Is European Union at the Heart of Citizens' Identity?

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Abstract: The departure point of many discussions on European identity is the idea that a political community needs a common set of values and references to ensure its coherence, to guide its actions and to endow these with legitimacy and meaning. The motto "unity in diversity" is generally seen as best describing the aims of the European Union; opinions differ widely as to how it should be understood. That is why we will try to identify those values which brought the European countries together almost 60 years ago. And we will continue to see, based on the Eurobarometers results, which are the European citizens' values and what European Union represents for them, in terms of values. For that we will put together the items obtained in the last five years and we will see in the end to which value European Union should pay more attention in the future. Even the surveys show that European Union citizens continue to identify first of all with their own countries and we consider it important to find an answer to the following question: Is European Union a community of shared values?

1. Creating European Culture or "Unity in Diversity"?

Culture is the *shared* norms, attitudes, values, beliefs, expectations, customs, and assumptions that have emerged over time. Norms are a set of authoritative standards governing appropriate or inappropriate behaviours for a group and often exist around issues such as quality, performance, flexibility, output levels, and conflict resolution. Values are preferences for ultimate end conditions or ideals that are desirable (Romm et al., 1991). Beliefs include facts about the world, how it works and cause/effect relationships. (Romm et al., 1991)

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Culture acts as a social control system that powerfully shapes the behaviour of individuals and groups. Cultures are supported and maintained by the people (Romm et al., 1991; Barber, 1990; O'Reilley, 1989 and Scheider et al., 1994). Goffee (1996) defines culture as, "*Culture, in a word, is community. It is an outcome of how people relate to one another. Communities exist ... They are built on shared interests and mutual obligations and thrive on cooperation and friendships*". The tensions recorded in defining the concept of culture have been very well synthesized by the French Academy Dictionary "*socially culture today bring-together the intellectual, moral, material aspects, the systems of values, the lifestyles that characterize a civilization*".

Value is the operative word; it transcends the world to legitimize it. The dictionary defines value as being "*the quality or the fact of being reliable, useful or desirable.*" Values play a significant role in determining what is possible.

Creating a European Culture attempts to merge the goals of the individual with the goals of the EU. A competent culture has the knowledge, attitude and skills to facilitate transformation. This culture is characterized by the constant desire of people to learn and develop critical thinking skills (Spitzer et al., 1994). In most cases, when transformation begins, the culture does not have the knowledge, attitude and skills to transform. Transformation requires knowledge of concepts and principles that are beyond the requirements for most trades within the EU. Thus, a competency in transformation should be developed. According to Blumenthal, "*competitiveness depends on new competencies, skills, and behaviour that must be infused into the organization.*" (Blumenthal et al., 1994) Developing a competent culture is a process (Flanagan, 1995) which requires a planned approach that supports the transformation plan.

"Europe needs a new reason for its existence" (Mahony, 2006) said the German chancellor Angela Merkel. Therefore we have to recognise that the values which were promoted by the Treaty of Rome, peace, reconstruction and the concept of community have been changed and we have not created new ones yet. The "Plan D – Debate, Democracy and Dialogue" seems to be for now the one which tries to re-connect the citizens with EU, to make possible the project of "living together in Europe". The European Communities reached their next level in '92 (with the Maastricht Treaty) when they were shaped in a "bigger and stronger" Union. The new Union increased its members during the years and through them its territory

and populations. To do this it had to redefine EU borders and much more important it had to pay attention to its political legitimacy in front of "its citizens".

Furthermore, the EU had to respect fundamental rights, as guaranteed by the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The bloc's Charter of Fundamental Rights strengthen such protection: the full text of the document, originally incorporated into the Constitutional Treaty, was replaced in the Lisbon Treaty by a short cross-reference with the same legal value.

The EU identity[1] has been defined and guarded by the Treaties, the EU is founded "on the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law" (article 6 TEU). Any violations of these principles suspend the rights of the responsible member state. According to the principle "unity in diversity" the Union by "bringing the common cultural heritage to the fore" (article 151 TEC) shall promote the diversity of its cultures. At the European level we can identify three philosophical currents, namely: communitarian, liberal and republican and constructivist.

