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**THE EUROPEAN DREAM. HOW EUROPE'S VISION OF THE FUTURE
IS QUIETLY ECLIPSING THE AMERICAN DREAM**

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- ES GILT DAS GESPROCHENE WORT -

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Good evening everyone, thank you for coming, I appreciate it.

My father, *Milton Rifkin*, he was born in 1908 in Denver Colorado on the western frontier, fifteen years after the frontier was officially closed in America. My mother *Vivette* was born in 1918 in El Paso, Texas on the Mexican border, on the American frontier. She's still doing great at 93, knock on wood. My siblings and I were born in Colorado in the West. In 1945, my parents took us, we were little babies, to Chicago. I grew up on the south side of that city, in a working class neighborhood. Steelworkers, workers in the stock yards, factory workers. My mother still lives in that same house, sixty years later. I grew up in the heartland of America. And I grew up on the American Dream. It was catechism. In that dream, when you strip it to its bare essentials, it's essentially this: Regardless of the station to which you're born, if you get a good education, if you work hard, if you're diligent, you can make a success out of your life in America. It's a tough country, but it is the land of opportunity. That dream was robust for 200 years. Many, many immigrants came over from Germany and France and they made it in my country. As late as 1960, my country, the United States of America, was the most middle class, egalitarian country in the whole world. Tonight, regretfully, I have to report to you: the American Dream is unraveling very, very quickly. That's why there is so much anger and fear and polarization in my country. The American Dream is the glue, it's what keeps us together. It's not our constitution, it's not Wall Street, it's not Washington, it's the idea that we share a common sense of our future. Today the United States ranks 24th among industrial countries in income disparity. That is the gap between the very rich at the top, and the working multitudes at the Bottom. Only Mexico and Russia rank lower among OECD countries. This has happened in 40 years. That's why barely 51% of Americans still say they believe in the American dream. One third of Americans say they don't believe in the dream at all. Does that surprise any of you here in Germany? It should.

Meanwhile, here in Europe, a powerful new dream is emerging. It's taken 50 years to gestate. And below the radar screen, most Europeans wouldn't even have known they had this dream. And it's a good thing they didn't know they had the dream, because if you did know, you'd have argued it to death. Do you follow what I'm saying? What's so interesting about this dream to me as an American: It's the mirror opposite of our dream. It's the flip side. But it may be better fit for the kind of globalizing world that you young people will inherit in the 21st century. Let me back up for a minute. Let me confide here. I spend about a third of my time in Europe, and I have to say, all my European friends, they're always talking about America, wondering about America, agonizing about America, asking about America. Can I let you in on a little secret? We never think about you at all. I'm sorry ... you're not on our radar screen! Now that's not altogether true. When it's time to take vacation, we think of you. But that's very serious, because it means that somewhere deep down, when it's time to feed our soul, revitalize our spirits, get in touch with our hearts, reestablish our humanity, we have to come back to the old countries of Europe. But when we think about institutional Europe in my country - at least in the heartland - here's what we usually have in mind: Anti-market bias over here, inflexible labor, bloated government bureaucracies, too much red tape. Pampered workers, aging population, a welfare system in collapse. Many Europeans think this way ... Now, there may be a germ of truth, but underneath this old skin, there's a younger epidermis, represented by the young men and women in this room, the students. And we're asleep. We're not actually understanding the breadth and magnitude of what's going on here. 455 million people, across 25 states, from the Irish Sea to the

doorsteps of Russia, have come together – it's been painstaking – to create the first transnational political space in all of history.

I have to tell you, the reason we're all confused about the EU, it's that none of us actually know what it really is. Even the heads of state, even the people in Brussels, if truth be known, nobody really knows what the European Union is. The reason is, we have no way to judge it. It's the strangest political beast ever conceived in human imagination. It's bizarre. The reason is, every nation in history, every empire, every kingdom, in all of history, has been born in violence, coercion, power, seizing people, seizing territory, seizing resources, revolution in the streets. The European Union is completely counter intuitive. In 1945, your grandparents looked out at the streets of Berlin, and across Europe, and it was all in rubble. Totally destroyed, all of Europe. And they said, "You know what? We've had it, it's over. We can't do this to each other anymore." They actually got sick to their stomachs and they said, "A thousand years of bloodshed ..." I'm always reminded when I'm in Europe, this is the bloodiest continent in the world. More humans have shed more blood here than anywhere else in the world. Two world wars, a Holocaust, and your grandparents said, "We can't do this anymore. We're going to have to put down the sword forever. We're going to have to find some kind of new governing arrangement, without any precedent, and learn to live with each other with trust.

I was in Paris all this last week. You know the early architects – *Monnet, Schuman, Adenauer* here in Germany. Some wanted a super federal state called "Europe". And then of course we had our British friends who said, "No, we'd like to use Europe to create a free trade zone to better the national interests of the individual countries. The irony of history is that it sometimes doesn't work out the way you want. Neither side got what they want. There's no federal state in Brussels. And national sovereignty has been compromised. What happened when nobody was looking – it was a organic development – something else was created in Brussels. It's what I call "network politics". I teach at the Wharton School, the oldest business school in the world. I've been there for a long time in the advanced management program. We bring in CEOs. Many of your CEOs have been in my program. And we try to teach them how to shift from a market to a network. It's very difficult, because they operate by different logic: In a market, it's adversarial; winners and losers. It's war, its "caveat emptor, let the buyer beware". It's each person pursuing their own self interest, and that somehow equals the "common good". This is *Adam Smith's* dictum – I've always though it's a little bit dubious, but this is *Adam Smith's* dictum. In network, it's completely different, no one party can dominate. In nodes in a network, everyone's trying to get their agenda passed, but you have to use your enlightened self interest to actually find consensus with everyone else – it's called social capital. Brussels operates like a network. It's excruciating, it's agonizing, it's frustrating – the monk painting the screen? That's exactly what you want to do when you're in Brussels. Who's in charge? *Henry Kissinger* understood this. When our former Secretary of State made that little quip, he got it right, he said, "When I call Europe, who the hell answers the phone?" Here's my answer to him: "Henry, everyone answers the phone, and at the same time!" Because in a network, no one party can dominate, no one has the power to run the show. The French have learned this, the Germans have learned this. Corporations can't run the show, NGOs can't run the show, the regions can't run the show, so there's this constant agenda making where everyone is trying to get their own agenda passed, but they have to enter into a consensus with everyone else. It's agonizingly slow, there's no central command. Every other government in history has had central command in control, even democracies. Here, it's so utterly horizontal, there's no center. So it's frustrating, but it actually works. The horizontal democracy works – and

