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Bp Prof. Tadeusz Pieronek

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What Unites and Divides Us in Europe?

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The Role of the Catholic Church in the European Integration Process

This publication contains the transcripts from speeches and discussions during the conference in Krakow on 26-27 September 2014

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The Role of the Catholic Church
in the Process of European Integration

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Table of Contents

Introduction
Manfred Weber 5
Europe for the person and also for the migrant
Bp. Prof Tadeusz Pieronek 7

Welcome and opening
Cardinal Dr. Stanislaw Dziwisz 11
Marek Sowa 13
Dr. Jan Olbrycht 15
Dr. Christian Schmitz 17
Horst Langes 19

I Working Group
Migration and its consequences for Europe
Bishop Francesco Montenegro 23
Discussion Panel 30

II Working Group
Social Market Economy – The answer to the crisis
Flaminia Giovanelli 77
Discussion Panel 86

III Working Group
Youth – between uncertain future and stability
Dr. Cezary Koscielniak 131
Discussion Panel 138

Presentation of the working groups' outcome
SUMMARY OF THE FIRST GROUP
Marcin Żyła 186
SUMMARY OF THE SECOND GROUP
Artur Sporniak 193
SUMMARY OF THE THIRD GROUP
Katarzyna Tracz 198

HOMILY AT THE HOLY MASS
in the Sanctuary of Pope St. John Paul II in Krakow-Lagiewniki
Archbishop Wojciech Polak, Metropolitan of Gniezno, Polish Primate 203

Session
A NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR EUROPE
Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld 211
Fr. Dr. Florian Kolfhaus 219
Fr. Patrick Daly, Ph.D. 221
Josip van Gennip 225

Conclusion of the Conference
Rev. Prof. Wojciech Zyzak 231

SPEAKERS 235

Manfred Weber
Chairman of the EPP Group in the European Parliament

Introduction

This annual conference titled "The Role of the Catholic Church in the European Integration Process", which brings together academics, politicians and members of the clergy, allows us to reflect on some of the fundamental issues that Europe and the European Union face today.

This past year has been a difficult year for Europe. With the rise of extremist political forces, with the financial crisis, with the return of wars at Europe's borders, and with a crisis of illegal immigration across the Mediterranean Sea, the European Union has been challenged.

But what allows the Europe Union to face these challenges are the common values we share: democracy, solidarity, tolerance, dignity and fundamental Christian principles that allow us to see that the respect of the other allows us to work together to solve common problems.

This idea that as Europeans we are all equal and all working on a common story is crucial, because it means that we are no longer enemies but partners, and as partners we have an equal say in how the story is being written.

For seventy years the European Union has brought peace and stability to our continent, a continent that was too many times in the past a "dark continent" of wars and bloodshed. It has managed this because we have created decision mechanisms that are fair, and because they are fair, they are legitimate.

It does not matter if a country is large or small, rich or poor; in the European Union that country's voice is just as important as its neighbor's, because each European voice should be respected. This is why Europe is a success story. We respect each other.

The Catholic Church through its teachings reminds us of the dignity of the individual and the respect that each individual deserves. Europe is more than the sum of its parts because each individual story is an important story and that fundamental Christian idea is what cements the foundation of the Europe of today.

Bp. Prof. Tadeusz Pieronek
Chairman of the Organizing Committee

Europe for the person and also for the migrant

We are living at a time of the modern version of the great migration of peoples that occurred after the fall of the Roman Empire between the fourth and sixth centuries A.D. and resulted in serious changes throughout its territory in terms of ethnic, economic, political and cultural structures.

Modern migration is global in character and moves from east to west and south to north, or in other words, from poor countries to wealthy ones. It is necessitated by enormous economic differences that are a result of the unequal distribution of wealth caused by some people's completely uninhibited desire for wealth at the expense of those who, not necessarily by their own fault, became poor and fell into a state of slavery to survive.

The symbols of modern, not just European, migration include the island of Lampedusa and the Mediterranean Sea basin, which Pope Francis described in the European Parliament in Strasbourg: "We cannot allow the Mediterranean Sea to become a European cemetery".

The 14th Krakow conference in a series of meetings dedicated to the role of the Catholic Church in the European integration process tackled the problem of migration and attempted to highlight its causes, dimensions, solutions and its associated problems that stand before the European Union. First among them is the need for concern for human dignity, which should be acknowledged and protected in every EU action.

Krakow, November 27, 2014

Welcome and opening

Cardinal Dr. Stanislaw Dziwisz

Archbishop of Krakow

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Our awareness of the need to systematically reflect on the role of the Catholic Church in the process of European integration has resulted in a series of annual international conferences organized in partnership with communities that value the proper shape and future of our continent. We are now witnessing the fourteenth edition of this initiative. This fact validates the accuracy of the intuition that guided the organizers of this enterprise.

In the name of the Church in Krakow I welcome all of the participants to this Conference. I am pleased that every year Krakow can host a group of people who are united by their concern for Europe and its image. Our castle in the shadow of Wawel, with its thousand-year history and its heritage of culture and science, is well suited for this role and these kinds of meetings. I do not need to remind you how deeply Karol Wojtyla, John Paul II, wove himself into the history and present state of Krakow. This year, on April 27, his holiness, expressed through love and service to God and man, received its final seal of authenticity. Saint John Paul II undeniably contributed to strengthening Europe's spiritual identity. He is one of the co-founders of a united Europe.

"What unites us and what divides us in Europe?" The subject of this year's Conference involves a realistic assessment of the European reality. We have many centuries of history, with its unusual achievements in the fields of civilization, science and culture. We have shared and continue to share these achievements of the human spirit with other parts of the world. However, we also have a history of less positive tensions and conflicts, violence and wars. We are united through our experience and memory of humanity's victories, as well as its losses on our European soil.

Two thousand years ago the Gospel, with its truth about God and the person, about his dignity and final purpose, entered into this reality. This truth began to permeate people's hearts and minds and also shape the lives of fellowships and communities. Christian values are the cornerstone of European civilization and culture. This has united us despite all of our differences. Salvation is synonymous with unity. Jesus Christ died to, "as is written in the Gospel according to St. John, unite God's aloof children" (J 11, 52). He, Jesus Christ, is our peace because he radically united us with God; this is why he is also a source of peace in our relations with our kin.

The Church has played an enormous part in integration and continues to do so as a community that overcomes national and cultural barriers and in parallel strengthens the spiritual identity of nations that are open to accepting the Gospel.

What divides us? Forgetting our roots divides us. Rejection of the values that are the foundation of the European home divides us. Eleven years ago, John Paul II presented an insightful analysis of the current spiritual state of Europe in his exhortation *Ecclesia in Europa*. The Pope mentioned "the loss of Christian memory and heritage." This phenomenon is accompanied by, he wrote, "a form of practical agnosticism and religious ambiguity that gave many Europeans the impression that they are living without a moral compass; it is almost as if they are the heirs of history who spent all of their inheritance. As a result, they are not overly perturbed by attempts to change the face of Europe by rejecting its religious inheritance and in particular, its deep Christian spirit through laws governing its constituent peoples that are discordant with their source of life that is Christianity" (n. 7).

John Paul II was not a pessimist. He saw signs of hope in uniting Europe, especially after the collapse of totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe. Despite the criticism that is often aimed at the European Union, nobody can deny the fact that this project has ensured decades of peace between EU Member States.

When referring to Europe, we are of course not just referring to the EU Member States. We remember the tragedy that is ongoing in Ukraine. There, divisions manifested in the dramatic form of aggression and war. On the end stands the beacon of hope that is Albania, where Pope Francis visited last Sunday and where despite all of the differences, including religious, it was possible to form a national unity government.

I wish to express my gratitude to the organizers of this year's International Conference for preparing the program of events. I wish all of you fruitful discussions and reflections. May they at least to some degree contribute to strengthening what unites all of us in Europe and also to reducing what divides us. This work will require patience, courage, determination and at least an ounce of enthusiasm.

Marek Sowa

Marshall of the Lesser Poland Voivodeship

Your Eminence Cardinal, Excellencies,
Mr. Minister, Madam Ombudsman,
Honorable Ladies and Gentlemen.

I am very pleased that Lesser Poland can once again host the participants of this international conference, which has permanently etched itself into the public debate in our region and which inclines us to reflect on the role of the Catholic Church on the European integration process.

This time the conference organizers have posed a very important question: what unites us and what divides us in Europe? This community is composed of multiple cultures, languages and nations. At one point we were all engaged in battles over establishing borders. Now, these borders are gradually being erased. The unrestricted movement of people and flow of capital are one of the important measures and achievements of common EU politics during the past several years and they continue to erase existing barriers. However, while heralding the good, we must also remain wary of the many threats that will emerge as a result. Despite our open borders, nationalism has not disappeared and has sometimes even grown. This is a result of social and economic issues. We remember past painful events as well as current events, especially during the years of the crisis. We must make a greater effort to peacefully resolve conflicts. These factors that unite Europe's nations include material values such as free borders, the Schengen area and a common currency. However, these other immaterial values seem to be more important. This is because faith and spiritual values cannot be strictly defined. They are the most important element of this community. Without this spiritual language, there would be no common ground on which to build agreement and mutual understanding. This is evident through conflicts that are based on spiritual values. In these situations, lack of a common language precludes solutions to any disagreements. For this reason, European unity is a priceless good, especially in light of the increasingly noticeable and more clearly defined fundamentalism. Thus, shared Christian roots remain our most valuable common good. National, party or economic divisions should not and cannot destroy this. This is not simply an inherent value. It must be cared for, attended to and cultivated. Thus, we Europeans face the difficult but noble task of building bridges to unite divisions. When we are able to achieve this here in

Europe, then we can become an example for the entire world. I am hopeful that this meeting will enable us to get closer to the ideal and to find solutions that will require sacrifice. We will discover the challenges that currently face the Church on issues that include integrating Europe's nations.

I wish all of you fruitful deliberations.

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

Chairman of the Polish Delegation in the EPP

Your Eminence Cardinal, Excellencies, Magnificences,
Mr. Minister, Mr. Marshall, Mr. [Province] Governor,
Madam Ombudsman.

First, I would like to apologize for the absence of Mr. Manfred Weber, the new chairman of the Group of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats), at today's meeting. Unfortunately, important duties in his native Bavaria led to him asking me to replace him.

In the name of the European People's Party (Christian Democrats), the entire party as well as the group in the European Parliament and in particular the Polish delegation in this group, I would like to express my great satisfaction that we were asked to participate in organizing this conference in Krakow and that we continue to actively participate in it. This enables us to participate in an exceptionally important debate for all of Europe. The conferences in Krakow stay abreast of the integration process and are not outside it; they are part of it. The conferences in Krakow are known throughout Europe because they address questions that are relevant at the time. The conference in 2014 does not involve European integration at all. Instead, this conference addresses what is currently most important to us. The conferences in Krakow do not undermine the European integration process, they critically analyze it – critically – which means they expose its weaknesses and its complications. The conferences in Krakow expose the opportunities as well as the dangers associated with the European integration process. This is an exceptionally important debate because it is a current and practical debate that is important for us politicians when we speak with representatives of the Church, with intellectuals and with economists. We need this discussion today, immediately and without delay.

The European Union is at a crossroads and it is experiencing economic trouble, which will be discussed soon. Most importantly, the European Union currently faces a serious question: will we be able to justify this project to European residents? Will Europe respond to fundamental threats? Will Europe respond to external threats? What will we tell people in the future when they ask how the European Union responds to a threatening situation? Is it capable of responding? Will it negotiate for so long that the problem is resolved without it? Were the ideas of the Founding Fathers this far sighted? I am convinced that this is

the case but now is the time to prove that this is rational. I will finish with one last thing: the European People's Party (Christian Democrats) is composed of very different politicians, which you have all seen here. This includes us, Polish Catholics. I would like to say that for us this conference, "The Role of the Catholic Church in the European Integration Process", it is a question of what our role is. Ours as Catholic politicians, because we are part of the Church. This is not a discussion of the Church somewhere on the side. We are part of the Church. We also come here to consider what our role is.

Thank you for your invitation and participation in this conference.

Dr. Christian Schmitz

Director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Poland

Eminences and Excellencies,
Honorable Mr. Marshall,
Honorable MPs and honorable conference attendees!

In the name of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation it is my great pleasure to welcome you to this year's conference in the series "The Role of the Catholic Church in the European Integration Process".

"Our goal is peaceful progress through collaboration with everyone," Konrad Adenauer said in his speech after signing the Treaty of Rome during the spring of 1957 at Capitoline Hill. Today, nearly fifty years later, living in a European Union composed of twenty-eight states, we can say: collaboration has worked despite the tragic experiences of history. Looking at Poland and Germany, it is amazing how these two nations have become closer. Our Foundation also works daily to promote systematic and effective dialog.

However, the current situation is not ideal: economic and social problems, which resulted from the national debt crisis, are still waiting to be resolved. The high rate of unemployment among youth in Spain and other European states as well as prejudice and hatred of others, including migrants, reflect the present Europe's current image.

This is compounded by political problems: populist parties and those hostile to the European Union are gaining new supporters in various states in the Community, which will be reflected in the work of the European Parliament.

A war is happening on our continent, in eastern Ukraine. This shows us that "peaceful progress" is currently facing a serious threat and we suddenly must find a rapid and peaceful solution to this problem. The success of European ideals is not achieved on its own and it is not obvious, which is evident through spreading Euro-skepticism. Thus, it is even more important to maintain faith in a powerful European community and expend all efforts to unite it.

The priority is to create opportunities and perspectives for young people in the European Union. Furthermore, we must listen to each other so that we can understand each other, including and especially when we have differences.

On the other hand, we must constantly reaffirm our commitment to common values because the Christian visage of mankind is of course the foundation of the European Union.

At Capitoline Hill in Rome, Adenauer also said: “The words of the Treaty will not suffice. They must be developed.” History shows that societies with strong common values are not divided by conflicts. Only democratic states peacefully unite.

At least for today and tomorrow we, ladies and gentlemen, are united for the fourteenth time by the debate on the role of the Catholic Church in the European integration process. My words of thanks for the once again excellent cooperation this year to out partners: the Papal University of John Paul II in Krakow, Robert Schumann Foundation in Luxembourg, European People’s Party, Group of the European People’s Party in the European Parliament, the Polish Delegation of the EPP in the European Parliament, the “Wokol Nas” publishing house and the Commission of Episcopates in the European Community.

Thank you for your attention and I hope all of you engage in an interesting and productive exchange of views.

Horst Langes

Honorary President of the Robert Schuman Foundation in Luxemburg

Honorable Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to greet the Cardinal as a representative of the Church and my friend Wladyslaw Bartoszewski as a representative of the laity. Similarly I extend my greetings to all of you.

As you have heard I am the honorary chairperson of the Robert Schumann Foundation, in honor of the former minister of foreign affairs of the French Republic, who displayed great courage while founding the European Community when he told the National Assembly in France that the Treaty of Versailles cannot be resurrected. A second Treaty of Versailles cannot come to be; instead, we must find a harmonious solution to the prior conflicts with Germany. He, Robert Schumann, was of the opinion that this agreement would be possible by forming other treaties.

The speakers before me have already mentioned the Treaty of Rome in 1957. The deciding factor was Robert Schumann’s successful opposition to the prevailing attitude in France that the mortal enemy, Germany, must be pressured. This public attitude was completely understandable after the crimes committed by Nazis during World War II. However, he had the courage to say: no, we must follow the other path. This is important for our topic of what divides us and what unites us. He was able to find allies and allies in other states who also believed that something must change. Konrad Adenauer was the first of them. The foundation in his name, the German Christian Democrat foundation, is an organizer of this conference. These supporters and allies also included Alcide de Gasperi in Italy and later, although after a long delay, Charles de Gaulle. In the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, there were quite a few women and men full of courage, who were ready to do something new. Representative Jan Olbrycht said that the past fifty years are evidence of the success of this treaty. However, it is interesting that in the 1950s Robert Schumann believed that Poland was also part of Europe. This was of course a highly visionary opinion. Everyone said that this sounds beautiful but that the Red Army had reached the Laba so why are we talking about Poland in united Europe. However, Robert Schuman believed that this was an exceptionally European nation and thus entirely deserved membership among the free states of Europe. This is something that, as a person who survived the war (I was wounded on the front lines as a soldier), convinces me that this is the path to follow.

