

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

Well, it's hard to believe we're nearly at the end of our three-year project. It's been an incredible experience – some excellent conferences and papers, a new network of scholars interested in the EU's external relations, and a legacy which we're building on as we speak. Perhaps one of MERCURY's greatest achievements is the integration of the next generation of researchers into this network.

But wait – MERCURY is not actually going to end in January! I say this not simply because the Commission has extended the project until the end of April 2012, but also because the legacy will live on in our younger scholars (including the EXACT fellows I've written about here before) and new projects such as Transworld. At Edinburgh, we're also working with colleagues to establish a more permanent website on the EU in the World.

Those of you who have followed MERCURY online know of the high quality of the working papers and other innovative products, such as the DATEX database. More papers are on their way, so this is not the moment to change the channel! A new edited book tentatively titled *Multilateralism in the 21st Century: the European Union and the Quest for Effectiveness*, will draw together the very best of our research. Routledge will publish it in 2012.

We remain committed to outreach and dissemination, and were delighted when President Barroso met with several of our team in Florence a few months ago. The Commission noted that "MERCURY is likely to have an impact on EU external relations and already attracted the attention of President Barroso."

Dissemination is also behind our decision to translate the Routledge book to Mandarin in 2012.

Also, we'll gather on one final occasion – this time in Pretoria at the home of our African partners – to debate the EU's role in Africa. If you are in that part of the world on 17-18 April, please join us there.

All these projects are designed to continue the "conversation" we began 2009, when we took up the challenge to improve our understanding of the role the EU plays in the world. I tip my hat to MERCURY's partners – and to those who have been with us on this journey – you all made it happen.

*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

The MERCURY Newsletter is published twice a year by Gunilla Herolf, leader of Work Package V Dissemination (herolf@sipri.org). If you wish to be included or taken off the distribution list, please contact Information Manager: Theresa Höghammar (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)*

# Spreading and sustaining the results of MERCURY

Disseminating the results of MERCURY has been an important task during the three years that the MERCURY team has worked together. This Newsletter has been one of our means to reach out and so has the webpage – [www.mercury-fp.net](http://www.mercury-fp.net). Other means have been our conferences, seminars and publications.

As MERCURY is now formally soon coming to an end – but only formally as you can see from the coordinator, Mark Aspinwall's editorial column - these efforts have increased even more.

## World-wide reach

Thanks to Elena Lazarou, formerly at Cambridge University and now based in Rio de Janeiro, some of the e-papers are now being translated into Portuguese, which will greatly increase the coverage of South America and Portugal.

Thanks to Chen Zhimin, MERCURY partner at Fudan University, Shanghai, we will have a publication in Mandarin during the coming year. It is a translation of the Routledge book described below.

In April a group of MERCURY researchers will visit South Africa, for the final MERCURY conference, which will be organized by Lorenzo di Fioramonti. The conference will bring together MERCURY partners and other African academics, researchers and policymakers in order to discuss issues on the global agenda in the context of multilateralism.

## Sustainability

### New book to Showcase MERCURY Research in 2012

A new volume that brings together the best of the research conducted within MERCURY will be published by Routledge in 2012. Edited by Caroline Bouchard, John Peterson and Nathalie Tocci, *Multilateralism in the 21st Century: the European Union and the Quest for Effectiveness* will feature 13 chapters with contributions from every institutional partner in MERCURY. Chapters will be grouped into sections on 'Mapping Modes of Multilateralism', 'Multilateralism in EU Policies', 'Multilateralism in Practice: Key Regions and Policies' and 'The EU in Multilateral Fora'. The aim is to produce a definitive work on modern multilateralism and the EU's contribution to it. Publication is foreseen for autumn 2012 and a session will be held at the University of Pretoria (South Africa) in April to showcase the book's main findings.

### E-papers

Included in this Newsletter are the abstracts of E-papers 8 – 15. There are, however, more e-papers coming! As usual you will find them on our webpage [www.mercury-fp7.net](http://www.mercury-fp7.net).

### Work on a new website

Work on a more permanent website on the EU in the World goes on in Edinburgh.

