

Atlantic Partnership Fall Newsletter 2005



Atlantic Partnership Editorial

It's fair to say that the Atlantic Relationship has plateau-ed, well above the low point reached over the invasion of Iraq but still well below where the interests of both sides dictate it should be. Our quarrels have been capped rather than resolved.

On the plus side, greater civility has returned to transatlantic discourse. NATO's assumption of a lead role in Afghanistan should become an object lesson in how the alliance can be effective outside Europe. Mrs Merkel's election as Federal Chancellor in Germany should restore the US-German relationship to something like its previous role as a major bridge over the Atlantic, though the possible loss of Signor Berlusconi next year will go on the debit side of the ledger. The continuing strength of the US economy provides an underpinning for transatlantic prosperity, with some signs of recoveries in mainland Europe to match it. And, let's be thankful for small mercies, other pre-occupations ranging from leak enquiries in Washington to riots in France to budget battles in the EU have left less energy for testy theological debates across the Atlantic on the finer points of European defence cooperation and other hoary themes.

But plain sailing it certainly ain't. The current row over rendition shows how raw the nerves remain, and says something about Europe's short attention-span when it comes to prosecuting tough measures against terrorists. Transatlantic divisions over farm subsidies in the context of

the Doha Round of trade negotiations are back at the top of the agenda. There is an element of ritual in this: all trade rounds have to go to the edge of the precipice and beyond. In one sense it's reassuring to see familiar quarrels topping the agenda again, like listening to the radio playing Hits from the Eighties. But more seriously, finding a common position between Europe and the US on trade will be a test of whether fundamental recognition of a common Atlantic interest in continuing the march of free trade can still overcome national sectoral interests. If we can do it on trade we can do it elsewhere too.

Still, some recovery in the fortunes of transatlantic cooperation there has been, and it's important not to allow it to fizzle. Post-election Iraq will be one proving ground: will the Europeans bring themselves to play a more active role in support of a newly legitimized Iraqi government? Another will be post-Constitution Europe. Will the EU return to its obsession with institutional development? Or can it – once the budget row is out of the way – engage the US in a real dialogue on future strategy which learns lessons from Iraq, and particularly what went wrong there, and applies them to problems elsewhere in the world? With President Bush beleaguered for now – though second term Presidents have a habit of emerging from intensive care – it is a good time to prove that Europe too is capable of leadership.

In other words, the time has come to move beyond the damage control which has characterised recent times in the relationship. With Tony Blair's hard-earned credentials from the Balkans and Africa, M.de Villepin's evident desire to repair relationships and Mrs Merkel's objective of putting Germany back at the centre of the transatlantic partnership, Europe ought surely to be more pro-active in setting the agenda. It's a time for boldness, on trade, in the Middle East, in confronting the competitive challenge of China, in Central Asia. Let's see Europe saddle up and hear less denigration of the American cowboy! There's room for Europe to make itself felt and restore some balance in the Atlantic relationship, by demonstrating some global vision of its own and being ready to act in support of it. That would demonstrate that even when Washington is in down-time, the transatlantic relationship is still vigorous, can move off the plateau and can again scale the heights.

Charles Powell

ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP EVENTS

EVENTS SUMMER/FALL 2005

Events have included:

- Breakfast former French Prime Minister **Edouard Balladur**, in Paris
- Young Leader's Breakfast with **Angela Stent** in Washington
- Breakfast with Chairman of the Blackstone Group, **Pete Peterson** in London
- Dinner with **Marc Gerson** and **Alec Russell**, Washington DC Bureau Chief of *The Daily Telegraph*
- Breakfast with **Dr. Bill Schneider**, Chairman of the Defense Science Board, in New York

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

The following events are planned for winter/spring 2005-2006.

- Breakfast with **John Bolton**, US Representative to the UN December 13, 2005 in New York
- Breakfast with **General Colin Powell**, former US Secretary of State January 16, 2006 in London
- Breakfast with **Paul Volcker** with **General Brent Scowcroft** as host January 25, 2006 in New York
- Breakfast with **M. Jean-Claude Trichet**, President of the European Central Bank. February 6, 2005 in London
- Breakfast with Deputy Secretary of State **Bob Zoellick** in London in January or February in London
- Breakfast with **Ambassador Robert Tuttle** on March 14, 2006 in London
- Breakfast with Rt Hon **Michael Howard**, March 2006 in New York
- Breakfast with **Sir Jeremy Greenstock**, former British Ambassador to the UN May 2006 in New York

We are in the process of scheduling many other meetings for next year and shall keep you informed as soon as they are confirmed.

