

# **You are not alone!**

## **Miss Liberty and Miss Justice: Renewing The Transatlantic Dream**

*by Jean-Claude Juncker, Prime Minister of Luxembourg*

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Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Dear Transatlantic Partners,

Dear American Friends,

A week ago, I thought of April in Washington as a peaceful Bretton Woods spring meeting. You must know that I like – I really do - your nation’s capital especially during the magnificent cherry blossom period. No monument here in D.C. – and believe me: no monument in Brussels or even in Luxembourg either - can compete with the beauty of cherry blossoms in early spring! Many of your cherry blossom trees are by the way a gift of friendship from Japan in 1912. Friendship and family are important in real life! And even in real politics! For me, both friendship and family are at the very heart of our unique transatlantic partnership. Yes, we have common interests, common fears and common threats. But even more important are our common beliefs, hopes and dreams. That is something a European politician can only say here in America where there is still some “audacity of hope”. I’m not sure, but I think I’ve heard this before...

Well, my friends, that was before Boston: my peaceful cherry blossom feeling ended abruptly last Monday when I heard of the horrible and – I’d like to quote President Barack Obama again – “heinous and cowardly act of terrorism” during the well known Boston marathon. You know, we

heard and we felt the blast over the Atlantic. We also felt your pain, your anger, your fear. Because it is also our pain, our anger, our fear! Because we are not only allies and partners but also friends and even family. And thanks heaven there is no “old” and “new” family anymore: there is just family. In times of trouble and especially in times of terror, we in Europe do know whom we have to stand by. And I think that’s also true for you here in America. That’s not a thing of the past! That’s not D-Day nostalgia! That’s the very basis for our common future as a Transatlantic Community!

For this community is also a geopolitical one. The same is by the way true for some hard power shifts from the Atlantic to the Pacific – and to Asia. But that’s not new! Remember the Cherry Blossom gift from Japan. Remember how our world was interconnected and even interdependent in 1913! It was globalization “avant la lettre”. And before World War One and World War Two. And long before the Cold War where America and Europe stood again united against a system of oppression of the very essence of humanity: freedom and liberty! So after Boston, I would like to say to you both as a Luxembourger and as a European, both as a citizen and as a politician: “You are not alone!”

For I don’t believe in “lonely superpowers” anymore. That is a concept of the past! It was in 1999 – 10 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall – that Samuel Huntington wrote an article in Foreign Affairs with the same title for America: “The Lonely Superpower”. But in 2013, it is not true anymore. For times are changing. And I do hope and I do believe that they are changing for good! For the times of lonely superpowers and even more the times of empires, of balances of power and powers – a European geopolitical concept by the way: that’s actually even in the New

World “Very Old Europe” – of balances of fear and nuclear terror are definitely over. Yet, our policies have to follow. And I am happy that America’s new Grand Strategy has also a nuclear free world at least as a long-term vision.

That is something even Henry Kissinger agrees on... now. So times are definitely changing. And that’s good change for our people! That is something we also have to say to the leaders in North Korea. And I really would like to thank President Obama for his personal leadership in cooling down the rhetoric of war. For words of war are always very dangerous. We must never forget that most of the atrocities of history started with words nobody believed at the beginning. The most famous example for this are probably Hitler’s infamous words in “Mein Kampf”.

Therefore, today, we have to speak not only words of wisdom but also words of Peace, words of Liberty, words of Justice, words of Friendship, even words of brotherhood in a world of oppression, terror and injustice. Together, together in America and in Europe, together in our Transatlantic Community, together in our world, we can do better. And we’re about to do it!

Another Huntington thesis – unfortunately the great Harvard thinker of international relations passed away in 2008 - was the “Clash of Civilizations”. Again, Huntington was not right when you read his article and book as a geopolitical goal! But he was and is still right when we read his whole article and his whole book as a political warning. Before Joseph Nye, the father of soft and smart power, he wrote of the “New Dimension of Power” in 1999. And he said two important things. I quote: “The global structure of power in the Cold War was basically bipolar; the emerging structure is very different”. Unquote. And quote: “There is now only one

superpower. But that does not mean that the world is unipolar. (...) A coalition of major states is necessary to resolve important international issues. European politics approximated this model for several centuries.” Unquote. Well, the Balance of Power model was not a historic success. It ended 1914 in Sarajevo and both 1933 and 1989 in Berlin. Without producing a new and clear world order.

