**John Torpey** 00:00

Hi, my name is John Torpey, and I'm director of the Ralph Bunche Institute for International Studies at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. Welcome to International Horizons, a podcast of the Ralph Bunche Institute that brings scholarly expertise to bear on our understanding of a wide range of international issues. Today we examine the relationship between Europe and the United States in the soon arriving aftermath of the Trump presidency. In order to explore these developments were honored to have with us today His Excellency Stavros Lambrinidis, Ambassador of the European Union to the United States, Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis studied economics at Amherst College and received a law degree from Yale. He then worked as a trade lawyer in Washington DC in the early 1990s and then eventually became Foreign Minister of Greece in 2010 in the Papandreou government. Hes also served as Vice President of the European Parliament, and for six years prior to his current post was the EU Special Representative for Human Rights. He places a strong emphasis on values as fundamental to the EU-US relationship. Thank you so much for taking the time to be with us today, Ambassador Lambrinidis.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 01:18

 Thank you, Professor Torpey. It's great to be with you.

**John Torpey** 01:20

Thank you so much. So first off, I guess the thing on everybody's mind these days is how is Europe doing in the midst of the second wave of the Coronavirus crisis?

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 01:31

Well, I mean, we're certainly experiencing a brutal second wave with several countries in the EU having to resort to modified lockdowns to help contain the spread. The good news is that, while in some cases, infection rates have been as high or higher even than in the first wave, we have much improved testing, much improved contact tracing, and certainly much improved treatments. And all this has meant that the overall fatality rate is much lower. Now, you know, the European Commission which is the executive arm of the EU as it were, is mobilizing all means at our disposal to support the 27 member states in tackling the current pandemic. The protection of over 450 million citizens, as you can imagine, is our first priority.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 02:21

And, you know, it's interesting, we started out - health is not an EU competence, which is to say like in your federal system, we have a federalist system and some competences remain with our member states and others get passed to the EU. Health is not one of those that were passed, but we found out very quickly when the pandemic broke out that we could not handle this alone. And common courses of action by the EU in public health and transport and border controls and the internal market itself in trade were necessary.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 02:59

And I have to tell you, I'm quite proud of the fact that we moved supremely fast on this. We ensured that the EU single market, you know a big economic, free citizen movement, free capital movement, free financial movement area would remain intact. We secured PPE and therapeutics collectively as the EU, we did not allow our member states to go out in the market and fight it out with each other. But instead, we made procurement bids collectively for everyone, which allowed us to get a lot of that stuff faster and cheaper than otherwise. We protected businesses and workers with a number of measures, including measures of over 100 billion Euros to keep people at work and not to have them being laid off. In Europe, we have very strong social safety net, so the real major problems of poor people not being able to be treated for COVID did not exist in Europe. But at the same time, we didn't want to have massive unemployment occurring, because we thought that once we recover, it would be very good if the nexus between a worker in their company could be there. And at the same time, we spearheaded a global effort to find a vaccine, which is the best hope for ending the pandemic.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 04:24

And you know, because no country is safe until every country is safe, it goes without saying. We have always felt that the global response here was absolutely necessary. We convened major funding conferences, collecting more than 16 billion Euros, about $18-19 billion dollars to support the international organizations working for a vaccine. We did this with the UN, the World Health Organization. We did so together with with major private donors such as the Gates Foundation. And we joined the COVAX Initiative, which ensures that in the end of this, when we have vaccines, they will be able to be distributed not just to our own people, which goes without saying we want to do, but also to others around the world. And this is key. You know, unfortunately, the pandemic developed also into a, you know, public relations exercise by some countries who were running around the world, spreading disinformation, that somehow the Western democracies were selfish, were inefficient, and all those things. But in fact, we are by far the biggest development aid donors in the world. And today, as we speak, the European Union and our member states have given over 35 billion Euros to tens of countries around the world, the poorest ones hit by COVID.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 05:54

