

## Welcome to MERCURY Multilateralism and the EU in the Contemporary Global Order

Well, MERCURY will reach its half-way point in a month, and from where I sit, the time certainly seems to be flying by. We've got so many things to tell you about I hardly know where to start.

This newsletter contains a list of the first MERCURY papers and the link to our website, from which they can be downloaded. The E-papers on conceptualising multilateralism, the diplomatic strategies of major powers and the evolving doctrine of multilateralism in the 21st century together form a basis for MERCURY's continued work. The Policy Brief summarises the main findings of the first project year.

Have a look also at other MERCURY-related publications and the four MERCURY papers that are now in the pipeline!

A brief glance through these pages shows that MERCURY's partners continue to be extremely active in workshops, conferences and a host of other activities. You can read below about Chris Hill's and Wolfgang Wessels' participation (along with President Barroso) in the recent launch of the EU's Global Governance Programme.

One of MERCURY's most exciting events will occur on 3 September in Brussels, when we hold our first Stakeholder conference (with co-sponsor The Europa Institute of Edinburgh University). We've got a great line-up of speakers, including Lionel Barber, Editor of the Financial Times. We'll be looking at how the EU deals with major policy challenges, such as the financial crisis and climate change, and how the new post-Lisbon institutional architecture might affect its performance. And there may just be a surprise guest!

Mark Aspinwall  
MERCURY Co-ordinator

### What is MERCURY?

MERCURY is a consortium of academic partners formed to examine critically the European Union's contribution to multilateralism. It explores multilateralism as a concept, an aspiration, and a form of international order.

The MERCURY consortium is composed of the following nine institutional partners:

- University of Edinburgh, United Kingdom (MERCURY co-ordinator)
- University of Cologne, Germany
- Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic
- Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI), Rome, Italy
- Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques, Paris, France
- University of Pretoria, South Africa
- Fudan University, Shanghai, China
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, Sweden
- University of Cambridge, United Kingdom

### Please note Challenges for Global Europe conference!

**Date:** 3 September 2010

**Time:** 14.00-17.30

**Address:** Fondation Universitaire, rue d'Egmont 11, Brussels

**See page 2 for more information**

The MERCURY Newsletter is published twice a year by Gunilla Herolf, leader of Work Package V Dissemination ([herolf@sipri.org](mailto:herolf@sipri.org)). If you wish to be included or taken off the distribution list, please contact Information Manager: Theresa Höghammar ([hoghammar@sipri.org](mailto:hoghammar@sipri.org)). MERCURY is financed by the EU Commission's Seventh Framework Programme

*Read more at [www.mercury-fp7.net](http://www.mercury-fp7.net)*



## Recently Published

### E-Paper No. 1

"Conceptualising Multilateralism: Can We All Just Get Along?". In their paper, Caroline Bouchard and John Peterson address the role of the "poor, ugly duckling" that multilateralism is playing amongst concepts in the study of international relations. They provide a conceptual framework for understanding multilateralism and a definition that can guide further research.

### E-Paper No. 2

"Diplomatic Strategies of Major Powers: Competing Patterns of International Relations? The Cases of the United States of America, China and the European Union". In their paper, Nadia Klein, Wulf Reiners, Chen Zhimin, Jian Junbo and Ivo Slosarcik compare unilateral, bilateral, multilateral and pluralistic strategies of the US, China and the EU. They conclude that all major powers seek multilateralism only as one strategy amongst many.

### E-Paper No. 3

"The Evolving 'Doctrine' of Multilateralism in the 21st Century". In their paper, Elena Lazarou, Geoffrey Edwards, Christopher Hill and Julie Smith explore in how far the concept of multilateralism has become a 'doctrine' for the EU, understood as a coherent guide to policy practice. They state that demand for effective multilateralism now extends beyond trade and security to climate change, disease control and migration.

### Policy Brief No. 1

MERCURY has issued its first Policy Brief. The two-page Policy Brief summarises main findings of the first project year.