I'm always curious about this so called "democratic deficit" in Brussels. I understand it, but if you've ever spent time there, everybody is always coming from all over Europe to get their agenda passed: Network politics. Strange beast. The most interesting thing to me about the European Union is that all you young people – test this out you young people here in Berlin – from the ages of 18-31 in Europe now say, they feel "European" first. Does this make sense? You see it even more among college students. They love their country. They feel German. But they feel European. Try to imagine your grandparents thinking, "I'm a European first". Do we have any Erasmus students here? You know I dedicated this book to you – and to my wife. I dedicated it to my wife because she told me to write the book, it was her idea. I dedicated it to you because I think you're the hope, the beginning of a new idea here in Europe. Sure, you feel German or Italian or French or Spanish, but you feel European. And I suspect, when you go home, grandma and grandpa drive you nuts. It's a generation shift. Because you have friends all over Europe, and you grandparents are xenophobic: "I don't like the French, I hate the British, the Italians are no good." And these are all your friends, correct? They are all people that you have a social life with. Alright. I spent a lot of time in Europe misunderstanding and misreading the European mind. And I will confess to you today: I used to think that Europeans think like Americans. We have stylistic differences, some cultural issues, some history differences, but we think pretty much the same. Dead wrong. It took me years to figure out that the American mind is completely different from the European mind. We'll put the Brits aside, they're a little bit of an anomaly. We'll get to them later.

When an American speaks about basic categories, we have something completely different in mind than you do, a lot of the time. Example: Freedom. Pretty basic? "Freedom", the core of our dream, means something very different than "freedom", the core of your dream. When an American says "freedom", what we have in mind is autonomy and mobility. That's why we love the "auto-mobile". We stole the German internal combustion engine because we were ready for it and you weren't. We created the first car culture in the world. You created the Autobahn, but we had the cars. So, "autonomy" and "mobility". Our parents teach us when we're very little, you need to be self-sufficient. The government is not going to take care of you, your neighbors may show some charity, but don't depend on them. You are on your own, you're responsible for your life, you're going to learn to swim or sink, and never blame someone else for your life, your life is your destiny, you're in charge, take control of your life. Be an island, be self-sufficient, be independent, be autonomous, be mobile, be the cowboy on the horse – now, the kid in the car. No continental parent teaches you this. They teach you that "freedom" is the quality of your relationships, your access to communities. To the extent that you have access, you have community, you have quality of relationships, you can blossom, you can flourish, you have opportunity, you have choices.

The reason Americans think different from Europeans has to do with our history 200 years ago. When our founders came over to America 200 years ago, it was the last stage of the Protestant Reformation in Europe, and it was the early stages of the European Enlightenment. Our founders took those two currents here in Europe at the time and we froze them for 200 years. If you want to understand how the American idea of reality differs from yours, then understand that our dream is simply a European transplant. We took those ideas and they were more fertile on American soil than they ever were on German soil. Now, many of you Europeans say, "We don't understand how you Americans can be so religious and so into material things at the same time. Isn't that a contradiction?" Not in our minds. Because we see a common thread between the

Reformation and the Enlightenment that you don't see. The Reformation and the Enlightenment were very different ideas. The Reformation theology said, "Suffer with Christ in this world, and your reward is eternal salvation in the next world." The Enlightenment philosophers said, "No, pursue happiness in this world and your reward will be progress on earth." Completely different ideas. But in the American mind, the common thread between both of those, the Reformation and the Enlightenment – the *individual* was at the core of both of those ideas. Your *Martin Luther* said, "You stand alone and naked with your God. No Vatican, no priesthood, no intermediaries, just you and the Bible, alone with God. *Adam Smith*, the great Scottish economist of the Enlightenment, overthrew 2000 years of economic history: Remember, "economy" comes from the Greek "eukos", which means "family", "community". "Economy" was always part of "community". He said, "No, you stand naked and alone to pursue your self-interests in the marketplace, alone". *John Locke*, the great political philosopher of the Enlightenment, said, "You stand alone against the forces of nature, harness the commons, be productive – alone." It fit America. We were alone, it was a frontier. And so for us, the idea of the individual - self-sufficient, independent, an island - it helped us tame the frontier. And I have to tell you, I have two parents right out of that tradition. They are the American Dream. They're strong, they're independent, they're personally accountable, they're an island unto themselves.

In Europe, you didn't totally buy the individualism at the core of your own ideas, the Reformation and the Enlightenment, because you had an older communal tradition, based in paternalism. You had a paternalism of the Catholic Church. It was hierarchical, it was paternalistic, but it was also communal, because there were relationships that everyone had to everyone else on the top of the Great Chain of Being - on the ladder - and on the bottom. We read *St. Thomas Aquinas'* "Great Chain of Being" - paternalistic, but communal. You had fortified, walled cities - paternalistic and communal. You had feudal society – paternalistic and communal. So this older communal tradition tempered the individualism of the Reformation and the Enlightenment, so by the 21st century, here's what we had: The America experiment is the *individual*. The European experiment is the *collective*. If you ask an American what the Dream is, then they'll say, "That I should make something out of my life. Period." Ask a European what the Dream is, and they'll usually say, "I want a good quality of life for myself, my family and my community." That's a collective exercise.

The American Dream focuses on wealth, the European Dream on quality of life. Now we don't focus exclusively on wealth, but it's certainly a litmus test. And you want to know, why are Americans so preoccupied with having money? It's not an *end*, let me tell you - you Europeans have it wrong – it's a *means* for us, because our parents teach us, the government is never going to take care of you in America, you're on your own. And your neighbors may help out, but you're on your own, so you better have enough money and enough property and enough wealth, so that you're not a drain on society, not dependent. In America, you could get rich. So the idea of the "individual" made sense. We even made room for *Bill Gates*, even as our disparity had worsened in the last 40 years, we could still get a "*Bill Gates*". In Europe, if you're born in a certain class position, it's tougher to make it up the line and become rich. You settle for quality of life. You tax yourselves – handsomely – collectively, you raise everyone's boats with social rights. In fact, let's talk about that.

The American Dream focuses heavily on property rights and civil rights, because they extend our individuality. If I have property, I'm an island, I'm independent. If I have civil rights, the right of

Freedom of Expression, of the Press, of Assembly, the right to have a gun, no one tells me what to do, I'm independent. In Europe, you focus *very* little attention on property rights and civil rights. You spend a lot of time on social rights, health care, retirement benefits, maternity leave, paid vacations, and what you call universal human rights. Now former *President Carter* may talk about universal human rights, but I can tell you, my family – intelligent, college educated, in the Midwest - I've never heard them use the term "universal human rights" once. Not on the radar screen. The American Dream focuses on the *work ethic*.