You know, so it's supremely important to ensure that we all join that international effort, and we send a message that we protect people. Now, I hope that the United States will also join very quickly the COVAX Initiative. But I can tell you for a fact, when you look at vaccines, that while we're not out of the woods, I mean that's clear. And we are urging major caution in the run up to the holiday season. The news of the three vaccines, including the Pfizer vaccine, are supremely hopeful. And the Pfizer vaccine is the classic example, in my view, of how transatlantic cooperation and transatlantic supply chains, including in trade can make a huge difference in the lives of our people. So think about it: in a sense, it was the first shaft of light through the COVID darkness. And it was developed through a transatlantic partnership between Pfizer, a US company and BioNtech, a German company. The production of the vaccine is taking place in Belgium. So, to my mind, this is a perfect metaphor for the power of the EU and the US coming together to bring some much needed hope and to help the world.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 07:23

Finally, if I may say, you know, none of this was easy, and we had to completely reorient our thinking in the EU, and our spending in double quick time to ensure economic recovery, which was as important as ensuring the lives of our citizens in Europe. we put together a completely unprecedented new instrument, called the Next Generation EU, which is, together with our new EU budget, will put in place about $2.2 trillion dollars to the task of building back a greener, and more digital, and more resilient, and frankly, a more fair Europe. And for the first time ever, the EU will borrow collectively on the markets with the backing of all our member states to finance this Next Generation assistance, which will go to the hardest hit countries. Now, this is EU solidarity to action.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 08:26

And it is, in my mind, supremely important for the US as well. We are each other's biggest trade and investment partners. We create more jobs across the Atlantic than we do with anyone else in the world. And the faster the European recovers, the best thing that will be for US economic recovery as well, and vice versa. So this is not what happens in Europe today, when it comes to economic recovery or fighting the virus, is not just a European thing. It is fundamentally in the US interest. And what happens in your country in fighting the virus can affect us in Europe negatively or positively. We're just simply inexorably connected, in every which way and fighting this together is the hope for the future.

**John Torpey** 09:22

Well, that's very helpful as an overview of the situation. And of course, I want to get back into the issue of transatlantic relations in a moment. But you've raised the issue of the European Recovery Fund, which everybody I think agrees is an unprecedented move on the part of the European Union to mobilize inter-European or intra-European solidarity in the interest of resolving the economic issues that have arisen from the pandemic. But you've hit a roadblock, the Poles and the Hungarians have decided basically that they're not going to support this for the time being and I guess the question is, is the European Union going to be able to get past that difficulty and actually implement the recovery fund that you've just described?

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 10:11

It's a very good question. And the good news is that as we're speaking, the issue that arose was resolved. So the EU Heads and State of government just approved the full EU budget, including the Next Generation EU keeping in place, the contentious issue there, which is what is called "the rule of law conditionality mechanism for the disbursement of EU funds". What is that? Well, that is a mechanism that was agreed by all member states, including Poland and Hungary initially, and that ensures that if there are major violations of the European Union treaties when it comes to fundamental rights, that that would affect the ability of a country to receive those funds.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 11:04

And this is, you know, something that is existential for the European Union, we're not an a la carte union, or an a la carte membership. When you when someone signs up, they sign up to fulfill and to abide by the treaties and the founding principles of the EU. And for us, in the EU, human rights and the rule of law is a founding principle. Remember, we came out and we were created after the Second World War, after the biggest violation of human rights in recent history, the Holocaust, after Europeans killing each other. And we decided that the EU would not simply be an economic union, it would be a union of values that define us. And this is why we have managed in the past decades to be the most prosperous, open, free and peaceful union in the world, and prosperous. Now, that is not negotiable.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 12:02

Now, the fact that the German presidency has managed - because every six months in Europe, we have a different member state holding the presidency of the European Council - the fact that it managed to lead to the negotiations that that ended up with Hungary and Poland lifting the veto, while keeping in place this mechanism I mentioned, is a very, very positive signal. I'm very pleased that this budget now is in place, and I'm very pleased that European solidarity and European fundamental values are equally strong now as they ever were.

**John Torpey** 12:42

Well, that's an indeed good news. And I'm afraid I was not aware of that. I hope I'm not too far out of date, but it's.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 12:50

You're about 45 minutes, about 45 minutes out of date.

