

The single European simcard[§]

Alessandro Fusacchia

European University Institute, Florence

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1. In all our pockets

For some time now, European integration has expanded beyond the confines of economic bonds, common legal frameworks and inter-state diplomacy and broken into the more sensitive realms of social affairs, citizenship and partisan politics. Over the last few years the main factor confirming this now irreversible trend has probably been the adoption and introduction of the single currency.

Of course, the euro is not Europe's only major achievement in its quest for an “ever closer Union” embracing the whole continent within a single community. But the single currency's direct, unmediated impact on Europeans has probably been the single, most far-reaching and visible event since European integration was set in motion in the 1950s. The entry into circulation of euro coins and notes is therefore a landmark in terms of the EU's delivering to the Europeans. And in terms of communication, a single euro coin does more than a thousand speeches to tie us into a community that extends beyond national borders and to develop a common European identity.

[§] Other possible titles for the article are: "The European mobile phone", "The Europe-wide mobile phone", "Mobiles without frontiers", "The single European telecoms area". I express my thanks to Lorenzo Caroleo, [amico GREVI], Arianna Frascchetti, Hector McGillivray, Flore Vaucelle and two European Commission

The euro has its critics. Some Europeans feel that the advent of the euro has been detrimental to their purchasing power and life-style. And yet, in those countries of the euro area, even the most sceptical opponents of the single currency do their shopping and buy their newspapers and bus tickets in euros and euro cents. So it is reasonable to expect that in the mid-term, the single currency will become *the* reference for even the least enthusiastic supporters of the euro, while political debate will centre on policy options in the fields of economics, taxation, welfare and inflation rather than on the currency's very existence.

By that time, Europeans will have learnt to cope with issues that can only be solved in a wider European framework. Different peoples — not just different governments — facing problems they all share and seeking joint solutions: that is the idea behind and the meaning of "community" within the Union, as opposed to a mere "international organisation". The euro plays a vital role in this progressive shift from international organisation to multinational community for it has a direct impact on people's lives rather than simply on governments' policies. And that is because the euro is with us at all times because it is in all our pockets.

So is it not now time for another revolution that can break down the internal barriers hamstringing the use of the second major item to be found in the pockets of the overwhelming majority of Europeans, and in particular of the younger generation, on whose shoulders responsibility for leading the Union will rest one day? Has the time not come for the single European simcard and the Europe-wide telecoms area that will free up our mobiles phones?

2. Towards a single European telecommunications area?

In the early 1990s, the European Commission worked to ensure the same technology applied to mobile communications throughout the European Union, which led to the remarkable popularisation of mobile phones. The Commission in particular was keen both to encourage technological standardisation and to step up competition by terminating national telecoms monopolies. This heralded another major step towards the removal of internal barriers and the progressive liberalisation of services across the EU.

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At present over 300 million people — two thirds of the EU population — have mobile phones. In barely a decade, mobile phones have graduated from a fashionable novelty, used mainly for professional reasons and communications outside the office and home, to a means of communication as normal and routinely used as the fixed line. The mobile has developed into what can now only be viewed as a sort of widespread "common good".

Despite this impressive development, the EU mobile communications market remains fragmented and our networks still end at our national frontiers. While mobile communications have brought people closer together and have opened up new possibilities for heightening their sense of community, this is only true within our nation states.

As discussion continues on the new broadband mobile services, on how the EU can remain the world leader in the mobile communications field, how the goals of the Lisbon strategy can be achieved, how to keep research moving forward, and how to bring people closer to the information society, the time is ripe for a quantum leap in regulatory — not just technological — terms to give the EU a "single telecommunications network".

In a nutshell, Europe needs a single telecommunications market with pan-European operators offering Europe-wide services to consumers, a market that no longer confines citizens to their own national borders when communicating within the EU. National markets need to "merge" into a single large EU communications market. Meanwhile, the workings, mechanisms and economic forces that shape today's national telecoms markets may need to be redesigned and reproduced on a larger scale.

3. Pioneering work: the European telephony numbering space (ETNS)

The idea of a single telecommunications area is not entirely new. Since the mid-1990s, the European Commission has been working on and fighting for a European telephony numbering space or ETNS. ETNS was devised essentially as a pan-European numbering space providing for a single European number based on a new European country code — 3883 — for companies and individuals throughout the Union.