But isn't history always chaotic? Isn't freedom always chaotic? Isn't fairness always chaotic? Aren't human beings always chaotic? Isn't that a direct consequence of human Freedom and Liberty and - yes - also human imperfection? Still, we have to seek the best in mankind. And there is a certain hidden order of peace, of freedom, of justice in history. For this hidden order is in us! Not only in America. Not only in Europe. All over the world. But we have to work on this hidden human order. For our future is never a fatality: it is always a choice of freedom and fairness! At least, most of it!

Therefore, my friends, my vision of the future is a free, fair and peaceful European, Transatlantic and even global community of communities. For we must never forget that there is no freedom without fairness, no fairness without freedom, no peace without both freedom and fairness. Liberty and Justice are the two sides of the same global medal of peace, prosperity and humanity. For we must not forget President Kennedy's famous words: “Our most basic common link is that we all inhabit this planet. We all breathe the same air. We all cherish our children's future. And we are all mortal.” I should add: “And we are all Bostonians today!”

That is our common transatlantic and even global vision. In America, in Europe, in the European Union, in NATO, in the so-called United Nations. That's by the way a good – actually a not so good example to illustrate that we're not there yet. But again, we have to work on it!

And indeed, we do! And I'm not saying this because Luxembourg is right now a non-permanent member of the Security Council. On that behalf: Why not accept – of course, after the glory of the Luxembourg membership – one single European permanent membership in the UN Security Council? Now, for Luxembourg, this would be easy. But for Britain? For France? Tomorrow for Germany? No, not even our transatlantic partnership is a bipolar one. For we in Europe have – and I'd like to quote President Obama during his G20 press conference in Cannes – “lots of institutions”. And we have 27 national capitals. So we have a telephone number in Brussels. OK – even in Brussels we have more. But too often Brussels is just a diplomatic call center and the strategic and political decisions are taken in London, Paris and Berlin. Brussels, Strasbourg and Luxembourg – the three official capitals of Europe, well too often, they are just official.

Yes, in a way, we sometimes lost our European dream. Because we sometimes lost our people. However, our people do want Europe. They do want a united Europe. A united Europe in national and regional and local diversity. They do not want the “United States of Europe”. And that is something I don't want either.

Now, I know: the Vice President of the European Commission and Commissioner for Justice, Fundamental Rights and Citizenship Viviane Reding – Madam Reding is by the way from Luxembourg and from my party, the Christian Social People's Party, too – wants a United States

of Europe. She developed her vision here at the European Institute exactly two weeks ago. But we agree to disagree on that.

Personally, I do believe that we need more Europe: more better Europe. We must share more of our sovereignty. Especially in our almost not – yet - existing European diplomacy. European Foreign Affairs must not only have one and only one voice in the world: they must also have one and only one strategy at home. That's by the way the only realistic chance for positive European influence both in our transatlantic and also in our global relations.

To achieve this sui generis vision at home, I could imagine a Europe of concentric circles. With a strong core of fully integrated Member States. And with other Member States like Great Britain and may be someday even with Turkey on the outer circles. But the circles will not be perfect. There will be many interconnections and intersections. Otherwise our new European Union would look like a geopolitical target. In the Lisbon Treaty we have already most of the tools to realize such a realistic goal. So we have to be more American and we should “just do it!”

In that sense, the Euro is a very American style project: Because we just did it in Europe! We've jumped over our own continental shadow, over our old fears and new European considerations. And we did it! And the father of the Euro was by the way a Luxembourger! No, I have to disappoint you: it was not me who invented the Euro: it was Prime Minister Pierre Werner who launched the process with his magisterial Werner Plan. Without Pierre Werner, and later without German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, I would never have been “Mister Euro” for eight years! Now, I'm enjoying my personal freedom. But I still believe in the Euro: it is the second strongest

currency in the world after the American dollar. And it is a strong monetary element in our transatlantic relations as well. For the European Union as a whole, it is – for the time being – the sole concrete vector of influence and visibility in our globalized financial, economic and even political world. What would Europe be here in DC during the Breton Woods spring meetings without the Euro?! I leave the answer to my question to you...