**John Torpey** 12:53

I see, well I'm sorry about that. But that thanks for bringing us up to speed. You heard it here, first listeners. So at the same time that, you know, it's not an a la carte union, as you say, I think that's a useful way of thinking about this. And the fact that it has expanded over the recent decades - I mean, you've also got this problem of one country that has decided to withdraw. And that, of course, is Great Britain. And these negotiations have dragged on now for a long period of time. And indeed, it's still not really entirely clear that an agreement will be reached, and that we won't see a no agreement Brexit. So I wonder if you could talk a little bit about how you see things developing in the Brexit context.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 13:42

Well, we're just a few weeks before the end of the year, and that is when the UK fully leaves the European Union. And so this is a deadline for us to be able to have an agreement for our future relationship. And this is what the intense negotiations that are happening now are all about. In a nutshell, we want to grant the UK, the fullest possible access to the European Union market, and for that to happen, some conditions have to be met for fair competition with EU workers and EU companies that we have to protect. Now, that means in practice that if the UK that has been applying the single market rules for all these decades that it is a member, if it were to decide to continue applying those rules, which its own citizens had considered for decades to be very beneficial for the UK economy and we've seen how much it has grown. Then it could have an immediate access to the EU single market with no tariffs, no quotas, and no necessity for border controls. But more that the UK decides to misalign itself from these standards, the more it would be important to have tariffs and have border controls, it's as simple as that. Take labor rights. If the UK were to decide to, to have different labor rights than the rest of us in the EU, and to reduce those standards that would give it an unfair competitive advantage against our workers and our companies, so that would require counter balancing measures for for UK products to come in. Look at environmental standards and what have you. That's what that is what is called the level playing field.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 15:38

There are other issues; there is a governance mechanism. What do we do? And how do we resolve disputes in case that there are disputes in the future relationship. There's also an issue that is of standing still on fisheries, and what kind of access Europeans can have to UK waters and vice versa. And that affects many, many, many communities. So it's a very sensitive political issue. I'm afraid that although the European Commission President Ursula Von Der Leyen spoke with the British Prime Minister, Boris Johnson yesterday, it is clear that we are still far apart. And so it is possible that on the 31st of December of this year, there will not be a deal. And if there isn't, that means that the UK will be exiting the EU in a hard way. And we are prepared for that. And we've been prepared for a while. In fact, we just came out with an announcement that we are proposing to the UK some temporary measures for the period of six months, if, in fact, we haven't managed to reach a deal or even if we reach one, we don't have enough time until the 31st of December to have it approved, under the processes that that are very well known in the EU and the UK knows that very well. And these measures, we know would be temporary measures to allow for transport, air transport, cargo transport, and a couple of other things if the UK decides to reciprocate.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 17:08

Now, this is a bad situation. All of us in the EU didn't want the UK to leave. They had a referendum, they decided with a small majority that that they wanted to leave that was interpreted by the government of the UK at the time as a binding referendum although legally it was not. And then since 2016, as you said, the long process began. And it has been a painful process much more for the UK, I have to say then for the EU. In fact, the EU member states, you know, showed immediate and much stronger support for the EU and the EU project. And EU citizens polled over the past four years show every time an increased support for the EU compared to the situation before Brexit. Brexit has been a unifying factor for the EU. And has been, if anything, a very divisive factor in the UK, when it brought out a huge debate after the referendum of what this all meant for the UK and how it would diminish UK economic and other interests. But this is an emotional issue as much as it is a rational one. So engaging in rational conversation hasn't always proved to be easy. Here's the fact the UK today exports more than 40% of all its goods and services to the European Union market. It exports equivalently, only about 13 to 14% of those same goods and services to the US market.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 18:45

It is supremely important economically for the UK, to be able to retain the closest possible ratio with the EU. And that's what we also want. Because frankly, you cannot defy gravity, we are next to each other. And we will always be next to each other. And we have been together in the same family for decades. And we share the same values and in many, many instances we share the same interest. So it is a decision to be made now on the part of the UK how it wants to handle the last days of the negotiation by this Sunday. The European Council, the heads of state and government of Europe, will be able to reach a decision one way or the other. So it's a race to the finish line at the last minute. But technical discussions are continuing as we speak. And I hope we will find a solution. Everyone does.