The political objective of those advocating ETNS was to support the development of pan-European services in addition to the introduction of a European numbering space for numbers

with no geographical location, such as emergency numbers for which national numbers may not be adequate.

ETNS was designed to operate in parallel to existing national numbering spaces. Rather than replacing the existing system, it sought to add a 16th numbering space in Europe (or a 26th after enlargement). Member States were to ensure that all undertakings operating public telephone networks handled all calls to and from the ETNS, identified by 3883. But great uncertainty, in particular regarding the recovery of costs from operators handling these calls, meant ETNS had very limited impact on the European telecommunications market. All this has meant that ETNS has unfortunately remained what amounts in practice to a dead letter.

The explanation lies in the practical problems. When a phone call is made through ETNS, the receiving party pays for the termination of the call. But in a pan-European telephony space operating via national networks and operators, trans-European phone calls mean that phone call chains are much longer and more fragmented.

A phone call from Lisbon to Berlin involves several operators, which creates great legal and economic uncertainty for those operators not directly interconnected to the terminating network but nonetheless handling the call at an earlier stage. How can they recover their costs without even a contractual relationship with the terminating network?

This uncertainty has undermined ETNS' success because it represents an excessively high risk in terms of costs and tariffs for both operators and customers. As a Commission official puts it: "The ETNS is there. It does exist. Simply, operators do not connect. Interconnection is the real critical point here. On interconnection, which is subject to commercial negotiations, the Commission has no power whatsoever, no legal basis to intervene. We cannot force them to connect to the ETNS."¹

Unlike the ETNS, a "single telecommunications area" would not be designed to exist in parallel to the current system and be of use mainly to service providers. Rather, it would be expected to replace existing national networks, and be used by both firms and private individuals. As it is currently the case within these national networks, all costs of a phone call

¹ Interview with Commission officials, Brussels, 10 December 2004.

would be charged to the consumer making the call, without any charge being levied on the receiving party and the termination operator. This is because the single telecommunications area can only be effective if pan-European operators emerge, or at least if pan-European tariff schemes are offered to consumers.

If this does not prove worthwhile and cost-benefit analysis reveals that different tariffs should be kept at least for some time, operators could offer a "geographical option" in their pan-European tariff schemes, as is the case today for the "time option". Mobile tariff schemes provide that phone calls to the *same* destination are charged differently if they are made at *different* times of the day. In the future, phone calls made at the *same* time could be charged differently if they are made to *different* destinations.

It is also true that "some mobile operators have started to introduce elements of distance-sensitive pricing"². The problem with this geographical option, however, is that, with mobile calls, the physical location of the receiving party is not known beforehand, and this uncertainty would put the consumer at a disadvantage because he or she would not be able to tell the cost of the call before actually making it.

Directive 2002/22/EC³, which is part of the regulatory framework for electronic communications and deals specifically with users' rights and the universal service, took a very limited though symbolically significant step towards (the introduction of) a single European numbering space. Article 26 establishes a single European emergency call number. A person in danger or needing help can dial "12" anywhere within the Union and will immediately be redirected to the appropriate national emergency phone number, and hopefully attended to! Here again the logic is to redirect callers rather replace the number.

4. A pan-European spectrum licensing system or spectrum trading?

What would be the impact of such a single telecommunications network? First of all, we would need to think about the spectrum licence-issuing system. Up to now, operators have competed nationally for licences in EU member states. This was the case for second-

² H. Gruber, 'An investment view of mobile telecommunications in the European Union' in *Telecommunications Policy*, 1999 (23), p. 528.

³ OJ L 108/51.

generation (2G) licences — i.e. UMTS technology allowing for mobile voice communications and SMS — and third-generation (3G) licences, which allow for data (including pictures and video) communications. A single network for the whole EU would call for EU-wide rules on future spectrum licensing, permitting mobile communication services to be sold throughout the EU. That would be a major milestone on the road to a single telecommunications area and would certainly usher in the Europe-wide simcard.

Spectrum-licensing operations involve millions of euros and are a major source of net income for national governments. The difficulties in centralising Union-wide licences at EU level do not end with the financial considerations. Member states regard the spectrum as a "national natural resource"⁴ that falls fully within their sovereign ownership and competence. But were coal and steel not the most relevant national primary resources in the aftermath of World War II? And did the pooling of those resources not lead eventually to the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community?

