

# **A EUROPE OF VALUES**

## **THE ETHICAL DIMENSION OF THE EUROPEAN UNION**

*Report to the Bishops of COMECE*

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*Translation of the French original text*



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**Foreword**

In May 2005 the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Community (COMECE) published a theological reflection on the significance of the process of European unification. This text was translated into several languages. It met with a consistently positive response. Its title "The Evolution of the European Union and the Responsibility of Catholics" suggested that the European Union is not a static and self-evident community of states. It asserts that the EU develops dynamically and depends on the responsible commitment and agreement of its citizens.

The ratification process of the treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe confirmed this assessment, in that a large number of Member States agreed to the Constitution, whilst two countries rejected it by referendum. The two "no" votes in France and the Netherlands expressed a sentiment that is probably present in some other Member States. At any rate, it has opened a new chapter in the history of European unification for the future development of that process will be impossible without the express agreement of the majority of the citizens of the individual Member States on its future direction.

In order to help citizens make a responsible decision on the future development of the European Union, a description of what constitutes the core of European integration is needed. Such a description, combining a European perspective and the viewpoint of Catholic Social thinking, seemed a useful undertaking.

Inspired by the approach of the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Treaties of Rome (1957), the Bishops of the COMECE therefore invited a group of Catholic men and women who have been involved in European politics for many years, as politicians, diplomats and

specialists, to prepare a report on the basic values and principles of the European Union. This Group of the Wise (Comité des Sages) has now delivered its report. We are confident that it will lead to a more informed and transparent dialogue among Christians and citizens in general on the essence of the European Union and its objectives.

We realize that certain aspects of this report will provoke discussion. We are all the more grateful for the clear and reasoned presentation of the values that have shaped and continue to shape the process of European unification. In seven chapters the report sets out the basic values and principles underlying the European project and shows how they have been implemented in the European institutions and policies. The authors clearly affirm that these values originate from the religious and in particular Christian tradition and that they are of decisive importance for the evolution of the European Union.

In this regard it is helpful to recall Pope John Paul II's invitation to the lay faithful: "*The lay faithful in working together with all those that truly seek peace and themselves serving in specific organisations as well as national and international institutions, ought to promote an extensive work of education intended to defeat the ruling culture of egoism, hate, the vendetta and hostility and thereby to develop the culture of solidarity at every level.*" (Apostolic Exhortation "Christifideles Laici", 42). In a recent address, Pope Benedict XVI again emphasised the primary importance of developing a moral conscience to promote human dignity as guaranteed by the natural law: "*The first duty for all, and particularly for those with public responsibility, must therefore be to promote the maturation of the moral conscience. This is the fundamental progress without which all other progress proves non-authentic. The law inscribed in our nature is the true guarantee*

*offered to everyone in order to be able to live in freedom and to be respected in their own dignity.”* (Address to delegates at an International Congress on the Natural Moral Law, 12 February 2007)

This report is a concrete example of the fruit of genuine commitment to society on the part of laymen and women of our time. As COMECE Bishops, we wish to express our appreciation and profound gratitude to the members of the Group of the Wise, in particular to its Chairman Marcelino Oreja and the two secretaries, Philippe de Schoutheete and Stephen Wall. They invested much time and energy in preparing the text. A list of the eminent members of the group is attached to the report. The former EU Commissioner Loyola de Palacio, who agreed to become a member of the group, died in November 2006. As we receive this report from its authors, we also remember with gratitude her great and exemplary commitment to Europe.

We offer the report as an important contribution to the development of the Catholic social thought on the European unification process and international relation. It endorses values and opens up new horizons for the engagement of Christians in shaping Europe’s future. We trust that it will be widely read among Christians and all people of good will in Europe.

