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**THE EU FOREIGN POLICY OF MY DREAMS:
*TEN WISHES***

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Abstract*

In this GGI 'Views from Practice' Paper, Professor Johan Galtung (principal founder of the field of peace studies) provides a concise and out-of-the-box "wish list", outlining his 10 recommendations for the future of the European Union's foreign policy. Professor Galtung commends the EU's 'glittering success' in terms of peaceful integration, but warns about a decline of international presence and impact through wrong-headed policy choices. He argues for a more actively intercultural and more successful EU foreign policy that would share and promote the European experience through a mutual dialogue of civilizations and to foster the establishment of strong regional organizations within a 'United Regions' system worldwide. Professor Galtung stresses the need for a dialogue across civilizations, religions and post-colonial dividing lines. In particular, he highlights the lack of understanding between Christianity and Islam. Focusing on his method for mediation, Galtung advocates to promote an inter-religious dialogue based on appreciating each other's values, historical grievances and future visions. Galtung also focuses on the EU's relations with core partners (such as Russia, China and African partners) EU Crisis Management and UN Peacekeeping as well as the use of force and the Syria crisis. Finally Galtung emphasizes the need for a more symmetrical approach to EU-African Capacity-Building, including acknowledging and addressing Europe's colonial and post-colonial wrongdoing.

About the Author

Professor Johan Galtung is a mathematician, sociologist, political scientist and the principal founder of the discipline of peace studies. He founded the International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (1959), the world's first academic research center focused on peace studies, as well as the influential *Journal of Peace Research* (1964). He has helped found dozens of other peace centers around the world. Professor Galtung has mediated in over 100 conflicts between states, nations, religions, civilizations, communities, and persons since 1957. His contributions to peace theory and practice include conceptualization of peace-building, conflict mediation, reconciliation, nonviolence, theory of structural violence, theorizing about negative vs. positive peace, peace education and peace journalism. He is author or co-author of more than 1600 articles and over 160 books on peace and related issues, including *Peace By Peaceful Means* (1996), *Macrohistory and Macrohistorians* (with Sohail Inayatullah, 1997), *Conflict Transformation By Peaceful Means* (1998), *Johan uten land* (autobiography, 2000), *Transcend & Transform: An Introduction to Conflict Work* (2004, in 25 languages), *50 Years - 100 Peace and Conflict Perspectives* (2008), *Democracy - Peace - Development* (with Paul Scott, 2008), *50 Years - 25 Intellectual Landscapes Explored* (2008), *Globalizing God* (with Graeme MacQueen, 2008), *The Fall of the US Empire - And Then What* (2009), *Peace Business* (with Jack Santa Barbara and Fred Dube, 2009), *A Theory of Conflict* (2010), *A Theory of Development* (2010), *Reporting Conflict: New Directions in Peace Journalism* (with Jake Lynch and Annabel McGoldrick, 2010), *Korea: The Twisting Roads to Unification* (with Jae-Bong Lee, 2011), *Reconciliation* (with Joanna Santa Barbara and Diane Perlman, 2012), *Peace Mathematics* (with Dietrich Fischer, 2012), *Peace Economics* (2012), *A Theory of Civilization* (forthcoming 2013), and *A Theory of Peace* (forthcoming 2013).

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European Union Foreign Policy and Global Governance: Ten Wishes

The EU is in a crisis mainly of its own making. Some of its economic issues can be resolved through strict controls on speculation, separating savings and investment banks, gradual debt forgiveness, lifting the bottom up, cooperation by countries such as Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Ireland, and by stimulating agricultural cooperatives with direct sales points. However, many of the problems the EU is facing are political. The EU has become invisible on the international stage through its incapability to create a collective foreign policy that builds upon international peace and security. The EU has also made the mistake of aligning itself far too closely and often in an unreflected manner with US foreign policy preferences in the Middle East and fundamentalist tendencies in factions of the current Israeli government. As a result, the EU has become far too anti-Islamic and lacks creative thinking in global peacebuilding.

The following are some ideas about steps that can be taken to strengthen the EU's role and progressive impact in global affairs.