ATLANTIC PARTNERHIP ADDRESS

Since June, our US address has changed. Please note the new address:

Atlantic Partnership
1015 15th Street, NW 6th Floor
Washington, DC 20005

Also, our new website address is: <http://www.atlanticpartnership.org>

ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP OPINION

We include in this section a variety of extracts of speeches and articles given by our Atlantic Partnership panel, chairmen and patrons over the last few months. If you wish to research more articles, Atlantic Partnership's website www.atlanticpartnership.org contains links to articles all written by our panel, chairmen or patrons. It also contains copies of past newsletters, as well as relevant articles and speeches on the subject of transatlantic relations.

ON NATO

At the annual session of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly on November 15 in Copenhagen, **Pierre Lellouche**, Atlantic Partnership Vice-Chairman France, and Nato Parliamentary Assembly President indicated that, "the [NATO PA] organisation had had a particularly busy year, with particular attention to the "revitalisation of the transatlantic link" which was damaged by disagreements over the war in Iraq." He further highlighted "the NATO-PA's work encouraging democratic values in Azerbaijan, Ukraine and Belarus and the increasing dialogue it was now enjoying with the Mediterranean and Arab-Muslim world."

Link: <http://www.naa.be/Default.asp?CAT2=0&CAT1=0&CAT0=0&SHORTCUT=839>

ON THE US - GERMAN RELATIONSHIP

On DLF, **Atlantic Partnership Patron, Karsten Voigt**, US-German Coordinator in the German government was interviewed on the subject of the German American relationship on November 23. Excerpt below:

The Atlantic Alliance must also become more relevant again in political terms. To this end – because the European Union plays a greater role today – relations between NATO and the European Union and between the European Union and the US must be close. All of this must be put on the agenda ... This is not just about celebrating transatlantic relations in their old form but ... making them fit in the light of new challenges and mastering these challenges – together. There must be close consultations on the issues if we are to achieve this goal. That means we have to accept the Americans as the indispensable nation. In turn, the Americans have to accept that Europe is an

indispensable partner with its own views which it wants to put forward and be heard.
That applies particularly to Germany.

http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/www/en/laenderinfos/laender/laender_ausgabe_archiv?land_id=188&a_type=Interviews&archiv_id=7825

ON EUROPE

Simon Serfaty, Brzezinski Chair in Global Security & Geostrategy, Senior Advisor, Europe Program, (CSIS) and **Atlantic Partnership Panelist** published a piece in the *International Herald Tribune* entitled, “A Europe of Weak Leaders” on September 30. He states, “The recent elections in Germany confirm a troubling political trend throughout Europe: For the past two years, strong governments have become weak and weak governments have become increasingly weaker. As a result, each state or government has been at the mercy of the next national election...”

http://www.csis.org/index.php?option=com_csis_press&task=view&id=1408

ON IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION

Martin Walker, UPI Editor and **Atlantic Partnership Panelist**, examines and comments on the French riots that swept through France in November. Excerpts from his piece entitled, “Walker's World: France's black anger” are below (*UPI*, November 11):

One of the striking features of the two weeks of rage that swept France is that so many of the rioters are black rather than Arab, though North Africans from Algeria and Morocco and Tunisia make up more than two-thirds of the estimated 6 million immigrants, their families included, in France.

Another important element is that in places where the rioters were “beurs,” as the French Arabs call themselves, Islam and religion seemed to play only a minor role.

That is also the view of Olivier Roy, director of studies at the Advanced School of Social Science Studies and one of the Europe's leading academic experts on Islam. For Roy, the French riots have been “a revolt of an underclass, not the precursor of a clash of religions and civilizations.”

<http://www.upi.com/InternationalIntelligence/view.php?StoryID=20051111-011328-3158r>

Niall Ferguson is Laurence A. Tisch of History at Harvard University and Atlantic Partnership Panelist. He analyzes different models of integration in France, Great Britain and in the US in

this piece entitled “You shouldn't have to burn cars to get a better life - ask my Bolivian cleaning lady” (*The Daily Telegraph*, November 6). Excerpts below:

Both Britain and France face roughly the same problem at the moment, yet there is good reason to think that France's is bigger, especially now that the rioting has spread to other cities. But just what is the problem? (...) The problem is not immigration per se but a failure of integration. France has the highest foreign-born population of any European country - more than 10 per cent. Yet this is a legacy of past immigration, not present. The French have a relatively low immigration rate and are notably unsympathetic to those who seek political asylum.