However, we have heard other speakers say that it is still not certain whether this path consistently leads to good goals, which is an American concept. Since the founding of their nation, Americans have been convinced that progress and good should always prevail on Earth and that it will continue to do so. This is why American presidents believe that after we have defeated evil, good rises. As Christians, we know, and the founding fathers also knew, that Christian thought, Catholic or Evangelical, convinces us that progress is not eternal and does not occur on its own; we must always strive for progress. Looking at Ukraine now, we see the difficult times that could still await us. Take Syria and Iraq, where horrendous crimes are committed in the name of God and our new Pope Francis was quoted from his visit to Albania, where he said words that are very important to me: "nobody has the right to hide behind God's name and commit such acts in his name because God is peace". This is the message that follows us alongside everything that divides us. There is much that distinguishes us from the Orthodox, such as Filioque. However, we can overcome all of this if we accept these words of our new Pope Francis as our motto and combine them with what John Paul II and Benedict XVI preached. We must see that there is no possibility for churches, the Catholic Church as well as Evangelical churches, to only move about in some general ethical and moral sphere in the spiritual sense. Churches are responsible for doing everything better, alongside us, the laity and civil society. If we are appropriately humble and admit that this is a difficult task, then in the end we will conclude that we have found success and joy. Thank you very much and I wish you good discussions over the next two days.

I Working Group

Migration and its consequences for Europe

Bishop Francesco Montenegro

Archbishop Metropolitan of Agrigento, Italy

My sincere greetings to His Excellence, His Eminence and all who are present. Greetings from my homeland of Italy. I am the Bishop of Agrigento, which is the land of migrants because each day people arrive primarily in Agrigento in Sicily and some also leave. I am the one who accepts newcomers from Africa. Very many of them die. This includes those who leave Sicily as well as those who arrive in Sicily; they are afraid of the future. I have been assigned the task of determining how this migration will influence Europe.

Here are several questions. What kind of Europe? Open or closed? Fortress or bridge? Sick with Eurocentrism or an open, inviting and far-sighted home? An unsettling wall or the enticing possibility of change? Europe of changes and the future or hermetic, cowed, averting her eyes, pinching her nose and looking at the Southern Hemisphere with indifference even though it is currently laying on the ground and bleeding? A Europe that permits the new wind of Passover and allows it to blow freely, or one that is focused on its defense and chooses the path of egoism as a safety net as it presses ahead? If this is the case, then is this truly the way forward?

These questions are related and are based on the ones Pope Francis posed: "Will Europe continue to close up and focus on its wealth in the face of the fire that is raging in the Mediterranean Basin and exhausted Sub-Saharan Africa? How can Europe believe that it is the cradle of human rights if this is how it treats those who knock at its door as they flee tragic situations?"

These are alarming questions that are not avoidable if one is willing to decide whether immigration is a curse or a blessing. These questions become complicated if we consider the significant and onerous moment in the history of the world and Europe where we live. John Paul described it as follows: "We are witnessing the general fragmentation of existence; feelings of abandonment are at the forefront, divisions and contrasts abound… unending and recurrent ethnic conflicts, the rise of certain racist views and even religious tensions, egocentrism that isolates individuals and groups from each other, the spread of general ethical indifference and passionate pursuit of personal interests and privileges" (*Ecclesia, in Europa, 8*). The colorful response to these black and white photographs could be found in the worldwide declaration of the Parliament of World Religions (Chicago 9/4/93): "We pledge to respect life and dignity, individuality and diversity so that every person, without exception, will be treated

with dignity… We consider all of humanity to be our family. We can only live thanks to each other. No person can be viewed, treated or used as a second tier citizen… We must strive for a just socio-economic order where everyone has the same opportunity to develop his or her human potential."

These words implore us to consider migration as not only a matter of politics, social issues, the economy or statistics; they also invoke the Church, foremost in my opinion, and expect it to provide concrete words and behaviors. Francis says that the poor are our "standard" and that the "thing the Church currently requires most is the ability to heal wounds and warm the hearts of the faithful and to be close. I view the Church as a field hospital after a battle." The Church cannot remain undecided about which side to support because its Creator already established its place; the Church can only exist where there is poverty and suffering.

The world is divided by borders, which are without a doubt necessary and appropriate; traditional geographic borders that were conceived and drawn by people as well as personal boundaries; there are tall brick walls as well as walls built by ideologies and prejudices, tall walls that challenge us to decide who we are truly harming by building them or excluding other people. Is it only those who we shield ourselves from or do we also harm ourselves? The West seeks to defend itself and considers its borders impenetrable without considering real observations based on the idea of globalization; borders should be crossed and erased. Today, a single click of the mouse can transfer enormous capital and goods from one end of the world to the other, yet it is strange that people are denied this exchange, one that is essential for trade relations. Borders challenge our political and religious identity; they test us and make us reconsider the term difference. We must realize that there is no longer just one culture, our culture, and that the West is not the pillar of civilization. There are many cultures, each with its own characteristics, history and dignity. They must be accepted and faced. There is no doubt that the West has borne fruits that have contributed to the inheritance of mankind in the fields of literature, philosophy, art and science. It is also true that many aspects of its culture are debatable. Regardless, Europe is the birthplace of democracy and Roman law was born in Italy. Immigrants are to a great extent "victims" of globalization. Very rapid demographic changes and the current exodus that is occurring as a result demonstrate the injustice of our world. One that is desired by civilized nations, we must admit. Integration means being able to manage the new: this is a slow, exhausting, uncomfortable, demanding, costly and ultimately possible process.

A migrating person is a wanderer who accuses and reminds us that poverty is on the rise and the logic of today's Harrods, Pilates and Pharaohs deepens the rift between North and South. The list of those who want to cross the Red Sea in search of a more dignified and safer life is growing. A sobering fact is that the International Monetary Fund considers one billion and three hundred million men and women to be in excess and expendable. The cry of slaves who rise from the Earth to the heavens, which first echoed in the first pages of the Bible, still resonates today. Since God heard this cry in paradise and on Earth, there has been no more peace.

In modern times, Europe is a challenge for us, for the Church. It is a provocation because we endure in history with love, to shape it with the skill of a sculptor, lovingly and decisively, as the Bible states. As a result, we cannot be content with seeing Europe solely in a geographic and political context because it is, as Czech philosopher Jan Patocka says, something that relates to the spirit.

It is true that if we look around we will think that nobody needs us any longer, just like they do not need God. By forgetting about God we have forgotten about the person. Thanks to the Child of Bethlehem his birthplace ceased to be a barn and became a place where heaven and Earth meet, but if we remove the Child, the barn will once again be just another place for animals. This is why now more than ever we must, as required by God as well as by history, take a significant step and become the "border Church", present wherever a person who lives and suffers can be found. The Church that breaks through and, why not, destroys using the "force of the Liturgy's criteria for judgment, established values, interests, lines of thought, sources of inspiration and models of human life" (Paul VI). Archbishop Romero said: "When we fight for human rights, freedom and dignity, when we feel that the Church's message is concern for those who are hungry, cannot go to school and suffer from abandonment, then we are closer to God's promise." This is why the Church knows that it is saving the world when it begins to speak of these matters.

It is appropriate for us to remember and emphasize values that form Europe's heritage; forgotten but fundamental, they are the cornerstone of future Europe. John Paul II repeatedly mentioned those who actively serve the community, secular and clergy, who embody mercy, fraternity, solidarity, and respect for human dignity and heed the principles of ethics in private and public life. In Gniezno, he spoke of harmony among different cultures, of unending defense of human dignity, of the quality of social life, of service to the poor and spiritual depth. In Gdansk, he said: "I heard…from you: 'there can be no freedom without solidarity.' Today we must say: 'there can be no solidarity without love'." A multicultural society that respects diversity is founded on values that unite all and based on common legal ethics, which cannot be different from fundamental human rights. Cultural, religious and ethnic pluralism requires a different approach to diversity as long as this tolerance is not taken to mean: "I leave you in peace so that you will also leave me in peace and on top of this

you should thank me for allowing you to stay". The other one, the outsider, cannot avoid showing his otherness because of his face and his history. More than ever, today we must experience the face of others because it calls us, judges us and reminds us of our moral responsibilities. The ethics of faces inevitably leads to ethics of responsibility.

Max Scheller said: "We face the enormous history of our future and compared to other Earthly institutions, Christianity is ancient, but it is still young and new for all of those who are able to clearly understand the durable nature of religious values in relation to cultural values."

By turning away and rejecting "others", we risk coming to a crossroads of civilization with barbarianism, the power of law with the law of power, like in the days of the Wild West. The stakes of this game include acceptance of immigrants as well as the model of a future civilization. Individual freedom can be disregarded in the name of "security". When governments care more about the interests of the powerful and disassemble social structures (healthcare and social services), they are no longer serving their interests as much as they are determining how they can benefit from this and the cost of these actions is high. The Pope believes that "a nation that does not care for the elderly and is not concerned with its youth is a nation without a future and a nation without hope".

Based on its behavior, Europe seems to be overwhelmed and afraid to see the future. Certainly, it cannot be decided and built in one room, where people from different nationalities meet. Instead, it will be built through a slow process that will bring a new cultural template. It will also not be the result of even the best political solution as much as it will be the result of a moral process, which means saying no to injustice and violence.

This ultimately means that we will finally recognize as our own the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which condemns hostile social and territorial divisions. It states: "All people are born free and equal in dignity and law." Therefore, belonging to another state or society cannot be a factor for discrimination. All people are equal in dignity and law; thus, fraternity cannot be limited by ties to geographic, ethnic and political borders.

The faithful refer to the words of the French Revolution: fraternity, equality of the masses and freedom, as loving one's neighbor. The Liturgy teaches that we cannot love our neighbor if we are satisfied with only pausing near others, but we can if we take them into our arms, so that we feel as if we are their guardians or even more, by becoming their hostage. The Bible states: "Cain, where is your brother?" God's question implores us to take with us wherever we go the "great revolution" of love and mercy. "Many would like to see the word 'solidarity', which is a Christian term, removed from the dictionary because in a certain culture it is an insult" (Francis). According to the Pope, we should

proclaim that "the stranger is our brother, whom we should get to know and support"; accepting these "new Europeans, who arrived here after a painful and perilous journey" is a deciding factor for restoring the youth of our old continent.

I will move on to my experience as the Archbishop of Lampedusa. The land where Pope Francis said: "the culture of prosperity renders us deaf to the cries of others". He strongly criticized the "globalization of indifference".

I am the Bishop of Agrigento and the Bishop of Lampedusa. In several days I will travel to Lampedusa to mark the accident in which 360 people drowned. Three hundred and sixty coffins lined up, this is terrible and it is simply horrifying. According to Italian law, all of these people committed a crime. Each boat is illegal. These criminals (because they were committing a crime), they all had a medallion or a crucifix in their mouths. They yearned to be one with God and to die in unity with God. Divers who retrieved the remains said that they saw kneeling bodies with folded hands, so these were all people of faith. They were our people and this journey was not a stroll like my journey from Sicily to Krakow. It was a journey that took months and even years. They had to flee through the desert. They said that they split into groups. Of course, they had to pay for this journey. If they changed groups, then they had to pay again. If someone was unable to pay, then they remained somewhere in the desert as a prisoner. They trekked through the desert on foot and many of them died. They split into groups. Out of 50 people, one made it to Libya. One night they were told that "now we will go by boat; we will get on a boat", but some boats did not have any more space and some of the people had to return. Later, it turned out that this boat did not even reach Lampedusa.

Right now we know of 22,000 people who have died, but how many more are there? There were 5,000 people living in Lampedusa and even 10,000 immigrants. Residents began to panic. Women who arrived there first were all raped. The first thing many of them requested was an abortion. We helped many of them. There was a woman accompanied by her family. Her family took care of her for 24 hours and she did not want to even look at the child that she had given birth to. Finally, after twenty days she agreed to nurse the child. I saw all of this and this is all unfathomable; we cannot send these people back. We must create some kind of support system for them. Those who return end up dying anyway. These people have all but died already. If someone said this about you, I am certain you would not feel good about it.

All of those who return, those we send away, suffer an enormous defeat because all of their hopes have turned to dust.

The Mediterranean Sea can be compared to the proverbial desert. A desert filled with sand, crossed by the Jewish Nation and a desert filled with water for

those who currently brave the journey of hope. That desert was a place of both death and hope for many and today the sea is also a place of death and hope for many. That desert formed the bonds of friendship, betrayal, suffering and promises. The same is true for those who currently undertake the journey of hope. The desert symbolized new history and the Promised Land. For many, the Mediterranean Sea is the start of a new history and an opportunity to reach the Promised Land. At the time, Moses led the way. Today, Francis, the new Moses, showed us all the path we must walk in Lampedusa. We view the history of immigration through the lens of the Bible. Circumstances and heroes change, but history remains unchanged.

Immigration is seen as a zeitgeist or the "sign of God's presence in our thoughts" (GS 11). This view means encouraging the people of Europe to recognize immigration as an opportunity to tread the path of freedom. The path shown to us by Providence, so that we think and believe in the Promised Land, as was the case in the time of Moses; this is a path that teaches us to look upon one another with the conviction that every person is God's child and that the Earth belongs to everyone. This is why we cannot rely on politics to build the Europe of the future; instead, we must use solutions rooted in moral order. Thus, new possibilities arise when we realize that injustice cannot be the driving force of tomorrow. We must dare to stand for justice and peace.

Moroccan poet Dakhoumi Abdelkader writes: "We are the children of the sand,/ we, with our charcoal hair;/ we came to dance in your bright squares/ in your homes./ We came to dance for your eyes/ tired and still like mirrors./ We are children born from a drop of water from a dried out river,/ one that flowed freely yesterday,/ ears of wheat have made us full and strong./ We came to sing our songs of love to you,/ songs that are as sweet as almonds and honey./ We will sing them loudly,/ until we break through to your hearts,/ so that later we can sing them quietly, very softly/ together, in your homes,/ in your squares,/ and in your cities."

"I have come to awaken your conscience," said Pope Francis. Conscience is often trapped in "soap bubbles"! We have taken the false stance of a chaplain and Levite (from the tale of the Good Samaritan): "we see our dying brother as he lies in the road and we move on. It is not our responsibility; we feel like sinners…" Let us adopt the position of the Holy Father and make it our own as we lean in towards "those in need to lend them a hand, without calculation, without fear, with compassion and understanding". This is truly the future of our world and therefore Europe. Kofi Annan told the European Parliament: "A closed Europe would be a more average, poor, weaker and older Europe. An open Europe will be more just, wealthy, stronger and younger, with the condition that it handles immigration well."

I will conclude with God's dream in the hope that it will become everyone's dream: "On that day the road from Egypt to Assyria will be open. Assyria will come to Egypt as Egypt comes to Assyria. However, Egypt will serve Assyria. On that day, Israel, as the third nation will be a blessing on Earth alongside Egypt and Assyria. The Lord will bless it and say: 'let my blessings fall upon Egypt, my people and Assyria, my handiwork and Israel, my legacy.'" (Is 19, 23-25).