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your motto here at The European Institute is “Shaping European-American Cooperation in the 21st Century”. How can we do this? As Prime Minister of Luxembourg, I would start by saying American-European Cooperation. And I would say: it is more than cooperation! As I said before: it is partnership and friendship. And it is a common dream with common values and common goals.

No, we cannot just develop a “copy-paste” American Europe. But what did America with its Revolution, with its Declaration of Independence, in its Federalist Papers? Did it “copy paste” Old Europe? No! It, you created a whole new world! Hamilton and Jefferson called it “The American Experiment”. And even today, America has the freshness of a political experiment that works! That attracts. That shines both over the Atlantic and even over the Pacific. The secret of America’s power is not hard power: it is soft power! Of course, you’re combining it into smart power. But as a European I can tell you: the fundamental fascination of America is not its brave armed forces or its strong economy: it is your undestroyable passion for freedom! No “9/11” and

no attacks in Boston can ever destroy your passion for liberty and democracy. For that is the best of America and the best of the American Dream! The Statue of Liberty, “Liberty Enlightening the World”, “Miss Liberty” as you call the beautiful lady in the New York harbor, that torch truly is “America the beautiful”. Especially after a long Atlantic Crossing on a small ship!

That is also the main reason why so many Europeans – among them some 70,000 Luxembourgers! – crossed the Atlantic Ocean and left their Old World for a New World, for a new bright future here in America. For the American Dream is not just economy. The American Dream is not a dream of greed: it is at the end of the day a dream of human enterprise and human fulfillment. That’s what you call “the pursuit of happiness”. And we in Europe can only admire the strength and the force of your optimism. Or as I said before: of your “Audacity of Hope” even in your darkest hours!

That is what we need today to get out of the current crisis. And as I told the IMF, I see at least some economic blossoms in a new global economic spring. But the winter is not over yet. Unfortunately!

But the crisis is not just a financial and an economic crisis: it is a polycrisis. It is also a moral and a spiritual crisis. And it is also a crisis of fairness! Therefore we have to renew our Transatlantic Dream. And by doing that, we have to learn from each other.

I mentioned Miss Liberty before. We agree! There is nothing without Liberty! But Miss Liberty is not enough. We also need more fairness in our economy, in Europe, in America, in our world,

especially in the south of our world. No, we have no Miss Justice in our European harbors. But we have a Miss Justice in our European Social Model – for me the true European social power in the 21st century. Now, it is important to say here in America that “social” does not mean “socialist”. But with an Indian economist from Harvard, Amartya Sen, I would like to say that at the end of the day Liberty is Justice and Justice is Liberty. Or as we say in Europe: Solidarity is Subsidiarity and Subsidiarity is Solidarity. The basis both for the American and for the European Dream is our common vision of the human being.

To be absolutely honest: I do believe that we need more American Liberty in Europe. And I do believe that you need more European fairness here in America. Again, without copy-pasting our Social Model. And for Europe, without copy-pasting the federal United States model.

So we have to bring Miss Liberty and Miss Justice together. The result will not only be a new smart transatlantic alliance far beyond NATO. It will be a new community of peace and hope, of liberty and fairness for our world. For it isn't our Western world anymore. Our world has become a complex people's network. The “We the people” element is by the way another thing we Europeans have to learn from America.

Such a new free and fair Transatlantic Alliance – and the new free transatlantic trade zone proposed by President Barack Obama in his latest State of The Union speech is a true transatlantic chance! – is not only good for freedom and justice in America and Europe, but for freedom and justice and prosperity – after all, it will cover half of world output and a third of the world's trade. And yes: the commission is right: the talks are going to be tough. Especially on

agriculture. But, my friends, true friends can also be tough, can't they? But at the end of the day – perhaps, already at the end of next year! - there will be – that is my conviction, for failure is not an option - a tough new transatlantic free trade zone. And again: it should not only be a free but also a fair transatlantic trade zone. And again: it will be more than just an economic bond. It will foremost be a bond of brotherhood, of freedom and fairness, of liberty and justice, of democracy and of our common transatlantic good. And again: this is not only good for America and for Europe but for our world as a whole.

That's what we need to get out of the human polycrisis of our time. And as a side effect of bringing Miss Liberty and Miss Justice together, we can attend what John F. Kennedy once called “genuine peace, the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living”. Not only during the cherry blossom season...

Thank you very much for listening!