

Atlantic Partnership Spring Newsletter 2005



Atlantic Partnership Editorial

President Bush's visit to Europe was an important step in repairing the deep rift in transatlantic relations over the justification for the Iraq war. It speaks well for President Bush that he was prepared to take the initiative to bridge the gap.

Improving the transatlantic rhetoric was very necessary, but not in itself enough. Nor can the President's meetings alone be the message: there has to be progress on the substance of the issues which have led to transatlantic differences. Rebuilding trust and a shared agenda across the Atlantic will need policy compromises and tough political decisions by both sides.

There has been some important progress. First, a welcome alignment on American and European policies towards Iran, to persuade or if necessary to compel it to surrender its nuclear weapons ambitions. The US and Europe have acted in tandem to put pressure on Syria to withdraw from Lebanon. And both sides of the Atlantic are committed to supporting fresh negotiations between Israel and the Palestinians as well as prompt Israeli withdrawal from Gaza. These are all promising steps. The test will be whether the restored sense of unity and working together can be maintained in practice as events in these areas move forward.

There are other pressing policy differences which still need to be confronted and settled. Following the elections in Iraq, Europe ought to be less niggardly in providing practical support for nation-building there, particularly by providing on-the-spot military and police training, and better still by making available a NATO-badged force to protect the UN in Iraq. Europe's intention of lifting the arms embargo on China has to be far better explained in the US so that Congress and the Administration realise that replacing the current embargo, which is a political device with no legal force and to which exceptions are frequently made, with an effective and

binding code of conduct for exports of military and other high-tech equipment actually provides a more effective safeguard against arming China and increasing the threat to Taiwan.

Disagreements on trade issues, and especially Boeing/Airbus subsidies, gnaw away at the transatlantic relationship. A political commitment to resolve them and also to bring the Doha World Trade Round to a successful conclusion is needed. Although the issues are often arcane, trade disputes cannot be pursued in isolation. They inevitably poison the overall relationship.

Beyond these are broader, existential differences such as the persistent yearning of some European governments to see Europe float away from the US, to act as some sort of third force. That would mean unravelling the concept of the West and all that we have gained from it. Luckily those who think this way are primarily appeasing domestic constituencies rather than articulating a serious strategy, which would anyway have only the remotest prospect of success in the enlarged European Union. On the American side the President's vision of extending freedom throughout the Middle East needs to be converted into more detailed and concrete policy initiatives if it is to attract the European support which it deserves.

Of course there will continue to be transatlantic differences and disagreements: there always have been and it would be absurd to expect to eliminate them all. But the better mood in the relationship which has been established since President Bush's visit to Europe is a tender plant and needs to be cherished. If we fail to keep up the momentum in favour of aligning policies and working together re-established over the past few weeks, then we shall all too easily slip backwards. Atlantic Partnership urges governments on both sides of the Atlantic to keep restoration of the Atlantic unity at the top of the agenda. We shall do everything in our power to support them through our own activities.

Charles Powell

ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP EVENTS

EVENTS WINTER 2005

Events have included:

- Breakfast with the **President of the NATO Assembly, Pierre Lellouche** (Member of the Assembly Nationale) in London;
- A Young Leaders' breakfast in New York with **John O'Sullivan**, Editor of the National Interest;
- Lunch in London with **Secretary Madeleine Albright**;
- Breakfast in Washington DC with **Senator Lindsey Graham and US-German Coordinator for the German Government, Karsten D Voigt** hosted by the German Ambassador at his residence; and,
- Breakfast in London with **Senator Sam Nunn**, Co-Chairman of Atlantic Partnership and of the Nuclear Threat Initiative.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

The following events are planned for the Spring/Summer.