We are workers. Those of us who have work, we work longer hours than Koreans. That's long hours! And the reason has to do with our religiosity. We can go back to *Martin Luther* and *John Calvin* and thank them for our hard work. Because *Martin Luther*, and more importantly *John Calvin*, said, "You're elected or damned. You can't lobby your way into Heaven. Forget the Catholics with the Good Works, you can't lobby your way into Heaven, God isn't going to listen to your lobbying, you're elected or damned. But you don't know if you're elected or damned. So how do you sit with the agony of that throughout your whole life? Well as you know, *Luther* and then *Calvin* said, "You can overcome your doubt by trying to be productive and improving your calling. It won't sway God, but maybe it'll help you feel better that you were elected." Very brutal, but that's the theology. So in America, we're into the Reformation theology. We Americans are the most into the Reformation, most Christian, most Protestant country in the world. Granted, if *Martin Luther* were to come back today, he'd feel much more comfortable in the heartland of America than here in Germany, correct? If *Adam Smith* were to come back today, the champion of the unfettered marketplace, he'd be much more comfortable in the heartland of America than in the heartland of Europe, correct? So, here we are. We are into the work ethic. We say in America, "Idle hands are the devil's workshop". Do you know that term? Idle hands are the devil's workshop! Because in the Reformation, you constantly have to be productive. How many of you have visited America? When is the last time you were in America and you saw someone doing this - (Mr. Rifkin strolls leisurely across the floor with his hands behind his back and his head in the clouds)? It's called "strolling". Americans do not stroll. If you see an American doing what I just did, you'd think they're on a drug trip or just got out of a mental hospital. Because there's no purpose. You have to have something you're doing. That's an American. Now in Europe, you still *stroll*. In America, if you say the word "idle", we think "slothful, lazy, morally reprehensible". When a European hears the word "idle", you think, "Ah, good times! Have a glass of wine, surrender, let good times happen". We Americans – and I'm a perfect example of it – we think we have to work at happiness. You say, "You Americans don't get it, you *live to work*, we Europeans prefer to *work to live*. Surrender, balance your life." That's across Europe. Eastern Europe, western Europe, northern Europe, southern Europe. Work to live, don't live to work, correct?

We Americans believe in assimilation. We're an assimilationist culture. We like immigrants, we're more comfortable with immigrants, we're not as afraid of immigrants as you are, but we have a condition: Come to America, we'll accept you, but get rid of your other former culture, get into the melting pot, be a free agent in the market. In Europe - with the exception of France, which is an assimilationist culture - Germany and the rest of Europe say, "Unity in Diversity". That's the motto of the European Union. A hundred different cultures in Europe. The strength is the creativity of each culture. They are a gift to share, it's part of the postmodern idea. Every culture has a gift to share. The American ethic and our Dream concentrates on growth. We don't like the frontier. We want to grow and make everything productive. In Europe, you concentrate on what

you call sustainable development. We don't talk about that. Maybe a few NGOs, but it's not a term we use. Now there's a reason for this. You do walk the walk. You want to know, why is it that you have to champion the Global Warming Treaty and we didn't sign it? You championed the Biodiversity Treaty, we didn't sign it. You save energy, we squander it. You tax your gasoline, we don't. There's a reason. It isn't because you're necessarily nicer people than we are.

There's a sub-theme in the book, in the "European Dream", and that is that the great changes in history are changes of consciousness. Those changes of consciousness happen when we develop new technologies and new ways of organizing life that compress time and shorten distances. When we change our temporal, spatial orientation and we quicken pace, shorten distances, compress time, we increase the exchange between human beings. When we increase the exchange, it changes everything. Why do I say this? Well, take a look at the American frontier. Those of you who have visited America, have you ever noticed that you'll see a little city or a little town that may be 75 years old and it's falling apart – blight, it looks terrible. Then the next town over is brand new. We simply moved from the old place, went into the corn fields, and we've created a new development. You've noticed that, correct, and it's kind of surprising to you? The reason that the ecology movement began in America in the 1960's but we were short distant runners, you were long distance runners – why? Because there's an older mentality on the frontier: If you follow your nest, you can simply move to the next virgin territory and create something new. So you'll see terribly old communities that look bad, and brand new ones here in Europe. By the 17th century, your spatial-temporal orientation was so dense, you had no more frontier, you had nowhere to go. So you learned, you can't follow your nest, there's nothing else out there to go to. So it is no accident to me in history that Europe is the first region in the world that's thinking more in terms of sustainable development: The earth counts, our biosphere matters, our fellow creatures are co-journeymen with us.

The American Dream focuses on religion. We're the most religious of any Christian country among the industrial countries. A majority of Americans have a personal relationship to God, including members of my own family. Some of you Europeans are rolling your eyes, I see it already. But it's heartfelt, it's really heartfelt. Fifty percent of Americans go to church at least once a week, 93% of Americans own a Bible, the vast majority of Americans believe in a literal interpretation of the Bible, not that it's inspired, but the word of God. A vast majority believe in heaven and hell. This is a little anecdote, it's a cute aside: The overwhelming majority of my countrymen and -women believe in heaven and hell, but only 4% think they're going to hell. So that's a pretty good deal. We're very confident people. Here in Europe, you're increasingly secular with each generation. Don't find yourself too patronized here, but by the end of this talk, I'm not going to say Europe is all good and America is all bad. Stick with me, because I'm going to talk about some strengths that we have and you need, and some deficits you have and that you're not filling.

What happens to a world which loses all its spiritual dimension? I know that many Europeans say they're personally on a spiritual trip, but I worry when I go to a city like Amsterdam and I look in the eyes of young people in that city that's supposed to be so postmodern, and I don't sense a sense of awe. I sense a side that's so secular, that it's lost a frame of reference all together. There is a difference between institutional religiosity and spiritual awe. When you lose the latter, you're in trouble. The American Dream is patriotic. We're the most patriotic of 50 countries surveyed, our children will die for their country in uniform, sometimes needlessly in wars we shouldn't be

in. In Europe, when you hear the word "patriotism", you get nervous. It seem like an old geopolitical concept we should have left beside in the 1920's. Patriotism, love of Germany. It makes you nervous. Understandable. It's not that Germans don't love Germany. I meet someone from Bavaria and they say, "I'm Bavarian". Then an hour later, they say, "I now feel German." And an hour later they say, "You know what? I feel European". Then they say, "Don't typecast me, I'm a person of the world". Your identities are very complex, and they're layered, at least among the middle class and the college generation in this room.

