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Global Responsibility
What's Europe's message?

Position paper

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For Europe, taking global responsibility in what is increasingly "one world" is an essential obligation. Following the end of the Cold War, hopes for a new and peaceful world order remained unfulfilled. In the 21st century as well, security and peace are scarce political and social goods. The East-West conflict merely froze many disparate interests in place. Following its demise, however, not only did former lines of conflict become more pronounced, a number of other pressing issues rushed into the vacuum left by the Cold War's forced geopolitical stability: the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, religious extremism, global terrorism, ethnic and nationalist conflicts, population growth, economic dislocation, ecological catastrophe, starvation, poverty and widespread migration. In many parts of the world, resistance is growing to the dominance of western values and Occidental-Christian civilization. This is also the breeding ground for a radical fundamentalism that not only threatens the global community from "failed states," but also from within Europe and the western world. At the same time, the international interdependence of business and politics as well as global partnerships among differing cultures and religious traditions have meant that crises occurring in one region necessarily expand and directly influence the rest of the global community. Given its critical dependence on economic exports and external resources, Europe is particularly vulnerable to dislocation and disruption.

Europe's global responsibility in politics, business and culture

In this ever-smaller and increasingly challenging "one world," Europe is faced with a sole viable prospect: it must recognize its potential for shaping global political realities, must consolidate its public-sector and non-public-sector resources and must assert itself politically, economically and culturally for peaceful, just and sustainable global change. For this to happen, Europe's nations and the EU itself must deliver a cohesive message to the world, one that expresses their foreign- and security-policy ideals, accounts for their economic and social interests, engenders trust and promotes mutual respect. The core elements of European responsibility in the world of tomorrow are:

- European peace policy: Integration at home, partnership abroad
- Business *with adjectives*: Promoting an economic model that is cooperative and sustainable
- Preventative diplomacy: Strengthening capabilities for dialogue with other cultures

European peace policy: Integration at home, partnership abroad

The world can be seen as a European invention. To a large extent, it was geographically, technically, scientifically, philosophically and culturally explored from a European perspective. Its building blocks – nation-states – are western creations, as is the basic framework of the globe's international order itself. European values continue to impact the rest of the world – even if there is still far to go before democracy, the rule of law and human rights are implemented everywhere. Lead by the US, the West dominates the world economically and militarily. Together, the US and Europe produce 50 percent of the globe's gross domestic product. Both account for over a third of world exports. The western industrial nations are the key drivers of globalization, which can be seen as the result of Europeanization and Americanization. In 2002, the US alone spent more for defense than did the 18 next largest countries, including the EU member states.

The West's dominance, however, is not without its fault lines. These transect the Atlantic, separating the US from Europe. In addition, new powers are entering the world stage. Given their sheer potential, China and India have already become formidable players in global politics. Resistance is arising, moreover, in yet another area. With the end of the East-West conflict, pent-up tensions in nations in the former "Third World" have been violently released, as well as in those nations situated closer to Europe. Today, more than 40 countries around the globe are torn by violent conflicts. This increase in civil strife can be ascribed, above all, to the fact that many of the states that originated as European colonies have not succeeded in developing for their mostly multi-ethnic populations the conditions and processes that guarantee a peaceful resolution of opposing interests and that make it possible for the nation as a whole to utilize its diversity for fostering social and economic development. The West itself bears partial responsibility for this, having often supported authoritarian regimes during the Cold War rather than promoting freedom or societal modernization. At the same time, the gulf between rich and poor has widened. Despite decades-long, wide-scale development aid, the uneven playing field between industrial and transformation states has not been leveled. A conflict-inducing spiral consisting of population growth, flight from village and agricultural life, urbanization and unsuccessful industrialization is leading instead to growing radicalization – above all among the young, who are unable to discern a viable future for themselves. In many southern nations, they make up the majority of the population. The frustration of belonging to the losers of western-dominated modernization manifests in – as a prime exam-

ple – Islamic fundamentalism, which espouses the conscious rejection of the West, along with its norms and systems. The international terrorism that then results could well evolve into *the* security issue of the new century, one that could ultimately determine the globe's basic structures. These failures have an impact on the West in two ways. Weak and disintegrating states in close proximity to the European Union as well as those in transformation regions now threaten the EU's security. In a globalized world, terrorism, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, organized crime, human trafficking, epidemics and migration all know no borders. But that is not all. In this networked "one world," which can be scrutinized by the modern media down to its last inch, Europe's democracies cannot remain indifferent to the suffering of millions, since to do so would fundamentally place in question the integrity of their own values. In this position, Europe requires a more active foreign policy in order to preserve its interests and values. In establishing one, it can avail itself not only of its economic power and long-standing global relations. The European Union is, above all, a model for how nation states can overcome centuries of self-destructive wars and transform their differences into a community founded on the rule of law and peaceful cooperation.