Discussion Panel

Fr. Leszek Gesiak SJ, Vatican Radio

For several years now, the organizers of the International Conference series "The Role of the Catholic Church in the European Integration Process" have wanted it to be a place for speakers and panelists to share views, ideas or visions and for all of the participants to interact. This was already attempted last year. However, it seems that the present conference goes even further in this spirit. The time dedicated to workshops, which includes our panel, has been extended so that certain matters can be calmly discussed and considered in light of the arguments. Another goal is to jointly seek certain indicators and arguments to respond to questions that come up in our daily work and service in areas covered by the conference.

Our working group is tasked with the topic of migration and its consequences in Europe. As we all know very well, migration is as old as the world. The first person, Adam, had to emigrate from paradise because his actions ensured there was no place for him there. Abraham heard the following words from God: "Depart from your homeland and from the home of your father to the land that I show you" (Gen 12-1). And he departed. Someone who unites us here, namely Jesus, also became an emigrant. He had to leave his land and go to Egypt. This continues to the present day. Migration, or the movement of people with the goal of changing one's place of residence, is an integral element of every society.

The difference from historical times is that in today's times migration is much easier than in the past. We have means of transportation that enable rapid movement. There are also certain tendencies, which are best exemplified by uniting Europe, to eliminate or at least minimize various barriers, borders or blockades. This is all done to ease movement and migration for people. The foundations of unified economic politics in the European Union include the four freedoms of internal markets, which enable the free flow of people, goods, services and capital. Their purpose is to ensure that the economic aspects of social function in a certain sense free people from potential geographic and political borders and blockades.

The decision where a person wants to reside, where she wants to live and where she wants to work, depends to a certain degree on the person. However, it also partly depends on external circumstances that affect a person at any given moment and that she must overcome.

Migration of peoples is also a consequence of certain socio-political processes that are ongoing in the world. Therefore, this process can be very diverse. Not every migration is in search of asylum. In his excellent address this morning, one that will certainly be a point of reference for our discussion, Abp. Francesco Montenegro spoke of the drama surrounding asylum seekers on the Italian island of Lampedusa; those who suffer and who were forced to abandon their land to find a new place to simply try to live with dignity. The problem of taking a spiritual approach to people in a similar situation, to give them aid and also to show them a particular path, is one of the most important challenges of our time.

We know that migrations can vary. Internal migrations are those where people move from city to city within the bounds of one Voivodeship, region or state. In this case, they often use the same language as residents of the new place of residence and they are part of the same cultural background. More serious problems arise when a person embarks on an external migration. She must abandon her place of residence, like Abraham, to enter an entirely new environment, where a foreign language is spoken, where the culture is different and where another system of values might prevail. This leads to a certain problem: the problem of facing something new. Such a person must accept the acculturation process, which may be difficult for her. This can also be a serious challenge for the society that is accepting this new arrival from outside, that is, the migrant.

In modern times, an excellent example of liberation from national borders and opening up to any opportunities for external migration can be found in Europe. My country, Poland, is a state whose several million people received this opportunity from uniting Europe. After joining the European Union, Poles were able to move to other Member States and find employment there.

In the context of Europe, we are also talking about completely external migration, the kind that drives the exodus of Europeans from our continent. For many ages my countrymen departed for very far away. They emigrated to the Unites States, Argentina, Canada or Australia. This is not only true for Poles. These great waves of national emigrations also swept Italy, Portugal, Ireland and many other nations. However, today Europe principally opens up to people from the outside, primarily from Asia and Africa. It is opening up in a very heterogeneous manner. This subject reveals many new questions.

One of my friends, a priest who has spent many years working and living among Polonia in Australia, often told me: "remember that migration is always a disease." It is a disease that nobody knows how to cure or overcome. This is because everyone leaves in search of a slightly better life and slightly better conditions for existence. They leave to seek better opportunities to raise their children and to give them a better chance because children are often an important motivator for parents who make this particular choice.

Before I turn over the microphone to the guests participating in this panel, as well as the audience, I want to mention two more divergent reasons why people decide to migrate. First: because they want to. They want to choose a better place to live, a wealthier country, to give themselves some kind of chance. Sometimes they risk everything they own. That is one option. The other reason is as follows: people migrate because they must. In this case, it is not their choice. It is a decision that they are forced to make either due to a political crisis or persecution for social, religious, cultural or racial reasons, whatever they may be. In this situation, when this is not a person's choice, they will not say: "I want my situation to improve so I'm leaving". They are more likely to say: "I am leaving because I have no other choice". The current situation with the Islamic State on territory that belongs to Iraq or Syria, where approximately 130,000 Christians and Yazidis have been forcibly displaced practically overnight or given the alternatives of conversion to Islam or paying horrendous taxes to be allowed to live in their own homes that are specially marked with a cross to make it clear where Christians live; this is not emigration by choice. This is a situation where a person who is leaving has no other option.

The landscape of migration, which I have attempted to briefly summarize, contains some aspects that can be found in the title of our panel: "Migrations and their consequences for Europe". There are many places in Europe where people leave and where people arrive; there are very many of them. As I mentioned before, some leave because they want to and others leave because they are forced to. Some leave for their entire lives to settle permanently in a new place and others leave for a brief period of time. The migrants also include Europeans, who benefit from various EU programs within our continent's territory. One example is the Erasmus program, which enables students to travel to other states and spend a defined amount of time studying at a foreign university. Representatives from many companies and enterprises leave under various contracts. Diplomats leave to serve multi-year missions at diplomatic outposts or in European institutions. This is all part of migration; many families often leave for these reasons. A problem arises during the move, that is, finding schools for children and this is a very practical problem to solve.

The Church has always sided with people who have been forced to emigrate and those who made the decision on their own. We Poles have a diffuse Polish presence practically in every corner of the world. According to estimates, over twenty-one million Poles live outside of their homeland. Approximately thirty-eight million currently reside in Poland. These proportions are therefore clear. Bp. Wieslaw Lechowicz, a delegate from the Conference of the Polish Episcopate for spiritual affairs and Polish emigration, is currently with us in this room and he could tell us a lot more and much more precisely about Church institutions among Polonia. However, one thing is certain: wherever Poles have gone, they have always been accompanied by a Polish chaplain. This is also true for other nationalities. The Church has always been with those who experience hardship as a result of migration. As Abp. Montenegro said before noon today, the Church was always present among refugees on Lampedusa. It was always alongside those who arrived there. This is not just because they were Catholics, since most of them were not, it is because there was a suffering person, a person in need of love. This is what the Liturgy teaches: either we live for others and can open up to them or we will lock ourselves in with our wealth and pretend that we are happy because these matters do not concern us.

One thing struck me in Abp. Montenegro's talk. He said that when the last well publicized tragedy involving migrants occurred, when 360 people died, a long time was spent deciding who is to help them due to where this boat was located. Many said: not me, not me, not me. Meanwhile, many people on the boat were already dying and had not survived this voyage. This seems very harsh. I think that we can always find many arguments to justify our actions and to not act. However, this is not the most important matter. The most important matter is how we currently respond to the calls of so many other people who truly must emigrate, or those who want to leave and change their place of residence, that is, simply those who are on the way.

Excellent panelists who have been invited to share their experiences with us will help with today's debate. We will have an opportunity to consider two different perspectives. There is no need to introduce MEP Jan Olbrycht, who has been an MEP since 2004, is a sociologist and for whom all issues related to the Church and political problems have always been very important. I think that today he will share his opinion on how politics, especially European politics, responds to challenges that migration poses for us, of course, primarily in Europe. The second panelist is Fr. Ziad Hilal, who is a Jesuit from Syria and the director of a refugee center in Homs, a city that has been greatly affected by the ongoing war and which many people have been forced to flee. He is also the head of the local branch of the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS), which supports

refugees, finds them aid and is one of the most important Church institutions that handles refugees.

First, I want to give the floor to Fr. Hilal and ask him to enlighten us on the Syrian reality and to describe the problems faced by refugees from the Middle East. This will give us details that will perfectly complement the morning talk by Abp. Montenegro. As a result, we will touch on certain practical elements. I know that he has prepared a multimedia presentation on this subject for us. Later, I will ask Mr. Olbrycht to present what the European Union has to propose with regard to the aforementioned matters. The entire time we should remember that at the center of the migration problem lies an individual person. We often talk about the statistics, projects and politics of migration but in reality, the most important matter is the person! The person particularly and often dramatically experiences her problem of departure and alienation. In this context, I want to briefly quote Pope Francis in this year's World Day of Migrants and Refugees. I think that this will serve as a good introduction to today's discussion. Pope Francis writes:

"Migrants and refugees are not pawns on humanity's chessboard. They are children, women and men who abandon or are forced to abandon their homes for various reasons and who have the same rightful desire to learn more, to have more and most of all, to be more. (…) To escape misery or persecution, pursue better opportunities or to save their lives, millions of people make the journey as migrants with the hope of making their wishes come true, meanwhile, they are often met with mistrust, closed doors and rejection, they are also victims of other misfortunes that are often even more serious and which damage their human dignity" (Migrants and Refugees: Towards a Better World, Message of His Holiness Pope Francis for the World Day of Migrants and Refugees 2014).

May these words be the motto of our discussion today. The next speaker will be Fr. Ziad Hilal from Homs, who will explain the current migration crisis in the Middle East.

Father Ziad Hilal, Director of the Social Center in Homs

I am very happy that I can meet with you. I rarely use English but I will do everything in my power to explain the current situation in Syria. This is not my first meeting with representatives of the European Parliament; this is the fourth time, if I remember correctly. Three years ago the situation in Syria significantly changed. I think that you know what the current problems are in Syria, and the conflict that is ongoing there.

Several months ago the situation in Syria was rarely analyzed in depth: the media was more concerned with the conflict in Iraq than in Syria. Recently the media have published a lot of information about the situation in Syria, in large part due to the recent intervention by the United States and several European states, bombing the Islamic forces of the Islamic State or ISIS. The current situation is as follows: very many refugees from Syria have crossed the border with Lebanon, Jordan and the Northern border with Turkey; many have ended up in Erbil in Kurdistan as well as Iraq. In reality, we do not have detailed information about the Syrians who have arrived in Europe, but from what we know, there are certainly thousands of people who moved from Syria to European countries.

In my discussion I will focus on emigration and migration from our country. Our problem is emigration, people who are leaving. In particular this concerns Christians who are living or were living in Syria. Many of them, even those who have not left yet, would like to either go to Europe, the United States or to Canada. Many of them currently reside in Lebanon and there they await visas that would allow them to travel further. This is the typical situation.

In essence, we have been dealing with immigration for a long time; during prior years, many Syrians left and many left for Lebanon. In the past, after going to Lebanon, there was no opportunity for Syrian citizens to return to Syria. Many people also departed for Latin America, Canada and the United States, and of course many Syrians live in Europe.

Essentially, there is no one place where Syrians can settle, whether in America or in Europe; there is no strong Syrian community in any country because many Syrians integrate quickly. Many speak English or French at the time of departure. They integrate quickly and blend with the society of the country where they reside. Many go to school, attend university and in general we see that they do not have a problem with integration into European or American society. The problem is with how they are received by the societies where they arrive. They are a bridge for the people who come from the Middle East.

In terms of Syrian Christians, I think that they also play a major role in the dialog between religions. I have several examples. In May 2014, the Syrian government accepted the demands of rebels who wanted many residents of Homs to leave for Northern Syria. The rebels said that they would guarantee safe passage without fighting. However, they included the condition that clergy should board buses intended for people leaving the center of Homs. This led to a difficult situation for clergy, who still wanted to stay in the city with the Christians. On May 8, 9 and 10, approximately twelve priests left Homs with their faithful. Then they usually returned; they boarded the next bus with the next group of people leaving the city overwhelmed by fighting. Thanks to this agreement between the government and the rebels, these clergymen were essentially the only people who could repeatedly return to the city in order to depart with the next

group. This shows the authority enjoyed by the Church in a country like Syria and at the meeting point of these two sides: Syrian government forces and rebels.

Currently in our city of Homs, quite a few Christians have remained and priests continue to play an important part in negotiating various agreements and helping people in need. I will try to say a bit more about what we can do and how we can help the residents of Homs, Aleppo and Damascus. There are many Christian, Catholic and also Orthodox organizations that operate on site and help all residents of the country gripped by conflict. These organizations and Christian fellowships play a very important part. I also think that it is important that these organizations help everyone, not just Christian organizations helping only Christians and Muslim organizations helping only Muslims. Cooperation is good here and we are trying wherever we can to encourage everyone to stay, not encouraging them to leave and to abandon their place of residence. This is very important from our perspective. The involvement of various kinds of organizations and Christian fellowships is very active and we are doing a lot to help people in Syria. Of course, we are helping Christians as well as Muslims and we are particularly trying to convince Christians to stay in their country, to not leave Syria.

I remember when Holy Father John Paul II visited Syria, he said a lot about the importance of the continued existence of a Christian society in Syria. Already at that time the Pope talked about various conflicts in the Middle East; he talked about periods of conflict and periods of peace and he clearly said that if we want to grow up in peace and if we want to create lasting peace in this country, we need the peaceful coexistence of all religious groups. In his prayer for Syria, the Holy Father also talked about the need for peace and peaceful coexistence of various religious groups in Syria. I think that today it is very important for us to educate residents about peace. Our organization and other organizations have opened many centers where children in particular are educated on how to live in peace. We emphasize educating children in peace, not in war. In various kinds of media and on the Internet there is often talk of conflict. Children who view various publications on the Internet are in contact with calls for violence, but we are trying to emphasize the importance of peace.

If we recall recent events in our city of Homs, you will remember the battle that went on for many months; when we were able to return to this city after the fighting and restart our organization's activity, it was truly difficult to imagine the scale of destruction in Homs. I think that we will need months or years to rebuild the center of this city.

Some time ago I was in Warsaw and I saw pictures from after World War II of how Warsaw looked, pictures from before the war and after, of how great the destruction in Warsaw was after World War II. I clearly remember entering the

old city in Homs. The center of my city looks very similar. I thought that maybe someday we would be able to rebuild this city just as Warsaw was rebuilt.

Currently the situation in Syria is a major problem, in particular northern Syria where the Islamic State is active, which leads to a situation that may soon be irreversible. The Islamic State is encouraging Christians to leave and other religious groups are also persecuted. Very many Christians in northern Syria have ended up in central or southern Syria with essentially nothing; they had to leave all of their possessions in northern Syria because they left almost overnight.

Many Christians lived in northern Syria and many of them emigrated to Sweden and Canada. Now, very few Christians remain in northern Syria.

Syria has twenty-two million residents; until recently, Christians made up approximately 7-8%. Now nobody probably knows how many of them have remained in Syria.

In the northern part of Syria, maybe 1% of Christians remain and those who stayed are also trying to leave as soon as possible; they are waiting for visas to Europe or other countries. It looks as if this stream of Christians and also Muslims from Syria who arrive in Europe will continue to increase. This is an enormous problem for our country and I think also for the entire Middle East.

Statistics of the number of refugees in Lebanon, Iraq, Turkey, Jordan and all neighboring states collectively mention approximately three million refugees from Syria. In terms of people who had to abandon their place of residence and move to another part of Syria, then Aleppo is home to almost one million people who are internally displaced. We can talk about how approximately half of all Syrian citizens are people who had to flee their place of residence and are currently residing outside of their home. Some 50% of these are children. Many children are in the 16-17 age range. 9.3 million Syrians urgently need medical care. The JRS organization tries to take care of the needs of residents of Syria in the face of an ongoing conflict. JRS, the Jesuit Response Service, has many centers in all of Syria, where we try to support anyone in need in the entire country; we offer basic medical care for everyone who needs it. We opened special centers for children, for the youngest victims up to thirteen years of age.