+ *Adrianus van Luyn*  
*Bishop of Rotterdam*  
*President of COMECE*

## ***Introduction***

1. One speech, given in May 1950 by Robert Schuman, set in train a historic process which has brought together the countries and peoples of Europe, ever more closely and, so it has seemed, unstoppably. It has taken the form of successive steps – from customs union to a series of common policies and to monetary union – that have marked out the development and the deepening of the European Community. Right from the start (article 2 of the Rome treaty) the objective was to promote a harmonious and balanced development of economic activities and a high level of employment and social protection. The aim was also to foster human dignity in an area of peace and security. This European construction brought with it a vision of the future and an outpouring of hope. And those in turn have made the building of Europe a crucial element in the step by step, peaceful growth of democracy as more new countries have joined. The constant striving of the countries of eastern and central Europe to free themselves from Communist dictatorship was finally crowned with success and allowed the European Union to open itself up to the entire continent. Today, for the first time in centuries, Europe is reunited in peace. We Europeans can be proud of all that we have achieved in half a century. But are we?
  
2. The French and Dutch referendums in 2005 brought to light the doubts, uncertainty and dissatisfaction felt by a large number of people. These feelings are not new: they found expression in the Danish referendum on the Maastricht treaty in June 1992. But, today, they are much more widespread, even if a lot of ‘no’ votes may have been motivated by concerns which had nothing to do with the European Union as such. We all know that similar feelings are also evident in

those countries which have not held referendums. They reflect a divide between the view of the political elites, who are broadly in favour of European integration and the constitutional treaty, and the view of a large slice of public opinion which is particularly concerned about globalisation, about the fate of Europe's social models, and about the mixing of cultures, all of them linked in their minds to enlargement. Europe can and must find a way of responding to these new challenges, but the various meetings of the European Council held in 2005 and 2006 failed to reach agreement on how to relaunch the European project.

3. The fact is that, lulled by a long period of guaranteed security and of growing prosperity, Europe's leaders shared a vision of European integration that was overly technocratic. In the absence of a clear agreement between them on the final goal of the European project, they ceased to proclaim its underlying values. Europe, which was a visionary project – uniting peoples and nations to ensure lasting peace - now looks a mechanistic process. Peace is taken for granted. For new generations, the threat of war is distant history. Its citizens see the European Union as a powerful bureaucratic machine which endlessly argues about obscure subjects, which is remote, cumbersome and costly and over which they have very little influence. So it is not surprising that this European technocracy is held responsible for the ills felt by people who are confronted by the challenges of globalisation and the environment, by significant long-term unemployment and by the implications of an ageing population. And this is all the more the case when national leaders, either by inadvertence, or by malice aforethought, have made Europe responsible for all that has gone wrong and decry both its policies and the way it

works, even though they are the people who make most of the policies in the first place.

4. If we are to face up to these doubts and dissatisfaction, if we are to put Europe back in touch with its citizens, we must get back to first principles. We must recall to mind those things which we should not have forgotten in the first place: over and above policies and institutions, the European project rests first and foremost upon values, upon an ethical view of life and of society. Any community based on law should also be based on values. In the case of the European Union these values are not exclusively Christian but they are deeply rooted in the Christian tradition. Their foundation and their objective is respect for human dignity, which Christians accept as a consequence of God's creation, of Christ's incarnation and of the operation of the Holy Spirit. These values hardly feature in any official pronouncements and familiarity has sometimes wiped out even our recollection of them. And yet it is the European Community, later the Union, which has consolidated these human values across the continent, in regions previously dominated by violence and repression. That is why it is now right to define and describe what those values are. They make it obvious that there is an ethical dimension to the construction of Europe with which all Europeans, including all Christians in the European Union, can identify, in which they can take pride and in which they can confidently place their hopes.