Integration as a measure of success

Europe today stands for unity in diversity. Based on the treaties of the 1950s that provided a foundation for a European community, western Europe has pursued an ongoing economic and political "disentanglement" of the territorial borders of its member states. At the start of the 1990s, western Europeans turned in cooperation to their neighbors to the east with the goal of reuniting a divided continent. The result was the accession to the European Union on May 1, 2004, of 10 new members. With this event, which can be seen as a simultaneous opening to the outside world and an infusion of the new, Europe's states committed themselves to an ever-closer legal union. By creating common supranational institutions, among others, the EU has mechanisms at its disposal for adjudication and adjustment that are wholly comparable to those of a democratic nation-state. The legal framework that today binds its member states – the "acquis communautaire" – alone comprises over 80,000 pages. The body that enforces maintenance of this legal code is the European Court of Justice. Yet other European organizations, such as the European Council or the OSCE, have also contributed to the increase in this rule of law and, through their own legal structures, ensure that Europe's citizens can now take individual action to guarantee that their human and minority rights are not infringed upon. This does not make the EU a "super-state," however. Governance in the EU is still organized based on a division of power and is implemented by its individual nation-states. Yet through the convergence of political objectives, which are contractually set, this governance is becom-

ing increasingly reciprocal and transnational. In addition, numerous networks at the sub-state level have formed that are supporting and intensifying cooperation among regions and interest groups throughout Europe. To a large extent, the EU with its 25 members can today boast of standing for both prosperity and peace. A common economic sphere is shared by 455 million inhabitants, in which borders no longer obstruct the flow of people, products, capital or services. The EU has held out to the Balkan states the prospect of accession and is actively supporting the transformation of these countries to democratic market economies. The appeal of the EU has proven so powerful that it now extends to Turkey, Ukraine, Moldavia and even to the Caucasus, not to mention the southern coast of the Mediterranean.

Transnational governance

Europe's most recent history might well herald a new message for the world: not power, but the unrestricted rule of law and voluntary transfer of sovereignty within a community of states will be the hallmark of the future. Much seems to suggest that the form of transnational governance developed in Europe could help to identify common solutions for the globalized world's cross-border problems.

The EU as model

Europe's ability to demonstrate unity in diversity resonates beyond its own borders. Integration as practiced in Europe has now become a model for other parts of the globe. Mercosur in South America and ASEAN in Southeast Asia are attempting to use increased economic cooperation to benefit from mutual, global competitive advantages while building trust among their members. The African Union was founded analogously to the European Union. Its member states have committed themselves to resolving conflicts jointly and constructively and to honoring human rights. Are we now beholding a new and – this time – peaceful Europeanization of the world, one that evinces respect for other cultures and is characterized by the European model of integration and transnational governance? Whether or not Europe's achievements – the "European way of life," which comprises inclusiveness, respect for differences, quality of life, social equality, sustainability, human rights and even a right accorded to the environment itself – will be the wave of the future remains to be seen. It seems less likely rather than more. Until now, Europeans have been hesitant and fractious in assuming their global responsibilities, something that was readily apparent in the Balkan conflicts. It became apparent yet again in disagreements over the war in Iraq, which threatened to split Europe in half along yet a new border.

Growing Euro-skepticism

Even more disturbing: the European model is losing acceptance among Europe's citizens themselves. The "no" that the French and Dutch accorded the European constitution repre-

sents a passing low point in a gradual process of alienation that increasingly blames "Brussels" for the change and pressures to which our societies are being subjected as part of ongoing globalization. Yet how can Europe serve as a role model when it doesn't even trust itself? More than ever, European answers are needed. Without them, the challenges resulting from international terrorism, cross-border crime and the pressures international financial markets are exerting on national economies cannot be met.

The European security strategy

It must therefore be taken as an encouraging sign that, despite this general mood, Europeans were able to unite behind a common security strategy for the first time in 2003. Effective multilateralism and preventative engagement are its core elements and, at the same time, are manifestations of European responsibility and the vision of a secure Europe in a better world. A strategy, however, requires both capabilities and tools in order to be effective. This is where Europeans face a key challenge. Despite all of the projects and initiatives begun in past years in the official areas of Common Foreign and Security Policy as well as European Security and Defense Policy, Europeans must intensify their efforts across the board.