Our centers are located in Aleppo, Damascus and Homs. Earlier I emphasized that we help all Christians and Muslims. These are centers operated by the Catholic Church. In Aleppo, the kitchen that we operate on average serves 150,000 meals each day. In the old center of Homs, we also have a kitchen like this. The center is destroyed and we are trying to encourage former residents to return and rebuild.

After schools in Syria closed in 2011, we created special centers for children to continue their education. Since 2011 we have continued our educational ini-

tiative. We have eleven such centers in Homs alone, where children attend school. We also have four special centers for people with mental illnesses. One major problem in Syria is that many Syrian physicians who were educated abroad and then practiced in Syria have left, so we have a shortage of qualified medical workers. Few specialists have remained in Syria. Another medical problem: many specialists were trained in Aleppo and this center was destroyed during the war, so we have major problems in terms of qualified medical care.

We also have initiatives to provide employment to people who lost their jobs as a result of the Syrian conflict and offer various types of activities, especially for women, but not exclusively.

When we resumed our initiatives in the center of the old city in Homs, we helped people clear the ruins and rebuild homes. Our field kitchen provided meals for 200 people – this is the number we help every day.

There is also a problem of access to water, especially in the old city in Homs. We have successfully rebuilt eighteen wells that provide potable water. Very many Christians lived in the center of the old city in Homs, as did many Muslims. Currently churches and mosques are working together to help residents and encourage them to return to the center of Homs. Thank you very much for your attention.

Fr. Leszek Gesiak

Thank you very much for your lecture, Fr. Ziad Hilal. What we had the opportunity to see and hear is a kind of reality, an example of a real place in the world that is not really that isolated in the crisis that it is experiencing. According to statistics, approximately three million people were forced to abandon their homes, leave their country and seek a new place for themselves, not because they suddenly wanted to live better, but because they wanted to survive. This is the drama of migration shown from a certain angle. I am very grateful that we could see this so dramatically and specifically in the presented images.

We are well aware of what is currently happening in Northern Iraq. We know that in Lampedusa, which Abp. Montenegro discussed before noon, boats with immigrants arrive almost on a daily basis from Northern Africa, Eritrea and Ethiopia. Why is this happening? Why are we unable to handle this in today's world? What do the great politics have to say about this? Does the European Union, which is our home, have some kind of idea of how to handle this problem? I don't want to ask why it cannot manage this! Deputy, please tell us a bit about how this is perceived in politics and the European Parliament? How will the current vision for Europe that is being created and projected in European institutions help resolve these very specific situations that affect our continent?

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

In response to whether the European Union can handle this, my answer is no, in essence, today there are no good, simple solutions.

I first want to show you the complexity of this problem that we are talking about when we discuss migration. We are talking about various issues, but this is so that in the end we can say that all of them, despite being completely different and contradictory, essentially have very serious mutual consequences.

Before I do this I want to say that of course we need to realize that the European Union is at a crossroads because the question comes up whether this concept is functional, whether it truly works and whether it is able to react to certain things at a time when it is serially introducing certain mechanisms that are not without consequence. For example: if we introduce a common currency without introducing common fiscal, insurance and other mechanisms, it turns out that this situation hits a wall and we cannot go on. This concept has in some sense been expended in terms of earlier initiatives. Yes, there was an idea to introduce a common area that has external borders, that of course has internal borders, but it is a common area. One could call it a common migration area. If this kind of area is created and we remove border control, or in other words, if we facilitate one of the great freedoms, the freedom of movement, then we cannot be surprised when as a result of freeing this area we encounter certain problems that we must take care of. This does not mean that we must give up on this idea, but this bears completely unpredictable consequences.

When we talk about the consequences of this for Europe, I would like to very clearly say that Poland is part of the European Union, which also means asking what the consequences are for Poland. They are different for Poland and different for Greece, but in some sense they are shared and in some sense they are individual. This is worth remembering, since questions come up about the consequences of the whole migration movement for our country.

Of course there is the fundamental question that the EU, therefore all states, must answer, that is, after all we have been promoting this view in the world that the EU is really the only true place of freedom, security and justice. This appears in all documents. What does this mean for residents and also for the whole world? In other words, we present ourselves as a place of freedom and justice, the whole world watches us and now they will see how we handle this. Are we able to complete this? The world around us is not standing still; certain things are changing.

I met Father Ziad several times in the European Parliament and since our first discussion, very many things have changed. One thing has not changed: every time we met in the European Parliament, and in the meantime we also met with the whole troika in Cyprus, the whole time we have heard the same appeal

by priests who come from there, from Syria and Iraq, about what we should do so that people stay there and do not migrate. For the good of culture and the world, for the good of Christianity, for the good of Islam and for the good of everyone, what do we do to convince them to not emigrate? This is also a very brutal question for politicians: what to do to avoid making this emigration too easy? This is an ethically suspect procedure. The issue is how to help them and at the same time prevent them from leaving, since only they essentially save certain civilizational achievements. If they leave, then, as priests arriving at the European Parliament often said, Muslims will be at each other's throats and there will be a tragedy, and of course Christianity was founded there. Christians did not arrive there; they were always there.

This is why I want to show you the complexity of the problem, and to do so I want to bring to your attention a certain dogma that currently predominates in European politics when we talk about creating a unified immigration policy. I am coming back to what I said earlier, that is, we once decided on a common area, then we essentially have no other choice; we should have a unified immigration policy. We cannot have a common area without having a unified immigration policy because this cannot be done, which is currently evident. Is there a common immigration policy? There isn't one. There have been the first steps to creating this policy. Some have been successful, others less so, but clearly there has been a decision to do this. Please remember that the European Union is at a crossroads and this comes out at the Krakow conferences that in essence, we do not have an answer as to how it should look. This is particularly evident today. Today the European Union is much more inter-governmental than community-based. After the Lisbon Treaty, the EU became inter-governmental. Today, it is governments that govern the European Union. As an aside, governments govern; they meet in the European Council, which will be led by a Pole. This will be the center of decision-making. As a European parliamentarian, I say this reluctantly because the European Parliament would prefer to govern this, but today this is a governmental situation. My question is how will governments of individual states realize unified immigration policy? Will they want to do this? How will the governments of all countries interpret solidarity, since we talked about this earlier? This is not just solidarity towards migrants; it is also solidarity towards each other. How do we help a country where immigrants are concentrated? Italy is a classic example of this. As an aside, the Archbishop mentioned what he told us about in the European Parliament, that in Lampedusa, there is one physician and three specialists who arrive once a month. There is one lawyer in Lampedusa. Most of these people are seeking asylum. There is a legal question whether we should create a center for legal asylum there just

like the infamous island in New York in the United States and thereby change the character of migration?

Will we create this unified immigration policy? This is a very key issue and if now we talk about a global approach, in other words, everything that concerns migration is lumped together and common immigration policy is created, then today the global approach is composed of three pillars. The first pillar is the issue of legal migration and mobility. The second is illegal immigration and slavery. The third is international security and asylum policy. The fourth is optimizing the influence of migration on development, including economic and social development, etc. Together this is a kind of collection of issues that generally operate under the term "immigration policy". I want to bring to your attention that for the first time the new European Commission includes a commissioner for immigration. This will most likely be a Greek; therefore we will see how this turns out.

Now a few words about each of these issues. First, in terms of the issue of internal mobility, this is of course our own Polish problem: Poles who move to Ireland or Great Britain. The problem of internal mobility: there is not enough mobility. From the perspective of economic development, increased equality, normalizing incomes, etc., there should be much more of it. There are approximately eight million people within the European Union who work outside of their home country. Today, everyone is wondering how to increase the flow of the workforce within the European Union in the midst of cultural conditions where essentially Europeans do not have the same approach as in the United States; it is very difficult for them to move temporally. From an economic perspective, this is not beneficial enough. Of course there are countries where people mostly leave and countries where people mostly arrive.

As part of this internal movement of European Union citizens in the Schengen area, 1.5 billion border crossings per year are noted, which does not indicate a major move in terms of place of employment. There is movement but this is tourism and business and there is very little permanent relocation, which is characteristic of the United States. This internal movement is a very difficult issue for the European Union because every country defends its market and places its own barriers; this is a never-ending debate about workers employed in other countries, these are labor unions or labor groups in individual countries that block access to the market. In other words, we have very many internal barriers related to the market, which prevent migration and complicate internal mobility in the European Union.

We might add that within the EU, Europeans are not the only ones who move – immigrants do this as well. They arrive and they move. This is a rather key issue. The entire massive collection of issues related to internal mobility

and its social consequences such as broken families is on the one hand an opportunity and on the other hand a tragedy, and can result in problems with adaptation, very often due to not understanding the culture of another country within the European Union. Poles do not always understand the situation in Northern Ireland; we have very many examples, so a mass of problems related to this. In Poland we mainly talk about the fact that Poles left. Yet they did not move to America, only within the European Union, but we view this as a problem, which is reflected by our taxes and economic development in Poland.

This is one set of issues. These are of course movements than once occurred from Portugal to other countries; all of this happens within the EU.

The second issue in this first pillar is the issue of legal immigration, that is, people who arrive legally to live in the European Union and treat it as a place of wealth. They do this legally and they stay legally. There are also those who arrive legally and stay illegally; they arrive with a visa and they illegally extend their stay. As a result every document talks about solving the issue of legal entry and stay. The issue is what to do with those who arrived as tourists and stayed for several years because they were working. Legal immigration introduces a very large problem, that is, how can we in the European Union shape the entire policy of making the EU attractive to people who are highly qualified or part of professional groups that will be useful for the European economy or for individual countries. In other words, how do we attract people from other countries, how do we instigate a brain drain from other countries in favor of the European Union and its development? Do we have these kinds of mechanisms, do we have this incentive and do we have a plan for this attractiveness that would bring in the most talented, best and interesting people? We do not. This is an absolutely essential need that we are currently working on because without this the European economy will not manage, since we already have complete deficiencies in some areas.

There are other ideas that involve legal immigration, namely, circular migration – that is, how do we convince people to come to the EU from outside, work and then leave, or to create a legal flow of workers who will come and go but who will not stay. How do we organize this whole system? This is a very difficult and complicated situation but today we hear calls for the EU to create a whole system that will enable someone to come and go. You know how this is for Poles in the United States; this is much more difficult, when a person leaves and is uncertain whether it will be possible to return. This is about ensuring that this movement truly eases the European economy. If this succeeds, the effects for Europe's development could be positive but not necessarily for our neighbors or other countries that will lose their best people.

The second issue is illegal immigration. Please notice that when we say "illegal", this is a problem that the Archbishop discussed. I am talking about the legal problem. Someone illegally arrives and illegally stays. This is also a very complicated situation, where someone does not have permission to arrive. He illegally enters the European Union. What do we do about this? What will happen to this person in the human sense, in terms of caring for him, in terms of aid and also in the legal sense? If he illegally arrives on a boat, for example, across the Mediterranean Sea, should we legalize his stay? Please consider – which the Archbishop did not mention, but he has told us this on a different occasion – a situation when people drown and they are surrounded by boats but none of them stop because if one stopped and took someone aboard, then the act of boarding activates a legal fact that this person is in the territory of the country whose flag is flying over the ship. This leads to problems with legalizing this person's stay in that country. Recently there were many such cases where ships floated past drowning people. People drowned before their eyes and nobody wanted to take them.

When these people illegally enter Italian territory the question is what to do with them since they arrived illegally. We have a whole slew of various tools that the European Union is working on, starting with those that talk about protecting borders (a reminder: the Frontex center in Warsaw, which is increasingly equipped to prevent crossing borders by sea, for example). Please remember that when these boats leave the territories of North Africa then as soon as they have crossed into international waters they immediately signal that they are sinking. The goal is for ships to come help and for the process of legalization to begin at that time. This leads to the question whether to sign readmission agreements; in other words, to return them, for other countries to accept people who arrive? In practice this is rejecting them, sending them back. The European Union has readmission agreements with very few countries.

Third, these are very broad programs that concern preparation for various kinds of help in countries from which they are fleeing, to ensure that they do not flee, to create jobs for them and most of all to inform them about organized crime, that they are being led into a trap. People walk for a year and then gangs intercept them. This is about information that needs to reach them. Very many such initiatives are being started.

The next issue concerns the circumstances in which these people arrive illegally, which leads to a question about the return procedure. We already have the European Directive aimed at Member States that states they need to work out the entire protocol for preparing returns. The European Parliament is addressing this, that unfortunately Member States are not considering that by initiating the return procedure they are sending someone to a country that does not

respect any human rights; in other words, they are sending them straight to prison. In terms of ethics this is at least very ambiguous. What do we do about this? In the case of illegal immigrants the European Parliament is immediately urging that these people receive medical care and this requires money. Not Italian money, the money of 28 countries. There must be a plan when these people enter and need to be taken care of; then we must share with them in the spirit of solidarity and accept them, especially since these are persecuted people who are fleeing. What do we do with persecuted Christians who arrive, how do we share solidarity with them and are we prepared to accept them? This concerns various kinds of rights that these people could have. How do we ease or inhibit their functioning when they come to Europe? The European Parliament is considering special resolutions to protect women because in addition to the fact that there are women who arrive after having been raped, in large part we are dealing with the sale of women and with the exploitation of women. This is about creating special legal boundaries that will simplify action. The purpose is not to send back women in situations when we know that this will end badly – to not send back women with children, etc. The European Parliament is appealing to Member States that we cannot act so callously because we are sentencing these people to a horrible tragedy.

The whole expansive scope concerns crime and fighting crime. A lack of border controls in the Schengen area of course favors the rise of crime. But this is a question whether it is better to have totalitarian systems with closed borders or open systems where everything is more difficult? The next issue is asylum policy. Someone arrives legally and requests asylum and someone else arrives illegally and requests asylum. According to estimates, this year 450,000 people will request asylum and 140,000 people will illegally reside within the European Union. In 1992 this number was 650,000, so there is a decrease relative to 1992. Twenty-eight European Union Member States have already decided on asylum regulations. A special agency and fund for issues related to asylum was created, special regulations were created that say that if someone enters the territory of a given country, then the regulations should be very similar. However, if someone is granted asylum, then the issue is not over; his life is just beginning – his functioning, school for his children, etc. There is uncertainty about what to do with the procedure of protected entry, but what does this entail? What do we do with people who must flee a given country or face death? How do we bring them to Europe without finding them in boats? Who are these people in the world? We must cooperate with all countries in the world or all powers that require protection, we must bring them to Europe or else they will be murdered. This is a very difficult situation but supposedly we are a place of freedom, security and justice. We are supposed to be the standard of freedom.

We are built on a foundation of Christian values. We talk about the fact that we are just. The whole world asks us: what does this mean? As a result of this, are you open or not?

An entirely different issue is the matter of effects on development. It is obvious that if we successfully attract the best, then this is very good for economic development. If we attract those who are not necessarily the best, but ones who will acclimate, who will enter the world and build it then this will also be good because we have a demographic crisis. Please notice that now we can present a whole collection of different things that describe this. What do we do about the people who are already here? And what do we do in a situation where we need to invest money in multilingual schools? How do we teach them the national language in the country they move to? What rights do we give them? How do we avoid discriminating against them? How do we avoid creating ghettos? We are talking about those who have already arrived, not those who are arriving. How do we take care of their children to avoid making them second or third-rate citizens? This is a fundamental question.

What about in Poland? Of course all of this concerns Poland, not so much right now because we are relatively poor and we are not in the main path of immigration, but please consider the statistics that show marked growth. People are coming to Poland. Are we, who consider ourselves a tolerant nation, prepared as the Polish edition of the European Union to accept families that will live alongside us and to accept children into our schools who do not speak Polish, who will need to have special classes, who have different traditions, a different family model, who will have a different religion and will expect us to respect them in every aspect: dress, behavior, traditions, etc. Are we mentally prepared for this? Are we teaching our young people that they will come into contact with something that they are completely unfamiliar with? Not as a politician, but as a sociologist I would say that we are completely unprepared for this.