Spectrum licensing at EU level could be organised in a different manner than has been the case to date at national level. At the same time, the impressively high debt burden that operators have incurred with 3G licences and the great uncertainty they have faced in terms of investment profitability and the future development of the mobile communications market could be avoided.

The alternative to a European licensing system could involve royalties. Operators would pay for their share of the spectrum on the basis of their proportion of actual sales and not on the basis of average, highly risky forecasts of technological progress and consumers' future preferences. The need to pay would be consonant with operators' capacity to pay and this would avoid a heavy debt burden on the telecoms industry.⁵ A royalty system of spectrum licence issuing would give the EU an important additional source of own resources that would not directly affect the national budgets of the member states — at least not in terms of direct transfers from national treasuries to the EU budget. And this additional revenue might be used to contribute, for instance, to an EU investment policy.

⁴ Interview with Commission officials, Brussels, 10 December 2004.

⁵ J. Ure, 'Deconstructing 3G and reconstructing telecoms', in *Telecommunications Policy*, 2003 (27), pp. 188 and 194.

At the same time, if Member States are not willing to do away once and for all with what they see as the goose that lays the golden egg and they hold firmly to their intention to keep national control of licensing, another way of attaining the goal could be to create a single telecommunications network.

This would involve fully free spectrum trading on the secondary market allowing any operator potentially to buy spectrum quotas from other operators present on foreign markets. The Commission has pushed for spectrum trading because it would offer the possibility — albeit still quite far in the future — that an operator could merge individual national telecommunications markets into a single European mobile network. But the operator would have sufficient resources and be willing to buy spectrum quotas on all European markets.

A very likely precondition for the successful development of a single European telecommunications area is likely to be the existence of pan-European operators able to offer services to users throughout the Union. But a single telecommunications area would also encourage agreements and mergers between national operators, who cannot cover the whole of the EU on their own. This would help to generate competition at EU level and to create European champions able to compete worldwide with major non-EU multinational firms – in something like the way the original national monopolies became the "natural" (national) oligopolies of the late 1990s.

A single European telecommunications space will encourage restructuring of the continent's telecoms industry, which is currently excessively fragmented. This will lead to a common, integrated telecoms market with less fragmentation and less concentration too — less fragmentation than at *European* level and less concentration than at *national* level. But to do this EU competition policy needs to develop a greater "taste for globalisation".

5. Making roaming obsolete: a single EU prefix

In a sense, a single European network already exists. Citizens can move around Europe and still make calls using their own mobile phones. Widespread mobile-phone network coverage has allowed Europeans to continue using their own simcards even when they travel abroad. This is thanks to the "roaming" facility, which has been made possible by the fact that national networks use the same technology and can "recognise" and "speak to" each other.

Probably one of the greatest innovations of the 1990s, roaming allows users to use the same cellphone number as they travel around Europe. But roaming charges are still far too high and lacking in transparency for consumers to use them widely. As a consequence, international roaming only makes sense for very short stays abroad.

The problems seems to be that roaming has escaped the competition for subscribers that has brought cuts in charges and tariffs on national mobile networks. The European Commission has investigated this to some extent, but the problem apparently does not only lie in collusion and anti-competitive practices by operators⁶.

A single telecommunications network — and a Europe-wide simcard — would mean a single mobile number that could work on the same Europe-wide network, wherever the user happened to be in the EU. Instead of national prefixes (+39 for Italy, +33 for France, +34 for Spain, etc.), a single prefix would be valid for the whole EU, like +01 for the US. An American or a Chinese would dial the single prefix to call a mobile number in Europe, whether the user happened to be in Porto, Bologna, Helsinki, Manchester or Athens.

This new European prefix could replace existing national prefixes. But there is a problem, for many numbers are identical in different countries and can only be distinguished through different national prefixes. For instance, "06" is the prefix for mobile phones in France and for fixed-line phones in Rome.

And the problem extends further — even beyond the EU's boundaries. Assume you dial a number beginning with (0)797 from outside the EU: depending on the national prefix dialled in the first place, you will reach a Swiss mobile phone or a fixed-line phone in Sassari in north-west Sardinia. A way out could be to *add* the EU prefix to national prefixes.