***Peace and Freedom***

5. The main aim of Schuman and Adenauer was lasting reconciliation between France and Germany. Starting in the fifties under the guidance of visionary politicians, the European project that led to the signature of the treaty of Rome established a network of relationships and mutual dependence through the creation and regulation of a common market. It brought our peoples together in a common endeavour so that the political, economic and psychological factors which had led to conflict in the past and could, unchecked, do so again were no longer an issue. The result, in Western Europe, has been the longest period of peace in modern times. Today's generation takes this for granted. But in the light of history, and for the sake of our mutual well-being, the construction of Europe remains just as important now as it ever was.
6. Successive enlargements have spread this quality of peace over the continent, including regions in Central and Eastern Europe which had a history of violence and antagonism comparable to that of the West. The reunification of most of Europe in peace and freedom, for the first time since the Middle Ages, is a major historical achievement. Unfortunately this, the fundamental justification of the process of enlargement, was inadequately explained and therefore barely understood by public opinion in the older member states.
7. In the meantime, the insidious threat from terrorism, in New York and Bali, then Madrid and London, has reminded Europeans that peace can be threatened in many different ways and that only by acting together can we stand up to it. This is a further compelling reason to continue with the construction of

Europe. That construction embodies a new version of the will for peace which inspired the Union's founders.

8. The European Union is based on the willing participation of its people "free from any use of force, any pressure and any threat". So said Paul-Henri Spaak in a speech on the Capitol fifty years ago, when signing the treaty of Rome. The Union only admits to membership those states that are democracies and which respect human rights and fundamental freedoms (Article 6 of the Treaty on European Union). European Union law requires all members to observe the provisions of the European Human Rights Convention which includes the right of life, freedom of religion and freedom of expression, the right of men and women to conclude a marriage and start a family.
9. Because it is based on the willing participation of its members and on respect for human rights, the European Union has a political vocation, just as its forebear, the Community, did. The implementation and responsible exercise of freedom in the economic sphere lies at the heart of the European project launched fifty years ago in the European Community treaty. The four freedoms which are the basis of the single market (free circulation of people, goods, services and capital) are the first to be threatened by would-be dictatorial governments. Competition policy, run by the European Commission, is designed to prevent the powerful from dominating the single market at the expense of the weak. Regional policy is designed to ensure the equitable distribution of the prosperity which comes from opening up this large single market and to enable structural adjustments in less favoured regions. The single currency, through the fiscal discipline it implies, is a legacy of

fairness from one generation to the next because it prevents the burden of debt from crushing successor generations

### ***Bringing people together***

10. The preamble to the Treaty of Rome speaks of laying “the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe”. “What we should be seeking to achieve”, said Jean Monnet “is to bring together the interests of the peoples of Europe, and not simply to maintain the status quo between those interests”. The European project has made an original, and extremely effective, contribution to the life of the international community because it clearly set out to bring the peoples of Europe together, and not simply to help their governments to work together. This is the rationale for the supranational aspect (“the Community method”) of the work of the common institutions.
11. Through the Commission’s specific vocation as an institution that defines the common European interest and has a monopoly of legislative initiative, as well as through majority voting in the Council of Ministers and co-decision with the European Parliament, the Community method is designed to achieve the common good rather than simply reconciling national interests. Therein lies its ethical dimension: the common good is greater than the sum of individual national interests.
12. With the passage of time and the acquisition of new competences, the intergovernmental dimension has developed in parallel to the Community method, distancing itself from the spirit of the founding fathers. Since the Single European Act and the treaty of Maastricht, the two approaches have co-existed uneasily within the European "Union". It has to be said that during the past few years Europe has favoured the intergovernmental approach rather than the Community method. In so doing it is losing its originality, its inspiration and its effectiveness. When a decision needs to be taken at the European level, the Community method, because it emphasises solidarity between people and the search for common good, deserves our full support. The intergovernmental method because it puts the accent on national interests which may differ, can lead us to paralysis and a drift towards nationalism and populism, the disastrous effects of which are engraved on our history. Given the political trends in some of our countries, this risk is not illusory.
13. The concept of European citizenship, introduced by the Maastricht treaty in 1992, underlines the Union’s aim of bringing people closer together. It comes as an addition to national citizenship and coexists alongside it: European citizenship adds something to national citizenship, it does not subtract from it. The student exchange programmes (Erasmus and similar ones) and the twinning of towns and villages are also significant. Without overlooking what brings *states* together, the European “Community” favours what brings *people* together. In this it is inspired by Christian tradition. The promoters of Erasmus referred explicitly to the transnational university community which existed in the time of medieval Christianity and the Renaissance. The European Union should extend these programs also beyond the university framework in order to further a deeper mutual understanding of peoples and cultures.