(...) the problem in Europe is partly economic. In free market America, immigrants get jobs; they are not much more likely to be unemployed than workers born in the USA. But the second problem is that Europeans do not try hard enough to make immigrants integrate culturally.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/main.jhtml?xml=/opinion/2005/11/06/do0602.xml&sheet=/news/2005/11/06/ixnewstop.html>

ON TURKEY'S MEMBERSHIP TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

In an interview with Euractiv, **Dr. Ron Asmus**, a former US deputy assistant secretary of state for European affairs to former US Secretary of State Madaleine Albright, and Atlantic Partnership panelist comments on the debate over Turkey's membership to the EU and its implications for US policy (remarks published Thursday 30 June 2005 and updated: Wednesday 27 July 2005).

(...) [Question:] European newspapers have reported the negative spin about the future Turkish EU-membership coming from Angela Merkel of the German CDU party, and from leading French politician Nicolas Sarkozy about Turkish EU-membership. If there is indeed a major backlash happening, what are the stakes and implications from a US point of view?

(...)
Well, I think as an American when you look at this, and you look at why Americans think differently to many Europeans (including some of our closest friends and allies) Americans tend to look at Turkey and see a big country with huge potential that is on balance an asset, but has problems. Many Europeans look at Turkey and see a big country with lots of problems, that in some ways may be an asset. So we tend to see the potential and the plus, and we say locking in a country of that size, with that potential, of that strength on your side, shoring up the Southern frontier of Europe, buttressing an unstable Middle-East, reaching out into the Middle East – plus, plus, plus. (...)

<http://www.euractiv.com/Article?tcmuri=tcm:29-141735-16&type=Interview>

ON DEFENSE IN EUROPE

Radek Sikorski, Defense Minister for Poland, and Atlantic Partnership panelist, writes his views in an American Enterprise Institute online publication entitled, “Defense Reform in Europe” (August 10, 2005). At the time of this publication, Radek Sikorski was still a resident fellow at the AEI and the executive director of its New Atlantic Initiative. A few excerpts:

With the insurgency in Iraq persisting and U.S. troops stretched thin, greater assistance from allies would be more than welcome. While Europe has in general been slow in upgrading its capabilities and continues to be critical of U.S. policy in Iraq, NATO’s new members have performed with credit. With the right incentives, countries such as Ukraine, Romania, and Poland could field substantial forces in Iraq and Afghanistan that could relieve American troops at tolerable expense. Moreover, it makes sense for U.S. military assistance to flow to countries that are actually being helpful in the war on terror. U.S. experts can also help in restructuring the military budgets of these allies so that they can improve their capabilities from internal resources. An examination of Poland’s circumstances illustrates the case.

(...)

Yet, to dismiss allies altogether would be to miss important opportunities. If American leaders and diplomats are willing to make the effort, allies can be drawn to share some of the country’s burden. The United States had misinterpreted why most European states sent their troops to Iraq--they were motivated by wishing to maintain good U.S. relations, rather than by a shared perception of a threat from Saddam. So today, the United States may misinterpret why they are leaving. Anti-Americanism, appeasement, even cowardice, have been cited--all of them erroneously. Countries end their commitments for a variety of reasons, mostly domestic. What is most interesting, however, is that a number of countries would like to continue to serve side by side with the United States, but are prevented from doing so by shortsighted U.S. attitudes and policies.

http://www.aei.org/publications/filter.all.pubID.22985/pub_detail.asp

ON EUROPEAN UNION INTEGRATION

Ronald D. Asmus publishes a piece “Rethinking the EU: Why Washington Needs to Support European Integration” in a German Marshall Fund publication (Survival; vol. 47, no. 3; Autumn 2005; pp. 93–102, August 2005).

It is time for the United States to rethink its policy toward the European Union and European integration more broadly. The challenges of the twenty-first century and America’s changing priorities and strategic needs are making the United State more rather than less dependent on the EU and its success.

<http://www.gmfus.org/publications/article.cfm?id=122>

ON IRAQ

Atlantic Partnership Patron, Senator Joseph Biden, published his views in an Op-Ed entitled, "Time for An Iraq Timetable," in *The Washington Post* (November 26, 2005). Some of his major points include:

Over the next six months, we must forge a sustainable political compromise between Iraqi factions, strengthen the Iraqi government and bolster reconstruction efforts, and accelerate the training of Iraqi forces.