In America, our identity is still pretty fixed and frozen with the Enlightenment - God and country. We start every political speech with "God bless America", and that's how we end it. Try to imagine Europe, your political leaders saying, "God bless Germany". You'd think, "What the heck was that? Has that person lost their marbles?" We're thinking differently, we Americans and you Europeans.

Finally, Military. You want to know, why do we have such a strong military? It's deeply engaged with our dream. Now I have to say, I get upset with you: After the third drink with my friends in Europe, they start talking about "the American military hegemon". The American military hegemon! You people are power crazy. You know why I get upset? - and no one is more fond of Europe than me - it's true that our young men and women in uniform now for 50 years have been protecting the security interests of this continent, so that you could get back up on you feet. We may have had our own agenda, but we did it. And it was American troops in harm's way in Bosnia and Kosovo that put out that fire, while you sat on the side. On the other hand, you should know why we have a strong military. Our military budget is greater than the next eight military budget countries together, and at the current trend, our military will spend more money than the entire world together in 20 years. Now, the reason we have a strong military is that many Americans believe - the majority of Americans believe - that evil exists, it's not a metaphor. You follow me here? When *Chamberlain* compromised with *Hitler*, the majority of Americans did not see *Hitler* as a dysfunctional, psychotic personality, but rather the Devil incarnate. And they said, "Chamberlain should never have compromised. You don't compromise with evil. Evil exists in this world." Now who are you to say it doesn't, right? From an existential point of view, how do we know? Don't be so sure, alright? Now the Americans say you need to have a strong but just military hand, to deal with the Devil. In Europe you say, "We've been down this track, it doesn't work, trust us, we've been killing each other for a thousand years, put down the sword." To you credit, you do walk the walk here. While you don't defend you own military interests - hopefully you will - you do provide more military for policing. You do provide more reconstruction assistance, more economic foreign aid and more humanitarian assistance than the United States of America, which surprises a lot of Americans when they hear this. You say, "Wage peace". You go back and brush off *Immanuel Kant's* little essay "Perpetual Peace" and you say, we're going to honor this essay. And you do walk the walk, to your credit. But sometimes you have to defend against bad people, so maybe you do have to have a military that's strong enough to put out a fire. It doesn't have to be a hegemon.

So, here's the way I lay it out. The American Dream: tough country, land of opportunity, "I should make something of my life" - the dream is now unfolding. Here's what I would say the European Dream is, and all you young people - we have two generations, the baby-boomer generation and the young e-generation - you think about this and you tell me, is this your dream? If not, then I'm totally wrong. Now remember, a dream is what you'd like to be, you follow me?

One: Inclusivity, across Europe, the idea that no one should be totally abandoned by society, that we should have some solidarity with the less fortunate, they're not all on their own. Two: Multi-cultural diversity in theory, cultures have a gift to share, respect pluralism. Three: Promote social rights and human rights, not just property rights and civil rights. Four: Good quality of life has to be a legacy for our family and community. Create a good quality of life here in Europe. Five: Balance work and play, work to live, don't live to work, you need both. Six: Wage peace.

Is this the dream? Inclusivity, diversity, sustainability, good quality of life, balanced work and play, social rights, universal rights, peace? As I've crossed Europe, I've seen this develop, and it's in eastern Europe, it's in northern Europe, it's in southern Europe ... Am I saying you're living up to any of this dream? Of course not. *Mother Theresa* couldn't even live up to this one. But the reason you're not is that dreams are what you'd *like* them to be. That's why they're dreams. I could spend endless hours with you tonight - I'm not naive - about all the shortfalls in Europe. The hypocrisy, the prejudices, the biases, the pettiness, the power struggles, the democratic deficits, could we go on and on? Europe is a mess. So is every other political region in the world. Dreams are what you'd like to be, and we Americans have never lived up to our dream. A dream is an aspiration, but it's what you want to be, it's what you hope you're going to be. What interests me is not all the shortfalls - they're obvious. What interests me is that your dream is so different than the American Dream. Most Americans would not say "inclusivity, diversity, quality of life, sustainable development, universal rights, balance work and play and peace". That's not to say that Americans wouldn't be attracted to your dream. I think my country is kind of split right now. My family's totally split. We don't even talk politics. It's not about *President Bush*. This has taken forty years. It started with the riots in our northern cities when our African-American men found themselves unemployed and trapped back in the 1960's and all the cities went up in flames. Then the Vietnam War. Then the undermining of the American Trade Union Movement during the Reagan years. There's been a whole succession of events that have created what we are and the reason there's so much anger and fear. And do you want to know the reason Americans vote the way they do in the elections? Let me tell you: A slim majority of Americans, they vote for the candidate they think most keeps the American Dream alive in their minds. They look at the candidates - this has been traditional - *Jimmy Carter*, poor boy from Georgia, "American Dream". They looked at *Ronald Reagan*, poor boy from Illinois, "American Dream". They looked at *Bill Clinton* - poor boy from Arkansas, he made a success - "American Dream".

Now you want to know why *George Bush* is in office now? Most Americans don't see him as a privileged son of a New England family of wealth who went to boarding school. They perceive him as a Texas rancher. The image is quite clear. Most Americans believe he's a rancher, he's a good old boy, he's from Texas, and he talks their talk. Because *President Bush*, when put together with presidential aspirant *Kerry*, *President Bush* believed in the open market place, individual accumulation of wealth, personal opportunity, religiosity, a strong military, patriotism, etc. A slim majority - I think most Americans know in their heart the dream is coming unraveled. So when your personal vision becomes unraveled, you tend to become even more defensive about it. So we've got a slim but tough majority who's even more of a caricature of the American Dream, taking us back to the 19th century. Then we have a very powerful minority, a little less than 50%, who would be very attracted to the dream you're developing - inclusivity, diversity, quality of life, sustainable development, social and universal rights and peace. They just don't know you have this dream. Because you're not on our radar screen.