Expansion of military and civilian resources for crisis intervention

In particular, Europe must make the financial resources available to accelerate the expansion of its military forces for crisis intervention. The ability to project power is an instrument of foreign policy, lending it the requisite credibility while facilitating its implementation. Europeans must accept this truth. Yet military means alone do not suffice for ending conflicts and for creating a secure environment for reconstruction. That is why the EU also needs specially trained legal specialists, police officers, administrators and engineers, in order to foster self-actualizing economic, societal and democratic structures following conflict intervention. Europe's own civil-social traditions should obligate it to include the conflict area's local population in its efforts on a wide scale.

Strengthening the United Nations

Above all, Europe needs the political will to deploy military means in the case of a crisis. To that end, an even closer relationship for cooperation and agreement is needed with the United Nations. A UN mandate remains the most compelling legitimization for intervening in other states. The European Union should therefore do all that it can to ensure that the proposal by Secretary-General Kofi Annan for reforming the UN is successful. In addition to a UN Security Council that reflects today's configuration of global power, this would also necessitate the creation of a separate Council for Human Rights that could support this fundamental issue professionally and credibly.

For these reasons, Europe needs more than just international or regional organizations as

partners. It must implement its foreign policy globally for creating a matrix of strategic partnerships. Partnership with the United States must remain a central aspect. Europeans must again convince the United States – as a founding member of the United Nations – that over the long term the rule of law achieves more than a simple exertion of power. It also ensures that the ideals of freedom, security, human rights and development are given a chance to flourish across the globe. First and foremost, however, the EU must demonstrate that it is both willing and able to assume responsibility for such a vision.

Business *with adjectives*: Promoting an economic model that is cooperative and sustainable

Globalization has brought Europe face to face with the key challenge of competing against the United States and Asia as a location for business investment and has at the same time sharpened the focus on how to best structure the social order in terms of market economics. In essence, the ideals of the liberal and social market economy are competing against each other. The liberal market economy in its Anglo-American form derives from notions of individual freedom and responsibility. Inequality is seen as promoting growth. In contrast, the social market economy of continental Europe offsets a granting of freedoms with a leveling of social disparities. The political frameworks governing economic activity in the two systems and the organizational principles of businesses operating in the market differ accordingly. In the social market economy, the state thus takes on a more active role by setting the ground rules for economic activity. The economy is viewed as part of society while, in the liberal scheme of things, the market dominates society.

The values associated with the social market economy – social equalization, participation and consensus – are also key behavioral parameters for European businesses, in addition to their competitive focus. It is not by chance that the European economic model is described as "stakeholder capitalism" – in contrast to the "shareholder capitalism" of the liberal economic model which remains "without adjectives." In addition to those of the shareholders, European companies as a rule must consider the interests of employees, customers, suppliers and society at large and must therefore orient themselves to the long term. In contrast, organizations that focus solely on shareholder value are oriented to short-term results, which serve less to ensure developments of substance than a maximization of dividends for stockholders.

In the age of globalization, history seems to have already rendered judgment in favor of the liberal market economy. Its economic "superiority" strikes many as given. Is a "fundamentalist market economy" – to exaggerate somewhat – now the standard measure for shaping a

global world order, in which no legitimized institution for norm-setting exists and national governments are no longer able to influence all the economic and social processes taking place within their borders? Will the European economic model be able to hold its own in the system of global competition? Will globally active corporations based in Europe also fulfill their social obligations on a global level? Or, faced with globalization, is their responsibility reduced to making a profit, as laid out in Milton Friedmann's well-known thesis from 1970?

But one shouldn't cast doubt on the future viability of the European economic model so easily, since such a point of view fails to recognize that the background conditions for entrepreneurial action have also changed under the influence of globalization. The costs of excluding those who live in the globe's poorer countries are constantly rising and have manifested in many forms: environmental destruction, migration, disease, war, drug-related crime, terrorism. Poverty and underdevelopment in the globalized world have a direct impact on entrepreneurial action. And instable or constantly changing political realities are some of the major risk factors threatening economic prosperity. One additional aspect: the same technologies that have driven globalization now enable greater transparency. Actual or perceived missteps on the part of business are immediately made public and punished by lobbying groups or consumers. Examples such as Shell and Nike show that enormous corporate value can be annihilated when companies behave in a socially irresponsible manner. Even capital markets no longer judge corporate success solely according to traditional economic criteria. Corporate governance is just as important as the long-term risks that companies must address in the areas of social or environmental impact.