For the communitarians "united in diversity" refers to Europe as a family of nations. For them European Union can be stable if it possesses a common history, a culture emerged from the common movements, in short a "European identity". (Bomberg et al., 2008) According to their opponents such a view reveals a "Euro-nationalism" philosophy which in a global world could lead to the "clash of civilisations".

Starting from the universal principle of democracy, the rule of law and human rights, the liberals and the republicans believe that "united in diversity" is shaped by the same political and civic values, an idea which leads to a common political identity but not to a cultural one.

Besides the other two ideas expressed by the communitarians and the liberals, the constructivists believe that the European identity includes multiple meanings and "united in diversity" means there is no border in the collective political and cultural European practices.

Even the role of culture is seen differently; "common ideals" such as peace and freedom, democracy and the rule of law, tolerance and solidarity, as well as the

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[1] About this concept (European identity) see review article Valeria Camia (2010, pp. 109-118).

individual, human dignity and equality of men and women were emphasized, one more time, by the Berlin Declaration, adopted on 25th March 2007 to mark the EU's 50th anniversary.

European Union, as stated in the Preamble of the Treaty of European Union (the consolidated version), draws inspiration from the cultural, religious and humanist inheritance of Europe, from which have developed the universal values of the inviolable and inalienable rights of the human person, freedom, democracy, equality and the rule of law. It reinforces the European identity and its independence in order to promote peace, security and progress in Europe and in the world. It recalls the historic importance of the ending of the division of the European continent and the need to create firm bases for the construction of the future Europe, the desire to deepen the solidarity between their peoples while respecting their history, their culture and their traditions.

The European treaties allowed the European Union to be seen more as a political and economic area and less as a space with a common culture and values. However, to become a member state of this communion every country should respect such values as democracy, the rule of law, individual freedom and the market economy principles. Now according to article 2 of the Treaty of European Union (the consolidated version) the EU values are established and enriched with law force. Therefore, "*the Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail*". That is why values are at the heart of the European project.

2. The Core Values of European Union

The first step in European integration was taken when six countries (Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and the Netherlands) set up a common market in coal and steel, with the signing of the European Coal and Steel Community Treaty (ECSC) in Paris in 1951. The aim, in the aftermath of the Second World War, was to secure peace between Europe's nations. It brought them together as equals, cooperating within shared institutions. This treaty expired on 23 July 2002, exactly 50 years after it came into effect. Economic areas became the

focus for supranational cooperation, when, in 1957, the six ECSC members agreed to form the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom) — the Treaties of Rome.

The main goals of the future EU can be identified in the Treaty of Rome establishing the EEC, namely to:

- lay the foundations of an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe;
- eliminate the barriers which divide Europe;
- improve the living and working conditions of their peoples;
- remove the existing obstacles in order to guarantee steady expansion, balanced trade and fair competition;
- strengthen the unity of their economies and ensure their harmonious development by reducing the differences existing between the various regions and the backwardness of the less-favoured regions;
- contribute, by means of a common commercial policy, to the progressive abolition of restrictions on international trade;
- confirm their solidarity with overseas countries and desire to ensure the development of their prosperity;
- preserve and strengthen peace and liberty.

After almost 60 years of existence, European Union re-evaluates its main purposes of existence and establishes new common objectives such as[1]:

- to promote peace, its values and the well-being of its peoples;
- to offer its citizens an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers, in which the free movement of persons is ensured;
- to establish an internal market;
- to protect and improve the quality of the environment;
- to promote scientific and technological advance;
- to combat social exclusion and discrimination, and to promote social justice and protection, equality between women and men, solidarity between generations and protection of the rights of the child;
- to respect its rich cultural and linguistic diversity, and to ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is safeguarded and enhanced;
- to establish an economic and monetary union whose currency is the euro;

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[1] In article 3 of the Treaty of European Union as it was modified after Lisbon (ex article 2 of TEU).