Yet this is approaching very quickly.

If we in Poland want to have solidarity with Italy, then we should help them with immigrants from Lampedusa. We should give up part of our individual and social freedoms and part of our financial capabilities. We are standing before a great discussion: religious symbols, etc. Let us look at our chaplains in Syria. They are saying that they work with Catholics, Christians and with Muslims. This is a real approach. Because this does not make a difference. We are dealing with a person who has dignity, who needs help, who must be saved, who must be cared for and who must be introduced. This, in some cultural and also human sense, is worth it as an investment in ourselves, in our way of thinking. I must admit that this is increasingly difficult. Today the EU is taking one step at a time and trying to reconcile unified action among countries. This is difficult

but I am optimistic. This will take some time, maybe one or two generations, but these processes will not wait.

Fr. Leszek Gesiak

Thank you, Deputy! Deputy Olbrycht asked so many questions that even if we tried to answer them in order we would still run out of time. I hope that further questions will come from the audience as well. Therefore, I welcome all who are present to join the discussion.

Thank you very much for both presentations. I think that they were very good because the first gave us a particular example and the second a vision for European immigration policy that, as the MEP emphasized, is just developing; it is undergoing a period of renewal and it is being debated. We already have something but there are still so many things left to do. I want to emphasize one thing from the deputy's presentation, which I think is important from our perspective as Europeans and people associated with a very specific system of values.

Deputy Olbrycht said that the EU is the only home of freedom, security and justice. This is certainly an important declaration that comes at a very high price. Nothing that has value is free. We all know this very well. All cheap promises often quickly fade from our memories. This leads to the question of whether we should care for Christians who must emigrate from Iraq? Earlier we discussed that almost 130,000 people had to leave northern Iraq overnight to go to Kurdistan because they had no other option. If they wanted to survive and retain their faith, they had to escape. However, what does this entail? They simultaneously lost their foundation, the roots that fueled their lives for two thousand years, and where they existed as a community. If we allow them to come to Europe, accept them with open arms and provide them with everything (if this theoretical possibility existed), what does this mean? Among other things, it means that we will allow part of the great Christian culture and heritage to turn to dust. This has already happened in several particular cities. For example, this has happened in Mosul. Thus, we have a very specific example of the problem.

One important point that was noted is that in reality, the solution to the immigration problem may not concern the host country as much as it concerns states from which people are forced to emigrate. Thus, what can we do to ensure that a strong political and economic institution such as the European Union can truly help these people before they leave their countries?

There is one more thing to which I would like to return and which was discussed by Abp. Montenegro. We both mentioned tens of thousands of people who arrive in Lampedusa by boat. I spoke with Abp. Konrad Krajewski, the Papal Almoner. After the aforementioned great tragedy in Lampedusa, he went there at once, on the second day, at the Pope's request to see what was happening and to support those people. He spoke of how he was in boats with rescuers and that he saw the retrieved remains of mothers embracing children, stiff after having spent several days in seawater. They had placed crosses and medallions in their mouths, which Abp. Montenegro also mentioned. They wanted to preserve what they considered the most precious and to show that they died as Christians because as Christians, they wanted to choose a better life. This is a matter of our conscience. Can we, Europeans, float past them indifferently and not help them out of the water simply because the law forbids us to do so? This is an enormous moral dilemma, a dilemma that we Europeans must answer because as the deputy rightly said, we are part of Europe.

We do not know what will soon happen in Eastern Europe, in the part that is outside the EU. We do not know whether we are facing a new wave of immigration. These are the questions that we must consider today. I invite you to discuss and also to share your opinions. I also invite the panelists to comment. Thus, should we accept immigrants or should we refuse them? Will we build an open society or will we continue to wall ourselves off?

Speaker from the audience:

I come from Georgia. I study at one of the Georgian universities and I am also a politician, a member of the Georgian parliament. I am very familiar with the situation that we are discussing and in particular what Dr. Olbrycht talked about. Politicians truly must resolve the immigration problem. They must do this in a different way than priests, for example. Of course, various solutions must be found. I must admit that I was very impressed by Archbishop Montenegro's presentation, as well as Father Ziad's. We are faced with many problems. As politicians we must find solutions to them. We can ask priests and others various kinds of questions. I wonder to what degree we can tolerate difference and to what extent we can open up to different norms such as those associated with different cultures. The rules concerning those who end up in Lampedusa and the fact that as a result of legal barriers ships sometimes do not help people who are in the water after a boat has capsized, because the regulations do not allow this, these are of course major challenges.

Father Ziad Hilal

On my part, I think that as priests we must remember our most important role: to help people, this is the most important from our perspective. In terms of developing appropriate regulations, this is a task for politicians. In Syria alone there is a lack of many legal solutions. Currently there are regions where there is a complete lack of police and other state services. In our city, Homs, a significant part is in ruins and essentially nobody is doing anything; there is no sup-

port and there is no state organization that could help people who are living in this area. It is very important to work together to defend people, especially those in need, to enable them to return to a normal life. I spoke of the situation in Syria and in Homs. As I mentioned earlier, many residents left the center of Homs, homes were abandoned and anyone can enter many buildings that are partially ruined and take anything they want from the abandoned home. There are no police services that could protect residents and their possessions. Of course, these challenges are enormous and we must consider how to protect people and protect possessions. This is not just a matter of legal solutions, it is also about working out a certain moral approach or to remind people of certain moral values. On our part we must bring attention to this, to how to educate people, children in particular; what to do in order to raise these children for a united future in a multicultural state? We saw this kind of situation: due to a lack of police in the old city in Homs, Christians as well as Muslims came to the center and took everything they needed from homes, often explaining that they were taking and plundering because they had also lost their possessions during the war and for many this is completely normal.

The next problem is that many refugees, many people who had to abandon their homes, have no support. Many of them are young people, youth, and they very often plunder abandoned buildings and live there, believing that they simply have this right to take another person's possessions and to a great extent justify this by saying that they lost their own possessions. We must educate people and show that this is not an appropriate solution, that this is not the way to act. As representatives of religion, Christians and Muslims should show that these actions cannot be justified. We should educate people for the sake of the future of our civilization and coexistence of our cultures. It is very dangerous that this is how residents of our country are behaving. Many times when I am in Europe, and I visit various European states every month or two, we talk about youth problems. In our country, too little attention is given to the problems of young people, the younger generation. The European Union, the UN and various kinds of organizations that support our country primarily offer us support that consists of food but very little is being done to think about the young generation's future and what to do to provide them with jobs, for example. Nobody is currently working on this in our country. This is not just about providing us with food; it is also about giving young people a future or some kind of perspective.

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

I would add that we cannot definitively say that we have the priests' perspective and politicians' perspective because today priests are finding themselves in a political situation. They do not engage in politics but they are in

a political situation. On the other hand, engaging in politics without moral principles is also completely meaningless. Time has proven that if a politician acts purely pragmatically then this turns into social engineering. However, this does not concern service. Yet we talk about politics as service. It is very difficult to consider this and on top of this, reality is not black and white. Unfortunately, reality, as the MEP said, is very complex for politicians.

If you will allow me to, I will give you several examples. This is a situation that puts us in a very difficult place today. Many Europeans currently fight for the Islamic State. We do not know exactly how many – one thousand, two thousand or several thousand. People who were born and raised in Europe and who are European citizens. These are not people who came to Europe, they are people who grew up in Europe. As it turns out, they are more radical than native residents of those lands. Now they will come back to Europe and return. Now there are attempts to complicate their return, to prevent them from coming back to their families because of the danger that they will organize terrorist attacks in Europe. For politicians it is important that very often people are simply afraid, not just of strangers as strangers but of strangers as a potential source of aggression. This is a bigger problem. How do border patrol agents recognize whom to screen? Someone who looks like an Arab will be screened first. Father Ziad did not say this but he will not get angry; yesterday Father Ziad, who comes to Europe every two months, was stopped in Frankfurt and had to explain to the German police what it means that he is from Syria and has a Vatican passport and is a Christian. The German police had a very serious problem, but this is only one person and we are witnessing the influx of tens, hundreds or thousands of people who are arriving. This is a matter of fear of what awaits us.

Italian politicians (maybe this is not true) told me that when Gaddafi forged an energy agreement with Berlusconi, he stopped the departure of gang transports by sea. He could do this, it was not a problem. This is the basis of the whole situation, that if coastal states in Africa did everything to block these boats then they would block them, but there are simply mafias that operate there, that transport these people. Gaddafi was able to do this until he disagreed with Berlusconi, after which he started to send boats; even worse, they were filled with criminals.

This all demonstrates that reality is not black and white, that it is very complicated. This is a situation where on the one hand we are dealing with a person, his dignity, etc. and on the other hand with people who are seeking a better life and are running to wealth, to the U.S., to Canada or to Australia. Massive numbers of people illegally sail to Australia. They are escaping a poor world, which the Archbishop discussed, to a better world. These are the negative effects of globalization. And among them there are various people, and there are crimi-

nals. During the past month there was a situation reported by the international press in which there were criminals on the boats who demanded ransom during transport. Those who did not pay the ransom were thrown overboard. This happened during the last two to three weeks. They then come to Europe. This is a problem – how do we manage all of this when we are dealing with organized crime.

One more dramatic fact, that maybe should not be publicly advertised, but the Archbishop told us this in Parliament. Since the beginning of this year or maybe last year, approximately 6,000 children without families arrived in Lampedusa, their parents having either drowned or died along the way, and 4,000 of these children have already disappeared. Now we do not know if they were sold or used for their organs… and this is happening in Europe, on Italian territory. This can no longer be tolerated. This is a very dramatic situation. We must react somehow. I will repeat that twenty-eight countries must react, not just one. All countries must take this upon themselves. If one carries the weight of another then everyone bears the weight and unfortunately everyone faces the consequences; this is the price of being a place of freedom and security.

Please forgive the dramatic presentation of these facts but we cannot close our eyes to this, we cannot avoid seeing this. We do not know whether, if there is a bigger war in Ukraine, we hope not but we have guests from Ukraine among us, the situation in Poland may be very difficult with the necessity of accepting people who may flee, and we will need to help them.

On one the hand this is unconditional help for everyone who needs this help and on the other hand, how do we intelligently create a rational law that will ease certain things and not complicate them, in particular when it comes to organized crime? The freer the world is, the more difficult everything becomes.

Teresa Szczepkowska

These questions that were mentioned here are difficult, almost too difficult for humanity. My question is for the MEP: is there a scope of action where you see optimistic elements, that something has been accomplished in Europe, that there is some issue that we are handling?

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

Of course there is. I tried to mention this at the beginning. The question is: were the fathers of Europe correct? Did this make sense, is this all working out, and is this all functioning? I will answer your question with one simple example: please imagine the situation in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia if the EU did not exists today, in 2014. The answer is very simple. They would surely no longer exist. I quote my colleagues from there who are currently horrified but they say: the European Union exists to maintain peace. This is without a doubt the sphere

of security. They are safer. Is there free flow of people? Yes. Can people move in peace? This is not about going on a trip as much as this is truly an area where we move around. This is evidently a place where our lives are good. I do not believe that this is the case for everyone but if we look at those who come to the EU, then to them we are all living in relative wealth. Very many things are working well but we are talking about threats. They threaten Europe if Europe does not handle this. In my opinion, we are beginning to handle this step by step. Unified asylum legislation is important. There is also a directive concerning one permission, so if someone arrives on European soil, he gets permission once and this is valid within the boundaries of twenty-eight countries. Step by step, we are trying to introduce more things. If we want the EU to not be one whole, but just a union of twenty-eight countries, then everything must be based on the agreement of all twenty-eight and also 750 MEPs who come from various parties. This is happening step by step, it is tedious and difficult and we still have people among us who believe that this must be destroyed because it is completely unnecessary. This significantly slows the whole process.

I must mention that in general I am an optimist. I believe that this is headed in the right direction, this is all proceeding sensibly, but there is no lack of new challenges such as immigration. People are drawn to us, they want to be here and this causes a great deal of difficult issues. This is in addition to the difficult issues related to coexistence. Let's include one more issue in this because this was also discussed today: European Union Member States were to a great extent colonial powers. Unfortunately, nothing in life is free. They are paying a terrible price and now we are all paying it for what happened and this unfortunately has major consequences. I attended meetings with African politicians and during every discussion with them, they said, "you should bear the consequences of colonialism for another 100-200 years. You created so much evil." We are talking about the European model. They say: "European model? No way." The European Union is not suspended in mid-air, regardless of context. This is a defined context, this was after World War II, but these are also countries that have their own past. Various issues are very difficult, which makes this a very curious and interesting phenomenon; this is a difficult challenge.

I will give you two answers. Either we will do what the United States did in the 19th century: we will install a center for legalization of status, an immigration center, in Lampedusa. People enter illegally and there is an immigration center that analyzes this from a legal perspective and separates who is a criminal and who is not and legalizes his or her status. In reality this means full legal status. Italians are demanding this, saying that we cannot wait so long. Either we do this or we keep people in camps; this is the example of Malta and the question is, how long do we keep them and what do we do next? They want to

go somewhere. Since this still does not exist, there is no attempt at legalization, only an attempt to grade this: we let some in but not others and these people simply die. We can imagine that someone might operate ferries because these people pay exorbitant sums to gangsters. As a result, if ferries or some kind of ships existed to transport these people, then they would arrive, go to the immigration center and everything proceeds like in the United States. But this would require completely changing the legal structure and mentality, etc. Would this make it easier? Yes. Would crime rates drop? Yes. But in general the issue is to help these countries so that they give people work so they do not need to leave or flee. The problem is that if we support these countries, these funds vanish. This seems a bit like a vicious circle.

Fr. Leszek Gesiak

This is truly a very complex problem and the deputy accurately said that we continue to seek a starting point. However, this is an endless loop. We must remember that every, or nearly every citizen of a non-EU Member State who illegally enters EU territory does so with the aid of smugglers, that is, people who make a great deal of money doing this. To gain entry aboard a boat traveling from Libya to Lampedusa people must spend their life savings and sometimes even become indebted in the hope that when they reach Italy and eventually their final destination state, since their most common indirect destination is Northern Europe, they will begin sending money to repay the loan. All this to get aboard a boat with no certainty that they will make it and arrive at their destination, where they will be accepted as human beings.

In Rome, I visited a place where immigrants from Eritrea to Italy found sanctuary. [There was] a crowd of people in a place where not a single Italian police officer was present. This place is not officially recognized. It cannot legally be discussed because then these people would need to be taken care of. These are hundreds of people in one place; they do not have water and they do not have food. This is certainly not the only such place in Rome. They receive aid and food is delivered so that they survive. These are not any exceptional items, simply saltines and milk. So that they survive. They are well organized. When they gather enough strength, they will move on to Northern Europe because that is where their families are.

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

This is why I will also add that officially Europe is currently home to 507 million people, according to the latest statistics. Currently approximately 134 million from outside Europe reside on European soil. Is this too many or too few from the perspective of development in Europe and the demographic crisis,

etc., and what are the consequences? The European job market currently employs 10 million people from outside of Europe who are registered. In 2014 alone we expect 140 thousand illegal immigrants over the course of one year.

Dr. Lukasz Chimiak

I am a historian and a former diplomat as consul in Bosnia and Herzegovina. I have personal experience with the implementation of the Schengen system but I do not want to expand on this here. However, I want to emphasize two things: first, I think that it is very valuable that our conference will also be reported by the media and that the media will talk about these issues, because thanks to journalists we can break free from our current Polish internal affairs and talk about the wider world and pass on what Father Ziad presented here, which brings us much closer to Syrian problems.