Link: <http://www.mercury-fp7.net/index.php?id=10076>

### Other MERCURY-related publications

Chen Zhimin, "China, Europe and United States: Cooperation and Competition in Emerging Trilateral Relations", *World Economy and Politics*, No.1, 2010, in Chinese.

Chen Zhimin, "China-EU relations in a World of Multipolar and Multiple Partnership", *Chinese Journal of European Studies*, No.1, 2010, in Chinese

### PUBLICATIONS IN THE PIPELINE

Four MERCURY papers are due to be completed during the coming months: "Externalising EU Immigration and Asylum", "The Legal and the Living Framework of EU External Relations", "The Northern Dimension" and "Externalising EU Market-Related Policies".

## MERCURY Events

### Challenges for Global Europe conference

MERCURY and the Europa Institute are pleased to announce a half-day conference on the European Union's role in the evolving global order.

The financial crisis, climate change talks, migration, the rise of China and other issues present a host of challenges, and leading figures will reflect on the EU's priorities and capabilities given post-Lisbon restructuring of external policy.

Speakers include Lionel Barber (Editor, Financial Times), Jim Cloos (Council of the EU), Jonathan Faull (Director-General, DG MARKT, European Commission), Representative from the DG Climate Action (tbc), Wolfgang Wessels (University of Cologne) and John Peterson (University of Edinburgh).

Wine reception to follow.

A detailed agenda will follow shortly and will be available on the MERCURY website, [www.mercury-fp7.net](http://www.mercury-fp7.net). Enquiries to [mercury@ed.ac.uk](mailto:mercury@ed.ac.uk).

Entry free but limited. Register online at [www.mercury-fp7.net](http://www.mercury-fp7.net)

3 September 2010, 14.00 - 17.30

Fondation Universitaire  
rue d'Egmont 11  
Brussels

### MERCURY Plenary

#### 3 – 4 March 2010

The MERCURY Plenary, which took place in Brussels on 3-4 March 2010, brought all partners together to discuss current and future work.

The meeting started with a workshop for a wider audience, *The European Union and the Challenges of the Global Order*. John Peterson spoke under the heading "Multilateralism and the European Union", whereas Wolfgang Wessels elaborated on the theme "Towards a New Architecture of EU External Relations". Professor Zaki Laïdi (Sciences Po) delivered a lecture on "Understanding the European Union as a Risk-Averse Power" and Matthew Baldwin, Director in DG Trade, European Commission, spoke about "The EU and Multilateralism: a Practitioner's View". MERCURY also met with Jean-Michel Baer (DG Research).

The internal part of the meeting showed that MERCURY has made great progress in terms of research output. We will now devote more efforts to expand our contacts and to spreading our research results.

## President Barroso meets MERCURY 18-19 June 2010, European University Institute (EUI), Florence

On 18 and 19 June 2010, a new Global Governance Programme was officially launched at the European University Institute (EUI) in Florence. During the two-day event, the international research project *MERCURY – Multilateralism and the EU in the Contemporary Global Order* was represented by Prof. Christopher Hill (University of Cambridge) and Prof. Wolfgang Wessels (University of Cologne). On the first day, European Commission President José Barroso gave a public lecture on “The European Union and Multilateral Global Governance”. In his speech, Barroso underlined the difference between multipolarity and multilateralism: while the former referred to the distribution of power, the latter expressed a way to use power and to organise power. Regarding the international role of the European Union, Barroso claimed that “having delegitimized multipolar power politics in the European continent, the Union must now work to prevent the emergence of this model on a global scale”. In this context, he stressed the central role of the European institutions “in encouraging and promoting the convergence of interests between Member States, by helping national governments to identify what are the common interests; and by designing the right collective actions to pursue and defend those interests”.