- to uphold and promote its values and interests and contribute to the protection of its citizens;

- to contribute to peace, security, the sustainable development of the Earth, solidarity and mutual respect among peoples, free and fair trade, eradication of poverty and the protection of human rights, in particular the rights of the child, as well as to the strict observance and the development of international law, including respect for the principles of the United Nations Charter.

Each of the eight points which established the European core values, covered by the preamble to the EEC Treaty, and also the ten EU objectives established in the Treaty of European Union, after Lisbon, are regulated by the EU rules.

For example, one of the most fundamental changes since the EEC Treaty of Rome was the right of the citizens of Member States to move, work and live anywhere within the European Union. These rights are enshrined in the Treaty of Maastricht in a chapter on citizenship, which also provides for the right to vote or stand as a candidate at municipal and European Parliament elections. The Treaty of Amsterdam took these principles further, and expanded upon the principle of non-discrimination with respect to nationality, by including also gender, race, religion, age, and sexual orientation. These changes were confirmed in Nice in December 2000 in the form of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the EU that defines the civil, political, economic and social rights of the citizen.

Also, article 20 of the Treaty on the Functioning of European Union, the ex-article 17[1] of the Treaty of Amsterdam, establishes that *"Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall be additional to and not replace national citizenship"*.

The EU Treaties established the values of EU but an important feature for the European community is to know how EU citizens see this union of states and how it manages to promote their interests. The question *"What does the EU mean?"* has often been asked in the public arena by different actors. For that reason the Eurobarometer (EB) has constantly addressed it to EU citizens since 2005.

In the five years since EB has asked the respondents about the meaning of the EU, we can see that the results have undergone important distortions in some areas.

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[1] The content of the article before Lisbon was *"Every person holding the nationality of a Member State shall be a citizen of the Union. Citizenship of the Union shall complement and not replace national citizenship"*.

Furthermore, in an increasingly difficult economic context, it is interesting to note the change in perceptions of what the European Union stands for.

The perception of EU as *freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU*27 showed a rose of 52% of people in 2007[1], but little by little the score dropped by 7% in 2010[2]. In short 4 out of 10 Europeans still uphold this idea.

Significant variations are shown in people's perception of euro as the most valuable symbol of EU. It started with 38% respondents in 2005[3], to drop to 34% in 2007[4], and finally to rise to 40% in 2010[5].

Peace (35% in 2005[6] to 24% in 2010[7]) risks to be surpassed by the idea of waste of money with 23%. As we can see, for EU citizens, the money becomes important - an understandable orientation if we take into consideration the world economic and financial crisis. The national crises produced their effects in the EU public perception as well and logically, the citizens in the euro zone countries are more likely than others to mention the *euro* as a symbol of the European Union. For example, 66% (+5% since EB 72[8]) Slovakians (the latest country to have adopted the single currency – 1st of January 2009) and 62% of Austrians (-3% since EB 72[9]) 72[9]) mentioned the euro as an important item in the EB 73[10].

The special attachment to Europe as an area of *peace* is noteworthy but it is declining along with *democracy*. Democracy attained a value of 19% in the spring 2010[11] Eurobarometer even if a few months earlier, in autumn 2009[12], it reached the highest score of 26%. More than one third of EU citizens from the new member

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[1] According to standard Eurobarometer 67 carried out between 10 April and 15 May 2007 and published in Nov. 2007. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm.
[2] According to standard Eurobarometer 73 carried out from 5 to 28 May 2010; it was fielded in 32 countries and territories and published in August 2010. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm.
[3] According to standard Eurobarometer 64 carried out between 14 and 29 October 2005 by KADEM under the auspices of TNS Opinion & Social, a consortium created between Taylor Nelson Sofres and EOS Gallup Europe. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm.
[4] Standard Eurobarometer 67, *op.cit*.
[5] Standard Eurobarometer 73, *op.cit*.
[6] Standard Eurobarometer 64, *op.cit*.
[7] Standard Eurobarometer 73, *op.cit*.
[8] Standard Eurobarometer 72 carried out between 23 October and 18 Nov.r 2009 in 31 countries and territories, vol. I and II. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm.
[9] *Ibidem*.
[10] Standard Eurobarometer 73, *op.cit.*
[11] *Ibidem*.
[12] Standard Eurobarometer 72, *op.cit*.

states, like Bulgaria (40%) and Romania (39%) assimilated EU with democracy in 2009[1] and they kept the first two positions (with a reduction of 8 respectively 6 points) in the Eurobarometer 73[2].