Public discomfort with global capitalism is also growing. Worldwide economic downturns along with corporate merges and acquisitions with their attendant "downsizing" of employees have led to higher rates of unemployment in industrialized countries. Numerous corporate scandals have fundamentally undermined trust in the business world's behavior, not only on the part of investors, but the general public as well. A survey carried out for the World Economic Forum in Davos in 2003 makes this clear: 48 percent of those queried around the globe said they have little or no trust in global or major national corporations. Clearly – contrary to what had been predicted – the unleashing of market forces has not led to increased prosperity for all. Instead, the social gap is now wider than ever.

Given all of this, it seems less than reasonable from a European perspective to strive for economic efficiency without consideration of societal costs or to place the needs of business

above those of society. A market economy is a necessary but by no means sufficient condition for a free, prosperous and just social order. According to the European economic model, a market economy can only be considered a true achievement if it unites individual freedom with economic, social and ecological efficiency. This derives from the fundamental principle that a society and its businesses can only develop peacefully and successfully in the long run if society's citizens are secure in their social welfare, if the general population enjoys material prosperity and if natural resources are utilized in a sustainable manner. In a networked and interdependent world, this necessarily leads to the responsibility for internalizing social and ecological costs on a global scale. This has a number of implications:

The EU must formulate a foreign economic policy that truly gives developing nations a chance. Debt forgiveness is only one – and not the optimal – tool. A more effective response would be if the EU opened its markets and reduced subsidies for European agricultural producers.

Many European companies long ago took up these challenges. The discussion about corporate social responsibility has now become widespread. In essence, businesses have been forced to recognize that it serves their own interests to address both implicit and explicit social needs and to integrate social and environmental concerns into their corporate strategies. Assuming social responsibility thus becomes a call to reason: entrepreneurial action is dependent on its acceptance by the social environment, i.e., the regulations and values that each society considers binding. Yet the normative basis underlying a business organization's values is equally relevant. Every company sets its own norms by defining the goal of its activity: how and by which means is it to create value? The discussion of which norms apply to business and what contribution companies should make to addressing globalization's failures are likely to intensify Globally, corporate strategies will have to come to terms with a changing canon of values. This is where Europe can play a leading role. In addition to a focus on maintaining a competitive edge, those values evinced by the social market economy – social equalization, participation and consensus – are also critical parameters determining how European companies do business. European businesses are, in this regard, excellently prepared for adapting to the new canon of values and for using it to realize a competitive advantage – through an upgraded brand image, for example, more favorable risk evaluations on the part of capital markets or the recruiting of higher-performing employees.

Companies' individual efforts can have immensely positive effects, as numerous examples

Global Compact

demonstrate. In carrying out their efforts, business organizations receive support from initiatives such as the Global Compact, which was launched in June 2000 by UN Secretary-General Annan. The Global Compact offers a platform for global business to participate in shaping globalization so that it is both sustainable and humane. The compact is based on principles derived from UN declarations that address topics such as human rights, employment conditions and justice, as well as environmental protection and the fight against corruption. Companies, in turn, are expected to integrate these principles into their corporate policies and their core business. What's more, they are invited to become involved in the joint effort for realizing the UN's Millennium Development Goals. These include halving extreme poverty and hunger by the year 2015, achieving universal primary education, developing environmental standards and ensuring access to clean drinking water. Worldwide, over 2,000 companies have already committed themselves to meeting the Global Compact's mandate. These organizations are located mostly in Europe and Asia – those areas that favor a more cooperative economic model.

Europe's economy as a model for optimal future opportunities

In light of the increasing challenges of globalization, the question of the business world's normative basis is more pressing than ever. This is an area where Europe could take on the leading role. In its basic orientation towards economic, social and ecological goals, the European value system already largely matches the world's current, more demanding requirements. The challenge will lie in bringing companies' needs to act as market players in line with the tried-and-true principle of acting in an economic and socially sustainable way. In order to create this new economic order, all actors from politics, business and civil society must work constructively together. Ultimately, the competitiveness of both Europe's economies and its business organizations depends on it.