**John Torpey** 19:43

So it's so it seems. So all of that gives us a good idea of what's been going on and what is going on on the European side. Now I do want to get into the issue for which you're really chiefly responsible, namely, transatlantic relations. It's been no secret that transatlantic relations have been complicated, tense might be an appropriate word certainly at times. And so I'd like to ask you where you think transatlantic relations are going now that we're going to be seeing the arrival of a new administration?

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 20:22

Well, I arrived in this country, March [20]19. And that's when I began, sort of, holding this position. And my work initially, I can tell you, indeed had to deal with some difficulties, notably on the trade side, where we had seen a return to tariffs, tariff wars, unfortunately. And, you know, it is no secret as well that the European Union had taken a very different track on several issues of global importance, for example, in supporting alliances and multilateral cooperation to address major world issues, on the urgency of taking action to mitigate climate change. That's an area another area that was very, very big for us. And, of course, in dealing with the nuclear threat posed by Iran, and insisting on the importance of supporting the Iran nuclear deal that had been working exactly as planned, and had eliminated Iran's capacity to create a nuclear weapon, by the time that the US withdrew. Now, we are in a different place. Now, I think the US is a different place than four years ago, the European Union is a different place, and the world is a different place. This is a time when President Elect Biden is about to take office, and he is a person who has dedicated his life in building alliances to the benefit of the United States and its citizens over decades. And the biggest one of his alliances. of course, is the European Union-US Alliance. And the transatlantic alliance, the President Elect has mentioned repeatedly is something he really counts on.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 22:16

In Europe, this is seen very positively. But this is also a different Europe. This is a Europe that had to, as I said, in the past years, take a much stronger, more united position around the world, sometimes we had to play defense alone, to ensure that the things remained in place. And, and we are much more confident and therefore a much stronger part of the partner for the United States than we were in the past. And we recognize that, you know, this is in some ways, a Kennedy moment. So now that President Biden has won, you know, we're not asking what the US can do for us. We are asking what it is that we can do as Europeans to strengthen first of all ourselves, and through that to strengthen the transatlantic partnership.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 23:11

So I am very pleased that only last week, the European Commission, the President, and the High Representative of Europe, Josep Borrell, announced a joint communication, in their sense, a proposal of the EU for a new transatlantic agenda for global change. And the emphases in that agenda, which is a very short document (11 pages) but supremely rich in concrete proposals. The gist of it is to highlight that the biggest alliance and relationship in the world for Europe is the United States, that in a world that is changing that different powers, sometimes malign powers, are trying to change the rules of the game, where COVID needs to be addressed now because people are dying now, not tomorrow. And where future pandemics have to be stopped and prevented before it's too late. Where the climate is changing and creating a an existential crisis that is multiple magnitudes bigger than COVID. Then at this time, there needs to be world leadership to ensure that all countries, including the major polluters, declare carbon neutrality ideally by 2050. When trade can kick start our economies after COVID as trade kickstarted economies after the financial crisis, but it needs to be open trade, free trade, not trade that as distorted rules by countries like China when all this is at stake. This is a time for the EU and the US to come together.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 24:56

Our proposals focus on four areas. One is COVID itself, the importance of the US and the EU joining COVAX supporting the production and distribution of vaccines. Another one is, you know, the safety of our planet and prosperity. And there we focus from everything from a green tech alliance between the EU and the US, where we focus on what is needed immediately. Storage, grid-wide storage of energy that we don't have today, whether through batteries, or whether through hydrogen. All these are massive investments. But the EU and the US are the investment and innovation hubs of the world. And if we approach this together, green technologies together, then we will we have created ourselves, the markets and the economies of scale, to ensure that these take over not just our economies, they don't become simply growth engines for our citizens and our workers, but also allow our companies around the world to support countries that are transitioning to climate neutrality like we are in the Paris Agreement.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 26:13

Then, of course, we're looking at trade. And trade is a very big agenda. Because tariffs have been devastating to both our economies in the past few years. Jobs have been lost in the in the US not gained with the tariff war with with Europe. And of course, our companies and our workers have suffered as well. So we have to deal with a trade irritants, at the same time that we look forward to a trade and technology alliance for the future that also addresses major challenges such as China. And there we suggest an immediate convening of a tech and trade council between the EU and the US that would look at everything, from setting standards for artificial intelligence in the future, to how we coordinate our investment screening mechanisms to ensure that unfair, you know, unfairly subsidized companies in China and elsewhere do not come and compete unfairly in our markets around the world.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 27:17