The *social protection* item was maintained at almost the same level since 2005[3], namely 10% (± 1 point). Nowadays, when we pronounce EU more than 20% (+4% since autumn 2008[4]) of the European citizens think of *bureaucracy*. We should mention that in EB73[5] the Nordic countries maintained the same trend – Island (37%), Sweden (43%), Finland (37%) and Denmark (32%). Moreover, this item was the third most frequently mentioned item in these countries even when it dropped at its lowest level.

One more negative item associated with the EU is the *inadequate control of the external borders* which lost 5 points in the last years reaching 15% in 2010[6]. The lowest level attained by the item was in spring 2009[7] at the value of 12%.

The *loss of cultural identity* and the *lack of control over crime* were also assimilated by the European public opinion with EU. *Crime* showed a slight rise with 3% since 2009 (11%) and mirrors the increase in criminality as a national concern. And also, the *loss of cultural identity* reaches 12% after we have registered a gradual decrease up to 10% in spring 2009[8].

A differentia can also be observed at the *unemployment* item which rises with 4% since 2008 (11%) but in the last five years drops with 5%. We can see in the latter a reflection of the important increase of concern about unemployment that is one of the major finding of the last Eurobarometer wave.

Even so, the negative associations with the European Union remain in the minority, and none were mentioned by more a fifth of the Europeans.

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[1] *Ibidem*.

[2] Standard Eurobarometer 73, *op.cit*.

[3] Standard Eurobarometer 64, *op.cit*.

[4] Standard Eurobarometer 70 carried out between 6 October and 6 November 2008. It was conducted in 31 countries and territories and published in June 2010. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm.

[5] Standard Eurobarometer 73, *op.cit*.

[6] Standard Eurobarometer 73, *op.cit*.