First, we need to build political consensus, starting with the constitution. Sunnis must accept that they no longer rule Iraq. But unless Shiites and Kurds give them a stake in the new deal, they will continue to resist. We must help produce a constitution that will unite Iraq, not divide it.

Second, we must build Iraq's governing capacity and overhaul the reconstruction program.

We need a civilian commitment equal to our military effort. Just as military personnel are required to go to Iraq, the president should identify more skilled foreign service officers to help. This should not be their burden alone. Britain proposed that individual countries adopt ministries. It's a good idea that we should pursue. We must redirect reconstruction contracts away from multinationals and to Iraqis.

The president must set a schedule for getting Iraqi forces trained to the point that they can act on their own or take the lead with U.S. help. We should take up other countries on their offers to do more training, especially of officers. We should focus on getting the security ministries up to speed. Even well-trained troops need to be equipped, sustained and directed.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/11/25/AR2005112500864.html>

On IRAN

Niall Ferguson comments on Iran in a piece entitled "Iran's revolution isn't going away" (*The Los Angeles Times*, August 15).

(...) The problem is that, once again, the West is divided and the international community stalemated. Britain, France and Germany have long favored diplomatic carrots. The U.S. might once have preferred a military stick, but is now too tied up in neighboring Iraq to relish the prospect even of air strikes." (...) "Far from being on the brink of democracy, Iran is now on the brink of becoming the single biggest threat to democracy in the world." (...)

<http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-oe-ferguson15aug15,0,1239784.story?coll=la-news-comment-opinions>

ON ENERGY

Daniel Yergin Chairman of Cambridge Energy Research Associates and Atlantic Partnership Trustee, published an Op-Ed on oil in *the Washington Post* (July 31, 2005) entitled, "It's Not the End Of the Oil Age Technology and Higher Prices Drive a Supply Buildup." Conclusion below:

The growing supply of energy should not lead us to underestimate the longer-term challenge of providing energy for a growing world economy. At this point, even with greater efficiency, it looks as though the world could be using 50 percent more oil 25 years from now. That is a very big challenge. But at least for the next several years, the growing production capacity will take the air out of the fear of imminent shortage. And that in turn will provide us the breathing space to address the investment needs and the full panoply of technologies and approaches -- from development to conservation -- that will be required to fuel a growing world economy, ensure energy security and meet the needs of what is becoming the global middle class.

His book "The Prize: the Epic Quest for Oil, Money and Power" received the Pulitzer Prize.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2005/07/29/AR2005072901672.html>

ON TERRORISM

Atlantic Partnership patron, Senator Joseph Biden, published an Op-Ed in *The Washington Post* on August 2, 2005 entitled "When Chemicals Attack." This piece focuses on US vulnerabilities in the face of a possible chemical attack especially in connection to the rail system. He states, "Terrorists understand the destruction they could unleash by blowing up these tankers. The FBI and CIA have uncovered evidence that terrorists have targeted our domestic rail system. This shouldn't be a surprise. As we've seen recently in Madrid and London, rail systems are among the most frequently attacked terrorist targets worldwide."

Link: <http://www.joebiden.com/news?id=0004>

ON THE UN

U.S. Representative Tom Lantos, ranking Democrat on the House Committee on International Relations and Atlantic Partnership Vice-Chairman USA, published a piece about the UN achievements and necessary reforms of the UN in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the occasion of the UN General Assembly (September 14, 2005). It is entitled, "Bringing the UN Home." Excerpt below:

Working with our friends in Europe, Asia and around the world, the United States proposes to launch critical reform initiatives. (...)

This week offers a precious opportunity to recommit the world to eradicating poverty; to demand reforms of the U.N. organization, such as higher ethical standards and more rigorous financial oversight; and to replace the discredited Human Rights Commission with an effective and responsible council that shuns the violators of fundamental freedoms.

