

Atlantic Partnership Autumn Newsletter 2004



Atlantic Partnership Editorial

The early months of the second President Bush Administration are the best opportunity we are going to get to rebuild transatlantic relations. The President's visit to Europe in late February should be the occasion to launch the process.

Style will be important. Europeans want a strong reaffirmation from President Bush of his intention to listen more to America's allies and take more account of their concerns, as well as readiness to work with the European Union on economic, foreign policy and defence issues. They will also be listening for a less divisive and dismissive tone.

The Americans justifiably expect European leaders to avoid the fatal mistake which they made four years ago of under-estimating President Bush and treating him like a retarded schoolboy with reading and comprehension difficulties. There should be no patronizing lectures. They should also approach February's meeting in a spirit of putting past differences behind them, stop drawing up their petticoats with distaste for America's policies and be supportive over issues like North Korea and Asian security generally where Europe lets America carry the whole burden.

But though style is important, it is substance which counts. The list of transatlantic differences is a daunting one. Yet they can be overcome by imaginative and constructive diplomacy. Nothing is going to change the attitude of European opponents of America-led intervention in Iraq before the Iraqi elections at end-January. But thereafter Europe should elect for a more positive and forthcoming role, in particular when it comes to training Iraqi forces and helping on the ground with reconstruction. America should be ready to join forces with Europe to incentivise Iran to halt the suspect elements of its nuclear programme. A combined US-European effort is far more likely to be effective than a Europe-only approach with America sniping from the side-lines. Similarly with Israel/Palestine, the Europeans need to resist pirouetting to impress Arab opinion while leaving the heavy lifting to the US, and work instead on a cooperative approach through the

Quartet. President Bush has signalled his readiness to become engaged once new Palestinian leadership is in the saddle and the process of withdrawal from Gaza is under way and Europeans should give him every encouragement.

There are serious issues to take forward on the economic front: action to address the US deficit which does not leave Europe bearing the whole burden of re-adjustment: a joint push to move the Doha Round forward: resolution of the Boeing-Airbus subsidies dispute: a more cooperative approach to climate change for which there seems to be growing support in the US Senate led by John McCain.

Of course Europe and the US won't agree on everything. They never have and they never will. But in the past preserving the overall relationship was regarded as more important than prevailing in policy disputes. That has not been the case in the last four years. We need to get our priorities right again.

The relationship is never going to be the same as it was in the Cold War. Nostalgia is not a policy. We have to work out a new transatlantic bargain which takes account of the change in the threat, the emergence of disproportionate American power, and the enlargement of the European Union and its aspiration to act as a unit. We have missed that opportunity over the last four years and cannot afford to do so again.

Atlantic Partnership will continue to champion the transatlantic relationship as vigorously as ever. We have attracted speakers of extraordinary calibre this autumn and plan to field some of the leading protagonists on both sides of the Atlantic in 2005, including the NATO Secretary-General, the EU's External Trade Commissioner and leading members of the American political establishment. We hope for your continued support.

Charles Powell

ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP THIS AUTUMN

Events have included:

- Breakfast with **former German Defence Minister, Volke Ruhe** hosted with German patrons Friedrich Merz and Karsten Voigt in Berlin;
- Young Leaders' breakfast in New York with British Labour MP, **James Purnell**;
- Breakfast with the **Supreme Allied Commander Europe (SACEUR), General James L Jones**, in Paris;
- Breakfast with **former British Defence Minister Michael Portillo and former SACEUR General Ralston** in Washington DC;
- The first Atlantic Partnership breakfast in Rome with **Dr Henry Kissinger**;
- Breakfast with **Senator Gordon Smith** and members of the Senatorial delegation in London;
- Breakfast with **Senator John McCain** in London; and,
- Breakfast with former **Spanish Prime Minister Aznar** in London.

Lunch was given for Ambassador Bob Blackwill who had just left the White House where he was Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategic Planning. He also served as the Presidential Envoy to Iraq

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

The following events are planned for the Winter:

Breakfasts are in the process of being confirmed in Paris with Professor Joseph Nye, in the USA with Lord Robertson, in London with the Secretary General of NATO, the President of the NATO Assembly, Pierre Lellouche, and the European Commissioner Peter Mandelson. Also, a Young Leaders' breakfast is scheduled with John O'Sullivan, Editor of the National Interest, in New York on March 4, 2005.

ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP PEOPLE

Sophie Simonard has replaced Owen Pengelly as our Associate Director in Washington DC. Her biography can be accessed on:

<http://www.atlanticpartnership.com/index.php?fuseaction=StaffBio&id=111>

Pierre Lellouche, a French depute and Atlantic Partnership Vice Chairman has been elected President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly.

ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP OPINION

We include in this section a variety of extracts of speeches and articles given by Atlantic Partnership panellists, Chairmen and patrons over the last few months.

If you wish to research more articles, Atlantic Partnership's website www.atlanticpartnership.com contains links to all the articles written by panellists, chairmen and patrons. It also contains copies of past newsletters as well as relevant articles and speeches on the subject of transatlantic relations.

In his opening statement at the Hearing on Public Diplomacy, **Senator Biden**, Ranking Democrat on the Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, and Atlantic Partnership Patron, talked about how America must step up to meet its public diplomacy needs because, "American foreign policy cannot be sustained at home without the informed consent of the American people, [and] it cannot succeed abroad unless it can be explained, not only to presidents and prime ministers, but also to foreign publics". February 27, 2003

<http://biden.senate.gov/pressapp/record.cfm?id=190720>

In the run up to the US elections, **William Cohen**, Atlantic Partnership Co-Chairman (USA) wrote a piece in the *Financial Times*, "Failure in Iraq is dangerous for all". October 18, 2004

http://search.ft.com/search/totalSearch_More.html?vsc_query=William+Cohen&searchCat=0&vsc_publicationGroups=FTFT&offset=0&vsc_appId=totalSearch

Niall Ferguson, Atlantic Partnership panellist, wrote *that Tony Blair and George W. Bush are perfect partners — Christian soldiers armed with Bibles and bazookas — but Britain now has more in common with Europe than with the United States.* September 25, 2004, *The Spectator*

<http://www.spectator.co.uk/article.php?table=old§ion=current&issue=2004-09-25&id=5038>

Michael Howard, Leader of the Opposition (UK) and Atlantic Partnership Founding Chairman, addressed US journalists on Europe, America and Iraq.

October, 19 2004

http://www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/today/listenagain/ztuesday_20041019.shtml

Dr. Henry Kissinger, Atlantic Partnership patron, discusses the incomparable international political challenges facing the Bush administration, in an insightful piece, "Defining a new world order" in the *International Herald Tribune* - November 6, 2004. He contends that in order for "The Atlantic relationship, to be meaningful, [it] needs to have a special character. The United States and Europe should be prepared to do things for each other in the sphere beyond the immediate dictates of national interest and without insisting on universal consensus."

<http://www.ihrt.com/articles/2004/11/05/opinion/edkissinger.html>

Pierre Lellouche, Atlantic Partnership French Vice-Chairman and newly elected President of the NATO Parliamentary Assembly, was interviewed by *Le Monde* on

his views on America, Iraq, and US-French relations in the event of a Kerry victory. October 15, 2004

http://www.lemonde.fr/cgi-bin/ACHATS/acheter.cgi?offre=ARCHIVES&type_item=ART_ARCH_30J&o

John Micklethwait, Atlantic Partnership panellist, and Adrian Wooldridge launched their book *The Right Nation: Why America is Different*. In this article, “How the Right has won in the US” published in *The Spectator* on September 11, 2004, **Micklethwait** and Wooldridge argue ‘that the Republicans, unlike the British Tories, believe in the future.’

<http://www.new-frontiers.org/classicdocs/Spectator.pdf>

George Osborne MP, Atlantic Partnership Panellist, wrote “While England sleeps” in which he *defends the war in Iraq, and says that those who dismiss the war on terror are underestimating a ruthless and implacable foe* published in *The Spectator* - August 14, 2004.

<http://www.georgeosborne.co.uk/record.jsp?type=article&ID=54>

At the time of the Republican Party Convention in New York, **George Osborne MP** published, “Bush Gives Lessons for Tory Victory, Bush is Giving the Tories a Masterclass in How to Win” in *The Times*. August 31, 2004.

<http://new-frontiers.org/newsarchives/display.aspx?n=290>

John O’Sullivan, Atlantic Partnership panellist writes, “A Conservative Departs” referring to Colin Powell’s resignation as Secretary of State. *National Review*, December 13, 2004.