[7] Standard Eurobarometer 71 carried out between 12 June to 6 July 2009 in 31 countries or territories and published in September 2009. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm.
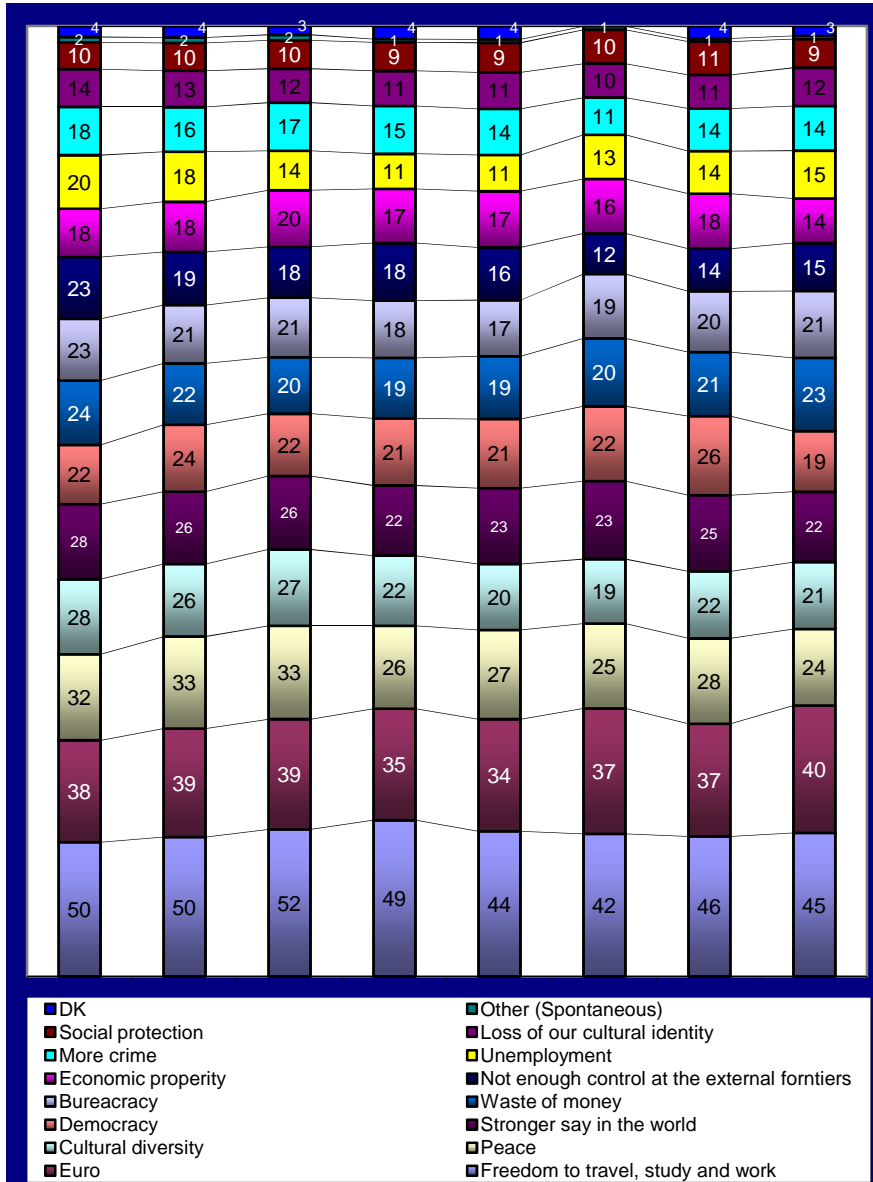
[8] *Ibidem.*

Figure 1: The values assimilated with the idea of European Union[1]

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[1] The items (%) shown in the table were taken from the Eurobarometer website (http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion) and they were arranged so that the reader can see the changes interfered over time.

3. Common European Identity Based on Shared Values

The European Union has become a community of shared values: the inviolability of human dignity, the right to life and the prohibition of the death penalty, the right to integrity and the prohibition of torture, freedom of thought, conscience and religion and much more. Based on its common values, the EU today enjoys a way of life and a social model which differs from those in most countries outside Europe and which is closely linked to the process of European integration.

Observing what EU means for its citizens and how this affected the EU construction, we consider it important to pay attention to their beliefs. For that and taking into consideration the Eurobarometers 66[1] and 69[2] we will find out, in the following lines, which are the EU common values that consolidate the European identity. The two EBs ascertain which are the values which best symbolise the European Union in the EU citizens' eyes and finally their idea of happiness.

The majority of EU27 citizens (54%) think that the European Union Member States are close to each other in terms of values versus a third of them (34%) who describe this relationship as distant with 13 % less than the former EB66[3]. The idea that the countries that form the European Union are close to each other in terms of shared values gained ground (6%) among European public opinion since autumn 2006[4].

An analysis of the results by country reveals relatively homogeneous trends: in twenty-four of the twenty-seven Member States, a majority of respondents believe that the European Union countries are close to each other in terms of values. Respondents from Slovakia (71%), the Czech Republic and Cyprus (68% in both cases), Slovenia (66%), Malta (65%), Belgium, Denmark and Poland (62% each) are the most convinced that the EU Member States are close to each other in terms of shared values. In all Member States, the majority of respondents agree with the

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[1] This Standard Eurobarometer was carried out between 6 September and 10 October 2006. This wave, Eurobarometer 66, reflects the public opinion of Europeans prior to the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in January 2007. Retrieved from
http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm.
[2] This Standard Eurobarometer was carried out by TNS Opinion & Social between 25 March and 4 May 2008 in 31 countries or territories and published in November 2008. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/eb_arch_en.htm.
[3] Standard Eurobarometer 66, *op.cit*.
[4] *Idem*.

idea that it is easier to see what Europeans have in common in terms of values, when compared with other continents.

