



Strasbourg, 31 May 2011

**Council of Europe Democracy Debate  
Inaugural debate  
Strasbourg, 5 April 2011**

**Europe in times of change: governance,  
democratic empowerment and the information age**

**Professor Žiga Turk**  
*Secretary General of the Reflection Group on the Future of Europe and  
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**Welcome remarks by Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe**

When I became Secretary General to the Council of Europe one of my ambitions was to make this Organisation more innovative and forward looking and we therefore established the Policy Planning Directorate, led by Ambassador Piotr Switalski. He has initiated these Democracy Debates which offers colleagues in the Secretariat and Ambassadors an opportunity to think about many of the crucial issues that European democracies are facing. These include problems related to globalisation, migration, climate change, poverty and many others.

We all need to think about and discuss these challenges and try to come up with new ideas and solutions. The political architecture of Europe is also changing as a consequence of the Lisbon treaty, and we have to put our energies into that context too. It is with this in mind that you have been invited to this first Democracy Debate.

This cycle forms a component of the Forum for the Future of Democracy. We also have a number of other activities on democracy including the School of Political Studies and the Summer University for Democracy. We are exploring how to put all these activities together in 2012 in a 'Strasbourg International Forum for Democracy' – a week in early July where we would discuss the challenges facing democracy in Europe. This proposal takes up a recommendation from the Parliamentary Assembly. The City of Strasbourg is also very interested in this proposal. We can consider this Democracy Debate as a preparation for such an event.

We are delighted to have Professor Žiga Turk - who combines scientific expertise with political leadership - with us today. He was Secretary General of the Reflection Group on the Future of Europe which very recently presented its Report "Project Europe 2030" to the European Council.

## **Presentation by Professor Žiga Turk**

### ***Introduction***

It is a pleasure to share with you some ideas related to the work of the Reflection Group on the Future of Europe. I will be relying heavily on the findings of this Group but my presentation will not be a mapping of the Reflection Group report, but rather my interpretation of it with some further ideas of my own<sup>1</sup>.

Drawing on my expertise and research in information sciences, I will begin by defining this time of change and the five grand transformations which are currently disrupting Europe and the world. In the second part I will speak about Europe now, its past successes and make recommendations from the Reflection Group. I will suggest that the three resources of the future are: the sun; the people and Europe's institutions. In the final part of the lecture, I will bring the people and the institutions together to speak about freedom, democracy and empowerment.

The five grand transformations are easy to remember:

- a. Automation and abundance;
- b. BRIC: Brazil, Russia, India, China, India and globalisation;
- c. Climate change and energy;
- d. Demography
- e. E-everything, information, technology, computers, everything electronic.

These are indeed transformations, they are disruptions, they are not developments which would make the future just like the past plus a few percentage points. Things are becoming very different.

### ***Outlining the issues***

#### ***A – Abundance and automation***

As suggested by Daniel H. Pink<sup>2</sup>, our industrial society had a pattern that was useful for the workers, for consumers and for those who were investing resources into production. In the past people would work, earn a salary and those who invested capital in the factory would make profits and manufacture something people would buy. This model worked across the industrial revolution and throughout the industrial period of our development. However, today things are different; automation brings us to the point where robots are working and money can be made not by investing in something real, but by playing the financial markets. This overcapacity, this production which is getting extremely sophisticated and efficient is leading to abundance of products, information and food in the developed world. Abundance is a problem of the developed world, not of Africa and most of Asia, etc.

The problem today is how to keep people busy, what will they be employed to do? We are seeking different solutions. One solution is to try to sell a motorbike to people who already have a car. The point is not to sell them another device with which they will be able to travel around the world, but rather, as suggested by the CEO of Harley Davidson "what we sell is not a motorbike, what we sell is the ability for a 33 year old accountant to dress in black leather, ride through small towns and have people be afraid of him". This is what they are trying to sell.

Most industry in this age of abundance is not selling a function or a device with which you can move from point A to point B. They are selling us meaning, good design and a good feeling about what we buy. We can buy plain coffee or we can buy something which is fair traded where all the profits are properly distributed, where there is no exploitation of child labour or women in the producing countries. It is not a function we seek, it is a meaning.

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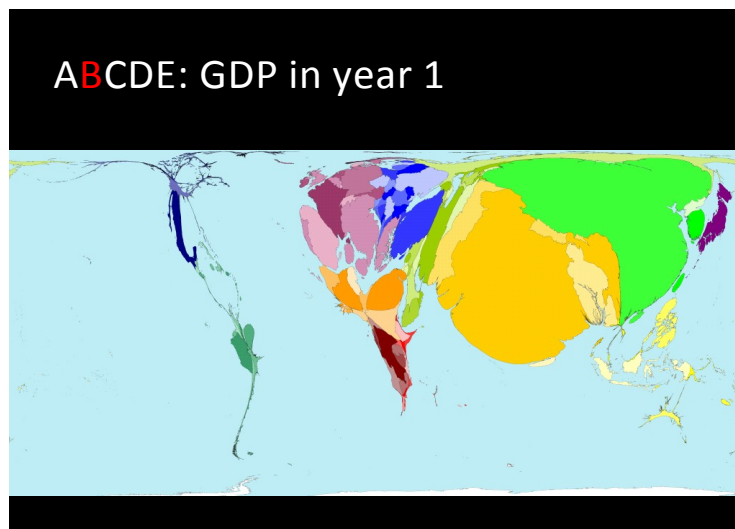
<sup>1</sup> The report can be downloaded at: [www.reflectiongroup.eu](http://www.reflectiongroup.eu)

