
former German chancellor, Social Democratic Party of Germany

We must go back to teach Europeans to love Europe.

– **Jean Claude Juncker**,  
prime minister of Luxembourg

The pretty houses around the market place that got together to form the European Community harmonise quite well. The poorer houses in the east of Europe have to be renovated. And the street to the Soviet Union has to be broadened and developed.

– **Willy Brandt**,  
former German chancellor, Social Democratic Party of Germany

Now, you're thinking of Europe as Germany and France. I don't. I think that's old Europe.

– **Donald Rumsfeld**,  
former US secretary of defense, Republican

[...] we Europeans have pioneered a different view about how to share sovereignty in the modern world from the Americans or the Chinese. I call it Responsible Sovereignty. Yes, the nation state is the foundation of legitimacy and identity. But the assertion of national sovereignty is not enough in an interdependent world, where any problem of health, crime, economy, security has an international as well as a national dimension.

– **David Miliband**,  
former foreign secretary of the UK government, Labour party

Negotiation seems like dancing the Tango, two steps forward, two steps back and suddenly three surprising steps forward.

– **Margot Wallström**,  
former vice-president of the European Commission, Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party

While the American spirit is languishing, a new European dream is being born.

– **Jeremy Rifkin**,  
author of *The European Dream*





# FRESH THINKING

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Dr. Ernst Stetter, Secretary General  
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Alain Bloëdt – FEPS  
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**Project Manager:**

Birgit Güll

**Editor-in-Chief:**

Eric Sundström

**Creative Director:**

Björn Andresen

**English Editor:**

Mark Espiner

**Editorial Contributors:**

Birgit Güll, Piotr Buras

**Translation:**

Claudia Eberlein

**Proofreading:**

Cathrin Schaer

**Address of publishing company:**

NetworkMedia GmbH  
Stresemannstraße 30  
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T: +49 30 255 94 179  
F: +49 30 255 94 199  
E: info@nwmd.de  
www.nwmd.de

**Managing Director:**

Guido Schmitz

**Advertising Manager:**

Nicole Stelzner

**Advertising Department:**

T: +49 30 255 94 180  
F: +49 30 255 94 190  
E: stelzner@nwmd.de

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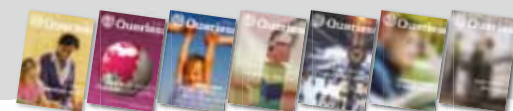
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