### Young people

One of the aims of MERCURY has been to attract young people. This Newsletter is received by many students and most of the partners are based at universities. In addition, the Integrated Training Programme for Analysis, Assessment and Advice on EU's External Action and its Institutional Architecture (EXACT) has been connected to MERCURY. The 36 months EXACT project aims at preparing 12 early stage researchers for professional and academic careers in universities as well as in the public and private sector in academically based consulting for policy makers. It is financed by the European Commission as a Marie Curie Initial Training Network (ITN), Seventh Framework Programme.

### Projects building on MERCURY

Edinburgh Politics and International Relations has been successful in a bid for a large and innovative project on the relations between the United States and EU, Transworld. It will be led by the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) in Rome and funded by the EU's Seventh Framework Programme. The project begins in March 2012.

### DATEX database

MERCURY has set up a database categorising legal acts on external relations instruments from a multilateral perspective. A first version of the DATEX database, referring to the the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) , was created in February 2010.

A revised and extended version of the DATEX database was launched in August 2010 and included qualitative and quantitative data on the level of multilateralism in the fields of CFSP and the Common Commercial Policy.

The second version of the DATEX database was published in December 2010. It includes data on the CFSP, the Common Commercial Policy and EU environment policy.

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

# MERCURY Events

## The Global Europe Conference, Brussels 7 October 2011

The 'Global Europe Conference', which took place in Brussels on 7 October 2011, brought together the MERCURY, EU4Seas and EUGRASP projects. The conference began with the opening speech of Kristin de Peyron (European External Action Service). De Peyron underlined the fact that multilateralism forms a part of the EU's DNA and that the EU enjoys excellent relations with other multilateral organisations. Following the opening speech the three project coordinators, Mark Aspinwall (MERCURY), Jordi Vaquer (EU4Seas) and Luk Van Langenhove (EU-GRASP) gave a short overview concerning their respective projects.

The first panel 'Understanding Multilateralism - The Evolving Research Agenda' - was chaired by Angela Liberatore (DG Research & Innovation, European Commission). John Peterson (University of Edinburgh) presented questions for future research on multilateralism such as the role of the US and the EU in relation to international organisations. Focusing on the security sphere and security governance, Stuart Croft (University of Warwick) highlighted the growing importance of the BRIC states, non-state actors, social media and the individual. Finally, Oriol Costa (Autonomous University of Barcelona) pointed out that the reasons behind the openness of the EU to international influence should be analysed in future research.



Angela Liberatore

At the end, the panel's discussants, Alberta Sbragia (University of Pittsburgh) and Emil Kirchner (University of Essex), presented their perspectives concerning multilateralism. Referring to US multilateralism, Prof. Sbragia pointed out

that the US, in comparison to the EU, is both an economic and security actor, and this duality is crucial in order to understand US policy choices. Prof. Kirchner argued that greater emphasis should be given to the role of citizens/question of citizenship and how they may influence the debate on multilateralism.



Mark Aspinwall

on the EU and the practise of multilateralism. Lorenzo Fioramonti (University of Pretoria) mentioned that it is possible to have effective multilateralism on a macro-level, but on domestic or local level it is not necessarily the case (e.g. the Great Lakes in Africa). Jan Wouters (Catholic University of Leuven) drew attention to the need to improve EU's participation in the international

arena and EU institutions' cooperation with the member states and the UN. Jaroslav Kurfürst (Head of the CFSP Department at the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs) argued that multilateralism is a source of legitimacy within the EU. With the changes created by the Lisbon Treaty, however, bigger states often make decisions for others. The discussant, Vahur Made (Estonian School of Diplomacy), stated that we cannot treat multilateralism as one phenomenon but rather as having a number of layers (macro, micro, global, etc.) while the discussant Mohamed Ibn Chambas (Secretary-General ACP Group) focused on multilateralism and EU-ACP relations.

The third panel 'The EU as a Global Actor: A View from Outside' was chaired by Andy Cooper (Centre for International Governance Innovation, University of Waterloo). The first presentation was given by Chen Zhimin (Fudan University) and focused on how China views the role of the EU as a global actor. This presentation was followed by Joel Peter's (Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Virginia Tech) presentation on the subject of the EU-Israel relations while Meliha Altunisik (Middle East Technical University) presented the Turkish point of view on the subject at hand. Finally, the panel's discussants shared their views concerning EU's role in the world. Ian Lesser (German Marshall Fund of



From the left, Christopher Hill, Geoffrey Edwards, Alberta Sbragia and John Peterson

the US) emphasised that, economically speaking, EU-US relations are very strong, while in matters of security and defence, the US wants the EU to share the burden. Davis Zounmenou (Institute for Security Studies Pretoria) argued that the EU is seen as a key partner due to its proximity to Africa, shared history and its important role in matters of development policy and security.