On the second day Barroso’s lecture was followed by a high level policy seminar on “What Should the EU Agenda for Global Governance Be?” The seminar, which was held under Chatham House rules, was attended by approximately 30 leading EU scholars and representatives of EU institutions. The participants discussed a broad range of current international challenges and identified different “global governances”. Christopher Hill and Wolfgang Wessels in their contributions drew on collective MERCURY research (see page 2 in this newsletter and MERCURY website). Christopher Hill raised the question if multilateralism can be a “doctrine”, in the sense of a statement of very broad principles which shapes and justifies policy at the strategic level. He highlighted the fact that while trade and collective security constitute relatively long-standing “multilateralised” policies, cooperation in other areas, such as climate change and illegal migration, has yet to be institutionalised or even collectively agreed upon. Then, Wolfgang Wessels put into perspective multilateralism as a diplomatic strategy among others such as uni- or bilateralism. Thus, one major finding of a recent MERCURY research paper was that the United States, China and the EU all seek multilateralism selectively when it suits their interests.

For the detailed programme,  
see <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/GGP/SeminarEvents.aspx>

For the full text of the inaugural lecture “The European Union and multilateral global governance” by President Barroso, see <http://www.eui.eu/News/2010/06-07-Barroso.aspx>

Homepage of the Global Governance Programme: <http://www.eui.eu/Projects/GGP/Home.aspx>  
Nadia Klein

## MERCURY at the PSA Annual Conference 29 March-1 April 2010

The Political Studies Association Annual Conference was held in Edinburgh Monday 29 March - Thursday 1 April 2010. The PSA is one of the world’s longest established political studies associations. It is celebrating its 60th anniversary this year and the conference offered a very stimulating and attractive programme. In addition, the British International Studies Association joined the PSA this year, making it a joint conference.

The MERCURY team submitted two MERCURY panel proposals:

The first panel presented its findings in three papers: (1) Conceptualising Multilateralism, (2) Competing Patterns of IR and (3) Developing the Doctrine of Multilateralism. The second panel presented four papers: (1) EU institutional set-up in the cases of health and the CFSP, (2) Cooperation in the North-Multilateralism or Mess? (3) Externalising EU Market-Related Policies and (4) Externalising EU Immigration and Asylum.

## MERCURY-related Activities

“European Security and Defence Policy after Lisbon”, by Prof. Jolyon Howorth, Jean Monnet Professor ad personam, The University of Bath (UK) and Yale University, April 12, 2010, Fudan University.

“Europe As The Second Superpower?”, by professor Andrew Moravcsik, Princeton University, May 26, 2010, Fudan University.

“International Society and International Security”, by Prof. Barry Buzan, London School of Economics, May 30, 2010, Fudan University.

Sciences Po, CERI Paris and MERCURY organised a debate on 8 March 2010 in Paris. The theme was “Dysfunctional Multilateralism? ASEAN and the Burmese Stalemate, a Practitioners Experience”. Introduction speaker was Debbie Stothard, Founder and Director of the Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma (Altsean-Burma), Malaysia. David Camroux served as discussant.

CERI and MERCURY organised a debate on 1 June 2010 in Paris. Donald Emmerson, Director of the South-east Asian Forum, Stanford University, initiated the debate on “Obama and Asia: Genuine Multilateralism or Hub-and-Spokes in Disguise?” Pierre Hassner acted as chairman and David Camroux as discussant.

Vera Rihackova presented her paper “Walking the tight-rope of Democracy Aid”, evaluating the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (pdf:<http://www.europeum.org/doc/pdf/908.pdf>) at the World Movement for Democracy’s Sixth Assembly in April in Jakarta.

Tomas Weiss participated in the conference “Security Architecture in the EU Eastern Neighbourhood” 21-23 June in Chisinau, Moldova.

On 24 June Caroline Bouchard and John Peterson took part in a 'Masters Class' which brought together colleagues at Edinburgh with relevant expertise to discuss and critique their "Conceptualising Multilateralism: Can We All Just Get Along?" MERCURY Working Paper. It was organised by Christina Boswell, Director of Research at Edinburgh Politics/IR. The paper will be submitted for publication in a refereed journal later this summer

## Presentation of MERCURY Institutes

### University of Pretoria

The University of Pretoria is one of two global southern partners (together with Fudan University) contributing to the MERCURY programme. It is the leading research university in South Africa and one of the largest universities in the country. In 1996 the University of Pretoria became the university with the highest research output in South Africa and this status has been maintained. The MERCURY team at the University of Pretoria are all staff members of the Department of Political Sciences. The Department is in the process of establishing a Research Unit on Euro-African Relations under the auspices of its newly inaugurated Institute for Strategic and Political Affairs.