### ***Power and Responsibility***

14. From the ashes of war, the European Community has built a significant economic and monetary power through the creation of a common market and a single currency. For several years, and with increasing success, it has also been working to endow itself with diplomatic and military capability. Of itself, power is not a moral instrument. But it becomes such an instrument when it is used to promote peace, human dignity and fundamental rights. In crisis situations the absence of power leads to inaction, and inaction can have disastrous consequences. In spite of its disagreements the Union is slowly but surely developing the capacity to intervene collectively in crisis zones. It can only have real weight if it is strong and united.
15. The European project stands as an example of what can be done through reconciliation, stability and prosperity. That is why it has been able to exert, and continues to exert, real influence on the evolution of democratic and stable societies in many European countries. Its capacity to attract is a form of power, of “soft power”. By making use of that power of attraction to stabilise its environment, the Union has acted responsibly.
16. Because of its economic power and its collective action the Union is able to bring real influence to bear on the intercontinental dialogue which is gradually setting the rules of globalisation, and establishing thereby a system of “global governance”. Its intervention, in one form or another, is more and more frequently requested. The Union is sensitive to the demands of sustainable development, to respect for human rights, to the North-South partnership and to the development

of a rule-based international system. In so doing, the Union is taking its proper place and exercising its responsibilities in the world’s debates. Its contribution gains in importance as globalisation gathers pace. Where would we stand if we were to act in a disorganised way vis a vis the great continental powers of the United States, China, India or Russia?

### ***Diversity, Subsidiarity and Differentiation***

17. Europe’s aim is to deepen “the solidarity among their peoples while respecting their history, their cultures and their traditions” (Preamble to the Treaty on European Union). “The Community shall contribute to the flowering of the cultures of the Member States while respecting their national and regional diversity” (Article 151 of the Treaty establishing the European Communities). The weight given to smaller countries in all of the Union’s institutions, since the beginning of the Community, but also after enlargement, is an indication of respect for their identity and singularity. No international body of similar size shows as much respect for the plurality of languages written and spoken in common institutions. Diversity is perceived not only as a reality, but also as an enrichment.
18. The European Union is the only international body to have written in its basic rules the principle of subsidiarity according to which “decisions are taken as closely as possible to the citizen” (Art. 1, §2, Treaty on European Union). Subsidiarity implies that the Community “shall take action only and insofar as the objectives of the proposed action cannot be sufficiently achieved by the Member States” (Art. 5, §2, Treaty establishing the European Community). Subsidiarity provides

a matrix for the sharing of power between different levels of authority. It is frequently misunderstood, never easy to implement and can lead to conflicting interpretations in specific cases, which explains why the Constitutional treaty proposes to give national Parliaments a say in the matter. But it is worth noting that the underlying principle of respect for lower levels of decision making is directly derived from the social teaching of the Church : “To withdraw from groupings of a lower order, in favour of a larger collective of a higher order, those functions which the former are able to exercise themselves, would not only be to commit an injustice but also to disturb the social order in a very damaging way” (*Quadragesimo Anno*, N °79).

19. A larger and more diverse Union will entail acceptance of the possibility of progressing at different speeds, of allowing some member states to make progress in directions which the entire membership may not be ready to pursue. This happens already in a number of cases: the euro, Schengen. Such arrangements must remain open to all member states which can, and want to, participate. No member state should be forced to go down a path which does not suit it, but, where agreement cannot be reached, then, in conformity with the treaties and agreed rules, a group of member states should have the right to pursue positive policies in its own interest. Control by the Commission will ensure respect for the common good and the sanction of Parliament (required by the Constitutional treaty) provides democratic legitimacy. The promotion of European integration is the common aim but, in that context, the acceptance of different speeds is a reflection of the diversity of the members of the Union. Respecting that is one of the cardinal virtues of the entire enterprise.