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.danpink.com/about>

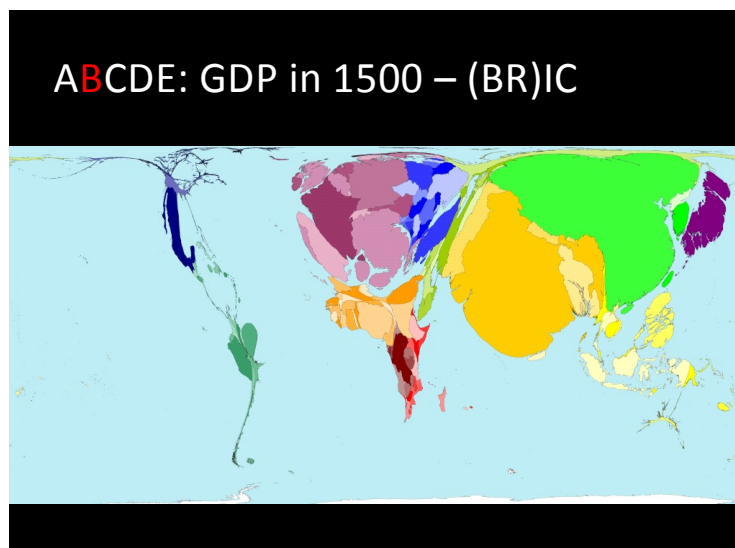
This is a huge shift from the economy of scarcity to the economy of abundance. In scarcity you are trying to sell function, because the functions are scarce, in the economy of abundance you are trying to sell meaning. We live in the period of abundance of agricultural products, food and information. I suggest this means the end of the industrial and the information age and the beginning of the creative economy.

### B – BRICs and globalisation

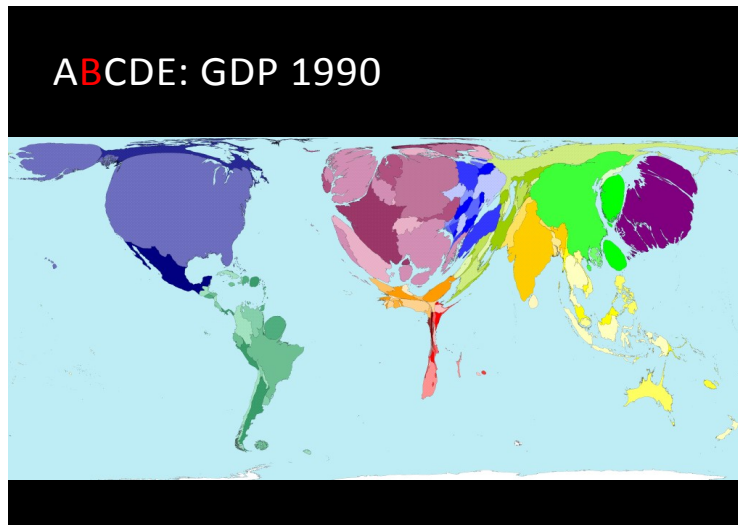
This table shows countries with their size proportionate to their GDP. In year one, the United States or the whole of America is extremely small, Latin America is even smaller. India and China are huge. In the Mediterranean - there is something, Europe is substantial but it is about the size of India.



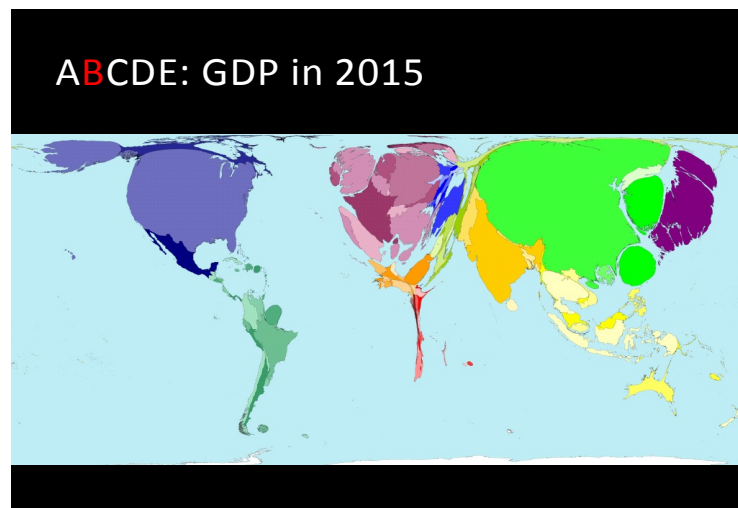
In 1500 the situation is roughly the same. Europe is a little bit bigger, India and China are still huge. In Slovenia we say “*India Coromandia*” which means “reach India, paradise is in India”. It used to be a notion of a country or a land which is extremely rich and this was only 500 years ago.



If we look at 1990, just 20 years ago, we see a totally different map: huge United States and Western Europe, India about the size of France, China is about the size of Germany and Italy combined. This is how we believe the world is built. But things are changing rapidly and our image does not reflect the world as it is today, but rather as it was 20 years ago.



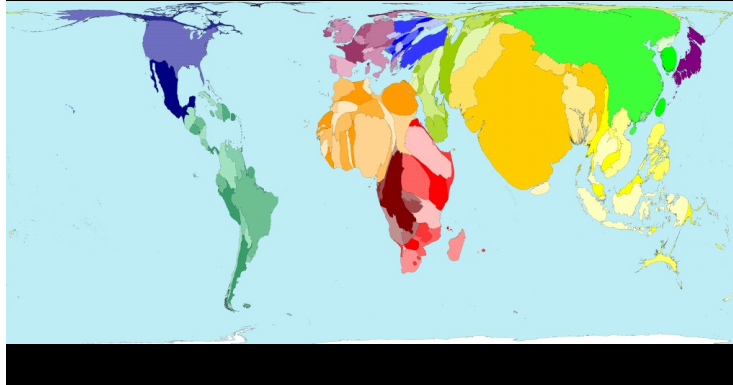
Looking at the projections for 2015, the map begins to resemble the maps of 1500 and of year one. China is already huge, India is getting bigger.



Looking at a projection for 2050, with the map distorted according to population size, Europe is becoming small, India and China very big. We understand now that people are the most important economic resource so in all probability the economic map will follow the population map.