1. Replicating the EU's Glittering Success

The European Union is a **glittering success** as a peace zone and its model is much needed in zones of war and instability, such as the Middle East, Central Asia, and East Asia. The EU should externalize its success by helping to promote its successful integration strategies within conflict prone areas around the world. This process can begin by supervising the creation of a Middle East Community consisting of Israel and its five Arab neighbours including Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Egypt that would eventually look and function in a similar manner as the EU. This same approach should be taken in promoting a Central Asian Community that involves Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, including its controlled Kashmir region, and the surrounding five former Soviet republics, all with open borders allowing freedom of travel, something that is crucial for the Pashtuns and

other groups. A North East Asia Community should also be formed which would include mainland China, along with all its provinces, including Tibet, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau, as well as both North and South Korea, Japan, Mongolia, and the Russian Far East with the city of Khabarovsk as its capital. All of these regions could greatly benefit through economic interdependence and open borders. The EU should 'release its archives' and share its best practices of its past integration strategies, in turn, guiding the rest of the world on the necessary steps toward integration that creates lasting peace.

2. A 'United Regions'

A United Regions Council should be added to the existing UN structure. This interregional council should have no exclusive veto powers, and would consist of the established regional organizations of the EU, AU, SAARC, ASEAN, the potentially integrated region of Latin America and the Caribbean, the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, as well as the previously discussed communities in the Middle East, Central Asia, North East Asia. The creation of such an interregional union of organizations could become a key tool for pursuing coherent global governance, through international, regional, national, and local level governance structures.

3. EU Crisis Management and Mediation

There are multiple crises that must be dealt with around the world, and there are more to be expected in the future given the legacy of colonialism and the construction of countries along arbitrary borders, essentially putting together ethnic or tribal groups that historically despise each other, while also dividing groups that consider themselves in concert. Examples of such situations are the four 'Sykes-Picot colonies' consisting of Iraq and Palestine under English rule, and Lebanon and Syria under the French, all which seem to contain built-in catastrophes that are presently exploding. The EU will have to recognize the responsibility of some of its members, more specifically the UK and France, while also listening to what all the involved parties want,

trying to arrive at a bridging perspective through mediation. Generally speaking, there are two approaches that can be taken in order to achieve stability and effective governance within these problem areas. The first approach would consist of the creation of a federation with a high level of autonomy for the different nations and a democratic system in which each nation is represented. This would not take the form of a “one person one vote” democracy in order to avoid the inevitable outcome of a majority dictatorship, with the most numerous of nations having an unchecked influence. The second option would be the implementation of a confederation, or community of nations that belong together, involving open borders, which allow for the freedom of travel. **In the case of Syria**, this would mean both respecting the Sunni majority, while providing some autonomy to the minorities protected under Shia rule. This can be done through the creation of a bicameral parliament, in which one house is territorially based upon the provinces, and the other is non-territorial, representing the different nations, in which each nation would have veto rights in matters concerning their own identity. The EU should actively become involved by sending teams of well-trained mediators to the multiple crisis areas in order to understand the different perspectives of the involved parties, and to help facilitate dialogue between them at the local level.

4. The European Union, Peacekeeping and the Use of Military Force

The EU should participate in Chapter 6 peacekeeping, but should eschew “peace enforcement,” (which is essentially a contradiction in terms). The primary role of peacekeeping is to prevent violence, not to use it. However, simply striving for a ceasefire is not sufficient when pursuing lasting peace. Given the strong attachment violent actors have toward their goals of autonomy; a ceasefire with no image of a solution will become counterproductive, and will be used for regrouping and recuperation, smuggling of arms, and redeployment of forces. Therefore, a solid vision and roadmap for a lasting solution is crucial in order to have a ceasefire that

actually pacifies a violent conflict rather than simply prolonging it. Even though peacekeepers should not use violence in their mission, they should have the necessary military expertise and weapons for self-defense. Peacekeepers should mainly be used for police training, given local police forces the proper tools for effective crowd control by non-violent means. **Peacekeepers should undergo valuable mediation training in order to know how to understand and facilitate dialogues between actors with perceived incompatible goals.** Only through the process of understanding an idealized period of the past, and the fears and goals of the future of the involved actors, can mediation successfully align previously incompatible goals to reach lasting peace. It is also important that peacekeeping forces should have a quota of 50% women. A stronger focus on human relations in order to align diverse goals, instead of merely maintaining control and security within the conflict area is vital. Lastly, the European Union and indeed all regional organizations, have a responsibility to reinforce global peacekeeping. Peacekeeping forces should be so numerous that there is discussion of a ‘blue carpet’ of UN personnel in conflict zones, rather than only ‘blue caps’.

5. The EU and the ‘Third World’

‘Third world’ countries mainly comprise former colonies, and it is long overdue for their colonizers to provide sincere reconciliation. Simple financial compensation for the *genocide* and *sociocide* that destroyed social structures and cultures is not sufficient enough of an effort by the European colonial powers. Instead, the EU should try to achieve a form of joint understanding of their colonial past with the third world. The co-rewriting of mutually acceptable textbooks, discussing the history of colonialism, could prove to be useful as a form of sincere reconciliation. This undertaking was highly effective in the German experience of reconciliation after the horrors of World War II (in the form of a Polish-German history book project sponsored by UNESCO), and should be utilized as a show of good faith by Europeans in acknowledging their misconduct toward

former colonies. Only by addressing its imperialistic past head on, can Europe effectively reconcile with the ‘third world’ countries it devastated through colonialism.