### ***Multilateralism and Tolerance***

20. Multilateralism developed in Europe in the second half of the twentieth century as a reaction against the tragic consequences of totalitarian ideologies which had left Europe stained with blood. The European Union is the most developed example of multilateralism because:

- It has created ( within clearly defined limits) a supranational power;
- It requires Member States to honour a European framework of law, whose primacy they are required to respect, under the authority of the European Court of Justice;
- As with any organisation whose inspiration is at least in part federal, the Union organises the exercise of authority at different levels of decision taking;
- In so doing the Union draws inspiration from the principle of subsidiarity (see para 18 above) which was articulated by the Catholic Church precisely in order to combat totalitarian ideologies;
- It has put in place an effective method of decision taking – the Community method – which seeks the common good of all and which prevents the large from dominating the small;

In these ways the European project protects our societies from the excesses of a narrow nationalism which, as our history bears witness, leads to domination, violence, xenophobia and, at times, racism. At the same time, the European project strikes a chord well beyond our own frontiers because it seeks, and seems to have attained, a balance between free market economies on the one hand and a certain level of regulation on the other.

21. This quest, and its successful attainment, have acted as a catalyst for the development of regional groupings on other continents which have been inspired by similar considerations. These groupings, voluntary and non-dominant, such as Mercosur or ASEAN, make it possible for fast-growing countries to avoid pointless conflicts, to guarantee peace in their region, to rationalise production and trade, to drive back the frontiers of poverty and to make their voices heard on the world stage. The multilateral method enshrined in the European Union has in many ways been a model for what could and should be the multilateral management of the problems of globalisation, for it has been ground-breaking, balanced and of proven effectiveness. In any event, it represents our best opportunity to take an active part in getting to grips with the problems thrown up by globalisation.
22. At the heart of multilateralism lies the effective working of common institutions which guarantee the primacy of law, the absence of domination and the search, through compromise, for the good of all while respecting the legitimate interests of each and every one. Tolerance, respect for our neighbour, whether big and powerful or not, the quest for solutions which allow us to go forward together: all those are the key to the European multilateral project. It is all those things which make it of interest to others and which give it worth.

### ***Solidarity within the Union***

23. Solidarity, a reflection of the “shared destiny” which is mentioned in the preamble of the Treaty on the Coal and Steel Community (1951), has been at the heart of the construction of Europe since the beginning. It is a defining aspect of the Community, first thought of in the fifties by statesmen who, for the most part, hailed from the Christian Democrat and Social Democratic traditions. The underlying philosophy was, and remains, that of the social market economy which establishes a strong link between the economic and social dimensions, with specific variations from country to country.
24. Historically speaking, this “Community” vision of Europe grew up in contradiction to those who advocated economic liberalism, pure and simple, and who saw the EC in terms of a free trade area. This vision of the “Community” is also enshrined in policies, whose execution is certainly open to criticism but which were inspired by the principle of solidarity. Thus the agriculture policy, however imperfect, reflects solidarity between town and country; cohesion policies reflect solidarity between rich and poor regions. Together, these policies account for three quarters of the Union budget.
25. The pressure of globalisation is a spur towards modernising the various European social models, not towards abandoning them. The social *acquis* of the European Union in fields such as equality between men and women, health and safety at work, parental leave, is considerable. The new Member States which had to change their legislation to adopt the Community *acquis* in this area are very aware of this. Elsewhere, most people think that the Union concentrates more on economic than social policy. Certainly, most social legislation remains within

national competence. But we must not neglect the European *acquis* in this field. On the contrary, it should be taken further, for instance in guaranteeing equal access to services of general interest.

26. The second part of the constitutional treaty which is the Charter of Fundamental Rights contains twelve articles dealing with aspects of social policy, grouped together under the heading “solidarity”. Part One of the same treaty contains a solidarity clause among member states in the face of terrorist attack or natural disasters (Article 43). The decision to combine resources in view of improving rapid reaction to such events can only be welcomed. Even though the treaty has not entered into force, the solidarity clause was taken up word for word in the European Council conclusions following the Madrid terrorist attacks. Solidarity between member states is part of the glue holding the Union together. At a time when some are calling it into question, we should renew our commitment to it.