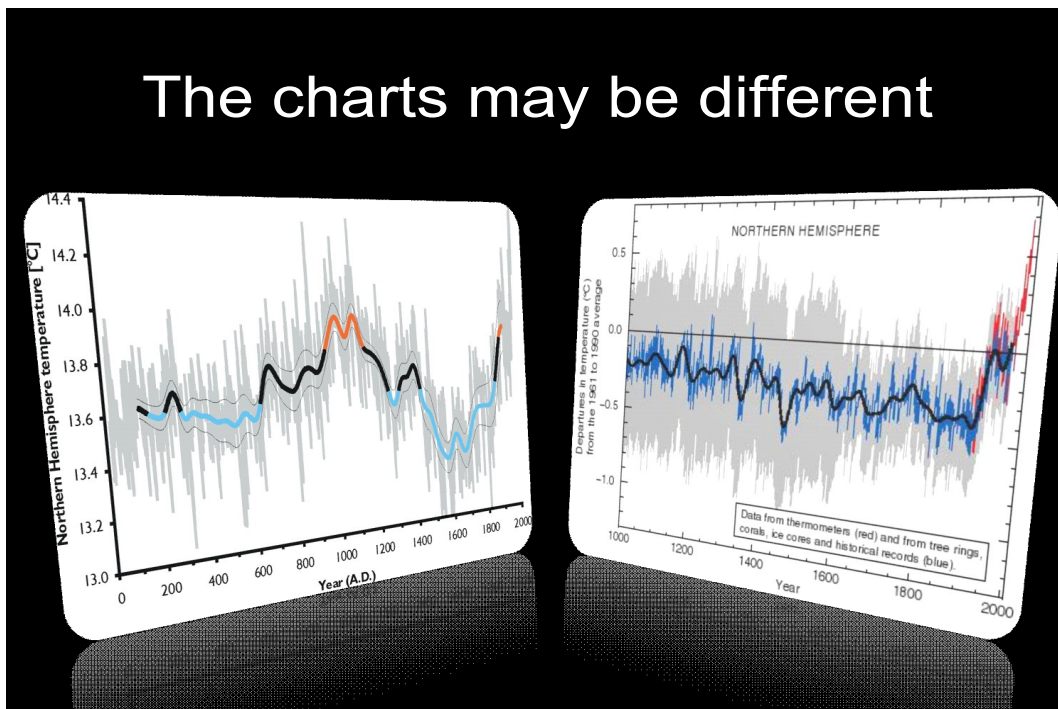
The trends of GDP are fairly straightforward: the West is going down and China going up. We have become accustomed to the fact that the West is somehow the master of the world. This has been the case for the last 500 years, but this period is definitely ending and it would seem that the Cold war was the last global internal conflict of Christian civilisation. The beginning of the multi-polar world is coming.

## ABCDE: GDP-Population in 2050



C- Climate change and related energy problems.

## The charts may be different

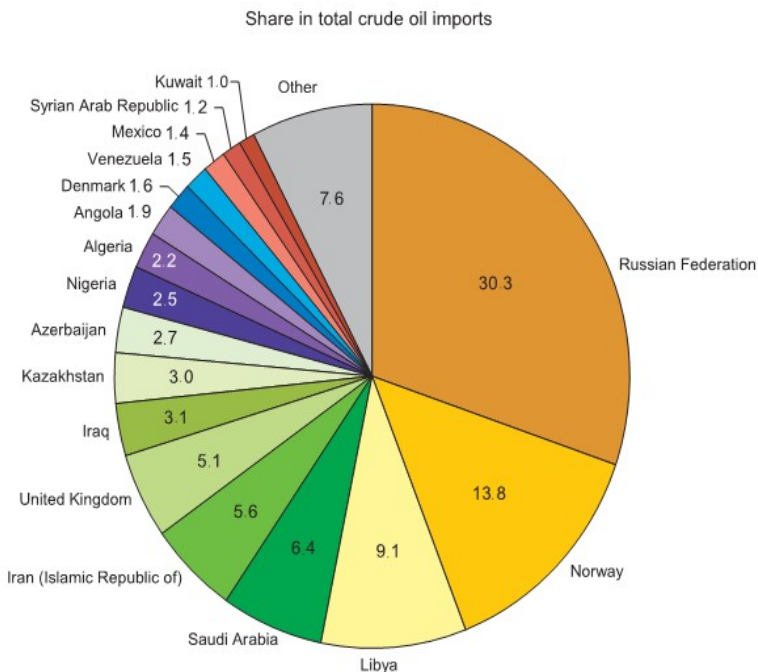


There are big debates about these two extreme charts predicting temperatures. The chart on the left-hand side would typically be shown by so-called climate sceptics who will tell you that there was the medieval optimum where it was very warm and Greenland was green land and Labrador was wind land where wine grew. Furthermore, we are not so warm now as it was then.

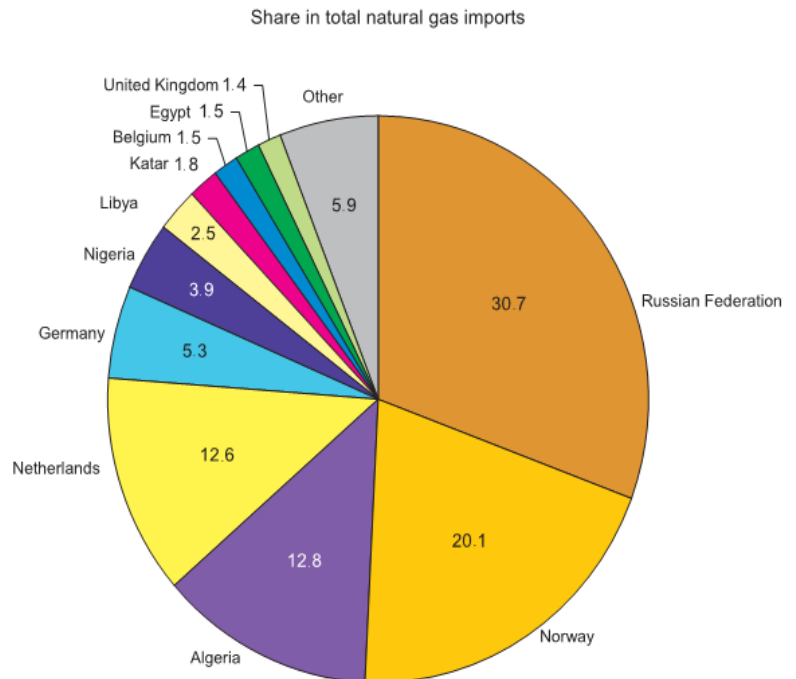
The other slide shows how much warmer the planet is now compared to all that came before in civilised history. We are not quite sure where the truth is between these two diagrams, but we are all observing that the climate is changing; there would be no skiing in the Alps if artificial snow was not used.

Linked to climate change is the problem that the price of energy is going up, resources are not infinite.