The focal point of the fourth panel, chaired by Esther Barbé (Autonomous University of Barcelona), was the EU's future perspectives and policy options. Sonia Lucarelli (University of Bologna) stated that the guiding principles for the EU should be engagement, credibility and legitimacy. Alyson JK Bailes (University of Iceland) characterized Europe as 'post' (e.g. post-modern identity, post-industrial economy) and 'schizo' (e.g. multi-national, multi-sectorial governance). The hardest part in Europe's survival strategy, according

to Prof. Bailes, is to decide ‘who and what we are’ (morally, politically and practically). Referring to future perspectives, Wolfgang Wessels (Cologne University) argued that one should be careful when making assumptions and one has to take into account that every assumption regarding future scenarios is only based on the point of time, at which it was made. In any case, the EU has to be prepared for the future in terms of capacities and institutions. In the last part of the panel, the discussant Luis Peral (European Union Institute for Security Studies) pointed out that the EU should focus on its limits and constraints in order to better understand its policy options.



Wolfgang Wessels

The day concluded with closing remarks by Karen Fogg (Leuven Centre for Global Governance Studies), who underlined the fact that if the EU wants to have effective multilateralism it has to speak with one voice. Moreover, it is not only important for the EU to face the question of norms vis-à-vis interests but it also needs to listen and establish a dialogue with third countries and to understand their opinions, values and interests.

### Glossary of Multilateralism

MERCURY is producing a glossary of multilateralism as part of the work to elaborate and clarify this concept. The glossary is a work in progress which currently includes over 43 terms related to multilateralism. Partners continuously collect and we welcome additional proposals.

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

## Recently Published

See these and previously published E-papers on the MERCURY website [www.mercury-fp7.net](http://www.mercury-fp7.net)

### **The EU-China Partnership on Climate Change: Bilateralism Begetting Multilateralism in Promoting a Climate Change Regime? (E-paper No. 8)**

In December 2010, MERCURY issued E-paper no. 8 “The EU-China Partnership on Climate Change: Bilateralism Begetting Multilateralism in Promoting a Climate Change Regime?”. This paper has been written as part of Work Package 3 “Multilateralism in Practice: Key Regions and Partners”. In her paper, Giulia Romano presents an analysis of the outcomes of the agreement to establish a bilateral Partnership on Climate Change that was signed by the EU and China in September

2005. The two parties pledged to strengthen the dialogue on climate change policies, exchange views on key issues in climate change negotiations and develop concrete action to tackle climate change by carrying out specific cooperation projects. The paper tries to assess if the EU-China partnership on climate change can be considered, as intended, an important contribution to a multilateral solution to climate change, or if this bilateral relationship only functions at a rhetorical level without producing concrete results.

### **The EU, the Middle East Quartet and (In)effective Multilateralism (E-paper No. 9)**

In June 2011, MERCURY issued E-paper no. 9 “The EU, the Middle East Quartet and (In)effective Multilateralism”. In her paper, Nathalie Tocci analyses the question whether the ‘Middle East Quartet’ has affirmed itself as an effective multilateral forum, and to what extent the EU has contributed to the realisation of this goal. The paper argues that the Quartet has not affirmed itself as either a genuinely multilateral or effective mediation forum. Its activities have reflected either the EU’s unsuccessful attempts to frame American initiatives within a multilateral setting, or the US’s successful attempts at providing a multilateral cover for unilateral actions. The Quartet is not without value. But to play a useful role, it should be enlarged and reshaped as a forum to establish a renewed international consensus on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

### **The European Union Development Strategy in Africa: the Economic Partnership Agreements as a Case of Aggressive Multilateralism (E-paper No. 10)**

In August 2011, MERCURY issued E-paper no. 10 “The European Union Development Strategy in Africa: the Economic Partnership Agreements as a Case of Aggressive Multilateralism”. In his paper, Lorenzo Fioramonti analyses how the ‘multilateralization’ of development has influenced the EU approach, culminating with the adoption of the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with sub-Saharan African countries. The analysis is structured in light of the fact that for several decades, Europe entertained a preferential relationship with its former colonies in Africa, which translated into a set of trade and development preferences. With the progressive diffusion of market liberalization, this preferential relationship came to be called into question. The paper raises a number of questions regarding the actual nature of multilateral processes by focusing on the intended and unintended effects of political, economic and technical asymmetries between rich and poor countries.