### ***Solidarity with the rest of the World***

27. The Union can often seem inward looking and caught up in its own internal tensions because those internal debates are frequently difficult. But at heart Europe is open to the rest of the world and its problems. In his inaugural speech in 1950 Robert Schuman insisted explicitly on our obligations towards Africa. The Treaty on the European Economic Community, whose fiftieth anniversary we are celebrating, included a title on the association of overseas countries and territories. Today Europe is deploying significant resources in a spirit of

partnership and solidarity. The Union runs the world’s biggest emergency humanitarian aid budget (ECHO). The world total of development aid is clearly insufficient, but more than half of it is distributed through the Union or its member states. Over the years specific programmes have been devised for different regions: the European Development Fund (EDF) for the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP), PHARE for the countries of Eastern Europe, TACIS for the former Soviet Union and MEDA for the Mediterranean and the Middle East. It is certainly necessary and possible to do more and, above all, better, in order to further open up our own markets, for example, or to reduce agricultural subsidies where they have a distorting effect. We should honour the promises of new contributions we have made in various international meetings. But the fact remains that the Union is already making a substantial contribution to world solidarity: it tries to behave as a “good citizen” of the planet. It is aware that “another name for peace is development” (*Populorum Progressio* N°76)

28. War is the greatest impediment to development, as is shown by our national histories and recent events in the Middle East and Central Africa. Since 2003 the European Union has led about a dozen peacekeeping operations (for example in Lebanon and in the Congo) generally at the request of the United Nations. It is more and more in demand as a peacekeeping power in crisis situations. This reflects a growing understanding by the international community that the European Union is ready and able to make a significant contribution to world peace, to development, human rights and the fight against poverty.

## ***Conclusion***

29. The post-war generation of leaders are rightly honoured for putting an end to Europe's bloody, fratricidal conflicts. Their task was difficult. Today's problems are no less challenging: globalisation, climate change, demographic explosion in some parts of the world and an ageing population in others, poverty and social exclusion, growing scarcity of vital resources such as water and energy, mass migration, pandemics and the increasing risk of local conflicts and international terrorism. But today's leaders are also better equipped than their predecessors, sixty years ago. Whatever their failings, the multilateral institutions established and developed after the second world war have created a network of cooperation, unheard of in previous centuries, which can promote responsible outcomes on fundamental issues of international concern. The European Union is one of the major elements of that network, indeed, because of its high level of integration, one of its most solid pillars.

30. Never before has it been so obvious that we are one world. Never before so obvious that it is our responsibility to care for that world. A new generation of Europeans, aware of the underlying values which the European project has been safeguarding and promoting, must now carry it forward. It is their responsibility to consolidate the just peace, equitable prosperity and balanced power which fifty years of effort have brought within our reach. To do that they must address new and pressing problems.

- Public opinion needs to be reassured on the merits and effectiveness of the European process and convinced of its

values, so that citizens commit themselves to the common good it pursues.

- The Union needs a system of economic governance and sustainable social solidarity fit for the 21<sup>st</sup> century
- Globalisation cannot be wished away. It needs to be managed and regulated so that its great potential for wealth creation is harnessed to the benefit of all. The European Union stands as an instrument of that management and that regulation.
- Climatic change, energy supply, preservation of the environment on a world scale need urgent attention, and the Union should play a leading role on those issues.
- Security in the widest sense implies promoting economic development and fighting against poverty. But also combating international crime and terrorism, addressing the question of mass immigration and, as the Union has been doing, promoting international law. As a responsible power, the Union will need to be involved in peace making and peace keeping in many areas of the world.