**Imports of crude oil in EU27 by country of origin 2007**



**Imports of natural gas in EU27 by country of origin 2007**



Looking at the location from which the EU sources its energy, half of all the oil comes from only three countries: Russian Federation, Norway and Libya, with a few more smaller suppliers. For natural gas, which is now considered to be the cleanest fossil fuel, three quarters of the supply comes from four countries: Russian Federation, Norway, Algeria and the Netherlands. If you were a business, you would not like to be limited to so few sources.

We know how to reduce CO2 emissions - we lived sustainably 200 years ago - but we do not want to sacrifice the quality of life that we have obtained through the use of energy and we do not want to weaken the economy while healing the climate. We are coming to the end of under ground energy and fossil fuels. These will be replaced by above ground energy sources, mostly sun-powered.

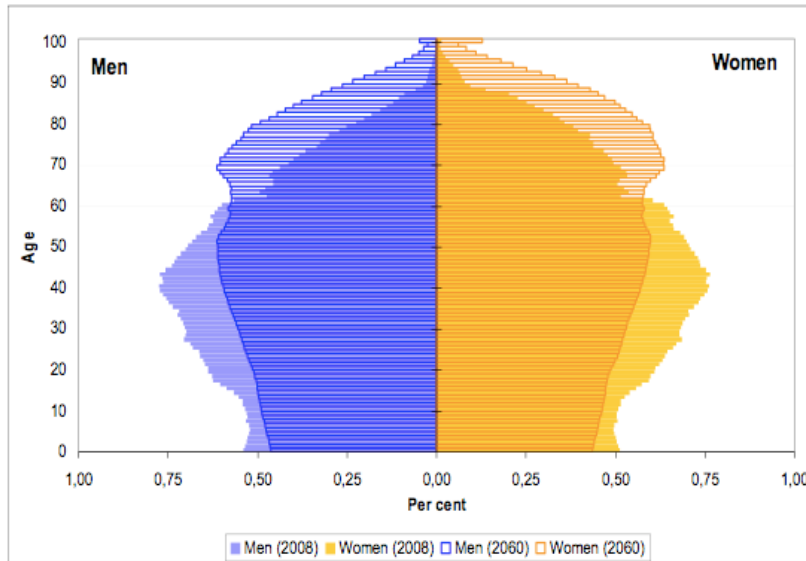
#### *D – Demography*

This major driver maybe the most difficult one to tackle. It is interesting to note that advertisements for lingerie in Europe show a model somewhat older than such an advertisement in a relatively young society such as the United States. This offers a graphical illustration of what is happening – the difference between how a young society and how an ageing society looks at things.

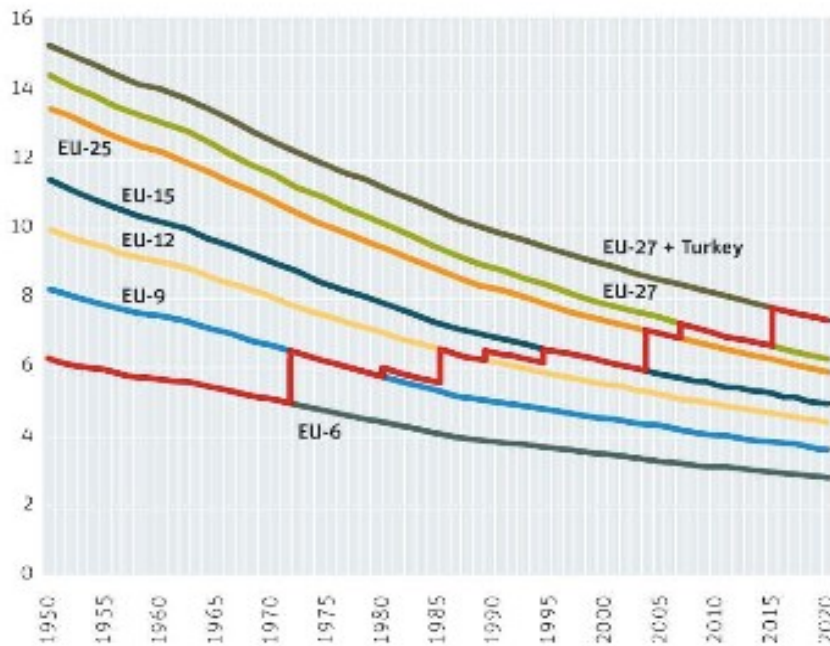
These two population pyramids show the working age in 2008 and the pyramid superimposed shows a projection for 2060. There is currently still a large working age population between 20 and 65. In the future the baby-boomers will be well beyond the retirement age of 70. Each year all of us gain three extra months life expectancy. That is something that insurance companies and those responsible for employment policy are taking very seriously.

Regarding the future, there is a clear trend of a declining share of the EU population. In the 1950s the EU represented a little bit more than 6% of the global population. With enlargement it struggled to have between 6 - 7% of the global population and 6 - 7% of the global talent pull. Even if Turkey is added at some point in the future, this will not change the picture dramatically and the EU would retain the same percentage of global population and global talent. After all the catching up is done, this would probably give 6 - 7 % of the global economy.

## Population Structure in EU27, 2008 and 2060



Source: Eurostat, Convergence Scenario, EUROPOP2008



In Europe this spells the end of population growth and the end of youth dominated society. Looking at our societies as they are today, it is still the young who are running society by being optimistic, by investing, by buying houses, by starting families and so on. Such activities in old societies are declining; Japan already has some experience with this, but in Europe it is just beginning.

### *E-everything*

How we communicate, work together and organise society has changed dramatically through information technology. All elements of society - from the family to businesses, from a country to a city and to an international institution like the Council of Europe - are held together through communication. If communication changes, there are big changes to all aspects of society.

We are at the end of society organised around paper and at the beginning of a society organised around digital communication. I could speak at length about the impacts of this on, for example, democracy or I could suggest that democracy is a child of paper communication and that with digital communication something else will happen.

### ***Bringing the issues together***

On the one hand, these five transformations are historic and long-term and on the other hand, they explain the latest economic crisis. Blaming the greedy bankers is too simplistic, the underlying issues behind the crises are these global transformations which are not limited to Europe, although possibly the demographic problem is specific to us.