<http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/c/a/2005/09/14/EDGB7EMLVP1.DTL&hw=Lantos&sn=007&sc=268>

David Frum, Atlantic Partnership Panelist and resident fellow at AEI as well as former speechwriter for President George W. Bush expresses his views in a piece on the United Nations entitled, “This disaster exposes the myth of the UN's moral authority” in *The Daily Telegraph* (September 1, 2005). Excerpts below:

The UN's authority is instead one of those ineffable mystical mysteries. The authority's existence cannot be perceived by the senses and exerts no influence on the events of this world. Even the authority's most devout hierophants retain the right to disavow that authority at whim, as Ms Short herself disavowed its resolutions on Iraq. And yet at other times those same hierophants praise this same imperceptible, inconsequential, and intermittently binding authority as the best hope for a just and peaceful world.”

(...)

Europeans often interpret American skepticism about the UN as a sign of American indifference to world opinion. Yet Americans care passionately for the good opinion of the world. Nothing John Kerry said during the 2004 campaign inflicted as much damage to the President as his charges that George W Bush had ruptured alliances and lowered America's standing in the world. Unlike many on the European Left, however, Americans seem able to remember that the UN is a means to an end, not an end in itself.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/opinion/main.jhtml?xml=/opinion/2005/01/09/do0904.xml&sheet=/opinion/2005/01/09/ixop.html>

ON BRITISH IDENTITY

John O'Sullivan was special advisor to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and has held senior positions in the British press. Former Editor at large of the *National Interest*, and Atlantic Partnership panelist he writes a piece entitled “The Real British Disease” published in the *New Criterion* (Volume 24, September 2005, page 16). Excerpt below:

Britain Today: Part III

The British are experiencing a collective identity crisis. John O'Sullivan explains why, and why halting its progress is the surest way to protect Britain from decline.

There is nothing in the law of unintended consequences that dictates such consequences must be unpleasant ones (though that's the way to bet, as Damon Runyon remarked of Ecclesiastes 9:11). An unintended and beneficial consequence of the London bombings is the transformation of the debate in Britain over multiculturalism and “Britishness.” The discovery that the original

four bombers were cricket-playing native sons of Yorkshire has alarmed people who had reasonably assumed that the children of Muslim immigrants would assimilate to “Britishness” as a natural result of growing up in the country.

The bombings on the London underground shocked everyone out of this complacency, at least temporarily. None of the usual explanations seemed to apply. The bombers were not poor; they were not “marginalized”; they were not from disturbed or broken homes; they were not living in a culturally separate world. Some fit the profile of a potential terrorist, others did not. One was the son of a successful small businessman; another had fallen into petty crime and gone briefly to prison. Outwardly, they were young Brits of “minority” appearance out on a jaunt; inwardly, they were jihadis avenging the West’s supposed crimes against Islam.

These unsettling facts inevitably raised questions of political identity and allegiance. What had transformed ordinary young Brits into jihadists and mass murderers? What were we to make of the polls that showed substantial minorities of British Muslims sympathizing with them? And did these polls suggest that Muslims had been diverted from developing towards “Britishness” by a multiculturalism that encouraged them to cling to a separatist religious identity? Yet though these questions were put more sharply, they were not new. The British have been conducting a debate on “Britishness” and multiculturalism for most of a decade—indeed, they have been conducting two debates. (...)

<http://newcriterion.com/archives/24/09/the-real-british-disease/>

ON THE US ADMINISTRATION

General Brent Scowcroft, former National Security Advisor to President George H.W. Bush and Atlantic Partnership Trustee, reveals some of his differences with the current US Administration’s foreign policy particularly toward Iraq and the Middle East in an interview with Jeffrey Goldberg from *The New Yorker* (October 31, 2005). The Article is entitled, “Breaking Ranks: What Turned Brent Scowcroft Against the Bush Administration.” A few excerpts below:

The status quo, Scowcroft said, is not necessarily a good thing, but it might be better than what follows. “My kind of realism would look at what are the most likely consequences of pushing out a government. What will replace it?” What will replace autocratic but stable governments, neoconservative thinkers say, is whatever the people of the Middle East decide will replace them. Robert Kagan, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and a Kristol ally, has written critically of the Bush Administration’s incomplete adherence to its own anti-tyranny doctrine. Referring to President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, Kagan wrote, “Perhaps there is concern that too much pressure on Mubarak might produce a victory by the Muslim Brotherhood, the most popular Egyptian opposition party, which has been outlawed by the government. That’s a risk, of course, but if the Bush Administration isn’t willing to let Islamists, even radical Islamists, win votes in a fair election, then Bush officials should stop talking so much about democracy and go back to supporting the old dictatorships.”

http://www.newyorker.com/printables/fact/051031fa_fact2



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