- Breakfast in Paris with US foreign policy guru **Professor Joseph Nye**, on the 25th May;
- Breakfast in Washington/New York with **Senator Joe Biden**;
- Breakfast in Frankfurt with **former US Ambassador to Germany Richard Burt and Atlantic Partnership patron Friedrich Merz** on the 19th July;
- Breakfast with **John Scarlett, Head of the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6)**; and,
- Breakfast with **European Commissioner Peter Mandelson** on the 22nd July in London.

We are in the process of scheduling other meetings for the Spring and Summer and shall let you know as soon as they are confirmed.

ATLANTIC PARTNERHIP TRUSTEES

We are delighted that **Roger Kline, Senior Partner at McKinsey & Co.** has agreed to be President of the Friends of Atlantic Partnership and effective manager of the US Charity Board. He will be joined on the Executive Committee by Seth Dubin and Douglas Seay. Biographies are below:

Roger Kline

Roger Kline is a Director (Senior Partner) at McKinsey with responsibility for McKinsey's service to a number of its largest global clients. He has been interviewed or quoted in and written articles on various topics for the Wall Street Journal, the American Banker, Fortune, and other journals and periodicals.

Within McKinsey he has headed the firm's banking and securities practice and was previously head of the New York office, McKinsey's largest. He is a long-standing member of McKinsey's board.

In addition to his role as President of U.S. Friends of the Atlantic Partnership, Roger is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and serves on the Advisory Council of the U.S. Public Company Accounting Oversight Board.

<http://www.atlanticpartnership.com/index.php?fuseaction=StaffBio&id=112>

Seth Dubin

Seth H. Dubin is of counsel to Satterlee Stephens Burke & Burke LLP.

Mr. Dubin is engaged in acquisitions and financings of domestic and foreign clients, particularly for technology and other intellectual property companies. He is experienced in intellectual property transfers and licensing and distribution of intellectual property. He also represents many cultural and educational organizations, often in connection with commercial exploitation of their intangible resources.

Mr. Dubin is the Chairman of the Hebrew Technical Institute, the President Emeritus and a Trustee of the New York Hall of Science, a member of the Engineering Advisory Board of Cooper Union, and Member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

In the past, Mr. Dubin has served as Chairman of A Better Chance, Treasurer of the Millicent Rogers Museum of Taos, New Mexico, a Trustee of the Oxford University Press, a member of the Mayor's Commission on Science and Technology, a Panelist of the New York City Cultural Challenge Program, a Director of WICAT Systems Inc., Technology Flavors & Fragrances, Inc., a Trustee of the Chatham House Foundation, a Trustee of the Industry Leaders Fund, and a Fellow of the Foreign Policy Association

Mr. Dubin received an honorary degree from Oxford University in recognition of his service as a Trustee of the Oxford University Press and counsel to the Press and to the University. Earlier, he received the Medal for Eminent Service from Amherst College.

Mr. Dubin attended Columbia College and graduated from Amherst College. He received his law degree from Harvard Law School.

<http://www.atlanticpartnership.com/index.php?fuseaction=StaffBio&id=113>

Douglas Seay

Doug Seay serves as a senior staff member of the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives. Mr. Seay's area of responsibility include the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; Russia, Ukraine, and the former Soviet Union; trade; and public diplomacy, among others. He also serves as Chairman Hyde's principal speechwriter. Mr. Seay joined the Committee in May 2001.

Mr. Seay is a former Foreign Service Officer and former Deputy Director of Foreign Policy at the Heritage Foundation in Washington, D.C. Prior to joining the Committee, Mr. Seay was a member of the 2000 presidential campaign of then-governor George W. Bush, where his work focused on foreign and defense policy issues and on the presidential debates.

<http://www.atlanticpartnership.com/index.php?fuseaction=StaffBio&id=64>

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.com contains links to all the articles written by our panel, chairmen and patrons. It also contains copies of past newsletters as well as relevant articles and speeches on the subject of transatlantic relations.