A, B, C and D help explain the economic crisis; in fact the demographic problem started it all. People are worried about old age as there will not be enough young people to pay pensions, so they are saving. In particular in some BRIC economies people are saving large sums because of the absence of social security. In this way, a lot of money has been coming into the West from the BRIC economies. In Europe and the United States we did not have good ideas about how to use the easy money coming in. Instead of investing it in something real and tangible such as new factories and new production facilities, we inflated the value of what already existed. We had stock-bubbles with existing stock companies and housing-bubbles with existing houses over-priced and over-valued.

Then when the prices for energy went up because of climate change and energy issues, all these structures started to collapse. Thanks to e-commerce it collapsed with the speed of light.

A, B, C and D are global and are changing the world as such even though the economic crisis is particularly significant in the West. They will be addressed by global players despite institutions like the European Union and the Council of Europe, which are solely European.

In Europe we have reasons to be proud of the past and maybe because of that we can be optimistic about the future. The three historic achievements accomplished by Europe are:

- peace across the continent, first by establishing democracy and human rights in the West, then in the east after the fall of the Iron curtain and the Berlin Wall;
- the common market, Schengen, the Euro area; practical instruments that we created in Europe;
- laws, the *acquis communautaire*, including the Lisbon treaty.

Europe is not just an idea, it is also law and institutions. But the world and our maps will not be euro-centric in the future. The question is, how can Europe deal with this changing world? The US responds by electing a charismatic President who tells them that there will be change. Here the European Union set up the Reflection Group on the Future of Europe<sup>3</sup> which was given the task of identifying key issues and

<sup>3</sup> The Reflection Group on the Future of Europe was chaired by Filipe Gonzalez, former Spanish Prime-Minister with vice-chairs Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, former President of Latvia and Jorma Ollila, former CEO of the Nokia



developments which the European Union is likely to face in the future and to make proposals on how these might be addressed. The Group's message in one sentence would be "Europe has a choice – reform, change itself or decline". The report is about these choices, it is optimistic as it suggests that the decline is not something which is absolute and inevitable. It makes suggestions regarding the five main drivers and challenges outlined above.

### **Recommendations**

Concerning automation and abundance, the choice is either Europe will restructure for the post industrial society or it will be stuck, it will cherish its industrial traditions.

Regarding the BRICs and globalisation, Europe will be an active player and agent of change, a trendsetter. Some of the things the EU is trying to do with the IMF offers a good example of this. Without this we would become what somebody jokingly called 'a bunch of passive, selfish, former super-powers'. We have seen in the last year or so that some countries are indeed acting as former super-powers even though today they measure just a few percentage points of the global economy whilst 200 years ago they made up 20-30 % of the world economy.

As for climate change, one choice is to build walls to keep out climate migrants and dams for rising sea levels or we can build and maintain political leadership and foster technological innovation. We used to have top-notch highly developed industries but we have not done enough over the last 5 to 10 years to develop green technology, and others are catching up or surpassing us.

As for demographic trends, we need to be family friendly and immigration friendly. We have to be smart about immigration or we will become a continent of grumpy old men and women.

Finally, we should embrace digital communication as Europe once embraced print. Long ago civilisations in Asia had access to print and paper technology but only Europe embraced it. We should do the same with digital technology.

To summarise the main thrust of the report, the recurring themes include making better use of (1) the power of the sun; (2) the institutional tools of the European Union and (3) the hearts and minds of the people of Europe.

Making better use of the sun will not be addressed here because there are many specialists who can tell you that the future is above-ground energy.

Concerning the European Union, the report makes many recommendations about the correct Union level for different issues, about creating more synergies between the countries of Europe, for example by completing a fully functioning Single Market. To summarise: more single market, less state aid; fewer non-market obstacles in exchange for some tax coordination in order to reduce tax dumping from one group of countries to the other and to better pursue social objectives.

The report calls for a Europe-wide market which goes beyond industrial products and which develops a workforce for top-notch technological matters such as nano-technology and information technology.

We would like to see a single European defence market and global free markets for intellectual property. There is a need for complete rules on the market; there cannot be a market without rules.

We need to give economic leadership to the European Council. Examples include Franco-German initiatives towards more coherent economic policies across Europe, proposals to reinforce and extend the Euro-group as well as macro-economic coordination, measures to reform private debt and to improve financial supervision of financial institutions and governments. Reckless spending by governments, not just the banks, has led to many of our problems.

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Corporation and now Chairman of Shell. They were joined by legends such as Lech Walesa as well as scholars, economists and former European Commissioners.

The Report suggests that the EU should run common policies which would include a common energy policy with both internal and external dimensions; social security rights which would, once and for all, be readily transportable between member states, and a common immigration policy with the aim of attracting the most qualified, talented and motivated immigrants. It is not possible to have one country doing it one way and another a different way, both within the Schengen area.

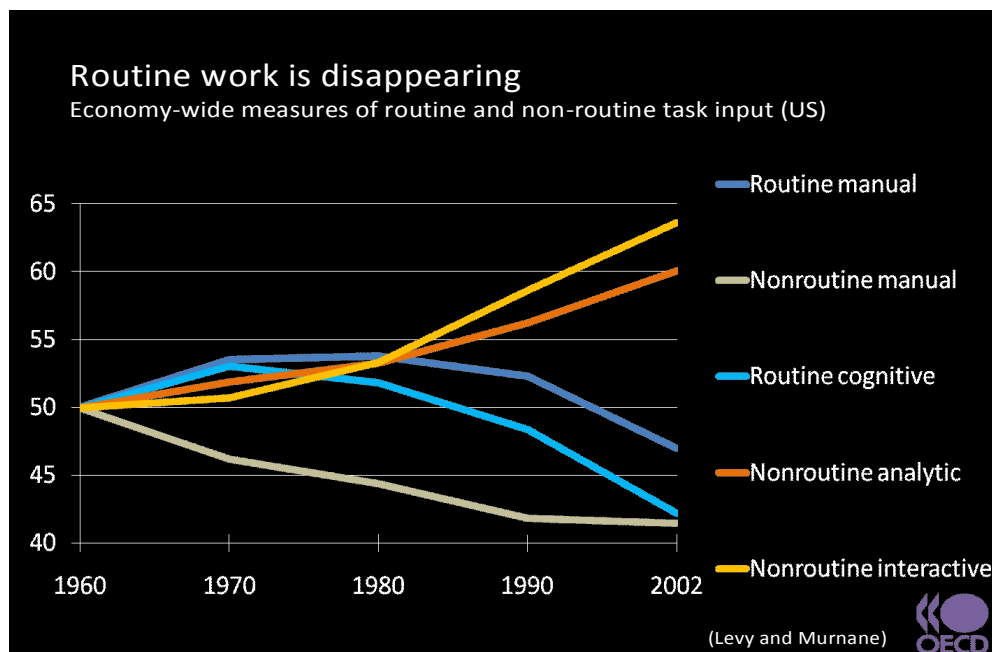
A real single market and strong European investment policy would develop new technologies, major common energy infrastructures as well as a common external position towards suppliers like Libya, Russian Federation, etc. The energy optimum of Europe as a whole is probably better than the sum of the optimums of individual member-states.