The team in Pretoria is taking the lead in research on EU security policy and crisis management; conflict resolution in Darfur; the EU's development strategy; and the EU, Africa and the global trade in agriculture. Pretoria is also involved in the research on the EU in the system of regions and EU and UN reform. A special panel on MERCURY will be held at the next South African Association of Political Studies (SAAPS) annual conference, in Stellenbosch in September 2010. The contributors to MERCURY research at the University of Pretoria are:



**Prof Maxi Schoeman**, who leads the MERCURY team in Pretoria, holds a PhD in International Politics from the University of Wales (Aberystwyth) and has been head of the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria since November 2000. She is also an adjunct professor in the School of Public Policy, George Mason University, the deputy chair of the Institute for Global Dialogue (SA) and serves on the SA Ministry of Defence Transformation and Monitoring Board. Her research focus within MERCURY is multilateralism and security issues, African conflicts, EU-Africa and multilateral security cooperation.

**Dr Lorenzo Fioramonti** is a research fellow at the University of Pretoria's Department of Political Sciences. He is the author of a number of publications on the European Union and its relationship with other emerg-



ing global powers. His research focus within MERCURY is EU-Africa relations, multilateral development policies and inter-regionalism. His most recent publications include *European Union Democracy Aid: Supporting Civil Society in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Routledge 2010) and *External Perceptions of the European Union as a Global Actor* (Routledge 2009).



**Prof Gerrit Olivier** is an Honorary Professor in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria and holds a DPhil degree in International Relations from the same institution. He was an official in the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and served as the first South African Ambassador Plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan. He is the author of various books and articles on international relations. His research focus within MERCURY is EU and African multilateralism.

**Dr Yolanda Spies** is a senior lecturer in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria and is the Programme Director of its new Master of Diplomatic Studies programme. She was a South African diplomat until she joined the university in 2006, and in the course of her career lived and worked on four continents. Her research focus within MERCURY is the potential synergy between the EU and AU's multilateral attempts to reform global political governance, specifically the UN Security Council.



**Ms Alida Kok** is a Master's student and Junior Lecturer at the University of Pretoria's Department of Political Sciences. She has been involved in several projects that analysed EU-African relations. She has also worked as research assistant under the Sixth Framework Programme during which she dealt with research on South Africans' perceptions of the EU. Her research focus within MERCURY is on the EU's development strategy and development co-operation with Africa.

**Mr Julian Kitipov** is a Junior Lecturer in the Department of Political Sciences at the University of Pretoria. Mr Kitipov has published articles on the EU enlargement and reforms, Russia's increasing assertiveness internationally and the development of security communities/regimes in Africa. Within MERCURY he focuses on the link between the Africa-EU partnership and regional integration in Africa, and attempts to answer the question of whether the European Union's case is a viable model for Africa.



## Glossary of Multilateralism

As part of the work to elaborate and clarify this concept, MERCURY is producing a glossary of multilateralism.

The first version is now available, containing 43 glossary terms related to multilateralism.

For more information see [www.mercury-fp7.net](http://www.mercury-fp7.net)

## DATEX database!

MERCURY is setting up a database categorising legal acts on external relations instruments in the framework of EC and CFSP from a multilateral perspective.

A first version was launched in February 2010, including EC and CFSP external action instruments.

For more information see <http://typo3-8447.rrz.uni-koeln.de/index.php?id=10075>

## Calendar of events

### 3 September 2010

MERCURY Conference “Challenges for Global Europe”, Brussels

### February 2011

Plenary meeting plus workshops of Work Package III (“Multilateralism in Practice”) and Work Package IV (“Organised Multilateralism”), Prague

### October 2011

MERCURY joint conference with the projects EU4SEAS and EU-GRASP, together with Stakeholder conference, Brussels