I am hopeful due to the interest of opinion-forming communities, like the people we host here, as well as others who are not affiliated with the Church; here I will mention the excellent Polish reporter Wojciech Tochman who went to Syria and wrote a book. He is a humanist who may be a bit removed from the Church but there are people like him and like those gathered here who bring attention to problems in Syria and Iraq.

The second reflection concerns the financial crisis, which has incited populism and populism feeds off the supposed problem of immigrants. I remember the case of Romanian Roma in France, which shocked me. At the time I worked in the Foreign Ministry. We have a problem with external migration from Syria, from Iraq, from outside the EU and from Bosnia, but our problem is that Schengen was created by members of the "old EU". How can we appeal to the societies of these countries for more understanding of the immigration problem within the EU and outside of it, which we are discussing here, Lampedusa, etc., because I think that this is also a problem of awareness, of making these countries realize what the expansion of the European Union meant, that this was actually beneficial. Sometimes it is perceived as a detrimental phenomenon. Aleksander Smolar, the brilliant Polish political analyst, concluded that there is something like "barbarians at the gate", which means that we all joined the EU, this Schengen area, including Romanian gypsies, and this is the dynamic that the MEP discussed, the dynamic of change in the European Union. How can we change public opinion so that populism does not triumph in politics; it is primarily based on immigration problems and in my opinion also a lack of jobs, fear of the Polish plumber and fear of the Muslim.

Therefore, on the one hand we have hope and on the other, how can we change this national politics because you said it yourself that now politics is more national than communal.

Fr. Patrick Daly, Ph.D.

I am the secretary general of COMECE. I represent one of the few Member States that did not have any colonial territories abroad and I am completely opposed to this, this is why I can provide a somewhat different perspective than other Member States. I believe that our debate should be somewhat expanded. We should consider how air travel completely changed our approach to immigration because now people can move freely, including travel across the ocean. In reality, it seems that these people are guided by two goals: they want to take their whole family across the ocean and settle there. This is similar to how immigrants from Ireland went to the United States through the infamous Ellis Island. However, now we have a whole slew of citizens such as Poles who come to Ireland for a year or two and during their stay they do not really intend to settle there permanently. Many of them take their loved ones, girlfriends and boyfriends and unfortunately, they neither marry Irish women, nor do they marry Irish men. Thus, we must consider how we should treat these people in our country? Do they truly want to settle permanently? This includes 100,000 Poles currently living in Ireland. Do they want to make Ireland a better place, or is their only concern to earn as much money as possible and send it to their families in Poland? This is the same for Lithuanians who work in Ireland; are they only earning money so that they can buy a picturesque home, a small household? I know that these are difficult questions. During the past sixty years we have had this secular liturgy, it seems that it is no longer true that the liturgy is in the language of the country that we grew up in. In Ireland, our masses are still in English. However, in this case how do we include immigrants in this?

I was a pastor in one of the most multi-faith and multi-lingual cities in Ireland. There we had many communities from outside Ireland and unfortunately we could not entice these people to come to an English speaking or Irish church. They said: "no, because we go to Polish mass". On the other hand, these children went to school with my children. What am I talking about? I am talking about these problems with immigration, problems with integration and problems associated with some unwillingness to participate in social life. All of this relates to ease of transport and movement.

The second matter: very many of these people would prefer to live with their brethren in their own country. I am talking about Syrians, citizens of Chad, Cameroon or Poles. In reality, people yearn to live in their own home. This is why it I would think it odd if the long term perspective and long term strategy was for them to invest as much as possible in this country that they came to for several years. It seems to me that we must consider how these models of integration look in Europe. How do we ensure that these large communities that

move from one country to the next want to integrate there, and the second matter is what goes on outside of Europe. Should the European Union invest even more in the countries that immigrants come from?

Fr. Leszek Gesiak

Thus, we have difficult questions. We must remember that in reality, every person who immigrates comes from a given location either to settle permanently or temporarily. He therefore must adopt a strategy for acculturation. This can be in the form of integration, which is a positive process wherein an individual retains their identity and at the same time accepts the identity of the new society and its way of functioning. Alternatively, this can be assimilation, or an attempt to entirely immerse oneself in the lifestyle of the new society, which requires rejection of one's prior identity. This can be separation where a person is closed to relations with the new society and tries to live as if the new reality continues to be a world that does not need to be contacted. Finally there is marginalization, or existing entirely outside the institutions of the new state and national community. A person who does this thinks: I came here to make money and raise myself up but I will return. I am not interested in what exists here. Of course, this is a serious problem. It is also a spiritual one.

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

I think that this is a matter of different perspectives. When we listen to Poles and Polish journalists we see the following: Poles will leave but they will return. They will earn money in Ireland but they will return to Poland. Thus, we have this approach and of course we see this as a patriotic move; we leave abroad and earn for the good of Poland and we return.

When we talk about integration, in principle this is not just about how to integrate these people, it is also about whether these people want to integrate. If they do not want to then it is clear because either we are dealing with typical income immigration and these people do not hide this, saying, "I came to earn money and I will return", or they create some kind of semblance, a kind of illusion that on one hand they want to integrate a little but in reality they are more interested in earning some money.

I will give you a different example, an interesting one: Brussels. You are all very familiar with Brussels. We are even neighbors because COMECE has its headquarters near Parliament. In Brussels it is interesting that when you speak with a Belgian or a Fleming, they are not too fond of European institutions. In general they do not like workers from European institutions. Why? Because they are highly paid, they are in a special tax bracket and they do not pay particularly high taxes and on the other hand they do not integrate, that is, in reality

a European functionary will never be a native of Brussels or consider himself Belgian. These are people employed by European institutions for 10, 20, 30 or even 40 years but they do not consider themselves Belgians or citizens of Brussels, they are Poles, English or French who came to Brussels and will return home after completing this assignment. They do not integrate at all into Brussels life. Therefore, citizens of Brussels do not consider them neighbors or fellow citizens. This is a certain special category of European officials and this somewhat complicates our lives because when we speak with Belgians, these differences and this divide are evident and we should remember this. In any case, this is not just a problem of immigrants. This is an internal problem for the European Union, one that is not so easy to resolve.

I think that it would also be worthwhile to openly tell Poles that this is not just about the Polish perspective because there are also other perspectives since there are still a few Irish people in Ireland who have their own identity and who fought so strongly to have Ireland. To sociologists this American immigration always meant a permanent departure. America, Australia and Canada are typical migrations that mean: I am leaving and I will not return. The new migration in Europe is temporary and this completely changes the paradigm, it changes the situation. This is exceptionally important. I must say that it may turn out that in twenty years Brussels will be the most populous Islamic city in Europe. It seems to me that even the mayor of Brussels will be Muslim. This Muslim community in Brussels is expanding rapidly and officials from European institutions do not have resident status in Brussels, in other words, they cannot participate in elections, so in twenty years Brussels will be the most populous Muslim city in Europe. What a paradox, the capital of Europe will also be the biggest Muslim city in Europe. Of course this is associated with internal relations and also concerns the issue of immigration.

Fr. Leszek Gesiak

Deputy, you mentioned problems with integration that politicians in Brussels experience. It is worth mentioning that this place is home to a special spiritual center for European Union workers, the Foyer Catholique Europeen, which was built in the 1960s when the seeds of the European Community were just beginning to bud. It was built to assume spiritual care over people working in European institutions who wanted to maintain the religious practice but did not want to seek the services of Belgian priests, neither Flemish nor French speaking ones. They also did not want to use the national congregations because they often attracted wealthy immigrants. This is a different group of people than European officials. This necessitated the creation of a place that would satisfy this particular spiritual need. The problem of integration with a majority social

group concerns everyone, including politicians and officials working for the European Union.

Father Ziad Hilal

I want to mention something positive about immigration. Currently in Syria we have very many families that moved to the western part of the country, where there was no work. I asked them: how do you envision your lives without work, without money, and I know that every one of these families sent at least one member to Europe in particular and this one person earns for the whole family and sends money to Syria. Besides this I see that very many immigrants from the Middle East come to mass, we see them every Sunday. I must admit that this fills us with great joy that on Sunday our churches are full thanks in part to migrants.

Fr. Leszek Gesiak

Welcome back after the break and I invite you to share your comments on what we discussed in the first part and to bring up additional problems for us to discuss.

Stephen Biller, EPP Advisor, Secretary General of Al Sharatan

Mr. Moderator, our discussion before the coffee break was exceptionally interesting and important for us all. There is one more important aspect that I wish to include in this. I think that when we talk about various refugees who arrive in Europe, they can be divided into two categories. On the one hand we have well-educated and multilingual refugees from Iraq, Syria and other Arab countries, for example. Often these are people with good qualifications that are useful in our job markets. The second category often consists of those from sub-Saharan Africa, people who have very little to offer our countries. I think that we must treat both categories humanely and we must address their needs.

In 1956 there was a revolution in Hungary, as we all remember; after these events, 300,000 or more Hungarians went to the Austrian border. They wanted to cross the border and Austrians helped them a lot. Austrian families accepted Hungarian families into their own homes. This was something that we should all remember. Austrian Caritas and the UN created a special coordination center in Graz so that every refugee could provide information about where they would like to continue to because it seemed obvious that after these events Communist Hungary would not be a place where people could return.

Today we have a similar situation related to the events in the Arab world. Arab civilization is for the most part currently undergoing a major crisis. This is not only a matter of Christians who are currently there in Iraq, Syria, Egypt

or Libya. Most of these countries are gripped by chaos, states do not function and with all certainty it is important that we help their residents and support them.

On my part I can suggest that we should undertake an initiative to help the Italian side not just to create a center in Lampedusa. In my opinion we should do something to help these people who are trying to cross the Mediterranean Sea and make it to Italy. Let us remember Ceuta and Melilla – these are Spanish enclaves in African territory. I think that we could somehow use this area. My proposal is that on Spanish territory located in Africa we could open centers for refugees and I think that this would greatly relieve the Italian side and potentially eliminate the crisis in Lampedusa. I am of course talking about refugees who have the appropriate ability to move on to other countries, not only in Europe but also outside of Europe and settle there.

Now of course the second part of the question: what can we do to help these people from Black Africa, south of the Sahara, because there will certainly be more of them as a result of the Ebola epidemic, which we have not discussed here at all. I think that the Italian side deserves more support. Let us also remember the situation in Malta. We should support them, including in terms of healthcare for immigrants. I think that a decision should also be made about what else we can do to humanely help these people. First, those who may be infected with Ebola or are part of a high-risk group. Currently we do not have this support and we do not have this ability to effectively help them because of course we do not want to treat refugees like prisoners. After all, most of them have not committed a crime; they simply want to move to a safer country. In my opinion it is also important that we help them, maybe in the way that was discussed earlier, how during the Falklands War, the British transported one thousand people. Maybe we could hire large ships, send them to Africa and help these people safely come to the European Union. Maybe funds from the European Union budget could be used for this purpose. Then this boat, this large ship could drop anchor in the port of La Valette or some other port and maybe for some time some of the refugees could stay on this ship. I think that for a long time now the Italians have been left to their own means and they alone bear the great costs associated with this movement of immigrants. I know that this situation also leads to a large crisis in Italian society and I also think that we should consider specifically what to do to support the Italian side. It is important for us to focus on the human dimension. These are essential and fast actions that should be implemented. There was also talk of other solutions during this discussion but they may require more resources and more time. Thank you.

Fr. Leszek Gesiak

Thank you for that comment and the interesting insight. I think that this is the key to our debate. We have come to the problem of relations between Christianity and Islam, which is difficult politically and socially. We must realize that there is already an ongoing conflict in this area. Within the last few days one of the royals from the Middle East even said that the Islamic-Christian war has already begun. He was primarily referring to the situation in Iraq and the actions of the Islamic State, which has not expressed any interest in cooperation, dialogue or compromise with Christians, which is supported by very specific evidence. I think that we will find this subject very useful for the upcoming discussion. I invite you to continue talking and commenting on our debate.

Father Ziad Hilal

I want to talk about how the situation in the Middle East looks, what kind of relations exist between Muslims and Christians, especially in Syria. In reality, we do not usually have problems with the Muslim community and the Christian community. The only problem came up a long time ago, in 1860 in Damascus when a conflict broke out between Muslims and Christians, but since this time there has not been a de facto problem. Christians in Syria do not have any trouble obtaining various positions such as the prime minister, who is an Orthodox Christian, and similarly one of the ministers is Christian. We have many Christian ministers in the Syrian government. Moreover, this is a result of history, that is, the presence of the French on Syrian territory.

Dialog between the Christian and Muslim worlds has been ongoing for many years now. This is also similar in Lebanon. However, the problem in Syria is not so much based on conflict between the Muslim and Christian worlds. The problem in Syria is the internal conflict among Muslims, among followers of Islam. This is why we cannot talk about discrimination against Christians. This is with the exception of northern Syria because the Islamist movement has pushed Christians, Kurds and other minorities into northern Syria.

As I said before, the problem is not due to relations between Muslims and Christians. There is no conflict here. I wanted to explain this because the situation is different than in Iraq.

Why do Christians in Syria want to remain in their country? Because this conflict does not exist there as far as coexistence goes. However, other countries do not support the Syrian church. This is why Christians in Syria consider the Church the ultimate salvation. For them a priest is like Superman because he can help them and he can support their families; he is truly a hero in their daily lives because a priest helps wives and children, the chaplain can find them work and transfer money and food. The Church in Syria has become synony-

mous with what they consider holy. The Syrian Catholic Church and in general Christianity in Syria can save us and provide us with everything that is necessary. It seems that the Church in Syria has become a replacement for what the government or authorities should take care of and I have many such examples. When a citizen is kidnapped on the road, then usually we first knock on the church doors because the priest will be able to help. This is what citizens do: "please help us find my husband or daughter". If the government arrests someone, some member of our family, then this family also turns to the priest, to the Church. The same is also true for Muslims, not only Christians. However, the problem is that we are not a particularly industrious society. We are not a society that can manage on its own, that is able to act on its own to satisfy all of its own needs.

Another part of the problem is that in Homs, for example, where I work, there are many priests, especially young ones, who apply for a visa and want to flee our country and leave for France or Italy. On many occasions I talked about this, I talked about patriarchs and I talked about the problem of finding appropriate security in terms of spiritual protection. If these young priests leave Syria then our churches will be empty. There will only be bishops without any real spiritual services. This is another problem that concerns our Church.

At the beginning of the crisis in Syria, nobody was particularly concerned with priests. Many of them were refugees, people who had been deprived of their own place of residents. In Syria, as you probably know, we have very many priests with families, who have wives and children. Very often these clergy did not have money to leave our country and move somewhere else. This is why we asked Rome for support, so that these priests could simply receive salaries. This is happening now but this took a long time, we had to wait three years for this and now it is too late. So we have a priest who is unemployed and we know that if he has a family he must support his wife and children, he could work as a teacher but then he is no longer a priest, a spiritual leader. This is the problem of the Church in Syria. We need to do quite a bit in this area.

On the one hand we have very many tasks and on the other hand we have few resources that would help us with this. This is why we constantly plead for help from the Church as well as international institutions. This help is essential for us because only through this will we be able to responsibly turn to our Christians and say, "Stay. Do not abandon our country. Do not become emigrants."

I know that some European churches, as well as the Church in Canada, have turned to our citizens and said: "come, we will give you a visa and you will be able to peacefully live in our country". They are offering a variety of aid, even a place to live. Very many of our citizens said: "yes, we can leave because this will be an opportunity for our children".

If the international Church could support our Church, then maybe in a few years we would not have this problem. However, if there is no such project then it may turn out that in a few years there will not be any Christians in Syria. I am not talking about some kind of fantasy here, this is reality because we see what is happening: Christians are fleeing our country en masse. And there are fewer and fewer of them in Syria and in Lebanon. Every day they show up at our churches demanding help, they ask for visas, for example, to leave to Europe, the U.S. or Canada.