Many of these ideas are not new and the usual excuse given for not implementing them is that there is a lack of political will in Europe and this raises the question of how to create political will. The answer is very simple; political will is created on the 'political market' which refers to voting and the selection of politicians, i.e. when the political market is in action and voters have an opportunity to push for ideas and to support policies.

There is a common European market for many things but there could be a problem with the efficiency of European institutions, for example the speed of decision-making in Brussels. It would seem that the Europe-wide political market is non-existent as almost nobody in Brussels is selected by voters based on European issues or attitudes, and the top jobs are assigned by selection.

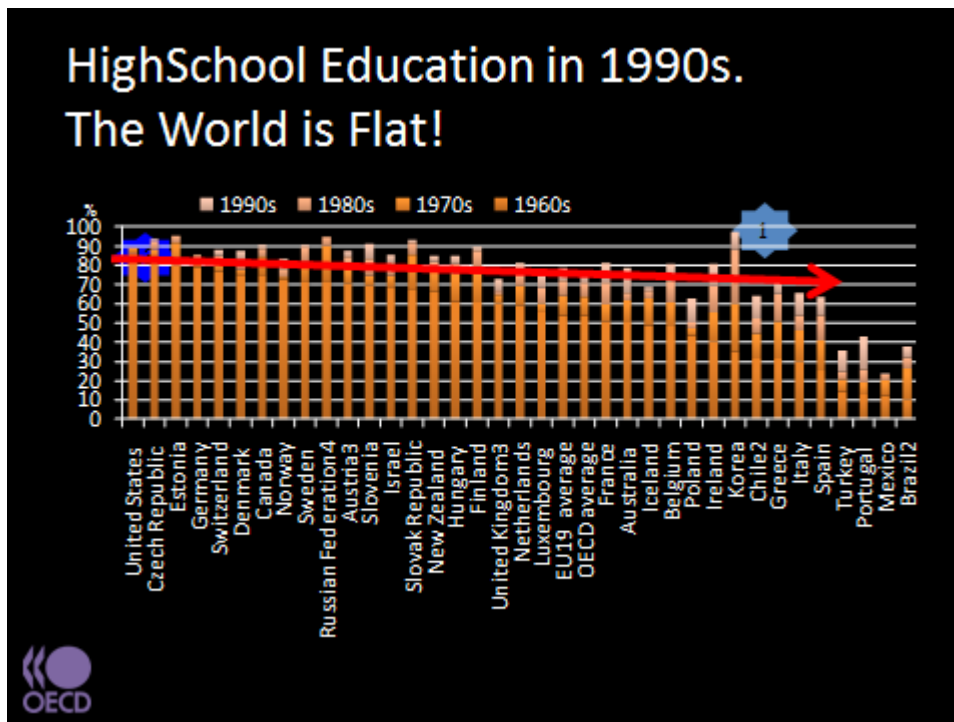
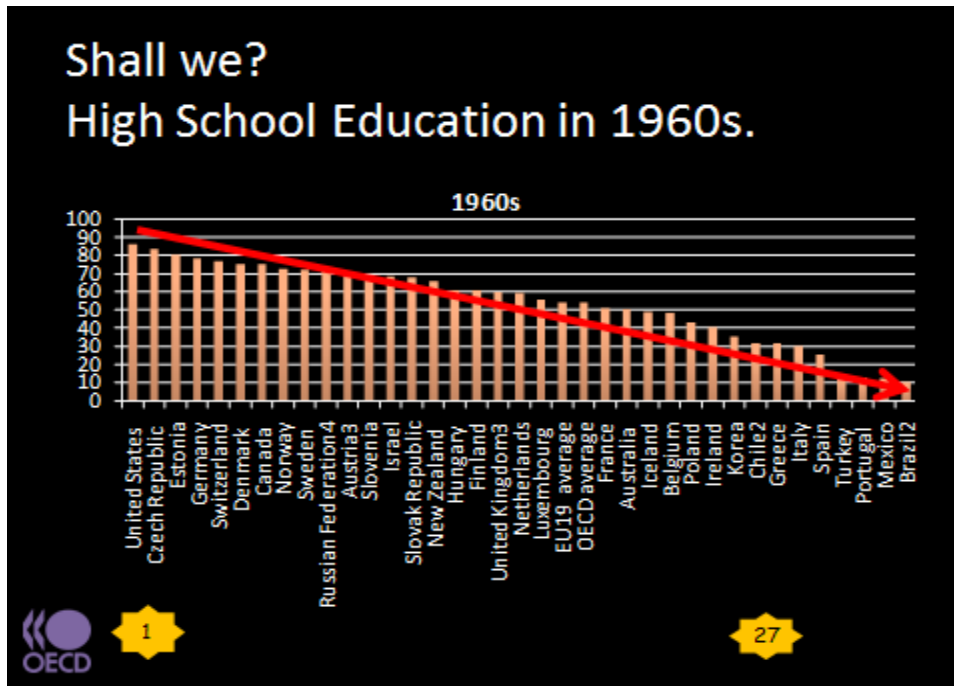
This inexistent European political market creates an asymmetry of reward and punishment and a moral hazard for European politicians. Making good policies at the European level rarely brings an advantage on the national political market at national elections. Whilst doing things that are bad for the common European project but possibly popular at home are punished by no one in Brussels and rewarded by the home electorate. The Reflection Group noted that "If governments continue as and when it suits them to treat the EU and its institutions as alien or hostile there is little hope of creating the kind of popular identification with the EU which is needed for its success."