Assuming these problems are solved and a single European number comes into service, then a mobile call from Rome to Paris on the single mobile telecommunications network should not cost much more than a call from Rome to Florence. In other words, the difference should not

⁶ R. Salas and Ch. Koboldt, 'Roaming free? Roaming network selection and inter-operator tariffs', in *Information Economics and Policy*, 2004 (16), pp. 497-517.

be much greater than the existing difference on the *same* national network using *different* mobile phone operators.

This would be the main difference between a single mobile telecommunications space in Europe and a commercial agreement between operators to discontinue roaming charges. One Commission official commented that "Some companies such as Vodafone could decide to abolish roaming costs soon. Roaming hardly costs them a cent, or very little in any case."⁷

But if this does happen, the discontinuation of roaming charges would mean a call between mobile phones one of which is "abroad" would cost less only if they belonged to the same national network.

Meanwhile, mobile calls between two mobiles belonging to different national networks would be charged at the same rate as international mobile calls, i.e. at the very high tariffs currently applying. Thus a phone call between two Italian mobiles would cost the same, despite the fact that one was using a foreign network. But a call from an Italian to a French mobile would not benefit at all from the abolition of roaming charges and would therefore not gain from the reduction in rates.

6. Back to the future: from mobile to fixed-line communication

A single number valid across Europe that does away with national prefixes could also be introduced for fixed-line phones. If the EU were a single telecommunications area, a call from Vienna to Barcelona or Brussels to Frankfurt would be the same as a national trunk call, not an international communication. As with a single Europe-wide simcard, people in Rome would call Florence or Paris at the same price, and pan-European fixed tariffs would become competitive with pan-European mobile tariffs as is the case within the member states today.

This discussion could become meaningless some time in the future when internet communications develop to a point where they completely replace mobile and fixed phones. Until that revolution — which may come quickly but not overnight — has occurred, a single

⁷ Interview with Commission officials, Brussels, 10 December 2004.

European telecommunications area and a single numbering system for fixed and mobile phone calls is worth considering.

If a Europe-wide simcard becomes feasible through a pan-European telecommunications area and pan-European mobile network providers, the spillover for fixed telephony seems not only desirable but also unavoidable. If this does not occur, intra-European mobile-phone calls might become much cheaper than similar fixed-line calls, and this would force fixed telecoms to react to avoid losing a significant percentage of their share of the telecommunications market to mobile operators. If Asterix in France wants to talk to his friends Hans and Gretel in Denmark or Tintin in Belgium and they all have mobiles operating on the same network at affordable and competitive prices, then why should they use their fixed lines, which would be much more expensive, to make an international phone call?

Another reason why we could expect spillover from mobile to fixed telecoms is that the same terms "fixed" and "mobile" are becoming increasingly anachronistic and within a few years they might be not only replaceable⁸ but also indistinguishable. In the not-so-distant future, full fixed-mobile convergence might come into being and grow popular, giving rise to a "new numerical order"⁹. In that new world, consumers would be able to take advantage of the freedom granted by mobile communications and the reliability and low costs of fixed lines. As the *Economist* puts it, with the "marriage of two phones", consumers would "use the same handset to make calls via fixed lines at home, and mobile networks when out and about: they [would] have one number and one voicemail box, and receive one bill."¹⁰

7. Justice and home affairs.

A single EU telecommunications area would have a positive impact on the EU market for services, on R&D and on other important areas of EU citizens' lives. It would also be of great importance for the European integration process in an area such as justice and home affairs. Witness the growing attention paid to the establishment of a common area of freedom, security and justice in the EU over the last few years.

⁸ M. Rodini et al., 'Going mobile: substitutability between fixed and mobile access', in *Telecommunications Policy*, 2003 (27), pp. 457-476.

⁹ L. Cohen-Tanguy, *Le nouvel ordre numérique*, Paris: Odile Jacobs, 1999, pp. 48-49.

At its meeting of 2 December 2004, the Justice and Home Affairs Council considered a proposal for a framework decision requiring telephone companies, mobile-phone providers and internet-service providers to store information on whom EU citizens call or phone and the places where those communications originate¹¹.

This proposal, which raises highly sensitive questions about consumers' privacy, is primarily intended as a response to requests from judges and the police for access to telecoms traffic, as electronic communications services are used increasingly to commit crimes. Irrespective of the crucial balance that needs to be struck between citizens' rights and security at national and EU level, the advantages of a single telecommunications area for justice and home affairs and the fight against crime are evident.