Preventative diplomacy: Strengthening capabilities for dialogue with other cultures

Europe's contribution to a dialogue among cultures

At the dawn of the 21st century, Europe's ability to make a cultural impact is also in question. If the European nations and the EU want to take their rightful place and shape the world of tomorrow, a world that must not degenerate into the self-fulfilling prophecy of a "clash of civilizations," then they must increase preventative efforts for establishing trust and mutual respect. Without a proactive dialogue among cultures, security policy cannot succeed. Not coincidentally, the European Commission has declared 2008 to be the "Year of Intercultural Dialogue." Intercultural dialogue promotes the discovery and establishment of trust in a global world and supports recognition and understanding for Europe as a cultural project.

Intercultural dialogue with third-party countries will, in turn, benefit Europe by providing creative potential and by strengthening an understanding and experience of diversity. The precondition for this, however, is that Europe makes an active attempt at identifying the cultural essence underlying the community of European states and implements in its inner-European dialogue the core set of values that it holds as binding among its members and that it wishes to offer to the world at large.

An inherent European culture?

Understanding Europe as a cultural project means reflecting on the values, forms of expression, traditions and lifestyles in which European thinking and behavior have manifested themselves. These include the liberal-democratic social order and human rights. They make up a major portion of the European soul and European self-identity. It is therefore all the more important that the European Charter of Basic Rights announced in Nice in 2000 by the European Council come into power as quickly as possible. The Convention has scheduled it as Part II in the overall plan of adopting a European Constitution; yet only once the European member states have ratified the Constitution will the protection of basic rights for Europe's citizens finally become binding and transparent.

Europe's diversity

Beyond that, what belongs to the common European cultural heritage remains difficult to assess: upon close examination it becomes clear that the attempt at an all-inclusive codifying of *European values* does not yield telling results. The search for a cultural identity for Europe, one that normatively differentiates the Continent from the rest of the world, must necessarily lead to an exaggeration of the differences vis-à-vis the rest of the world and to deceptive fictions of homogeneity. In this vein, the accession of an additional 70 million members as part of the EU expansion in 2004, people whose basic living conditions have largely been determined by a communist past, undeniably highlights the cultural diversity and differences in an enlarged Europe that stretches from the Atlantic to the Bering Straits to the Black Sea and Mediterranean.

Euro-Islam

The commencement of accession talks with Turkey and Europe's willingness to deal with Islam have proven in the recent past to be a particularly intense litmus test of its ability to integrate. Following the French national assembly's passing a law by a sizeable majority in February 2004 to forbid the wearing of Islamic headscarves or other religious symbols in France's public schools, after the terrorist attacks in Madrid and London which shifted the "war against terror" to European soil, and in light of the murder of the Dutch filmmaker Theo van Gogh for apparently Islamicist reasons by a fanatic of Moroccan heritage in November 2004,

the weaknesses and limits of European integration policy had become evident. Talk of cultural wars, parallel societies and Euro-Islam is a symptom of the crisis in relations between the traditional values of the Christian West and the self-image of its current Muslim population of 15 million. Non-Muslims perceive Euro-Islam, above all, as Muslims and Turkey being successfully integrated once they have accepted democracy, human rights, the equality of men and women, and the separation of religion and state into their confession of faith, so to speak. Muslims, however, view this derisively as a call to assimilation and as pure "immigration Islam." They prefer a pragmatic "adjustment to the European way of life, without having to give up the basic tenets of Islam," as the chairman of the Central Council of Muslims in Germany, Nadeem Elyas, recently formulated it anew as part of a depiction of "Muslim lifestyle in Europe." The question of how the relationship between Europe and Turkey as a country that is both democratic and a proponent of modern-day Islam can develop is being considered throughout the EU and abroad. Will Europe become the cradle of Islam's rejuvenation? Can Europe keep its balance in regard to cultural diversity should Turkey join the community, despite the drastic increase in the number of Islamic residents? Will Europe's handling of the issue of Islam become exemplary on a global level?

Europe as a cultural work-in progress

Given such factors, the question "What is Europe?" cannot be answered definitively. Europe and its cultural identity live and have lived from a constant confrontation with the new, the different and the foreign, and the drawing of its boundaries both within and without must be renegotiated again and again. Even those distant eras when Europe was the scene of confrontation between ancient Greek and Roman culture or the setting for the power struggle between church and state illustrate the region's central characteristic: competing ideas enter into dialogue with each other in a manner that is more intense and free-wheeling than elsewhere, and by doing so they transform and renew themselves through intellectual debate. This "dialogue within diversity, which ultimately effects change," is where "the genius of Europe" lies (Edgar Morin, *Europa denken*. Frankfurt am Main: 1988). Of particular importance in terms of creating its identity is the manner in which Europe is dealing politically and socially with its diversity of cultures – located at the national, regional and individual levels – and with religions and embedded sub-identities, how it creates unity within this diversity and how it transforms differences into a fruitful co-existence.