Finally, and probably the most important element of the future, – the people. In the light of the changes outlined above, the need for routine manual work is declining. Surprisingly, routine cognitive work is also declining with, for example, economists, lawyers and paper-pushers being driven out of the job-market by automation and information technology.



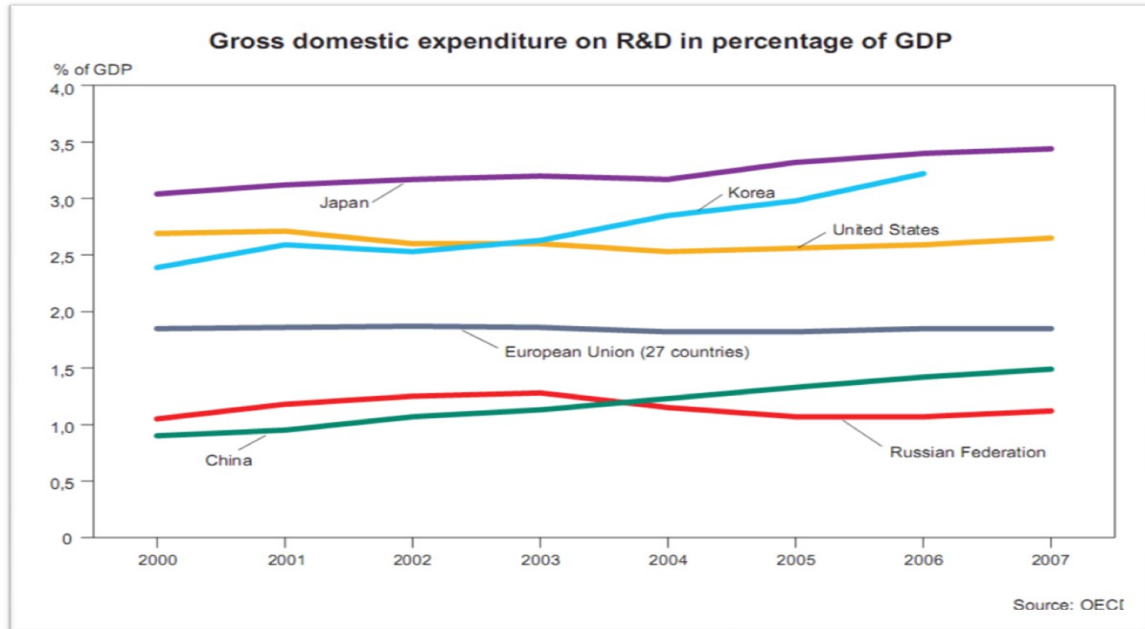
What is on the rise is non-routine, interactive and analytical work, i.e. creative people and those who are interacting with others. Richard Florida suggests that “in the creative knowledge economy of the future, human talent is the ultimate economic resource”. Regarding human resources there are three basic elements: quantity – how many you have; quality – how good they are and empowerment – what they can do.

We know that Europe does not have quantity. The following tables address quality worldwide.



Europe has always claimed to have quality and these tables show that in the 1960s there was a substantial difference in the quality of the human resources across the world with Europe scoring highly. By the 1990s the differences are almost non-existent and Korea, which was 27<sup>th</sup> in the 1960s turns out to be number one in the 1990 and the United States, which used to be number one, is down to 13<sup>th</sup>. Many countries have understood the importance of investing in people's education.

We also assume that Europeans invest more in research and innovation. But do they?



This table shows how research and education developed over the period of the Lisbon strategy which aimed to foster investment in research and education. In that period, such investment went up in China, Korea, Japan, even the US. But Europe is struggling to keep its investment level.

The last element is empowerment; as Bill Gates suggested, “*Leaders in the 21st Century will be those who empower others*”. This is important because in Europe we will not have the numbers and empowerment is something that we have been historically good at, indeed better at than some of our competitors.

We have a culture, tradition and values which respect the individual, his or her freedom and democracy. These are ideals that empower, which created the scientific revolution of the Renaissance and which pushed Europe beyond other civilizations. In his book “Guns, Germs and Steel”, Jared Diamond suggests why some civilizations succeed and others fail. The Eurasian civilisation - Persia, Greece, India and China - succeeded because they are located in the fertile crescent which had the most plants and animals available for domestication. This explains why Eurasia was better at building civilisations than, for example, Africa or America.

But it does not explain differences between Europe and the Arab world, Persia, India and China. The difference could be this element of empowerment, in which Europe was a little better than the others. This message today is even more important than it was in the past. Never before was so much education, information, knowledge and contact between people available to so many.

To conclude with a quote from the Report: “the crisis has acted as a wake-up call for Europe to respond to the changing global order. As with all transformations, the emerging order will result in new winners and losers. If Europe does not want to be among the losers, it needs to look outwards and embark on an ambitious long-term reform programme for the next twenty years.” Maybe we will not need to come down from the top, but rather a few others will join us up there. That would be more fun and more productive.

## Q&A Session

**Q. You have ended in a very optimistic note, that we have our values and standards and this is something that will be our advantage in the years to come. There is a shocking and provocative article by Francis Fukuyama who suggests that the Chinese have very little to learn from the Americans in terms of democracy. Sometimes we believe that we can export our model, but his point is that if the proof of the efficiency of democracy is meritocracy, meaning government by the best qualified people, the Chinese may not need our advice at all. How proud can we be of our democratic society?**

ZT: I think that the important function democracy has is to be a system that makes sure that the best possible use is made of all the brains that exist in society so that everybody can be put to the most productive use. A part of this is achieved through people acting on the market, even on the political market. Different civilisations probably need different types of governance, because of different traditions that exist. There is no pressing need for everybody to follow the same type of democracy that Fukuyama was speaking about.

Democracy as a pattern of how things are done is enabled by paper technology. If you have paper then you create a representational system, because when you have enough communication, power is distributed this way. If you have better communication technologies like the internet you are increasingly moving into some kind of open democracy or participatory democracy where decision making and capturing knowledge is broader than it used to be in traditional democratic states.