## **“Chasing Pavements”: The East Asia Summit and the Trans-Pacific Partnership, Discursive Regionalism as Disguised Multilateralism ( E-paper No. 11)**

In September 2011, MERCURY issued E-paper no. 11 “Chasing Pavements”: The East Asia Summit and the Trans-Pacific Partnership, Discursive Regionalism as Disguised Multilateralism’. Revolving around the concept of “Community”, or “community” – the use of the capital “c” being seen as indicative of cultural homogeneity - debate on an Asian region has ostensibly pitted those who favour an entity limited to East Asia (China, Japan, South Korea and the ten countries of ASEAN) against those who propose a much wider entity embracing India, North (and, perhaps, South) America, as well as Australasia. Previously these two conceptualizations possessed their eponymous translation in the East Asian Economic Caucus (reincarnated as ASEAN +3) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum respectively. However with the creation in 2005 of the East Asian Summit (EAS) to include India, Australia and New Zealand and, above all, its 2011 enlargement to include the United States and Russia, the distinction between the two conceptualizations of an Asian region has become confused. In order to explain this development, the author David Camroux suggests that the language of “region” or “community” is a discursive smokescreen disguising changes in approaches to multilateralism. An examination of the EAS, contrasted with another recent regional project, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), suggests that the actors involved, both state and non-state, are seeking overwhelmingly to ensure the primacy of individual nationstates in intergovernmental multilateral relations.

## **The EU’s Engagement with China in Building a Multilateral Climate Change Regime: Uneasy Process Towards an Effective Approach (E-paper No. 12)**

In September 2011, MERCURY issued E-paper no. 12 “The EU’s Engagement with China in Building a Multilateral Climate Change Regime: Uneasy Process Towards an Effective Approach”. By tracing the development of the EU’s engagement with China in the framework of global climate change governance the authors, Yan Bo, Giulia C. Romano and Chen Zhimin, analyse the impact of bilateral cooperation and dialogue between the EU and China on the construction of a multilateral climate change regime. The European Union and China are two key players in climate change politics, in terms of their huge contributions to, and their significant influence in, solving the problem. The paper argues that the EU’s approach of engaging with new rising players, particularly China, in moving the multilateral climate change negotiation forward should be improved to be more effective.

## **The European Union and the Reform of the United Nations: Towards a More Effective Security Council? ( E-paper No. 13)**

In November 2011, MERCURY issued E-paper no. 13 “The European Union and the Reform of the United Nations:

Towards a More Effective Security Council?”. The authors of this paper, Nicoletta Pirozzi with Hubertus Juergenliemk and Yolanda Spies, aim to assess the possible impact of the Lisbon Treaty on the EU’s presence and performance at the United Nations and outline the prospects for future developments under three main dimensions: coordination (among EU member states and institutions); representation (of the EU as a single actor); and impact (measured in terms of what the EU and its member states collectively achieve). In particular, these benchmarks are used to evaluate what influence the positions of the Union’s institutions and member states produce on the crucial issue of UN Security Council’s reform. Moreover, this paper offers an analysis of the EU’s cooperation with other regional entities, primarily the African Union, at the UN and provides a model for testing the possible role of regional organizations and the evolution of regionalism within the UN system.

## **Multilateralism as Envisaged? Assessing European Union’s Engagement in Conflict Resolution in the Neighbourhood ( E-paper No. 14)**

In November 2011, MERCURY issued E-paper no. 14 “Multilateralism as Envisaged? Assessing European Union’s Engagement in Conflict Resolution in the Neighbourhood”. The authors of this paper, Tomáš Weiss, Nona Mikhelidze and Ivo Šlosarcik, analysed the European Union’s practice in resolving conflicts in its neighbourhood. In doing so, the paper assesses the extent to which the EU lives up to its declarations and proceeds multilaterally, in cooperation with other international actors. Two case studies are presented – on Georgia and Bosnia and Herzegovina – in which concrete EU behaviour on the ground is studied. The paper argues that various types of engagement are used by the EU in the conflicts: inaction, uni-, bi-, and multilateralism. Whereas bilateralism seems to be circumstantial, unilateralism and multilateralism belong to EU’s preferential modes of activity. At the same time, the EU is much more effective in supporting multilateral activities than in leading them.