6. West-Islam and EU-Turkey Relations

At the political level Turkey should become a member of the EU. Turkey has long been involved in European affairs and partnerships and this step would make Istanbul a hub for positive West-Islam relations, creating a valuable link while demonstrating tolerance for the Muslim community. North Cyprus should also be recognized by the European Union. With this move, all of Cyprus as a unitary state, federation or confederation, should also become a EU member. Furthermore, an increased dialogue of the great civilizations has the potential to combine Western pluralism with Muslim closeness. The sharing of these views can be used for mutual adaptation and benefit. Concerning the conflict involving the Shia and Sunni communities, the Western approach to overcoming the historical Catholic-Protestant divide might also be useful in trying to come to an understanding regarding the fundamental disputes.

7. Russia

Historically, many invasions were conducted by the West and infiltrated the Eastern world, with two exceptions: Russia hitting back after Napoleon and Hitler. This great eastern empire has shown its strength and widespread influence time and time again and it is vital to try and look past differences of opinion and ideology. Relations should not be about a power struggle and instead there is ample room for reconciliation. The EU and Russia can cooperate to tackle current issues of peace and security together and have already shown they can cooperate in policy areas including economy and environment, freedom, security and justice, external security and research and education.

8. China

The main Silk Road was not a track in the desert and the mountains, but a major

Buddhist-Muslim, East Asian and Africa sea-lane for centuries. It was destroyed by the Portuguese and the English in the name of their Kings and now it is time for reconciliation—including for addressing and acknowledging previous wrongful acts of “gunboat diplomacy”, opium exports, and colonization of Macao-Hong Kong. This reconciliation is long overdue and, in fact, a conscious effort by the EU to make amends for past colonial exploits and policies blunders more generally would do a great deal to strengthen ties with other regions and build trust where relations are strained or have broken down all together. An EU recognizing Israel partly because of two thousand year old history should also think about recognizing some Chinese ocean rights with a much more recent history. The institution should also acknowledge joint Chinese-ASEAN ownership of some of the islands, and the jurisdiction of the Northeast Asian Community in respect to the Senkaku-Diaoyu islands.

9. Eurasian Partnership

The EU is a peninsula on the Eurasian continent, a continent increasingly connected by excellent railroad links, mainly built by the Chinese. The age of globalization has brought the region even closer together. This is the right time to add a Eurasian orientation to a Trans-Atlantic partnership. The United States, is trying to recover from the economic downturn and recent revelations of mass-spying by its National Security Agency have deeply shattered European trust. It is in the EU’s best interest to foster stronger ties and trade initiatives with its continental neighbors. Asian economies are booming and it is important to strengthen relations not only for economic reasons but for more comprehensive cooperation on political issues and initiatives as well.

10. The EU’s Relations with Africa: Rethinking ‘Capacity-Building’

A final thought on the EU’s relations with Africa. Violence and instability still persists on the continent and the Europeans have a particular historical responsibility to support

peacebuilding and address the consequences of colonial disasters and injustices inflicted since the Berlin Conference in 1884-5. Addressing and acknowledging the past crimes is a first step. We are still missing a monument in this very city, -Brussels- commemorating the genocide and sociocide committed in the Congo under King Leopold's Belgium. The EU's current approach, based on 'development aid' and so-called 'capacity-building' will not work in the long-run. Indeed, capacity-building and development assistance that is only offered in a one-way direction is an insult. It needs to be mutual and it needs to be symmetrical between two equal partners. Africans have an enormous knowledge about community-building. At a time when Europe is facing the increasing problem of individualism and sheer loneliness (at present, 60% of all households in Sweden consists of a

single person, 40% in Norway and 30% in the UK) it might be worth thinking about seeking African 'technical assistance' on how to overcome loneliness and individualism in Europe. Such mutual capacity-building will help Europe, Africa and will bring about a more symmetrical approach to technical assistance.

Conclusion

The EU has plenty of opportunities to return to the international stage once again, and with the appropriate tools and approaches it has the potential to facilitate lasting partnerships and peaceful change on a global scale. These 10 wishes require not only a change in tactics, but of deep-seated attitudes as well. All of this is feasible: with realism in the brain and idealism in the heart.

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