And finally, of course, we look at multilateralism and we look at democracy. Democracy is at stake. It's not a given. There are many countries around the world that are trying to attack it, that are trying to peddle their own forms of government as a better. And at the same time, democracy is the toughest system of governance really, because it requires every citizen to have the power, the correct information, and the knowledge to keep governments into account and to make decisions. It's not a system where an authoritarian does that for everyone else by repressing everyone who disagrees with him. And so what happens with big tech? What happens with this information? What happens with hate speech? What happens with ensuring fair competition in the tech space around the world and fair taxation? All these are issues as well, that we are fully ready to discuss and to work together with the United States. So, honestly, we talked initially about Brexit, we talked about internal issues in the EU. And I tried to explain that all these crises have made the EU stronger, but nothing, nothing can make the EU stronger than a powerful, balanced alliance between two strong partners, the EU and the US together. Nothing can make the world stronger and safer than that. And so all my energy in the next few months and years will be on achieving that.

**John Torpey** 29:11

I see. So, I mean, you know, there are those who have raised questions about the extent to which the United States and Europe can sort of recreate the post war, post Cold War period. So I'm intrigued to hear you say that the enthusiasm for that I mean, it's certainly well known, I guess.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 29:32

Oh, no, I'm not I'm not looking back. I'm not looking back. I don't think I told you the world has changed and we have changed. Right?

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 29:38

Right.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 29:39

It's a chimera to assume that you can create a post war period. I don't think anyone wants that. We want a new world that is developing on on the basis of an economic boost from from climate, an economic boost from digital, and a values boost from renewed democratic presence where others are trying to take that away. So it's not an old world we're building it's it's a much more hopeful, new world, honestly, that I think we're at the cusp of. Really, we're at a historical crossroads here. And what the EU and the US do together will determine how this goes.

**John Torpey** 30:22

Indeed. But, you know, over the past four years, there have been those who have heard people like Angela Merkel say, you know, "we have to go our own way" essentially. And it sounds like that's not the, you know, expectation with a new administration, in the White House. So that's obviously an encouraging sort of sign.

**John Torpey** 30:45

But there is an issue that I wanted to ask you about on which the Europeans and the United States have differed in the last few years, and that's the issue of China. I'm curious, you know, how you see European and American views of China's place in the world and our relations with it, you know, are they going to continue to diverge? Or is there going to be a new common view of how to deal with China?

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 31:16

I believe so. And I don't, I don't necessarily agree with the with the premise, the way that we have been looking at China differently, although, clearly, the strategies that we have chosen to deal with the problems that we both see China posing, have not always been the same. But we both agree that China, in some instances has to be a cooperation partner. If you if you deal with climate change, and if you don't think it's a hoax, and if you understand that addressing it now is the only way to avoid a multitude of, you know, both environmental catastrophes, but frankly, also economic catastrophes. Then, you understand that China, which is the biggest carbon emitter today in the world, has to come into the fold. And so we have to coordinate with China and and ensure that this happens.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 32:17

When it comes to issues such as non proliferation, it is very clear that we have to work with China, we have to bring China into into the fold. And and in many ways, the great success of the Iran nuclear deal was that China and Russia, together within the United States, and together with the UK, France, Germany and the European Union, found a common language both of sanctions and pressure, and of persuasion to ensure that China would abandon his nuclear program, its weapons nuclear program.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 32:52

So there is there are areas that we have to work with, with China and China is for both the US and the EU also a major economy. At the same time, there are elements that we both agree that China is a competitor and an unfair competitor at that. And there, we're working together already to try to see how we can reform rules of the WTO to ensure that some of the elements of those rules get strengthened to fight industrial subsidization of the mass government scale that China is engaged in. So that competition can be fair to deal with intellectual property theft to deal with, you know, forced joint ventures, all these things.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 33:41

And we also in Europe, because you mentioned before, you know, what Chancellor Merkel mentioned. I mean, we also, yes, have in the past few years become much stronger and much more autonomous in our own instruments to address challenges such as these, including through our own investment screening mechanism against investments in Europe that could threaten national security, including on strengthening our own trade defense instruments, including on a on a package to mitigate risks from 5G coming from suppliers outside of the EU that, you know, that that are controlled by governments that don't respect our values, etc, etc.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 34:28