Peace (45%), *human rights* (42%) and *respect for human life* (41%) are the three most important values in the eyes of Europeans. These three values are on the podium far ahead of *democracy* (27%), *the rule of law* and *individual freedom* (21% in both cases), *equality* (19%) and *tolerance* (16%). The four other values obtained scores of less than 14% (solidarity, self-fulfilment, respect for other cultures and religion)[1].

Comparing these results with the ones obtained by the EB66[2] wave we can notice that peace, has lost 7 percentage points, although it remains the most frequently mentioned value, while democracy (+ 3 percentage points) and the rule of law (+ 4 percentage points) have both gained ground. Since 2006, human rights and the rule of law have moved up in the league table of values. Even if in 2008 the rule of law and the individual freedom are ranked at the same value, in autumn 2006, the latter one obtained five percentage points more than the rule of law.

Although there have not been major changes, "tolerance", "respect for others" and "solidarity" have lost percentages points, but not more than 3%.

Human rights, peace and *democracy* are the three values that citizens consider to be the most representative of the European Union. These three values include two of the top personal values – human rights and peace – mentioned by Europeans, but in a different order.

It should be noted that, in comparison with autumn 2006, the changes are somewhat minor. The main change concerns democracy, which has lost four percentage points and has fallen from first to third place on the podium of the values most representative of the European Union. The variations for the other values are small, with a maximum change of two percentage points (- 2 percentage points for the rule of law, respect for other cultures and solidarity).

More than a third of Europeans (37%) mentioned *human rights* as the value which best represents the European Union, *peace* obtained the second highest score for European values (35%), and an almost identical proportion of Europeans mentioned *democracy* (34%). *The rule of law* obtained a score of 22%.

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[1] According to standard Eurobarometer 69, *op. cit.*
[2] Standard Eurobarometer 66, *op. cit.*

When comparing the personal values of Europeans with the values that Europeans consider are the most representative of the European Union, it can be seen that all the values are mentioned more frequently for the first set of values than for the second one. Moreover, the 'DK' difference between the two questions is 10%, a situation which can be explained by the fact that respondents find it more difficult to assess the values which symbolise the European Union, whereas the question of personal values, by definition, concerns them directly. *Democracy* is the only exception to the rule: 34% declared that it represents the European Union compared with 27% who consider it as a personal value. In contrast, *respect for human life* is above all a personal value (41% versus only 14% who mentioned it as a value representative of the European Union).

4. The Most Important Value that the EU Should Defend

"Every second EU citizens rank the protection of fundamental rights as the most important value to be defended" said Morten Kjaerum, Director of the EU's Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA) on 10 of June 2010 to the members of the Civil liberties committee in the Parliament. He presented the Annual Report on Human Rights in 2009, stating that: "In these difficult economic times, the EU must guarantee more than ever that there is no rollback on fundamental rights protection". EU should improve its way of thinking taking into consideration the happiness of its citizens. For that, the Eurobarometer 69 took into account those values which bring happiness to the people.

The most important value in connection with the people-happiness is seen in the form of health, love, peace, work, money, friendship, justice, education, pleasure and tradition. The opinions differ a lot: when asked about the value that they consider the most important in connection with their idea of happiness, citizens of the EU27 countries have a very clear preference for *health* (73%), well ahead of *love* (44%), *work* (37%), *peace* (35%) and *money* (32%).

In almost all the European Union countries, *health* is undoubtedly associated with the idea of happiness. Denmark is the only country in which health did not obtain the highest score; with 61%, health is ranked in second place, just behind *love* (66%).

Love was mentioned the most frequently in Scandinavian countries - 66% of Danes and 61% of Swedes, compared with a European Union average of 44%.

Scandinavians were also the most likely to mention *freedom*: 48% of Danes and 40% of Swedes compared with the EU27 average of 24%.

It is interesting to note that *work* seems to be an important value in the European identity: more than one out of three respondents (37%) mentioned work as a value associated with happiness. The lowest level was registered by the British respondents with 13%.