Now, is this your dream, or did I make it all up? I think it is. The problem is, you don't own it. That's why I wrote this book. A young European said to me, "I didn't think we had dreams. Only Americans dream." You can tell me what the American Dream is, correct? Until I wrote this book, no European ever used the term "European Dream". There's a reason for this. Let me say that America has a deep superiority complex – and I'm willing to admit we do. My European friends, with due respect, have a very deep inferiority complex. It began in the rubble of 1945, you still haven't gotten over it. It has real consequences. An American will over-hype our successes and we don't talk much about our failures, if you have American friends. It's not that we hide from failure. It's boring. I don't want to keep talking about what doesn't work, let's get on to the next idea. I like that about America: "Let's try something new!" My European friends are constantly talking about failure, failure, failure. "This won't work, that'll can't work, that'll never work, forget that one, don't even raise the question." Correct? You're all smiling! Look, you know exactly what I'm talking about. And I'll say to my European friends, you can't imagine one success you've had in 50 years? Think about it. Have another glass of wine. There must be something you've done right in Europe in 50 years, it can't all be bad! An American will say, "Yesterday was good, today was dynamite, tomorrow I'm gonna hit the ball right out of the park." A European will say, "Yesterday was terrible, today was worse, tomorrow I'm not getting up!" You understand what I'm saying? There are real life consequences for the way you think. And that's why you haven't owned your dream yet. And that's why this constitution is having problems all across Europe. For example, we think of America as a great economic superpower, correct? And we think of Europe as this old beast, falling apart, ready for the museum, right? Can I give you a more sober reality? In the year 2003, the European Union's Gross Domestic Product exceeded the Gross Domestic Product of the United States of America. Last year, we went a little ahead of you. It's about nip and tuck. Surprising? The European Union is the largest exporting power in the world today, not the United States of America. The European Union is the largest internal market in the world today, not the United States of America. Sixty-one of the 140 largest corporations in the world today are European, only 50 are American. Europe leads in key industries. Fourteen of the 20 largest banks in the world – European. Including the big ones. You lead across the board in the entire insurance industry. You lead in aerospace with Airbus. You lead in the construction industry, the chemical industry, the engineering industry, wholesale food and retail food. These are big industries. Now, in America we lead in autos, we lead in pharmaceuticals, we lead in software, computers, telecom, but there are two superpowers. Recognize it and own up to one's responsibility. There's not just one superpower.

And there are real accomplishments about the European Dream – before we get too much into self hate about our experience, let's look at the accomplishments. If you measure the good economy by the pay check, we Americans are 20% richer per capita than you are, but it's more unequally divided between rich and poor. But if you measure the economy not by GDP, but by social indicators, the EU 15 most advanced countries, lead by Germany, passed us up in many critical categories and still is ahead of us for 10 years. Let's look at education. I have to say you have good universities like the Humboldt, but school for school, we beat out Europe on the graduate school level. We have 3000 colleges and universities. If you've ever studied there – it's an enormous potential at the graduate level. However, at the elementary and secondary school level, in 18 European countries, your kids now outperform our kids in math literacy. Eighteen countries!

Look at health care. If you're seriously ill, and you can afford the best treatment in the world, you will fly America and go to the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota or Johns Hopkins in Baltimore. State of

the art medicine. But garden variety health care? The United States is only one of two industrial nations – the other is South Africa – that doesn't have universal health care. It's weird, because we say public education is a right, but not a healthy body. Forty million people, no health care insurance. Here, in Europe, health care is a social right. You have more doctors per population than we do in the EU 15. You live a year longer than we do in the EU 15, which is extraordinary, since you all smoke so much! I don't know how you do it. I don't know, it must be the wine. You have much lower infant mortality. Shouldn't a measure of a good society be whether young people have a chance to live their life? In the US we rank 27th in infant death. Just about the lowest of any industrial country. You have much lower infant mortality here because you have a social net. We have more absolute and relative poverty than Europe. You have poverty all over Europe. You can go around Germany, you can see poverty. But you don't have as much poverty as we do. One out of every four kids in my country is under the poverty level. So if we have a mother that's pregnant, we abandon her, we don't take care of her. That's why we have so much infant death.

Look at leisure. We get 4-8 days off a year, discretionary to the employer, there's no mandate. You get 4-6 *weeks* off a year, by law. You get 12 weeks more off in total a year than we do, that is *12 weeks*, that is *three months every year* of your working life! Americans will say, "Ya, ya, ya, but they're lazy. They're not productive. But if you go back and read in my book, the section on this – and I've not had anyone say my figures are wrong, this book has been out now six months – look at the OECD figures on productivity. From the late 1950s to the late 1990s, the EU 15 most advanced countries outperformed us in growth and productivity per hour virtually every single year. We caught up in the late 1990s in the US. We passed you dramatically up in the last two years – only. But in 2003, seven EU countries had higher productivity per hour. We work longer hours, so we have more productivity, but not per hour of output. You choose leisure. Out of the seven countries with higher productivity, guess which countries those seven included? Germany and France. Does that surprise you young people? Higher productivity than we did at the end of 2003. And there's a new article in *Foreign Affairs* which I would recommend for you and the faculty here. Our productivity soared in the last two years, but it completely flattened in the last two quarters. We think that new technology revolutions have run their course. Europe is just about to move into those technology revolutions, I expect you're going to see dramatic productivity gains, especially in grid technology, in the next 24 months, independent of whatever happens in Brussels. The business community that I work with, they're beginning to adopt it, they always come second, but they always come in.

Now let's look at the environment. You normally think that a good society protects its environment, its natural world. Well, Europe is the first region in the world to benchmark a shift to renewable energy and a hydrogen economy. I developed a game plan for *Mr. Prodi* when he was in Brussels, we put in two billion euros, it's not moving as fast as I like, but you actually benchmarked a shift to renewable energy in hydrogen. You're the first region in the world to benchmark a shift to organic agriculture, here in Germany and around Europe. You're the first region in the world to recognize the rights of our fellow creatures in law. Here's Germany, third biggest country in the world, and you took time out in the Bundestag, to pass an amendment to the Constitution of Germany, to protecting the legal rights of our fellow creatures. That's the mark of a civilization's progress. You know our *Abraham Lincoln*, and *Mahatma Gandhi* - they agreed on this – the mark of a civilization's progress is its ability to extend empathy to our fellow creatures who are powerless to speak for themselves. To the extent that a country like Germany would actually recognize the rights of our fellow creatures in law, that is a leap forward.

Finally, safe communities. We think: good community, safe society? America is counterintuitive. We have four times the homicide rate of Europe and you have a hundred million plus more people. Twenty-five percent of all prisoners in the world today are in my country. Did you hear that? Two percent of the adult male workforce in my country is now in jail. I don't say that out of glee. I've been a social activist for 40 years. I knew an America that you honored and we honored as a beacon for the world. I want that America back. So there has to be a change of reference in this room. It's geographic.

