OPENING REMARKS

by the co-organizers of the conference: Ryszard Stemplowski, Allen Weinstein, Lawrence S. Graham, Laurence A. Whitehead

Stemplowski

There is a simple message coming from the Polish Institute of International Affairs: We would like to monitor the EU-US relationship and all the matters involved with it. We believe that this is a crucial strategic relationship, if not an issue, at the threshold of this century, and therefore we would like to set up a monitoring group which would consist of persons interested in the development of the relationship between the European Union and the United States. We were happy to host some of you in Warsaw last year at the first conference, and are glad that so many outstanding individuals responded to our invitation to the second conference, here in Brussels.

Weinstein

The Center for Democracy has been, I suppose, described often as a transatlantic institute in the sense that we do so much of our work in Europe. We've had an ongoing relationship, as some of you know, with the Council of Europe. Every year we host a transatlantic judicial conference with the Council of Europe and the European Court of Human Rights, so these events are not foreign to us. What I think makes this year's conference particularly interesting to me, speaking personally, is perhaps encapsulated by one of my favourite comments by a fellow historian. Marc Bloch, a great French social historian, wrote *The Historian's Craft* on the concept of the generation. And he said at one point that "to be excited by the same dispute, even on opposing sides, is to be alike. And this common stamp deriving from common age is what makes a generation". So what, within a particular period, influences the shape of generational conflict and consensus? For two generations or three generations Americans and Europeans alike have been shaped, if you will, by the generation of the

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Cold War, and following that, by the mini-generation of the Post-Cold War era. And now — at least we in the United States - have entered into another period in the aftermath of the terrorist attacks of last September.

Graham

Let me just add a couple of comments also on behalf of the University of Texas at Austin. We owe a great deal to Ryszard Stemplowski, who opened up the concept of a broader and more in-depth dialogue on transatlantic relations when he approached Laurence Whitehead and myself proposing the dialogue as a way to continue what he had achieved while he was Ambassador in London. And we have tried in each of these meetings to move to a deeper level. The start-up meeting in Warsaw produced precisely that. It brought together a number of us in Warsaw and Krakow and the idea then was to move on to Brussels to explore the broader Europe and this side of the Atlantic in greater depth, having an objective to move on, in our third meeting, to the broader inter-American dialogue that also very much affects transatlantic relations. So certainly on behalf of the University of Texas at Austin we are very pleased to have everyone present.

Whitehead

As you can see this conference is sponsored by two European and two American organizations, and although on this occasion we are holding a conference in Brussels, we have previously held one in Warsaw and the next one will be held somewhere in North America. So we're not based in any one location. Nor are we identified with any particular national or organizational interest. Our object is to provide a neutral forum in which all points of view can be aired and evaluated seriously. And hopefully our most distinctive characteristic will be our determination to be as inclusive as possible, incorporating as wide as possible a range of national perspectives from candidate member states of the EU, existing members of the EU, and from North America as a whole, including Mexico for example and Canada, as well as multiple viewpoints from within the USA. We are keen to hear from all of NAFTA, and from all OSCE member states in general. So, it is a broad community which we are concerned with, the broader community which will be the basis in the future of the transatlantic relationship. This expansive view of broad participation is in contrast to the historical core approach to the transatlantic relationship, which I think has been dominated by the traditional centres of power on the

eastern seaboard of the US on the one hand, and by capitals of Western Europe on the other.

I would also just like to mention that this event was encouraged and supported by Geoffrey Martin, who will be speaking later this morning, when he kindly offered facilities in London for the launch of the book, which you've probably all seen and which arose from the first conference that was held last July in London, also thanks to his encouragement. And at that time we decided to hold a second conference in Brussels with a focus on part of the transatlantic relationship. The idea we adopted last summer was to look at the relationship from the standpoint of the "several Europes", to draw attention not just to the enlargement of the EU but also to NATO enlargement and the entire range of countries grouped in the OSCE. That's why the first three sessions of this event take place in the format that you see in today's program. It is also envisaged that the following conference in North America will explore the same interactions, but from the opposite perspective. However, we have added an additional element to the title, being "After the Attack". Obviously what happened on September 11th came subsequent to our planning. At first it gave us a moment of pause, then we decided that our original design was still very appropriate. If anything, it was more urgent and more beneficial than we'd realized. After some reflection therefore, we modified the title of the conference but kept the focus on the "several Europes". I think perhaps a result is that in this conference there is a bit more emphasis on security issues than there otherwise would have been, and a little bit less emphasis on the

economic aspects of the relationship. That's understandable and appropriate. But it's up to you, as we discussed around the table, to help us get the balance right.