The basics of European cultural policy at home and abroad

The balance the European Union has struck between political integration on the one hand and attention to the cultural diversity of dozens of diverse nationalities and languages on the

other has a number of roots: it is based on the European notion of religious freedom as a basic communal right and on the principle of subsidiarity in cultural-political affairs. Article 151 of the EU Treaty serves as the legal basis for its cultural engagement. Out of fear that Europe's cultural diversity might be lost due to standardization, the Union restricts itself to promoting cooperative ventures among its member states and supporting and supplementing existing cultural activities <u>only</u> when this cannot be carried out by the cultural promotion mechanisms in the nations themselves (principle of subsidiarity). Any and every attempt at harmonizing the legal and regulatory codes of the member states is prohibited by the provisions of Article 151. This cultural policy inherently implies an endorsement of a multipolar worldview, the intrinsic value of cultural diversity and a dialogue among cultures. In a time of radical geopolitical change, Europe's endorsement of a multipolar worldview and a dialogue among cultures is becoming increasingly compelling. And Europe can hardly deny those values abroad that it has recognized as binding at home. Yet the question arises of which possibilities Europe has at its disposal for developing an ongoing cultural dialogue with third-party states.

Building blocks for a preventative European cultural diplomacy

Suggestions for intensifying an effective European foreign cultural policy are often hindered by the subsidiarity principle's narrow purview. Yet fears that the development of a European foreign cultural policy will lead to infringement of the cultural sovereignty of member states are ultimately unfounded, since the EU has a series of instruments at its disposal for supporting and promoting its members. Yet these instruments must be optimized in order to ensure that Europe can live up to its global responsibilities for cultural dialogue:

Coordination of all European cultural activities

Basic programs of the Directorate-General for Education and Culture must be more closely coordinated with the cultural activities of the European Council and other international organizations, such as the OSCE or Unesco, as part of an integrated EU foreign cultural policy.

Increased promotion of civil-social cooperation and intercultural artistic processes

In its foreign policy, the EU must also increasingly promote the potential offered by artistic endeavors and civil society for contributing to social cohesiveness. Art brings people together, inspires communication resulting in unique viewpoints and visionary ideas, and promotes critical reflection, communal experiences and intercultural expertise. There are many artists and cultural organizations whose work has had a positive impact on the process of trust building, such as the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, which was founded in Weimar and which brings together Israeli and Arab musicians, or the Life Aid / Life 8 concerts initiated by Bob Geldof aimed at showing solidarity for those in need in Africa. With their universal lan-

guage, artists in particular are in a position to transcend borders and conflicts and generate interest, appreciation and empathy. The same can be said about the bridge-building potential of civil society. Whenever individuals and businesses become involved to address their common interests, trust ensues. As Robert Putnam has shown, this results in positive external effects for society at large.

In the EU, all member states indeed pursue a foreign cultural policy. Yet the current practice of cultural cooperation on the part of the member states via their state-supported and semi-state-supported institutions is contradictory. The EU must therefore develop incentives for increased coordination in this fragmented field, in order to initiate projects of significance for all of Europe. In dialogue with third-party states in particular, the bilateral focus should be replaced by multilateral initiatives. For this to happen, experiences must be increasingly shared and resources for multilateral projects must be assembled so that synergies can develop that can benefit Europe as a whole. Promising projects include plans for a Central and Eastern European cultural forum in Beijing and the planned international strategic partnership between the Goethe Institute and the British Council.

Will and can Europe carry out its global responsibilities?

In the global world, all actors must work together. The rapidly changing conditions of the 21st century increasingly demand that Europe supply its own answers. Europe can be viewed as a successful model for the productive communal life shared by diverse cultures and civilizations and based on the unrestricted rule of law, a voluntary transfer of sovereignty within a community of states, and a cooperative and sustainable economic system. Europe must now represent its principles and values to the world at large. Making European identity manifest through a dialogue of cultures both at home and abroad and thereby creating a cultural basis for effective political and economic action – that is what will determine Europe's message, responsibilities and, ultimately, its role in the world.