You're still comparing France to the United States, Germany to the United States, the UK to the United States. You have to dissuade yourself of that comparison, you have to change your political geography up here (Mr. Rifkin points to his head). The companies I work with in Europe, they don't think of themselves as German or Italian. I was just with the CEOs of three of our biggest companies here in Germany, lecturing them, the CEOs of Volkswagen, Siemens and Deutsche Bank. They're European countries now. Maastricht was 1992, and since Maastricht, the playing field in Europe in the regulatory field for commerce is the entire European Union, so these companies are European companies, because that's their regulatory regime. Just like in America, you don't say, "I'm a Florida company, I'm an Arkansas company." Of course not! That means you're going to have to change the political geography in your mind, and that's going to be tough. That means, you're going to have to start comparing Germany not to the United States, but to California. Germany is the largest state in the European Union – and you *are* a political union, with or without a constitution, you're no longer just a free trade zone – you've got to compare your largest state, Germany, to our largest state – California. Germany trumps California. Now, I said this in December up here at the Chancellery – Mr. *Schröder* asked me to come and do a little seminar for his policy people, and they all got depressed at this point. I said, don't get depressed. I said, if *Arnold Schwarzenegger* was the President of a country, California would be the 4th largest country in the world, but you'd be the third largest country in the world. And everyone felt a little better. But this is a geography shift. Then you've got to compare the UK, your second largest state, to New York, our second largest state. The UK trumps New York. And now the tough one ... then you've got to compare your third largest state, France – are you ready? You know what's coming - to our third largest state - Texas. France trumps Texas. Now, I said this in Texas a month ago at a little college, St. Mary's, in San Antonio. Laughter, rolling on the floor – good natured laughter. I said this at a lecture with the Socialist Party in Paris - good natured laughter as well. I must say, that bodes well. Then you've got to compare Italy to Florida, Spain to Illinois – do you see what I'm doing here? Go state by state with your political union compared state by state with our political union, and you start to see the enormity of this experiment. The sheer scope and magnitude of a transnational space. But then you say to me, "Alright Mr. Rifkin. Let's assume we have a European Dream. And it's a great dream. Do you know why it's a great dream, by the way? I don't know how thick it is, and I don't know if you young people are going to pull this off – it may be too thin, you may be too soft, you may not be tough enough, but one thing you can say about the American Dream: A young generation of kids your age – 18, 20 – risked their lives, came to America, they fought, they sacrificed, and they kept the dream alive. I know the dream is here in Europe, and I know the young e-generation in this room believes in the dream. I just don't know how thick it is: I don't know if the least little perturbation will kill it. But what's so interesting about this dream. *It's the first dream in history, that's global consciousness.* First time. First time: Inclusivity, diversity, sustainable development, universal rights,

peace. That's a global vision. I don't know if you can pull it off. It may be too ambitious, but it is a global vision.

So you say to me, alright – I can hear the skeptics, I can smell it in the room – “Yes, the European Dream is a grand dream, it's a global vision, yes we have all of these humane social programs in Germany and Europe, we've taken care of the less fortunate, we've balanced a market economy with a social economy. We agree with all of that Mr. Rifkin, but we've gotta wake up, this dream's over! We have an anemic economy in Europe, jobs aren't there, we're in Euro sclerosis, we're going to have to give up all the social programs and – we're not going to like this – we're going to have to go to the American economic model, what I call the University of Chicago, neo-conservative model: The marketplace rules, get rid of the social programs, let the marketplace be the final arbitrator, everybody is on their own, swim or sink - because the Americans, whatever we can say about the Americans, the Americans know how to run an economy and create jobs.” Do I have it right? Now do you know any society, any civilization, that can have a future when all of its political leaders and its other leaders say, “Your future is going to be worse than you present, get used to it?” Then you die. Because every civilization in modern history lives with a dream and a vision for themselves.

Let me, if I may, deconstruct the so called American miracle for you. The deconstruction of social programs, that you all are talking about in Europe, has nothing to do with growing a positive economy – it's apples and oranges. The Scandinavian countries have shown, you've got to streamline those programs, they're out of control - you shouldn't be on unemployment benefits for five years. But what Scandinavian countries have shown you can have a good social net and grow your economy. The only thing you get if you completely eliminate your social net, is that you will get negative GDP. You'll get more crime, more prisons, more pollution, deteriorating infrastructure, poorer health, and you'll create jobs to fix it, but it's negative GDP.

Let's look at how America grew in the last 15 years. It's true that there's more innovation in America in some areas, not in others – you were 18 months ahead of us in wireless technology, you were ahead of us in grid technology, but there are some areas that we've been ahead of you. And I've been teaching business leaders on both sides of the Atlantic for so long, and I tell you, there isn't so much difference between our CEOs and yours in terms of innovation and management skills. They're good on both sides of the Atlantic. The reason the American economy has grown so much in the last 15 years - and I'm willing to admit we're more innovative in some areas: We put in more R&D money, there's a little bit more of a risk taking market orientation. But that's not why we grew. Here's why we grew: We came out of the 1989-92 recession – and it was a bad one - by issuing credit cards to every American human. Credit cards all over America in the early 90s. We went on the biggest credit binge in history. The American people started buying, buying, buying on credit, and that moved the economy. But we mortgaged our children's future. The average family savings rate in 1990 was 8%, 7.8%. You know what it is today? Almost zero. We have completely depleted the family savings of our country. Do we have any American students here? You know what I'm saying: credit cards. Then, what happened after the credit cards? We refinanced our home mortgages with low interest rates to get a little more money. Because wages were stagnant, the American trade unions were defanged during the *Reagan* years. They can't close the deal anymore. So then we refinanced our home mortgages with low interest rates, and now the interest rates have gone up. Then *President Bush* gave everyone of our families a little tax relief with a tax cut, now we have government debt through the roof, trade deficits

through the roof. This year, in my country, more people will file for bankruptcy than file for divorce or get a heart attack, or get cancer, or graduate from university. That's why we're about to change the bankruptcy laws. It's a pandemic. Does this sound like a healthy economy and a model you should follow? And the proof is in the pudding. Here's the proof in the pudding: it's called the currency. By the way – you remember *Mr. Volcker*, the last head of the Federal Reserve (Bank)? He just wrote an editorial this week, it was in the Washington Post and the New York Times, saying almost exactly the same thing I've just said - the former head of the Federal Reserve, a Republican, finally (said it). So, the currency is the test if I'm right or wrong. Why is the dollar continuing to be devalued against the Euro? We said the Euro would be toilet paper in six months. It isn't toilet paper, it is *the* currency now. Why? Because the investment community is clear – you have too much personal debt in the US, too much government debt, trade deficit account debt. We don't trust them, the fundamentals aren't there. It's built on a false foundation, so we're going to continue to devalue the dollar against the euro. Did we create jobs? Even during the *Clinton* years, when we claimed 4.5% unemployment, according to a University of Chicago study - published in the New York Times, in this book, in my book - real unemployment was 9%. Every country finagles their unemployment figures, but here's how we do it: Our unemployment benefits run out in six months. Yours last – what is it in Germany, two years? It's one now? It's down to one? But it lasts twice as long, it used to be three times as long. When your unemployment benefits run out, we can put you in the “discouraged” category and not count you as unemployed. As long as your unemployment benefits are there, we have to count you as unemployed. Millions of Americans simply left the workforce. And our government has a new statistic to include them, but not in the labor figures. Then we brought millions of workers back into the labor force in the 1990s, but in what we call “flex labor”, McDonald's type jobs, under employed. We have a new labor department statistic that talks about “underemployed”. Then as I said, we put two percent of the adult male workforce in prison. They're not counted.