Besides this we have a multitude of various challenges that we must face. However, this is not easy. For example, for our church in Homs it a great challenge that we have only one bishop who in reality must operate this entire church alone; he must be a politician and a father for all of his faithful, a pastor, a person who will speak with the rebels as well as the government side. This role must be filled by the bishop and it is probably difficult to place all of these tasks on one set of shoulders. Unfortunately, this is the situation we are in.

It is difficult to talk about dialog. If we asked Muslims what they want today, they would say: we just want security. There is nothing else we need. They just want peace after 3.5 years of war. In reality the situation is exceptionally difficult. We leave our homes and we are not certain if we will be able to return to them. We talk about bombings and about car attacks. After all, we hear about this every day, that unfortunately another person from our parish has died. Of course this situation is very difficult for the Syrian Church, therefore we have a dilemma: we cannot be the only ones who set out for war against the Islamic State and northern Syria, because this requires many financial resources. This kind of war is very expensive. We do not want to spend money on this and in turn there is a shortage of funds to support the Syrian Church. You asked how to live and what to do to survive in these difficult times. Many priests simply want to leave Syria and go to Sweden. In reality all Syrians dream that one day they will find themselves in Sweden because Sweden is paradise. At the same time, ISIS was not created today. This is an organization that already appeared three years ago; for three years we have been talking about the Islamic State movement, we are talking about what arose and expanded in northern Syria. However, only now is there information about this in the media. The north of Syria is open to all. You can enter and see because the Syrian-Turkish border is open. Nobody was particularly concerned about this earlier. How could we allow jihadists to freely enter Syria and grow in power, and now we must fight them on my territory? This is a serious matter for Europe and also the United States. So many times we talked about jihadists but nobody wanted to listen to us. Yet today the U.S. is saying: "we cannot allow jihadist activity. We cannot allow what the Islamic State wants to spread in Syria." Maybe there are good and bad

terrorists? Maybe this is sometimes the case? But this is our problem because this is happening in our home, this whole Islamist movement is happening around us.

Why are Christians so afraid of the Islamic State? Why do Christians want to leave their country? This is because for them the fact that the government primarily represents the Muslim option means that we will be told how to do everything, what kind of food we can eat, how to dress and what music to listen to, but this is not our culture. This is not part of our lives. This is why Syrian Christians are afraid. This is certainly an enormous problem because in the Church we say: we must love our neighbors and coexist peacefully but they say: why are Muslims not reacting to what ISIS is doing? This is what Christians ask us.

We remember what happened when the cartoons were published in Denmark. Many Muslims protested what they perceived as an enormous provocation. They took to the streets, there were demonstrations and unrest, but now there is no reaction to what the Islamic State is doing in Syria. Literally several days ago I listened to a bishop from Iraq who said: ISIS is not equivalent to Islam, this is not the same. The Muslim Brotherhood is not Islam. Thus, who are Muslims? What do they represent? After all, every time we say that something is not associated with Islam. Therefore, what is Islam? What is true Islam and what is currently happening in the Middle East? And this, as I said, is an enormous problem for our presence in the Middle East.

Another problem, one that shows up in all countries, is that we have a kind of opposition movement against the Church. What should we do today? We should do everything to ensure that Christians want to stay in their country, that they do not leave, that they do not choose the immigrant fate and that they can benefit from the protection of their Church. The Church in the Middle East should help Christians as well as Muslims to stay home in their own country. This is important for Europe and also for us all so that we preserve our culture, our civilization and our dream, which of course is that we stay here, on Christ's land, where Christians really became who they are and took their name as the people of Nazareth. This is what it once was. This is what I want you to understand when I talk about the presence of the Christian Church, the Catholic Church in Syria. This is the essence of our hope tied to the Church's presence, not just in Syria, but also in Jordan, Iraq, Lebanon and maybe later also in Egypt and in the entire Middle East.

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

I would like to add one more comment related to the idea that came up. Oftentimes we have heard the idea to transfer responsibility for illegal immigrants from European territory to North Africa, to create resettlement camps and immigration centers there, to move them to that area. This idea does not currently have support. Please forgive my simplification but we must be aware of certain things; why do these people arrive illegally? I once had the opportunity to be part of an official delegation with Martin Kamp, who is present here, to Tunisia. We were in Tunisia after the Arab Spring and we met with the Tunisian government, including representatives of the Muslim party, to talk about relations between Tunisia and Europe, knowing that people from there also come to Europe. They had one question: do you realize that Tunisian culture is in large part shaped by European culture, particularly French culture? This is of course a colonial matter. We have much closer ties to European culture than to our neighbors who urged us, without concealing this, to accept radical positions. But you Europeans do not want to lift visa restrictions. If you lifted visa restrictions then the situation would be much simpler. We would visit you and you would welcome us without visas, etc.

Please notice that there are people who walk from Eritrea, they walk for a year and reach the coast. We might imagine that they go to some center and ask for a visa, they do not pay gangsters, only an official transporter who transports them across the ocean and with visa in hand or with no visa restrictions they enter Europe in unlimited numbers. The people in Tunisia had the following question: what do you Europeans have to say about this? My response is very simple: there is no political consensus on this to lift visa restrictions. European states currently do not agree to this at all. As a result there are no simplified visa requirements. These visas are expensive, complicated and difficult. What is the result? These people escape one way or another. They escape and sail in the direction of Europe illegally. Of course, they do not sail because they want to sail, only because they cannot complete this journey legally because legal avenues are closed.

Every politician in Europe who would currently say: "we are lifting visa restrictions" is well aware that this would be his last day in office. He would lose in the upcoming election. This is a dramatic situation but in essence, we must loudly say that there is no agreement to open the borders. As a result, we ask how to do this, to not open our borders but ease entry even more? Of course this begs the question for whom? Is it for the brightest, most interesting and most talented who will benefit us or also those who want to be with us or who are similar to us and are fleeing but who will adapt? There is no simple answer for today but certainly today there is no political approval for opening borders. Please recall the discussion that occurred with regard to visa restrictions with Ukraine, yet this of course is not a distant culture.

Fr. Leszek Gęsiak

Therefore, are we open to this influx of immigrants? Deputy, you touched on another interesting matter, that is, if we accepted them, then we would like to select only the good ones who have skills. In other words, we would further weaken the already meager potential of states where immigrants come from. This leaves the current question: if we open up to those with qualifications, will we also want to accept the regular simple people who constitute the majority of immigrants on the boats?

There is one more matter of camps for immigrants outside the territory of a given state. Australia, for example, as part of an international agreement, places refugees, especially those from Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, Iraq and Iran, on Manus Island within the territory of Papua New Guinea. They are taken there and that is where they undergo all immigrations procedures associated with applying for asylum in Australia. This is another solution that is being used in the world but it also has serious disadvantages. Unfortunately, it seems that there is no ideal system.

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

We touched on one more problem, that is, the emigration of priests. I do not want to in any way open this up but please notice that this is a kind of imagined concept. For the good of humanity, for the good of your culture, identity and civilization, we know that your situation is bad but we tell these people "you should stay there". But these people say: "our situation is bad. We want to leave this place." "But for the good of civilization you should stay there." The question: is this honest? This is on top of the fact that we touched a difficult subject, that priests are leaving, the ones who also see that this is the end.

Fr. Leszek Gęsiak

But some of them stay! Priests also stayed in Iraq, the nuncio in Baghdad stayed, although most Christians probably fled from there.

Ryszard Buczek, Silesian Association of Choirs and Orchestras, Katowice

I represent a social musical movement. We generally add beauty to this life and we add color. My question is: the whole time here we have been talking about immigration within the bounds of existing states. However, I have always wondered about the problem of people who had to move around, whose borders someone once redrew, either after a war or after new countries were formed, whether in the Balkans or after the fall of the Soviet Union. Do we have enough time to touch upon this matter of how to perceive these people, these humans and these residents who are in this situation?

Prof. Natalia Siejko

I am the Dean for Science and International Cooperation at Zytomierz University in Ukraine. In terms of open borders I must say that the war in Ukraine is not just a military war. This is really a religious war, a war of cultures and a war of mentalities. For Western Ukraine, the border with Western Europe is almost open because according to sociological studies, nearly 60% of youths and adults crossed the border once or twice and went to Poland, Germany, France or even the United States. However, in eastern Ukraine, 70% of people went to Russia and only 5-6% went to Western Europe. These numbers most likely mean that this is really a war of mentalities.

Opening borders is not so important for people to simply go and work in Poland. Two years ago at the university we conducted a study on the number of students who would like to move to Western Europe. It turns out that more than half of respondents wanted to. We conducted the same study almost a month ago and it turns out that this number of students is smaller. They want to stay in Ukraine because young people know that Ukraine has problems and that young people are the first who can solve these problems. I think that there is no need to fear Ukrainians in Europe.

First off, we need, I say this as a scientist, scientific projects and cultural projects so that we have no problem participating in the Erasmus program or other educational programs so that the transfer system in Ukraine is not just written on paper, so that it works and so that qualifications can be obtained from European universities. In 2011, almost ten people from Zytomierz University went to study in Poland. Today, on September 1st we have twenty people and this is not the end, this means that students start masters studies in our country and then they are accepted to study in Warsaw or Krakow. They simply do this independently because we do not have this system of projects.

Speaker from the audience

I feel the need to share a comment with you. Not too long ago I heard a speech by a representative of Islam who said that he is absolutely furious that the world currently associates Islam with the Islamic State and that in essence, what they consider most important is entirely different. I think that we should also bring attention to this.

Dr. Cezary Koscielniak

I want to ask MEP Olbrycht a question, namely, how do you envision the opportunity to advance or solve the immigration problem using EU resources for third world countries, that is, maybe one of the problems with immigration

is not just the problem of what to do with people who want to emigrate in the future, but how do we engage in aid politics in these countries?

The Dean spoke of these programs; there are many such initiatives, Germany is a good example of this, for example, Technische Universitaet in Berlin opened a campus in Egypt where Egyptians are taught by Germans and they do not just have a technological focus, for example, people can also initiate conversations about cultural models, about what Western values are. This is an example that seems worth recommending.

In other words, I think that preventive politics is definitely necessary, at least in the context of what Archbishop Montenegro said. However, if we are to look at this in the long term, then stopping these processes will be possible if this wealthy northern part of the world is willing to do something for the poorer southern world and strives for the development of these societies. Therefore, my question is: in the short term financial perspective, does the European Commission intend to expand or maybe reduce expenditures for this purpose and are there any new strategic goals that must be achieved in this context, because the problem is undoubtedly growing from what we can tell.

Speaker from the audience

I am a chaplain for students at the Catholic University in Lviv. I want to mention one aspect, namely, a kind of skeptical approach to Europe. This skepticism concerns closer ties with Europe. I admit that we have much more information about Western Europe and about democratic values but this information is primarily known in the western and central part of Ukraine. However, in the east, I willingly admit this, the spread of propaganda leads to misinformation. This is related to the fact that Ukrainian media are under the influence of Russian oligarchs and also Russian media. Thus, we see that as part of the fight for freedom, the nation has woken and more and more young people realize this and decide that they want to create and fight for their countries.

At the same time, if we look at certain processes in Western Europe, phenomena such as the economic crisis and corruption; besides, this corruption at the political level often leads to crisis. If we observe these kinds of things, people become skeptical because on the one hand we are fighting for a lawful state, a state of law, and on the other hand we hear about these phenomena. This is why I want to ask the MEP whether these topics are also being debated in Brussels because corruption in Western Europe must be fought. We cannot allow for subventions that are transferred to vanish into nothing. If we listen and follow these kinds of information, then this continues to be dissonant with these European values that we often discuss.

However, I do not fully agree with what the professor said, if I understood correctly, that this is a war with religious undertones. There is no such thing in Ukraine, regardless of faith. There are Muslims and there are Greek Catholics. When I say Muslims I am mostly referring to Crimean Tatars and also Chechens, who are primarily in favor of Ukrainian independence and protection of human rights. However, in terms of the Orthodox Church, there are attempts to politicize this faith but this is in reality the work of experts from Russia who are directing this and who are trying to influence the developing situation.

Speaker from the audience

I represent Ukraine. I want to say a few words about my country. I am a member of the European Parliament and I want to support my colleague and also say a few words about corruption in Europe. Of course, there are very many things we must do in Ukraine to align ourselves with European standards of corruption because unfortunately corruption in Ukraine is very prevalent. However, as far as religious war is concerned, I also agree with my colleague. There are many changes occurring in terms of people's mentality because this is not really about conflict between Russia and Ukraine. There is an enormous difference here because the East doesn't just have a Russian mentality, this is a Soviet mentality and people there do not know what a Ukrainian or European mentality is. They only know what the Soviets forced them to know. This is why I think the Church's role is very important here in Ukraine. I must admit that Ukrainians unfortunately associate the Orthodox Church with the Soviets and, believe me, this is why this multitude of changes is occurring. I could give many examples.

In small towns and villages, not only in western Ukraine, but also in central Ukraine, inhabitants go to churches but they want this to be the Church of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Church. For example, I frequently venture into these counter-terrorist areas, that is, I try to observe the situation and that the Catholic Church has a large presence. There are many priests who talk to people and citizens say that they are very surprised by this presence of Catholic clergy, that these Catholic priests are so different than Greek Catholic clergy, they are quieter, withdrawn and at the same time they try to help.

This is why I am drawing your attention to the necessity of this help. It is not the case that people in Ukraine do not always want help, they just do not know how to obtain it. Likewise, the Church does not always know how to arrange this. The whole country is taking up the debate about this subject. Ukraine is now fighting for the Christian values that it has in common with Europe. We are now embodying these European Christian values. After all, Ukrainian history is old and long, yet few people are aware of this. We all talk about the extensive

and beautiful history of Russia, Rusi, and few people remember that Ukraine is also a country with a great, rich and beautiful history. We forget about this. Once again I want to emphasize that Catholic priests visit our citizens and even go to the front line. Aid is provided by organizations such as Caritas.

It seems that Orthodox priests who somewhat come from the old system do not want to accept modern challenges, which state that they should act differently. This is a big challenge but the situation is complicated; after all, we are talking about a war. Very many priests with whom we speak are involved in evacuating Ukrainians – women and children – and they say that they had never before seen such events during their lives. They do not even remember such cruelty in places where there were massive armed conflicts. This is why I want to appeal for you to pay more careful attention to what is happening in eastern Ukraine. Seek out information and remember that this is not a threat to Europe.

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

In terms of societies that have found themselves in a situation where the border moved and they remained, then this is no different from the situations that arise in Northern Africa, for example. As a result of a political process, someone is simply chased away and becomes a person who seeks his place. Some of them stay as locals; near the Polish border, we know how this looks from the other side. These are people who are of course immigrants in the country to which they flee or they are expelled to this country, however, this is not a different situation. This is a typical situation after wars where new borders were created. Please notice that one of the elements that the Russian government is currently proposing is undermining existing borders. This is not only about Ukraine; this is about the arrangement of borders in Europe. If borders were mostly created as a result of war, as a result of agreements and of course people suffered as a result because they were resettled or expelled, these were not friendly agreements, they were peace decisions. If someone undermines these borders and says that maybe everyone should go wherever they want, then this could become a major war. Therefore, this is a very serious issue.

The second issue concerns relations with Ukraine. Allow me to generalize. I remember when a group of clergy from different churches came to the European Parliament, including the Moscow Church. There were also Catholics, Protestants and the Orthodox Church and there were Muslims. They came to Brussels to talk about the future of Ukraine in the European Union. This was before Maidan.

We asked them: good, but do you realize what you are trying to accomplish? Here I want to mention what the Father said: this image of Ukraine that is being created. It is not enough that this is dangerous, most importantly the image of the European Union that is being created in Ukraine, in Russia and in Poland is that this is the center of the fight against Christianity. The European Union undermines Christian values. It is news to me what you said, Father, that the EU is corrupt. This is news! I have not heard this.

