

Dear Sir,

After twenty years working as a French senior civil servant, I directed an international foundation for thirty years, the Charles Léopold Mayer Foundation for the Progress of Humankind (fph). These two successive paths taught me that in a world in full upheaval, the forms of governance we have inherited from centuries past, including representative democracy as currently being practised, are less and less relevant to the challenges of interdependent societies. Above all, they also convinced me that European integration, despite its flaws, was the *only form of geopolitical construction for the future* because it demonstrated the possibility of transcending sovereignties peacefully. Rediscovering the European Union through the eyes of the Chinese, Africans or South Americans turned me into a staunch defender of the Union.

But today the European Union is at great risk. Building Europe through unification of the market was the best possible response, in 1954, to the failure of the European Defence Community, but the overly exclusive role of market unification has now turned against Europe. Whole segments of the population have been left on the side-lines of progress, feel that their jobs or their identity are being threatened by a migration they do not control, and are turning away from Europe.

Moreover, the unification of the market, even with labour mobility (see for instance the xenophobic reactions of the British), *is simply not enough to give rise to conscience of shared values, of a community of destiny. Building a true community is the step that was missed in European integration.*

*Sixty years after the Treaty of Rome, the time has come to lay new foundations for the European project, and to do so with the citizens.* Everyone is saying that citizens must be reconciled with Europe, that citizens must be given a voice, that Europe must go to the citizens, and so on... but top-down communication, i.e. 'explaining to the good people how much they owe to Europe', which is the standard form of communication, is no longer working. Multiplying referendums, as is being demanded by populist movements today, would be even worse: 'asking citizens for their opinion' makes no sense as long as no fora or procedures have been set up for them to build an informed opinion collectively and as long as they are not included in the development of the future of Europe.

On 25 March 2017, the European Heads of State will meet to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the Treaty of Rome. *This is a unique opportunity to revitalise European integration* and is why I am taking it upon myself to write to you.

Three conclusions emerged from the recent inter-institutional European conference ESPAS: a decisive blow is needed, because incrementalist approaches will not work and will not prevent the disintegration of the Union; a fresh, citizen-based start is needed; and the local level needs to be starting point. Based on my fifty years of experience in governance, I have taken the initiative to make a concrete proposal: to launch, based on the European regions and on the social capital accumulated through their twinning, a *foundational process* organised over two years in two stages, the first with regional citizen panels and the second with their meeting at the European level. The process is based on the achievements of deliberative democracy, which has shown that citizens selected by lot can understand and deal with very complex issues.

This proposal has been well received, as much amongst the regions and the Committee of the Regions representing them, as amongst the European institutions. Its advantages include a timeline that strengthens its symbolic impact: its launching at the sixtieth anniversary of the Treaty of Rome; completion of the regional citizen panels at the seventieth anniversary of the Hague Congress; and completion of the second stage, at the European level, at a time when it can fuel the 2019 European

Parliament elections and the reflection of the new Commission appointed for this occasion.

Such a process would only be significant with the support of the European Council. A commitment by the Heads of State *to thoroughly examine the proposals resulting from this assembly is essential to its credibility and its success*. This commitment by the Heads of State at the Rome Summit would express their determination to launch a new and exciting stage of European integration, reconnecting with their precursors who signed the treaty sixty years ago.

This is, Sir, what I wish to submit to you as the Rome Summit agenda is being prepared. Enclosed herewith are the summarised and detailed descriptions of the proposal, its presentations to the Secretariat of the European Council and the Committee of the Regions, a memo highlighting the symbolic importance of the anniversary of the Treaty of Rome and a recent message addressed to the Chief of Staff of the President of France, Jean-Pierre Jouyet, who expressed his interest in the proposal.

If you so wish, I am available to speak with you about this in person, and please accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest consideration.

Pierre Calame