From the viewpoint of citizens' rights, in a world of ever-growing mobility where people are increasingly on the move and personal contacts are less and less necessarily face-to-face, a single telecommunications area across the Union would give substance to freedom of speech and the right of association, which implicitly call for a "right to communication" for Europeans throughout their shared supranational community. And this would give further substance to European citizenship. A single European telecommunications network would represent a European public good¹² and the services provided by operators would have an element of general EU interest.

8. Cohesion policy.

A single telecommunications area would involve important aspects of government policy — entrepreneurial activity and family life — and so bind the EU member states and European peoples together more closely and soundly than today. More specifically, a single telecommunications area is likely to bolster the development of telecoms. And thanks to the principle of universal service across the EU, it would offer the benefits of new technologies and quality service to all European citizens.

¹⁰ "The marriage of two phones", *Economist*, September 23, 2004.

¹¹ Press Release, Justice and Home affairs, 2 December 2004.

¹² D. Helm, 'The assessment: European networks – competition, interconnection, and regulation', in *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 2001 (17), p. 309.

There is also a positive correlation between the growth of telecoms services and the rise in income level¹³. Regions lagging behind can take advantage of this positive correlation and the EU's economic and social cohesion could ultimately be strengthened.

9. Lisbon strategy

Leaving Justice and Home Affairs and Cohesion Policy aside, the main advantage of a single telecommunications area would be in helping to achieve the goals of the Lisbon strategy, which seeks to put Europe at the forefront of technological innovation and turn the EU into the world's most competitive economy by 2010.

A single Europe-wide area, an EU-wide licence and a borderless simcard would clearly mean operators would forfeit the profits they earn from roaming. Those profits already come at almost no cost to some Europe-wide operators. But those operators would also benefit from economies of scale linked to a continent-wide market of users. This would make investments safer, would benefit research and technological innovation and would reduce costs and rates for services to users throughout Europe. Electronic communications would not only remain the economic sector with the highest labour productivity in Europe and the strongest contributor to productivity growth — as former Commissioner for Information Society Erkki Liikanen has stressed¹⁴ — but would also bolster economic development across all important sectors, bringing greater efficiency to public services and cross-border activities.

10. Telephony and sovereignty

A single European telecommunications area and a common international prefix for the EU would spell the end to international roaming within the Union. This would have major consequences for European integration, not least because some national claims to unlimited sovereignty dating from the 20th century would be directly affected.

¹³ A. Cieřlik and M. Kaniewska, 'Telecommunications infrastructure and regional economic development: the case of Poland', in *Regional Studies*, 2004 (38), pp. 713-725.

¹⁴ com 2004 447 final...p 2 and... E. Liikanen, 'Mobile communications: future visions and challenges', SPEECH/04/291, Brussels, 8 June 2004; Commission of the European Communities, Connecting Europe at high speed: recent developments in the sector of electronic communications, COM(2004) 61 final, Brussels, 3 February 2004, p. 6.

A case in point is the recent hullabaloo over telephone services in Gibraltar. Over the last ten years, a still unresolved dispute has set at odds the Spanish company Telefonica and Gibtelecom, an operator in Gibraltar providing both mobile and fixed telephony services¹⁵. Gibraltar is a British dependent territory but Spanish claims to the small peninsula have never been abandoned. Telefonica, very likely acting under instructions from the Spanish government, has never recognized the international code area of Gibraltar and its international prefix (+350), which it was assigned in 1968 and is different from the UK prefix (+44). Recognising the code +350 would imply implicit recognition of Gibraltar as an independent state and Madrid is firmly opposed to that.

Until 1986, this refusal meant in practice that phone calls from Spain to Gibraltar could not be handled, which resulted in serious economic and social damage to people in Gibraltar. Under an agreement reached in 1986, Telefonica assigned Gibraltar the same regional prefix as Cadiz (+9567) and offered the colony 30 000 numbers under the Spanish national telephony plan. The prefix for phone calls to Gibraltar was +9567 from Spain and +350 from the rest of the world.

That agreement was not destined to last and in the 1990s two major problems arose. First, the numbers made available to Gibraltar were soon used up. Second, a new storm broke out when Telefonica refused to conclude an agreement on international roaming with Gibtelecom. As a consequence, Gibraltarians could use their mobile phones everywhere in the EU except Spain!