31. Those problems are not of the kind that lend themselves to resolution by one country alone, however powerful that country may be. Therefore we need to tackle them at the European level, while respecting the principle of subsidiarity. As we seek global solutions the individual weight of each member of the Union is weak, even at times insignificant. But when they act together, their combined weight allows them, not just to defend their interests better, but also to promote just and equitable solutions. That is why our ability to take decisions – to go beyond the intergovernmental debate to find, through the Community method, the common good of all – is not simply a technical question, it is a prerequisite for being able to solve our common problems and to exert our influence

for good in the world debate. In its decision making the Union will always need to respect the fundamental values it stands for, including human dignity and basic human rights. In that context the constant progress of scientific research raises major ethical problems, specially in the field of life sciences.

32. The European Union was not fated to happen. It has always depended on the exercise of will. It is, as is all human endeavour, fragile. Today, it is searching for the way forward. It must become more aware of the strength which lies at the heart of the values it enshrines: dignity of the human being and human rights, peace, freedom, democracy, tolerance, respect for diversity and subsidiarity, and the search for the common good without any one group being dominant over another. The Union stands for solidarity between its own members and between them and others, especially the underprivileged. It stands for responsibility in seeking answers to the world's problems. More than its institutions or policies, it is the values the Union represents which most account for the interest it arouses, the repute in which it is held around the world and the hope it creates. That has been the work of half a century. Those underlying values, that moral bedrock, are not matters of a moment. Their roots lie deep in two thousand years of Christian tradition, as also in the traditions of other creeds and philosophies. Those values and that tradition are as potent now as they were in the past. They must remain the foundation of our common endeavour, which we must pursue with consistent and determined leadership. Then the European project will once again become for our citizens what it should always have been: a genuine and abiding source of pride and a cornerstone of fervent hope for the future.

## ANNEX

### *Members of the Group of the Wise of COMECE\**

Prof. Michel **CAMDESSUS**, *Former Director General of the International Monetary Fund, Honorary Governor of the Banque de France, Chairman of the Semaines Sociales de France, France*

Mr. Pat **COX**, *Former President of the European Parliament, President of the European Movement, Ireland*

H.E. Philippe **DE SCHOUTHEETE**, *Former Belgian Permanent Representative to the EU, Professor of Institute of European Studies (UCL), Special adviser to the European Commission, Belgium*

Prof. Dr. Franz **FISCHLER**, *former Member of the European Commission, President of «Ökosoziales Forum», Austria*

Sr. Madeleine **FREDELL**, *Secretary General, Commission for Justice and Peace, Sweden*

Prof. PhDr. Dr. Tomáš **HALÍK**, *Former Adviser of President Václav Havel, Czech Republic*

Mr. Jan **KUŁAKOWSKI**, *Member of the European Parliament, Poland*

Mr. Karl **LAMERS**, *Former Member of the German Parliament, Germany*

Mr. Vytautas **LANDSBERGIS**, *Former Head of State, Member of the European Parliament, Lithuania*

Prof. Dr. Jerzy **ŁUKASZEWSKI**, *Former Rector of the College of Europe, Former Polish Ambassador to France, Poland*

Ms. Maria **MARTENS**, *Member of the European Parliament, The Netherlands*

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Mr. Onno **RUDING**, *Former Minister of Finance, Former Vice-President of Citibank, President of the Centre for European Policy Studies – CEPS, The Netherlands*

Mr. Jacques **SANTER**, *Former Prime Minister, Former President of the European Commission, Luxembourg*

Prof. Ph. D. Peter **SERRACINO-INGLOTT**, *Former Member of the Convention on the Future of Europe, President of the Malta Council for Science and Technology, Malta*

Prof. Manuela **SILVA**, *President of the Commission for Justice and Peace, Portugal*

Mr. Peter **SUTHERLAND**, *Former Member of the European Commission, Former Director General of GATT and WTO, President of The Federal Trust, Chairman of BP p.l.c., Ireland.*

Prof. Jozsef **SZAJER**, *Member of the European Parliament, Hungary*

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Sir Stephen **WALL**, *Former Adviser of the Prime Minister for European Affairs, Former UK Permanent Representative to the EU, United Kingdom*

Ms. Anna **ZABORSKA**, *Member of the European Parliament, Slovakia*

*\* The views expressed in the text are personal and should not be attributed to institutions or companies to which members of the group are related.*