In the last four years, we had a net loss in jobs. We picked up quite a few in the last year, but now it's leveled off in the last two quarters. And we still have a net loss of jobs in the last four years. The last time that happened was 1929. The reason there are no jobs – your politicians are never going to tell you this, I don't care if they're center left or center right – the jobs are never coming back, and nobody wants to talk about the importunity that the crisis raises. Unemployment is high in Europe, it's high in America, it's high in China. Why? *We're going through a structural change in the nature of work.* It's equivalent to the structural change that happened with the invention of the steam engine. The industrial age ended slave labor. Ten thousand years, humans have held other humans as slaves. We only abandoned slavery in the last century. Why? It was cheaper to feed coal to a steam engine than to feed the mouth of a slave. The new technologies – on your watch, young people – the new technologies of the 21st century, intelligent technologies, *they end mass wage labor.* That's what's going on. In agriculture, in factories, in offices, in professional fields. Example: We all meant that all manufacturing went to China, correct? If only we could get the manufacturing back from China. It is true that the manufacturing is going to China. But it is also true that China has eliminated 15% of all their factory workers in the last 7 years. Gone! Because the cheapest factory workers – and they are *really* cheap – is not as cheap as the intelligent technologies automating those factories. And we say outsourcing is taking away our jobs – they're going to Eastern Europe, they're going to Asia - that's less than one percent of the job losses in my country. When you compare call centers in India to voice recognition substitution - just walk tomorrow as a survey student, walk around Berlin, and think about all the jobs that used to be here, and that have been replaced by technology. The telephone operator, the bank teller, the

person at the department store because you have the automated machinery, and the middle manager. It goes on and on. The fact is, we have to rethink work. We can talk about it in Q&A – in fact the new edition to my book “The End of Work” is only out in Germany and the US. Pick it up, take a look at it. Here’s what I’m saying: If the American model is a failed model, too much debt, we’re not creating jobs, what does Europe do? You still have a lousy economy. How do you do this?

You have an alternative model, a golden goose. You’re strangling it and you’re starving this poor goose. What is the goose? The golden goose, the alternative economic model, is the integration of the infrastructure of the biggest, potentially wealthiest commercial market in the world with 444 million people across 25 countries from Ireland to Russia! So your political leaders went to Lisbon in the year 2000 and they made a bravado declaration, that Europe would be the most competitive information society by 2010. This week in Brussels I’ll be keynoting the EU summit, two days from now. We’re five years in and we’ll have to report to each other: it all failed. Why? Politics. Your politicians came back, center right and center left, to every country in Europe, and they played politics. And “Europe” was the bad guy. Get a few votes, blame it on “Europe”. Get a few more votes, blame it on “Europe”. Does anyone really believe – and this is what I said to French voters this week, when you’re going to vote on the constitution – does anyone really believe that the future prosperity of your family and the younger generation in this room depends on going back into the little German, French, Italian container? Or integrating the largest commercial market in the world with a playing field across a continent?! With all of the problems that it brings...?

We need a seamless transportation grid across Europe in ten years. We need an integrated communication grid, an energy grid, a power grid, in ten years. We need a single set of regulations on commerce and trade, capital and labor flows, that’s just and equitable in ten years. We need English as lingua franca for business transactions only - you have to preserve languages for everything else in all of social life. Because if you lose the languages, you lose the rich metaphors, and its those metaphors and those cultures that create new ideas! If you can integrate the biggest commercial market in the world, so that you can engage in commerce and trade across the continental European region with the same ease that we engage in commerce and trade across the continental United States, you have a bigger economy. What are you waiting for? And even if you move through that door – and it means that young people here have to think European and not xenophobic – but even if you move through that door, you have one other door. I’m assuming you can feed the golden goose, but you’ve got one more door: It’s called fertility rates and immigration.

You’re not reproducing your numbers, you have the lowest fertility rates in the world, you’re going to be an old age home, as you know, in 50 years, you’re talking about it in Germany. You’re going to have two retirees for every working person by 2050, your average age is going to be 54, not 34. It’s untenable. You could increase fertility - go to Denmark – are there any Danish people here? Go to Denmark, there are pregnant women walking on the sidewalks, you cannot cross the sidewalks in Denmark. What is going on in Denmark? Is it the water? Is it the bad soccer team? Is it no television at night? What is going on in Denmark? What is going on in Denmark is good government childcare subsidies, so working young people can have kids. In France, fertility is up. Because you start public schools at the age of three and daycare with two and a half. Take some of these outrageous corporate and industry subsidies we don’t need and put them into very good

quality childcare. And I actually like the Norwegian model better than childcare that's collective. I like the Norwegian model: Both parents have to take off two years and they get a full allowance from the government if they take off those first two years which are critical to a child's neural development and then they can go back to work, no penalty. You like that? How many people like that deal in Germany? You'd have more kids.

But even with increased fertility, you have to open the doors to immigration. Here's where Germany will be the litmus test for Europe. Europeans are afraid of immigration. Americans are not. We like new blood. We struggle, we complain, but we like new blood. Here's what you're worried about in Germany: You're worried about Muslims. Let's be clear what you're worried about. You're worried about Turkey because that'd open up to North Africa and the Middle East. You're worried that Muslim immigrants will not respect pluralism. You're worried that they'll take unskilled jobs and dampen the labor costs. You're worried there'll be crime in the streets. You're worried that the government welfare system will collapse. And what you're really worried about in Germany is all those nascent fascist, right-wing, xenophobic political movements – they're all out there – that they'll ascend to power on an anti-immigration backlash, and you'll be back to 1928-1932, right? And Europe will implode, the experiment is over. Isn't that it? ... Look at this, look at the silence ... that *is* it. But then what are you doing about it? In other words, if you just lament that this is a problem, life is such that you get what you expect in life. Have you noticed this? If you have low expectations, they will be fulfilled. And if you sit there and wring your hands, what will happen is the right-wing fascist parties will gain the day, and you'll get just what you don't want. You could borrow from *President Kennedy*. When *President Kennedy* became President, in his inaugural address, he said, "Ask not what *America* can do for you" – you all know this – "ask what *you* can do for America". Then he said, "I'm going to create the Peace Corps. and VISTA (Volunteers and Service to America)" – I was in that second group -, "We're going to give young college students a little, teeny government stipend. We're going to train them in NGOs" – they didn't call them that, they were 'civil organizations' – "and we're going to let them go all over the world and through America and help their fellow young people for a better life and learn from the young people as well, because it's a two-way street – the poor have something to teach everyone else as well.