Once again the problem is pressure by the Spanish government to ensure Gibraltar is not recognised as having an international mobile prefix and to avoid concluding an agreement on international roaming with an operator in a territory with a disputed international status. At present Gibraltar has been given a special "domestic" prefix for fixed telephony but no compromise has been reached on the issue of international roaming. Several cases brought by Gibtelecom are currently pending before the Court of First Instance of the European Communities.

¹⁵ Gibtel was founded in Gibraltar in 1987. In 1994 Gibtel was granted a licence to provide GSM services in Gibraltar. In 2001, GNC, the operator in fixed-line telephony took over/merged with Gibtel, and the two companies became Gibtelecom. Gibtelecom was born from a joint-venture between an American company and the Gibraltar government. Both have 50% shares in Gibtelecom.

The Gibraltar case illustrates a number of things. It shows how far member states are prepared to take their sovereign claims. It also shows how European integration can contribute to the gradual settling of disputes. In the increasingly globalised world of the early 21st century, such conflicts are mainly fuelled by questions of prestige and indicate scant concern for the social and economic conditions and benefits of EU citizens.

A single telecommunications area and a common prefix for the whole of the EU would solve cases such as Gibraltar by casting out the bone of contention and putting the focus back on the EU's economic and social benefits in terms of improving people's lives and standard of living. A single EU prefix would show up the outdated traditional state-bound concept of sovereignty and would highlight the value of pooling and sharing on which European integration has always been based.

11. Political and social integration: back in people's pockets

Quite apart from its economic and legal advantages, a single telecommunications area would hold enormous benefits in terms of political and social integration in a sphere that involves all Europeans directly in their daily lives, in the realm of private contacts as well as at work. Like the euro, the borderless mobile phone has a direct impact on people's pockets.

Any development of this sort in mobile communications would follow “naturally” on the initial impressive expansion of mobile phones in Europe in the 1990s. Jeremy Rifkin argues that mobile phones have allowed individuals in Europe to free themselves from territorial constraints while retaining their bonds with their community, which is an essential feature of the “European dream”¹⁶.

Clearly the market for the Europe-wide simcard is limited in the immediate future. It has to be confessed that Europeans are not very mobile. But over one million young Europeans have already studied abroad under the Erasmus programme and tourists travel around Europe in their millions. Every day hundreds of civil servants from all over Europe meet in Brussels to work out, plan, monitor and implement EU policies and legislation and then return to their own countries. Large numbers of businessmen travel between different countries visiting their

¹⁶ J. Rifkin, *The European Dream*, ..92-93 v it ch 4.

firms' branches. A single telecommunications area and a Europe-wide simcard, ultimately interconnected via a single number to fixed-line communications, may not have a direct impact on all Europeans, but directly and indirectly it will definitely affect a large number of them.

At certain times, “mobiles without frontiers” might become the tool for Europeans to express their solidarity and strengthen their feeling of belonging to a single community. In the aftermath of the Asian tsunami disaster, impressive sums were raised because private citizens could make small donations by sending SMS to a special number. Millions of euro were collected in this way under an agreement between national governments and national mobile-phone operators. If an EU-wide telecommunications market had existed along the lines described, Europeans could have expressed their solidarity with the tsunami victims across the whole Union in a massively supranational way.

Now that the single currency is there, communications can facilitate travel, encourage mobility between Europeans and help make people feel at home throughout our continent. They can contribute to the development of a shared sense of belonging and the establishment of a common European public sphere. And in the medium and longer term they can impact on our chances of achieving social inclusion and political integration by giving substance to the idea of European citizenship across our continent.

Postscriptum: answering Henry Kissinger

In the early 1970s, US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made his well-known jibe at Europe's perceived lack of unity: “Europe” he asked, “which phone number?” And of course he was right that he would need to call several capitals to get an idea of what Europe thought¹⁷.

Now that the European Constitution has been signed and the post of EU Foreign Minister is provided for, Kissinger's successors will know who to call if they want Europe's view rather than that of Paris, London, Berlin or Rome. And they will probably have the secret number of

¹⁷ Kissinger quoted in...

the EU Foreign Minister's mobile phone. So let us pre-empt future American jokes about our lack of unity and give the EU Foreign Minister a truly European mobile phone!