<http://www.nationalreview.com/jos/jos.asp>

James Purnell MP, Atlantic Partnership Panellist, wrote a piece for the *New Statesman* entitled, “The New Internationalism” on preparing for the ‘coming multilateral shared power’. This article is based on his lecture for an Atlantic Partnership Young Leaders’ breakfast held on November 4, 2004.

http://www.newstatesman.com/site.php3?newTemplate=NSArticle_NS&newDisplayURN=200411220019

Sir Malcolm Rifkind, Atlantic Partnership panellist, states that “American troops must stay in Iraq. But they must change their helmets” in *The Independent*. October 3, 2004

http://psychoanalystsopposewar.org/resources_files/American_troops_must_stay_in_Iraq.html

Lord Robertson, Atlantic Partnership Patron, calls for a renewed effort to bridge the transatlantic discord on Iraq in “Friends Again” in *The Wall Street Journal Europe* (via Dow Jones). November 10, 2004.

http://www.aei.org/research/nai/news/newsID.21579.projectID.11/news_detail.asp

Brent Scowcroft, Former National Security Advisory and Atlantic Partnership Trustee, tells the *Financial Times* that “the US administration's unilateralist stance had contributed to the decline of the transatlantic relationship”.

<http://news.ft.com/cms/s/cb066858-1d7f-11d9-abbf-00000e2511c8.html>

Simon Serfaty, Zbigniew Brzezinski Chair in Global Security and Geostrategy at Center for Strategic International Studies, Atlantic Partnership Panellist, proposes some benchmarks for the foreign policy of the second Bush administration in an open memorandum to President Bush which appeared in, “*Vital Partnership: Half After Bush*”. November 3, 2004.

<http://www.csis.org/europe/initiative/vitalpartnership.pdf>

Simon Serfaty wrote, “Bush, vainqueur mal aimé” in *L'Expansion* magazine. November 17, 2004.

<http://www.lexpansion.com/art/0.0.79959.0.html>

Radek Sikorski, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute and Executive Director, New Atlantic Initiative, and Atlantic Partnership panelist, interviewed Paul Wolfowitz on Nov 18, 2004 – and generated a thought provoking article on Iraq, the middle East, the transatlantic relationship, and other foreign policy matters.

http://www.aei.org/news/filter.,newsID.21559/news_detail.asp

Lord Owen, former British Foreign Secretary, and Atlantic Partnership Panellist, spoke about “Terrorism and Rogue states” at a colloquium on Justified War, Iraq and the Reform of the United Nations organized by The Centre for Global Studies and the World Political Forum.

May 20, 2004

<http://www.globalstudies.org.uk/?events>

Michael Howard addressed the topic of “Britain In The World Today” at Chatham House. November 17, 2004. He said: ‘We are also not short of some international tensions nearer home. They are of a quite different order, but nevertheless of enormous significance. In the events leading up to, and in the aftermath of, the war in Iraq serious tensions have arisen between the United States and some European countries. I understand those. But I very much regret them. Even before the Iraq war, I was becoming increasingly concerned about a growing rift. That is why, when I was on the back benches, I established the non-partisan Atlantic Partnership, a think-tank which seeks to promote close relationships between Europeans and Americans. One of my worries is that for some people, the main motive for greater political union in Europe is to establish a rival to the United States. I don't want rivalry. I want partnership.’

<http://www.riia.org/index.php?id=100>

ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

President and Founding Chairman
The Rt Hon Michael Howard QC MP

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The Hon Dr Henry Kissinger
Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr
The Rt Hon John Major CH
The Rt Hon Dr Lord Gilbert
The Rt Hon Lord Robertson
M. Alain Juppé
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Mr. Daniel Yergin - Secretary

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Catherine Fall - Director Worldwide

Douglas Seay - Director USA
Sophie Simonard-Norman - Associate Director USA

Contact Atlantic Partnership

If you wish to know more about the work of Atlantic Partnership please feel free to contact AP Director Catherine Fall in London at 011 44 (0)207 738 1423 or by email at cfall@workcambridge.fsnet.co.uk

In the US, contact AP Associate Director Sophie Simonard-Norman in Washington at 202 974 2423 or by email at sophie.atlanticpartnership@verizon.net

<http://www.atlanticpartnership.com>