ON THE TRANSATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP

George Robertson (Atlantic Partnership Patron) set the tone for a more optimistic year in transatlantic relations writing an article, *Friends Again*, for the Wall Street Journal:

During my time at NATO, when I got to know and respect George W. Bush, I found that mine was a lonely voice in telling people that this president was quite different from the European stereotypes of him. He was surer and more self-confident than he projected and a whole lot smarter than his many critics portrayed. I also saw a president interested in listening, in questioning and in paying attention to the replies -- and a man who shouldn't be underestimated. After last week's U.S. elections, I'm not nearly so alone.

Lord Robertson went on to set out the agenda for developing better transatlantic relations calling for Europeans to involve themselves more in Iraq and America to address the stalemate between the Israelis and the Palestinians as a priority. He also called on both side so help modernize the UN.

<http://www.cohengroup.net/news-op-ed111004.html>

Lord Robertson was NATO's secretary-general from 1999 to 2003 and Britain's defense minister from 1997 to 1999.

Senator Biden (Atlantic Partnership Patron) criticised the breakdown in diplomatic relations during the first Bush administration whilst questioning Secretary Condoleezza Rice's at her hearing on January 19, 2005. He said:

"Despite our great military might we are in my view more alone in the world than we've been in any time in recent memory", Senator Joe Biden fired back. "The time for diplomacy is long overdue."

"The speed with which the US squandered the international goodwill that accrued to it after the attacks of 11 September 2001 must be accounted one of the greatest diplomatic failures of the past half century." (19th January)

Josef Joffe, Editor, "Die Zeit" and Atlantic Partnership panelist wrote a piece entitled, *Shifting Atlantic Alliance Europe and the U.S. have learned that they need each other* February 14, 2005 in the Washington Post.

He concludes in his article, "Who needs friendship when there are so many interests that beg to be harnessed? This is why the new secretary of state did the right thing when she chose Europe for her first foray abroad. It was a beau geste and a smart one, to boot. Less Rummy, more Rice -- that is a promising curtain-raiser for the president's second term."

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A21977-2005Feb13.html>

President Bush's visit to Europe in February prompted a flurry of articles, speeches, as well as TV and radio interviews on the transatlantic relationship from our patrons, chairmen and panelists. For example, **Joe Biden**, **Karsten Voigt** and **James Rubin** were amongst those interviewed on BBC's leading *Today Programme*.

Richard Burt (Atlantic Partnership Trustee) and **Laurent Cohen-Tanugi** (Atlantic Partnership panelist) were among the 55 foreign policy and national security experts who signed the "Compact between the United States and Europe." This document as described in the International Herald Tribune by Philip Gordon and Charles Grant sets out *A concrete Strategy for mending fences* between the USA and Europe. The 11-page Compact was published on February 17, 2005.

<http://www.iht.com/articles/2005/02/16/opinion/edcompact.html>
http://www.brookings.edu/fp/cuse/center_hp.htm

Also, in the Associated press on February 19, 2005, **Karsten Voigt** (Atlantic Partnership Patron) said :

"It is a very traditional close partnership which is changing, and will improve if we recognize that this partnership needs to be more and more relevant in view of new challenges, and new opportunities and new threats"

Before President Bush's trip to Europe, **Dominique Moisi** senior researcher at the French Institute for International Relations and AP Panelist said on February 20th in the Boston Globe,

"In his first term, Bush ignored and even denigrated the EU (...) This time he is saying he wants the EU stronger, and he is coming to Brussels. This is a very significant shift."

The article, *Bush To Seek EU's Embrace During European Trip; But Rifts Persist In Relationship, Analysts Warn* is written by Charles M. Sennott and Susan Milligan, Globe Staff.

<http://www.iiss.org/news-more.php?itemID=1278>

Colin Powell spoke for the first time to Charles Moore from the Sunday Telegraph on February 26, 2005.