And then of course, we see China together as a systemic rival. China is much more aggressive today around the world in exporting, not just as its its subsidized goods, but also its values on human rights, on governance, on corruption, and that's not okay. And that is a rivalry that we both are ready to stand up together and to be able to address.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 35:01

You know, many times when we talk about trade, whatever about how the we say we focus on the EU us relationship, we create about 15 million jobs on both sides of the Atlantic equally distributed: European companies investing in the US, US companies investing in the EU. That is the biggest economic relationship, the biggest beneficial relationship the US has in the world. And that Europe has. And it's also supremely fair, because if you look at the standards that we use to produce our goods and services, high labor standards, anti-corruption, high environmental standards, all these have costs, but they ensure a fair playing field. Well, every time we put one of our products in one of our containers to export anywhere else in the world, in that container, we also put our values the values are just described. And similarly, China puts in its containers, its own values.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 36:08

And so we are very much aware of the fact that what is termed as an economic competition, which is clearly unfair, also brings with it the systemic rivalry that we have, as European Union identified in official documents with China when it comes to values. So, you know, that's why we are saying to the to the next administration, let's sit together and discuss artificial intelligence and set together the standards because we are the biggest standard setters in the world. And everything we decide reaches every corner of the world. China today is setting AI standards for AI use in Xinjiang. By using face recognition and voice recognition and movement recognition to repress millions of Uighurs. That is not okay. And it is trying to export the same AI standards with the technology it sends around the world. That is also not okay. We are the leaders in 5G technology, look at Ericsson and Nokia, European Union companies. And together with the EU, we can sit down and determine what the standards will be.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 37:23

If you take China and connect it again with our own situation EU-US. I said before that we have to resolve a trade irritants. I hope we can do this very quickly during the President Biden's administration, because we cannot be continuing with a tariff war. This is getting us fighting with each other and is allowing others, including China, to be almost unhindered watching us being divided and conquered. And that's the last thing that we can afford to do.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 37:59

But look at the Airbus Boeing dispute. This dispute has been going on for decades. Airbus has been found with the WTO to have been subsidized in Europe. And Boeing has been found by the WTO to have been subsidized in the United States. So we both lost our cases. What happened in the past few months is that the US decided to impose tariffs, legal tariffs this time, based on WTO decisions against EU products for the Airbus case, and not to sit down and discuss to settle the case as we had both lost our cases. And so the European Union had a month ago, regrettably, to impose its own tariffs against US products, because we won the Boeing case. Now, I hope that we can very quickly decide to withdraw, freeze our tariffs on Boeing and Airbus on both sides, and to sit down and to negotiate a settlement. Because that settlement has to look also at the subsidy principles of the future for the airline industry and agree on them.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 39:12

You know what's going to happen as we fight? China is building 100% subsidized aircraft as we speak. And those aircraft could flood the Chinese market and then the world markets in a few years' time. Now you tell me where the reason, behind the EU and the US fighting on Airbus-Boeing lies given that geostrategic reality. There isn't any. So I am confident that when it comes to dealing with China, we'll be able to both work with China, where it is important to achieve common goals that we will be able to address both multilaterally with allies - Japan, Canada, the UK, Australia, others - issues of unfair trade. And that we also will be able together, Americans and Europeans, stand up for our values and ensure that in future technologies in addition to future governance systems around the world, democracy prevails. That is what I am working on.

**John Torpey** 40:27

Terrific. Thank you very much. This has been a terrific overview of European affairs and of course, the transatlantic relationship as we go forward into this next administration. That's it for today's episode of International Horizons. I want to thank Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis for sharing his insights about the future of the European-American relationship. I also want to thank Hristo Voynov for his technical assistance, and the Otto and Fran Walter Foundation for their support of our Europe-related endeavors. This is John Torpey, saying thanks for joining us, and we look forward to having you with us again for the next episode of International Horizons. Thanks very much, Ambassador.

**Ambassador Stavros Lambrinidis** 41:08

Thank you. Thank you very much.