

"What Is Europe's Phone Number?" This arrangement reflected a deeper difficulty within the European Union: who spoke for Europe?

This problem had been famously described by Henry Kissinger when someone in the State Department had said that they had better consult Europe on some issue. "And what," Kissinger had rumbled to his staff, "is Europe's phone number?" Now, two decades later, and despite the E.U.'s frequent lip service to a common defense and foreign policy, Kissinger's question was still relevant.

At Dayton, it was a problem from the outset. Although Carl Bildt was one of the three co-chairmen, Pauline Neville-Jones and Jacques Blot told us privately that Bildt could not speak for their governments on certain issues. This made a mockery of both the theory and the practice of having a E.U. representative as co-chairman, and raised other questions. Whom did Bildt speak for? And when? What, in fact, was his authority? Did he represent only the E.U. countries that were *not* there? Where did the Germans, who had not made a similar statement, stand?

No clear answers were forthcoming from Neville-Jones or Blot. In fact, they seemed annoyed when we raised the problem, saying, "We'll sort it out as we go along." It was a sad admission, on the one hand, that the E.U. did not exist as a single negotiating entity. On the other hand, it was not surprising that nations which still aspired to greatness and global influence wanted to retain an independent voice on foreign policy. What troubled us most was the hypocrisy of the European Union in giving a distinguished former Prime Minister such a grandiose title, then undermining and hamstringing him from the outset, and later blaming us for friction in the negotiations. Reflecting on this situation a year later, Carl Bildt observed philosophically, "Europe lacks the capacity to act because of too many competing interests, while the U.S.—when it sorts out its own mess in Washington—has the capacity to act. The Europeans are good at coordinating with each other, while the U.S. is not, but our internal coordination takes up all our time, and you are more decisive when you get your act together."

David Rohde. In the midst of our negotiations, a new problem arose. An intrepid young *Christian Science Monitor* journalist, David Rohde, had rented a car in Vienna and, without telling anyone, set out for Srebrenica, hoping to write a follow-up account of its fall, a story that he had been one of the first to cover. On October 29, showing more courage than wisdom, he began digging in the red dirt of the mud dam near Zvornik, the presumed site of a mass grave. Not surprisingly, he was picked up by Bosnian Serb police. As Dayton opened, he was missing somewhere in Republika Srpska.

Rohde's absence complicated our work considerably. Although he was a private citizen and had knowingly taken great risks—traveling without papers