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/main.jhtml;sessionid=PZPCBUYARESSPQFIQMFCM54AVCBQYJVC?xml=/news/2005/02/26/wpowell126.xml&secureRefresh=true&requestid=28469>

Simon Serfaty, AP Panelist and Director of the Europe Program at the CSIS, said on April 6, 2005 in the Christian Science Monitor:

"Each side has come to the conclusion that we can do things together that it couldn't do alone, and each side is taking steps to prolong this new tone,"

<http://www.csmonitor.com/2005/0406/p02s01-usfp.html>

ON IRAQ

On the eve of the 2005 January elections in Iraq **Henry Kissinger** (Atlantic Partnership Patron) and George Shultz wrote for the International Herald Tribune: *Election in Iraq: A Rout is not an Exit Strategy*.

They write: “The legitimacy of the political institutions emerging in Iraq depends on international acceptance of the new government. American’s European allies must not shame themselves and the traditional alliance by continuing to stand aloof from even a political process, which, whatever their view of recent history, will affect their future even more than the United States”

<http://www.ihrt.com/articles/2005/01/25/opinion/edkissinger.html>

Karsten Voigt (Atlantic Partnership Patron) said in the Associated press on February 19, 2005:

“Germany was against the war, but we have an interest in the success of the United States in Iraq. More stability and more democracy in Iraq are in European interests, to.”

ON THE U.N.

David Frum (Atlantic Partnership panellist) called for a radical review of the UN in an article for the Sunday Telegraph (9th January).

He said: “Europeans often interpret American scepticism 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;sessionid=WNI3P2IGUDYBDQFIQMFSM5OAVCBQJVC?xml=/opinion/2005/01/09/do0904.xml&secureRefresh=true&requestid=47691>

ON CHINA

Congressman Henry Hyde, Chairman of the House Committee on International Relations, and AP Vice-Chairman, wrote in the Wall Street Journal a piece entitled *Don't Sell Arms to China* February 23, 2005.

He states, “Against this backdrop, there is a dangerous development taking shape in the EU's security policy toward China, one that runs counter to the advance of liberty and threatens U.S. security interests, as well as those of Japan and Taiwan.”

http://online.wsj.com/public/page/0,,public_home_search,00.html

http://www.aei.org/research/nai/news/newsID.22019,projectID.11/news_detail.asp

ON NATO

In the program *RFI-L'Express L'Invité de la semaine* on February 28, 2005 **Pierre Lellouche** (AP Vice Chairman France) was interviewed by **Alain Louyot et Pierre Ganz** (RFI) *Les Ukrainiens sont aussi européens que les Polonais*. Questions touched on US –EU relations, NATO and Ukraine and the Middle East Peace Process.

Pierre Lellouche said, “Il y a chez eux un souci à la fois d'éviter un isolement qui devenait embarrassant, même aux Etats-Unis, et de montrer qu'ils ont à nouveau une relation normale avec leurs alliés. Il y a donc, tactiquement, une vraie recherche d'un dialogue, une volonté de fermer la porte sur les deux années de divorce presque public sur le fond.”

<http://www.lexpress.fr/info/monde/dossier/otan/dossier.asp?ida=431929>

ON IRAN

Henry Kissinger (Atlantic Partnership Patron) wrote a newspaper opinion piece entitled *Iran : A Nuclear Test Case* in the Washington Post on March 8, 2005.

“Do the allies intend to confine their efforts to diplomacy, or are they prepared for other measures if diplomacy fails?” Kissinger asked.

“One reason the European negotiators have made the limited progress they have on the nuclear issue with Iran is the implied threat of actions the United States might take in case of deadlock,” he said.

Senator Sam Nunn (Atlantic Partnership Co-Chairman) stated: “President Bush must offer incentives and European leaders must apply more pressure in joint efforts to persuade Iran to give up its alleged nuclear weapons program” in an article entitled *Stop Iran's nukes Incentives, deterrents advocated* by Bob Dean in the Atlanta Journal – Constitution on March 10, 2005.

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