Meritocracy is important because this is the only system that makes sure that you rise to the level of how good you are and your destiny is not what you were given at birth. Maybe the fear about China is exaggerated or we do not have the right measures of it. But the fact is that in 1800 Europe plus its former colonies – United States, Australia, etc. accounted for 95% of the global GDP. It is now about 2/3 and this is going back to some historical frameworks that existed in the past. The Chinese production of steel was bigger than the West's until about 1800. We are going back to a kind of normal, what was abnormal was what we had over the last decades.

As to how far they can go into the future, Asia still needs to prove itself. Similar fears that we now have about China were expressed about Japan in the 1970s and early 1980s. Japan was rising but it turned out that they were unable to lead into new industries and products, into something original. When the internet revolution happened in the US, it did not happen in Japan which was making chips and various types of devices. The free, vibrant society that was able to put together creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship proved to be more successful.

Having a social model is an asset but probably there is an optimum on how to handle it. In Europe there are at least four different types of social model, not all of them equally sustainable and efficient. You have to change and adapt the social models, because they can become a straitjacket on society. If you have a social model with free schools and universities, etc. and then you work and pay for your pension and then you retire, if this is encoded as part of the system and budget few things will change. But we are definitely moving to a society where you will be learning a little bit, working a little bit and retire a little bit – all at the same time.

**Q. You mentioned the political market where political battles are fought out and on this we are certainly in the paper era, not the digital. How do you see the digital regarding democracy, participation and empowerment?**

ZT: It is so much safer to speak about the past than to speak about the future. We see many signs that current democratic systems are somehow crumbling or struggling, for example how Obama ran his election campaign, or the strength of the Tea Party movement which proposes a totally new paradigm with no clear leadership or organisation. It is not so important anymore to be big, to have a big political party. It is easy to create new ones, to develop a small one into something new. In countries which rarely have coalition governments such as the UK, there is a decline in the share of big parties. If you look at recent elections across Europe very often the parties that were big, either left or right, have a declining share of the vote and

smaller parties are popping up. The systems are such that it is difficult to create new political forces, but from the communication and technological perspectives, it would be quite easy.

In what direction will things go? I do not think that future democracy means that people will be asked political questions and invited to vote by mobile phone or text message, i.e. a kind of permanent referendum. Political parties will probably follow the direction, pattern and crisis that, for example, the press and universities have experienced. They will not retain the monopoly of political activities as they did in the paper world.

I think that civil society - ad-hoc groups, non-governmental organisations - will be stronger and more influential as they will form a group of people who know their subject and will try to push their agenda through governments or the corridors of power. This will be the most difficult transition to make because whilst business and people's purchasing powers adapt more freely to the new realities, political systems are encoded in constitutions, and carefully made which are difficult to change. The political system is the last structure that adapts to new communication realities. The advent of paper communication changed the sociological landscape of countries and led to the democratic revolutions of the XVII, XIX and XX centuries. If the political systems are not responsive to the possibilities of participation through new technologies, something similar could happen in future.

**Q. The CoE mantra is democracy, human rights and the rule of law; if the political system changes, what about the values of human rights and democracy in terms of participation? Also, let's not forget the third pillar which is the state, governed by the rule of law, which also implies the question of justice.**

ZT: I think that this remains totally valid. The structures might change, the mechanics might change, but hopefully the values will remain the same. We could have a debate as to whether democracy, and what we understand by this, is the value *per se*. Or is the value meritocracy or dealing with conflicts in society, etc.? Things like the rule of law and human rights will remain on the surface depending on the level of development. The more developed you are, the higher standards you meet.

**Q. You have mentioned a compartmentalisation of politics and the problems that big, traditional parties face and there is also compartmentalisation and diversification of interests in society. Is class politics shaping ideology for the compartmentalised political institutions and political parties of societies?**

Compartmentalisation of politics is definitely underway with movements having one single issue as well as big parties with a complete agenda. I do not think that this will lead to a society with a huge number of various small parties, rather it will result in a society where parties would be much less influential when it comes to making politics and policies than they are today. Just as a few decades ago there were only a few newspapers and two or three TV channels, now you still have few political parties but you have many more TV channels and all the information on the internet available. All those institutions which built their strength by being unique and centralising will be challenged. I think that class politics is now a debate politically in a sense that it is now more or less passé in this post-industrial society in the society of abundance. These are not the main issues which the society has to decide on, these are not the main issues by which people would pick their political affiliations.

**Q. Regarding the Neighbourhood policy of the CoE and the events which are taking place in our neighbourhood – the Middle East, North Africa –, we are seeing a kindling of a new democratic culture in those parts of the world. Are we prepared to say that as a result of political upheaval we are moving towards shaping a democratic structure? This goes beyond the context of the Middle East, in 1989 there was not much debate about the various ways forward, there was a very solid consensus about this for all the countries which came out of 1989. You have been talking about China and the diversity of choice of political systems which are becoming quite compatible with China and others. What do you see as a role of societies which are promoting liberal democracy? What should be the strategy? Hamas was elected through democratic elections.**

I think the Neighbourhood policy is an extremely important issue as is the enlargement of the EU. As a Slovene, I was surprised to see in meetings with some high European politicians how strong enlargement fatigue is in some countries. One starts to feel sorry for some European countries which are not yet members.

Regarding Neighbourhood policy, for example in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, it is short-sighted to say that oil is the reason behind the intervention in Libya. The deeper reason is that some European leaders understand that they have to create new friends and present another type of European face towards these countries, thus affirming that they stand for the values they also supported in 1989 in Eastern Europe. It will be our attitude on such democratisation processes that will determine the attitudes of that part of the world towards Europe in future. We want friends and partners and geopolitically Europe is interested in a rule-based, organised, well-governed world and we have to work towards that.

On the other hand, some European countries are supporting very violent policies, but probably they have some reasons for that. Is there a strategy? There are many papers encouraging Europe to speak with one voice to the outside, and this is also addressed in the Reflection Group Report. But this cannot happen organically, because there is not a single top-level person in Europe so that when something happens after one hour that person can go to the press and give an opinion and be able to stick to that opinion; Barroso, Van Rompuy and Ashton have to somehow coordinate what they will say for the 27 member states. Nobody has direct legitimacy. A possible exception is Jerzy Buzek, President of the European Parliament, who tends to be quite outspoken and straightforward when it comes to commenting things, because he at least has a democratically elected parliament behind him. Things need to be done but the political mechanisms are not there to support leadership on a personal basis in Europe.