## **Fiscal Multilateralism in Times of the Great Recession (E-paper No. 15) ( will be published shortly)**

In December 2011, MERCURY issued E-paper no. 15 “Fiscal Multilateralism in Times of the Great Recession “. The author of this paper, Charlotte Rommerskirchen, investigates the state of fiscal multilateralism during and in the aftermath of the last economic and financial crisis. In particular, she scrutinizes the EU’s role to facilitate fiscal multilateralism in the G20. So doing she presents two modes of leadership; one of structural and one of informational leadership. The first is concerned with agenda control and the potential to exert leadership as an ‘architect of change’. The second identifies leadership as information transmission that is signaling via policy action. Building on this distinction, this paper scrutinizes the EU’s role to facilitate fiscal multilateralism in the G20, arguing that the EU’s leadership has been much stronger on the ‘structural leg’ than on the ‘informational leg’.

And more E-papers will follow!

# Presentation of MERCURY Institutes

*Below you will find the presentation of SIPRI, the last MERCURY partner to present itself. One of our tasks has been the MERCURY Newsletter and we want to thank all of you who have contributed to it, read it and - as we hope - found it useful for your own work and as a way to know more about EU and multilateralism.*

## Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

SIPRI is an independent international institute dedicated to research into conflict, armaments, arms control and disarmament. Established in 1966, SIPRI provides data, analysis and recommendations, based on open sources, to policymakers, researchers, media and the interested public.

SIPRI was established on the basis of a decision by the Swedish Parliament and receives a substantial part of its funding in the form of an annual grant from the Swedish Government. The Institute also seeks financial support from other organizations in order to carry out its broad research programme.

SIPRI's structure comprises the Governing Board and the Director, Deputy Director, Research Staff Collegium and support staff, together numbering around 50-60 people. SIPRI's staff and Governing Board are international.

Located in Stockholm, Sweden, SIPRI offers a unique platform for researchers from different countries to work in close cooperation. The Institute also hosts guest researchers and interns who work on issues related to the SIPRI research programmes.

SIPRI maintains contacts with other research centres and individual researchers throughout the world. The Institute cooperates closely with several intergovernmental organizations, notably the United Nations and the European Union, and regularly receives parliamentary, scientific and government delegations as well as visiting researchers.

### Gunilla Herolf

Dr Gunilla Herolf is Associated Senior Researcher within the European Security Programme at SIPRI. She joined SIPRI in 2007. Her main fields of work are European integration, European security cooperation with an emphasis on the CSDP, NATO, France, Germany and the UK, Nordic security, transatlantic relations and European Neighbourhood Policy (ENP). Many of her projects have been pursued within the framework of the Trans European Policy Association (TEPSA), of which she is a board member. She is also member of the Steering Committee of EuroMeSCo and engaged in the Royal Swedish Academy of War Sciences, of which she is Vice President.



Within MERCURY Gunilla Herolf is engaged in Dissemination and Outreach (head of Work Package V) and in Work Package II: Towards a new architecture of EU external relations?

### Theresa Höghammar

Theresa Höghammar joined SIPRI in January 2009. She currently works as a Research Assistant for the European Security Programme as well as the Non-Proliferation and Export Control programme at SIPRI. She holds a Masters of Political Science at the Swedish National Defence College. Theresa has previously worked as a disarmament, peace and security officer for the Swedish United Nations Association and with gender and security issues for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Geneva. Theresa Höghammar has also participated in EU-CONSENT project (2005-2009) (Dissemination and Evaluation Work Package). She has been responsible for the EU-CONSENT Newsletter.



Within MERCURY Theresa Höghammar is engaged in Dissemination and Outreach (Work Package V) primarily responsible for the Newsletter.

### Rebecka Shirazi

Rebecka Salim Shirazi is a SIPRI Project Coordinator and Research Assistant and is involved in several of the institute's projects. She is a recent graduate of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) in London, from which she holds a MSc in Comparative Politics, Conflict Studies. She also holds an MA in International Relations and Middle East Studies from the University of St Andrews in Scotland. Rebecka has previously worked as an intern at SIPRI and the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS).



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