How about, "Ask not what *Europe* can do for me"? How about a generation of young leaders in this room saying "What can *I* do to make Europe a global public square where the diasporas of the world can live in peace, with inclusivity, diversity, good sustainable development, quality of life, human rights and peace?" How about a European Dream Welcome Corps.? How about for all the Erasmus college students – for *all* the college students here at the Humboldt – how about after college, the government gives you a tiny little government grant, enough to survive? I did that for a while. Train you with NGOs, so that you can go to the front gates here in Germany and around Europe and welcome the young immigrant peers – they're your own age. Help them with job skills and housing and language skills. Break bread, share culture, music, let *them* teach *you* – because they have gifts to bear. It's going to be tough, it isn't going to be a cake walk. You may not like for example the gender issues in Islam. They may not like the hedonism rampant in Western society. It's a give and take, it's a learning process. But the only way to do it is engage it, embrace it. I dedicated the book to the Erasmus students, but really to all college students. The middle class here I think is ready. You're multicultural, you're not afraid of other cultures, you're not xenophobic. Don't wait for Brussels. It's up to you right now to go out there and let that idealism work. Ask what you can do to make Europe *the place*, like America was *the place*.

Last thoughts, you've been very patient. I don't know if this dream is going to make it. It doesn't have to do with the Constitution. I honestly don't know. And when I look at you young people here, I don't know if you're on fire, or whether you just like the comfortability of your lives and things are o.k., they could be better. I don't know if there is a collective commitment in this generation. I'm not sure. I have had countless students come up to me and say, "Yes, we have it". But there's something that *you need*, that we Americans *have*, that we should share with you. Remember how I said that it's not about "one dream is good and the other one is all bad"? There are some powerful aspects of the American Dream that need to be salvaged and grafted onto the European Dream. Then we'll have a truly global dream, a synergy that'll work, that'll be thick. The strength of the American Dream is its weakness. That's the irony, that's the dialectic, as one of your German sociologists said in the last century. That's the dialectic. The strength is the weakness. Because the American Dream is about the *individual*. In a frontier - go it alone, be self sufficient, be autonomous and noble - that was a strength in a frontier, in a colonizing world. Be a cowboy. But today, if six billion people fought the American Dream and everyone pursued their own self interest alone as an island, we'd have chaos in a globally connected world, correct? That's why Europeans say, you can't go it alone. That's what you keep saying to us, "You can't go it alone", correct? But there's an underbelly to the American Dream that's worth saving, and that you need. Not the idea, "I pursue my self interests, you pursue your self interests". But here's the underbelly: Our parents taught us - where are my Americans back here? - our parents taught us, you're responsible for your life, you're accountable, never blame someone else for your life, never say someone else did it to you. You have got to take accountability, you have to understand that your life is in your charge. I Like that part of the American Dream: *personal accountability*. You can't have a strong global dream - which the European Dream pretends to be - if people don't take personal accountability. Now, a lot of my older friends in Europe are into blaming someone else for their life. You're starting to nod. "It's not my fault, it's someone else's fault, someone else is responsible." It goes back to the old paternalism that's at the basis of communalism. You have to take away the paternalism, create the communalism - which the socialists have tried to do for a hundred years - but you have to put personal accountability back into the mix. And that is, there has to be a balance, a Talmudic or *Aristotelian balance between personal accountability and collective responsibility*. So if we could take the American idea of the individual, that sense of personal accountability, and graft it onto the European Dream, we'd begin to have a thick dream. "I'm responsible for the collective dream." The other aspect of the American Dream that has to be saved, is optimism, hope, and risk taking. Show me a Euro-skeptic, a Euro-pessimist, a Euro-cynic, and I'll show you someone who's dead in the heart and has no future for you. They're not dreaming. They're dead in the heart. You cannot have a powerful dream and be a Euro-skeptic or -pessimist or -cynic, because dreams are aspirations. They require hope and optimism and risk taking, to believe you can do it.

So if we can take the American sense of personal accountability for our lives, our optimism, our hope and our risk taking, and graft it onto the European Dream, which is about solidarity and interdependency, and understanding that we're all part of a common biosphere that we live in, that is a powerful synergy of the two dreams. Very powerful. We used to say the American Dream is worth dying for. I do believe this European Dream is worth living for. But it's up to the young people in this room. I'm sixty years old. It's not going to be my generation. We got young people here - 18, 19, 20, 21 - it's your turn. A lot of young people around the world 200 years ago looked to the American and French Revolution, young revolutionaries your age, 20, 25, 30

years old. We didn't let the world down. And at that time a young generation of revolutionaries in America and in Europe said, the individual is sovereign. We're going to break arbitrary and authoritarian power for ever. And the echoes and reverberations of those two revolutions 200 years ago are still being felt in the third world. Now we've got a young generation of Europeans in this room. It's your watch. A lot of the world is looking to Europe. The Asian ten are looking to a European Union. The countries of South America, the Organization of African States. Last week *Shimon Perez* did an editorial in the Herald Tribune or the Financial Times - I don't know if you read it - about Israel. He said we need a European Dream for the Middle East. He didn't say an "American Dream". Can you imagine what a change this is? We need a European type union – live in peace with inclusivity and diversity and sustainability and quality of life and universal rights and peace – *Mr. Perez* called for a *European Dream* for the Middle East. A lot of the world is looking here. Germany was the moral engine behind this European experiment, be clear. The whole European experiment could not have happened without Germany, because you, for the first time in history, were the first country in all of history that decided to share power. That's never happened before in history, my friends. It was pay back for the Holocaust. And for two world wars. And for lots of problems in your past. There are three generations here in Germany that are the moral engine of Europe, as well as the economic engine. You have come out in front and said, "We're willing to take on this experiment". The French may have been the intellectual engine, but you are the moral and economic engine.

Now the question is, will this generation here in Germany lead, provide the inspiration, become a beacon, make this European Dream a strong, thick global standard, so that when you pass your legacy to your children and grandchildren, you can say, "We were a pivotal generation, we made a difference, we remade the world, we created a global consciousness"? ... Goodnight.

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