

## THE FUTURE EUROPEAN UNION – A CITIZENS’ EUROPE AND A WORKING MODEL FOR GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP

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**The European Union is looked to for the advancement of peace and prosperity in the world. It must also continue to deliver these ‘at home’. The two are inseparable. Most of the Treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe must be brought about for this double necessity. This must be fully explained to the citizen. Let it be made clearer that this is a Union Treaty of ultimately sovereign states and peoples, for the citizens have shown that they have no wish for a ‘superstate’. Let us revisit any provisions that may, even implicitly, cast doubt upon this. Secondly, therefore, let us at the same time affirm that the Union is willing and able to bring its Members and its Partners ever closer together in full respect and brotherhood through the practice of solidarity. Let us, with our Neighbours, fashion a multilateral Framework Treaty, offering for this purpose the adapted use of the model of entwined but sovereign states and peoples. Let our next steps advance European cohesion and unity and at the same time accelerate the advent of a global order to which all men and women of good will aspire.**

In my view, in the future - as over the first fifty years - the success of the European Project will continue to be defined by the ever more effective practice, both within the Union and also by the Union acting with its Partners, of *the art of maximum cohesion with necessary differentiation based on solidarity, with all directed towards the common good*. The ‘common good’ is increasingly perceived in wider terms, embracing the global common good. While enhancing this practice within the Union, the Golden Rule for the Union in its ‘external’ relations must be that of “Doing with others as we do among ourselves”. Internal and external practice must converge ever more closely.

I am convinced that such ideas, rooted in shared responsibility, can give new life to Euro-Mediterranean integration. It seems not utopian, despite the challenges and disappointments, to begin to think in terms of a Euro-Mediterranean ‘sense of citizenship’ – a sense of common destiny that instills a common responsibility for the pursuit of the common good through proper mechanisms for dialogue and decision-making. This calls for a stronger framework. I propose a new Framework Treaty, of stronger effect therefore than the Barcelona Declaration, that recognizes essential diversity but equally recognizes essential identity, and on this basis promotes maximum cohesion. The Mediterranean region is crying out for the application of the Union model as an explicit expression of the proposed Union Golden Rule. Working on our model with our Neighbours will *at the same time* make us better at practicing our model *within* our Union. The better we understand our Neighbours, and they us, through co-operative action at all levels, the better will we understand our own societies, our ‘European Society’. While the logistics of perfecting the Union may require boundaries for the Union to be drawn, European thinking needs to go beyond Europe - not only in order that there be peace and shared prosperity with our

neighbours but also for the European idea to come to its full fruition within the Union itself.

It is clear that we must engage in a dialogue that is ever deeper and more real. Ethics and values are relevant and must be made even more relevant to policy-making if loyalty among all EU citizens and long-term residents towards the EU and all that for which it stands is to be fostered. So also if respect for, common ownership of, and loyalty to, the common processes and policies that we in the EU would like to think can be fashioned and embraced by us *with* our Neighbours and others are to be fostered. This means full, equal, dialogue on values in the concrete debates about policy in every forum of debate, discussion or decision. It is about real intercultural dialogue. A Constitutional underpinning of this dialogue will lead to legitimacy and loyalty as to outcome.

As for the next “Union Treaty” step, I believe that the vast majority of citizens want added-value European citizenship without European State, democracy with multiple demoi, governance more than government, constitutionalism without State Constitution, and European level politics with values but without swinging ‘isms’ and ideology. Paradoxical nonsense? Or truth? We should ask ourselves, then, whether we have not nearly attained the *finalité politique* of Europe according to *this idea* of Europe (and will attain it with the new Treaty), so that the essence of the Union that we already have - but to be further improved *as a tool* on the lines of the Constitutional Treaty - can point the way forward for us and for our fellow citizens of the world.

### **Conclusion**

Let us in the Union give ourselves a new Treaty. Let us highlight the rule of law and ‘citizenship’, as the concept best expressing the idea of democratic governance, individual rights and individual and collective responsibility. Let us expressly endow the Union with legal personality. Let us embrace the substance of the ‘Constitutional Treaty’ on the basis of a union of states and peoples. In any debate to come, let us beware of giving up on the fruit of the Convention on the Future of Europe and of risking the creation of the ultimate obstacle to the idea of Europe being taken further both within Europe and beyond Europe. Let us have more politics, but without seeking to replicate at European level the politics of the national level. Above all, let us take forward the model of ‘maximum cohesion with necessary differentiation, with the whole achieved through deep and real dialogue and co-operation manifesting true solidarity’. A general ‘solidarity clause’ in the sense in which I have argued for one in the past would cement this mutual commitment. If I am right, the citizens of Europe will give their full support to a new Treaty which they understand addresses real needs, and does so by putting into practice this idea of Europe, in and for Europe and the world. Then, let us and our Neighbours, together, fashion a version of the Union model as a tool for ever closer integration, leading to a multilateral (Framework) Treaty that itself gives further impetus to the gains of the bilateral approach. Let us give the European Union to the citizen, and practice the European way with our Neighbours. If this is put forward by us in the right spirit, I have faith that our Neighbours will respond in kind.

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