Peace, the leading personal value of Europeans, and third among the values that they associate with the European Union, is ranked fourth among the values that respondents associate with happiness. The highest score for this value was recorded in Germany, where citizens are still particularly sensitive to this issue (in second place, with a score of 53%).

More than half of Bulgarians and Romanians (52% in both cases) mentioned *money* (i.e. 20% above the EU27 average), while a similar proportion of Bulgarians opted for *work* (48%)

Since its conception in the early 1950s, European Union has been an ongoing process without a clear finalité, or end-state. Its development has been a functional step by step process which brought a clear nexus of values among its citizens. EU27 citizens are convinced that the Member States of the European Union are close to each other in terms of values and they believe that the Member States of the European Union share similar values and so *European values do exist*.

5. Conclusions

To sum up, *peace, human rights and respect for human life are the three most important values for Europeans*. Two of these – human rights and peace – are also, along with the euro and democracy, those that best represent the European Union in their eyes. EU27 citizens share similar values and those European values do therefore exist because they are the same with the national ones. These EBs indicate both the evolution of Europeans and their concerns. Peace is an issue ranked high (45%) because of millenniums of troubled history. And yet, it is the merit of the Treaty of Rome that peace has dominated Europe for over 60 years. As the trend unfolds, the next EBs may witness a significant drop in these percentages.

Unfortunately, it is obvious that EU citizens do not fully understand the complexity of the Charter of Fundamental Rights, and EU is not perceived as a promoter of

those rights. It is an issue nowadays restricted to the jurisdiction of the Council of Europe. It will, in the years to come, offer EU the responsibility to underline and implement the other human rights as well, not only the freedom of movement.

The unfavourable economic background against which the last surveys were carried out, and which has an impact on the attitudes of Europeans with regard to all the indicators, contributes to changes in the values which are assimilated with the idea of EU, thus the material needs return to dominance and help to redefine the values of Europeans. So we notice a tendency towards materialism since euro gathers 40% of the EU citizens' concern.

When asked about the value that they consider the most important from the point of view of their concept of happiness, there is a strong consensus among the EU 27 citizens that health is what counts the most. Since health is ranked so high it is our opinion that it deserves closer attention so we will elaborate a study to see how responsive is EU to this issue and what measures it is prepared to undertake.

In his speech for the 50th anniversary of EU, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, revealed 'the true story' of EU, he recalled that the European Community had been established on economic foundations but with eminently political purposes. The first 25 years of Community life had been devoted to building up the European institutions, the Parliament, the Council and the Commission. The last 25 years had been the ones that saw the reunification of Germany and the enlargement to take in the countries of Eastern Europe, with the result that the Union now comprises 27 countries on the basis of solidarity and fraternity. The third period in the life of the Community, will commit the European institutions and the citizens in the coming years, particularly the young people, aware that they take part in a historic adventure, that they have to be dedicated to establishing a common identity. Europe has a single system of values and a common heritage of democracy, tolerance, respect for human rights and a commitment to peace. Because the development of the EU has undoubtedly been a tremendous success on almost any point, for sixty years, all countries participating and all Europeans have enjoyed the fruits. We now speak 23 languages and we have not yet finished with the Balkans.

The EU is not a finished story, it is like any democracy one must never stop building or strengthening it. The interaction of human experiences, the free movement, the launching of the single currency, and the establishment of Europe's civil and cultural values have all been achieved starting from a grandiose integration project which was not limited merely to economic co-operation but was

driven by faith in Europe as a spiritual homeland. According to Eurobarometer 68, survey published in May 2008, 91% of the interviewees felt attachment to their nations and only 49% to the European Union. So, *EU is at the heart of its citizens but after the national identity. As the EU Treaties state, EU is additional to the national level and not complementary.*

What had only appeared to be a dream of integration almost 60 years ago, had given life to a great Europe, and had proven to be the most important political and institutional development in the modern age. This was bound to grow further, because it was underpinned by the support of the people and the governments.

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