In terms of corruption surrounding European subventions, it is marginal. This is not a European problem. There are cases of embezzlement but I have not heard any debate in the European Parliament where we said that there is some kind of corruption in the European Union. It is a marginal matter like everywhere else; nothing is going on. However, the problem of Christianity is a very difficult matter.

We asked these clergy whether they were aware that they want Ukraine to join the European Union, even though it is supposedly terribly anti-Christian. Then they all said (except for the one from Moscow, who was silent): “We know all of this. However, we believe that even in the face of all of the threats against Christianity that exist in the European Union, this is the only sensible path for Ukraine.”

In the long term, since we also discussed this during the break, it is not true that the EU is anti-Christian. It is true that in the Western world we have very serious anti-Christian movements that appear in European Union Member States and partly in the EU. This is true. Is this a threat to Christianity? Yes. Is this a threat derived from the European Union? No. Is this a threat derived from changes in Western civilization? Absolutely yes. This does not entirely change the situation. I would say that for us it was shocking that all of these clergy emphatically said that the European Union is the right direction with all of the difficulties that exist there. This is because it is a place of peace and justice. They believe that for the Ukrainian nation it is important that it stands with the whole world and does not fall into the hands of an entirely different culture, which we are discussing here and as a result of this people need information and they need European programs; I completely agree with this. This about saying how it truly is. Of course, we cannot idealize the European Union. This is absolutely not heaven on Earth, where everything is good, everything is wonderful, etc. This is a normal world with all of its troubles, etc. Idealizing the European Union will only cause harm because telling someone that there is a perfect place ensures that a person will think this is a complete lie.

I am a pro-European politician but the last thing I would do is idealize the European Union. Of course, over here it is much better than elsewhere, but in various areas it is very difficult. We should not idealize, we must say the truth about the European Union, the truth about what is good, what is difficult and what is better, this is something that is curious, interesting and important. But we must also be truthful about all of the difficulties.

Mr. Koscielniak asked me a question about what is happening with aid initiatives, also known as developmental politics in the European Union. One year ago my response would have been different than today. I would have said that the European Union is working on extensive initiatives as part of a global partnership; in other words, working together with third world countries. The problem is that in the case of immigrants who sail to the European Union, if we want to create a solid program in some country, to give them better conditions, then there must be a country that wants to work together with the EU, that is, a country that is willing to create such a program. However, if this is a country that is not willing to work together with the EU, or even worse, it violates all human rights, then in essence it is difficult to help this country propose an aid program to retain people because this country breaks all the rules and these people are escaping this country.

If this was a matter of people fleeing a country that does not have money, that requires aid, because this country wants to retain people, then this truly would be sensible politics and we should have aid programs for this. What you talked about: building universities and centers, etc., helping countries retain people. However, if the country does not want to retain these people and does everything it can to push them out, then this politics does not work out and this is a fiasco.

Father, please do not believe in this corruption. This is simply a lie. This is not true. These things do not exist. Instances occur but they are completely regular and normal, this is not characteristic of the EU. Corruption is not something that would be an important part of this construct. I assure you. In terms of the Soviet mentality, I like this very much, when I speak with our Russian friends and we talk about the European Union and we say "European Union" and they say "Evropeyski Soyuz". This gives us the chills because they could say "Evropeyska Unia" in Russian, this would be somewhat of a neologism but it would sound better. Saying "Evropeyski Soyuz" really means that this is the same thing; that these are the same mechanisms, which many Polish politicians would agree with. But I think that very many people are convinced about this, that somewhere in their minds, one *Soyuz* was replace by a second *Soyuz* and is in no way better or actually even worse. However, if someone thinks like a Soviet then he cannot conceptualize otherwise.

Father Ziad Hilal

I can say that I agree with you, madam. We heard a comment that Muslims do not want their faith to be defined by the Islamic State. This really is the case. We have jihadists on one hand but they do not represent the whole world of Islam. The problem is that many leaders in the Muslim world, especially in the

Middle East, do not have the ability to clearly express themselves regarding the differences between the Islamic State and the Muslim community in general. There are many difference but we do not hear much about this. If you want I can say more about the meaning of the word "jihad". Nobody really knows or nobody currently tells us what jihad means. Sheikhs or Imams can freely use this word to further their own goals. This was clearly seen in Syria, in Homs. Three or four sheiks in Homs said, "today we begin jihad against the citizens of Syria, against Christians or against other Muslims". This is a significant problem, different interpretations of various words in the Islamic world.

It was similar in Egypt in terms of the Islamic State. Not much is clearly said about what this state is and what its views are. Sheik Azlavi and another well-known person often talk about Islam, about the role of Muslims, but in reality they are not interested in what ISIS is doing in Syria or in Iraq. There are various theories regarding the Muslim religion, various approaches to this religion and it is difficult to really find clearly defined views about this religion.

We know that Syrians or Arabs in our country, or rather all Muslims, really dream about living in a Muslim state. Let us remember the difference in meaning of "Muslim state" and "Islamic State"; they are entirely different. "Law of God" – what does this mean in our world? It means that in a state that would only be ruled by the law of Allah, there would be no place for other religions. People approach this differently.

In terms of the Arab mentality, there are major differences between various countries. I will give the following example: imagine that three women are President of Pakistan, Bangladesh and Indonesia. These are Muslim countries that have female presidents. In Arab countries it would be difficult for us to imagine a situation where a woman becomes head of state. Why is this? This is a question that we should ask residents of Arab countries because during the Arab Spring, a great deal was said about democracy and freedom. Residents of Tunisia to a large extent favored the Muslim movement during the election and in Egypt the Muslim Brotherhood also received very many votes during the election. I think that it would be similar in Syria if free elections were held.

As a Christian, I can also say that I would like to live in a Christian country. Maybe this is possible in Poland, but probably not for us. It is difficult to clearly discover some of the views of Muslim religious leaders regarding the future of religion. I mentioned the meaning of the word jihad; this meaning also changes over the course of history. In reality, religious leaders are often afraid of the faithful. This is a large problem that I see today in our world in terms of ISIS and other movements; similar problems are showing up in Lebanon, Salafists and other movements, that we must remember. Lebanon has many internal prob-

lems and not much is being said in the media about this topic. Many people in Lebanon favor a government dominated by Islamists and the same is true in Egypt, Tunisia and Iraq. I do not know how this is in other Muslim countries; maybe it is different in Pakistan or Indonesia, because I do not have detailed information.

Many people in Syria and in the Middle East, including myself, are expecting that we will at some point have clear views expressed by Islamic leaders, who will clearly say that the most important issues are peaceful coexistence and mutual respect, that on their part they will be able to support democratic principles and the principles for peaceful coexistence not just for Muslims but also for Christians and other people who live in the Middle East.

Speaker from the audience

I have been listening to your discussion the entire time because I represent an educational institution: the Foundation for the International Youth Meeting House in Oswiecim. For years we have worked on education, for which we also invite youth from Eastern European countries, primarily from Ukraine, but also from Russia, Belarus and we also have volunteers from Ukraine. As a result we see the changes that are occurring for these young people after our seminars and conferences. I want to appeal to the MEP as a representative of the European Parliament to further develop projects such as the European Volunteer Service or Erasmus and to direct this at young people. In the 1980s I took advantage of German projects aimed at young Poles and later as a teacher for many years I was involved in a Polish-German exchange, which is why I am deeply convinced that these projects have a very powerful impact on shaping not only awareness but also mentality, which are related.

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

We started by saying that migrations are nothing new in world history; however, we must mention one thing, that this phenomenon is undergoing qualitative changes. Based on our conversation it is very clearly evident that we are participants and witnesses to a new process that is qualitatively different than the one that occurred five, ten or fifteen years ago and that requires, first, understanding and, second, an active position to prepare ourselves for these processes to support them for the good of Europe. In Poland's case it seems that it is high time for educational initiatives. This may be the last chance to truly undertake intensive educational initiatives, ones that will enable, when the time comes, us to understand other cultures and understand others, but this goal first requires understanding ourselves, who we are, what we are made of. Without this we will not understand others. This is the reason for my appeal, this is urgent. We

must begin this immediately and prepare for a different world, an entirely new one and an entirely unknown one.

Father Ziad Hilal

Above all I have faith in our Church. I believe that we are able to do a lot of good for our people and I am glad that these kinds of meetings are organized because the role of the Church concerns not just defending the institution of the Church; it is primarily about defending people and civilization in the Middle East. In Europe as well. The role of the Church is to organize meetings and tell the world exactly what happened. The Church must become the voice of reality. It cannot be the case that the media plays this bad role at a time when the Church holds its tongue. There is no permission for this. These kinds of meetings like our conference today or meetings between representatives of the Church and politics can ensure that we really will be able to do something for people who need our help. This is especially important for migrants, for refugees and for banished people. We are not allowed to worry about how today's Church sometimes does this. We cannot react with indifference. We must defend and protect our people everywhere, not just in Europe, not just in the United States or Canada, but also in the Middle East, in Asia and wherever this is needed, because if we do not do this then the terrorists will come for us.

Fr. Leszek Gęsiak

Many thanks to thank our panelists and many thanks to the audience! Today we discussed many problems, which we also just heard in the summaries. The EU is a place of freedom, security and justice. Additionally, as it turns out, it is a place that is unable to find a good solution to the migration problem that is ongoing on our continent and in the EU. We discussed threats and we talked about what will happen to future Christian-Muslim relations. We discussed Syria and Ukraine. I think that we have been enriched and are also possibly full of new ideas that came up during our forum. I want to conclude this meeting with one more brief fragment from the already cited message of Pope Francis for the World Day of Migrants and Refugees. I propose that we use this thought from the Holy Father, which of course sets a certain course for the Church, including the Church in Europe, as our guide. The Pope writes:

> "It is a matter of us being the first to notice and helping others see that a migrant or refugee is not a problem that needs to be solved but a brother or sister who should be accepted, respected and loved, the opportunity that we are given by Providence, to have input in building a just society, a better democracy, a more united state,

a more fraternal world and a more open Christian community according to the Liturgy."

(Migrants and Refugees: Towards a Better World, Message of His Holiness Pope Francis for the World Day of Migrants and Refugees 2014).

Thank you very much to Kember of the European Parliament Jan Olbrycht and Fr. Ziad Hilal, a Jesuit and director of the refugee center in Homs for participating in our panel. Thank you for a very interesting and interactive session in which we could participate together. I wish you all a good evening! Until next year!

II Working Group

Social Market Economy – The answer to the crisis

Flaminia Giovanelli

Undersecretary of the Pontifical Commission Justitia et Pax

Your eminence, excellencies,
representatives of government and dear friends,

Foremost I would like to thank His Eminence Cardinal Stanislaw Dziwisz and His Excellence Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek for inviting me to this important annual conference dedicated to the role of the Catholic Church in the European integration process and deliberations on European issues in a city that was the diocese of St. John Paul II.

These two issues, European integration and the Saint, transport me in time: the first one to when fifty years ago I lived in Brussels and attended a European school and the second one to the pontificate of the Holy Pope who was chosen when I had already been serving for three years in the Pontifical Commission Justitia et Pax.

Even the suggested topic, reflection on the social market economy, in reality recalls a past time that is even more distant, as the birth of this economic model, as we know, dates back to the historic period immediately preceding World War I. These days this event is commented on in various parts of the world. This is exactly why before I try to answer the question that is in the title of my talk, "Social market economy, a solution to the crisis?", I will attempt to answer another one: Does it still make sense to think about this model for economic development in today's world?

I. DOES IT STILL MAKE SENSE TO THINK ABOUT A SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY IN TODAY'S WORLD?

Yes, it does make sense. If we start with certain essential lessons, then it will turn out that even today or maybe even especially today, reflection on the social market economy is useful.

I.1 I will first list the **reasons associated** with the economic and financial crisis that started in 2008 and with the current phase of the European integration process, which is the main subject of debate at the Krakow conference.

In such a brief talk there is of course no room to explain the history of a term that is nearly impossible to define, as is the case for social market economy[1]; nevertheless, we need to at least mention a correlation between the words of Prof. Mueller-Armack spoken immediately after the war and the words of Prof. Mario Monti, which appeared in his report presented to President of the European Commission J. E. Barroso in 2010. Both of these instances were exceptionally difficult, albeit for different reasons, but both brought poverty to residents of Europe – widespread poverty after World War II and relative, although no less serious, poverty today. Either way, in 1948 the response was a distrust of the market economy and even "rejection of the free market"[2]. As Mueller-Armack noted, it was Prof. Monti who two years after the economic and financial crisis believed that "a certain exhaustion of the market is noticeable and the ubiquity and permanence of trust in the market economy have fallen to the lowest level since the 1980s"[3].

This statement leads to a brief mention of the serious crisis that still grips a sizeable portion of Europe, a crisis characterized by the growth of inequality in a poorly governed globalization process. Many have talked and written about the causes and nature of the crisis. Out of convenience and loyalty to the institution I represent I will refer to certain documents from the Pontifical Council. The *Note on the subject of finance and development* published by the dicastery at the end of 2008 defined the financial crisis as predominantly a crisis of trust and among its primary causes they saw operators' excessive reliance on the mechanism of financial support[4]. Three years later when the crisis continued and became worse, the Pontifical Council published another document that in addition to returning to a very detailed analysis of the reasons for this situation, also suggested certain concrete proposals for reforming the international financial and monetary system from the perspective of worldwide political authorities[5]. These topics were later discussed at a seminar that took place in July and to which we will return.

The crisis that we are experiencing, even if it is the result of human errors, is rather a "crisis of meaning", and therefore it is more difficult to overcome, that which hit Western societies at the beginning of globalization. It is rooted in three dichotomies: division between the economic and social spheres, between work and generating wealth and between the market and democracy[6]. Therefore out of necessity to eliminate these divisions, in my opinion there is a second motivation for why it is worth discussing social market economy today. The last, in terms of time, point of reference for a member of the European Union is the Lisbon Treaty, where for the first time in Article 3, it clearly states that the goal of the EU is a *highly competitive social market economy.* This can be the path of EU members, in line with their tradition, to fill in the aforementioned divisions between the social and economic spheres, between work and accumulating wealth and between the market and democracy. Success depends, I think, on the ability of this economic model to adapt to the extensive changes that accompany globalization and on the various natures and cultures of European nations[7], as well as the ability of European institutions to contribute to the study of rules for governing globalization, especially in certain sectors such as the environment.

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[1] According to the words of Prof. Lachmann: "The concept of social market economy is a synthesis of different concepts of economic politics rooted in German tradition. It is not an economic theory; its precise definition is nearly impossible." Ref. Lachmann, W., *The Genesis and Principles of Social Market Economy*, pg. 18, or Lachman, W. and Roesner, H.J. ed. *Social Security and Social Market Economy*, Sankt Augustin, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, 1995. European bishops gathered at COMECE in 2011 noted that this term refers "more to an economic model and its foundations are philosophical and legal principles from Greco-Roman antiquity and Biblical theology." *Une Communauté Européenne de solidarité et de responsabilité. Déclaration sur l'objectif d'une économie sociale de marché compétitive dans le Traité de l'UE*, 2012, pg.9.

[2] Müller-Armack,A., *I sistemi economici da un punto di vista sociale*, pub. in Ordo, "Jahrbuch für die Ordnung von Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft", vol.I, Godesberg, 1948, in *Economia sociale di mercato,* Roma, Telesio, 1980, pg. 103.

[3] Monti, M., "A new strategy for the single market. At the service of Europe's economy and society", May 9 2010, a.3, *ec.europa.eu/…/monti_report_final_10_05_2010_.*

[4] Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, "New international financial pact. Note on finances and development of the UN General Assembly in Doha", Citta del Vaticano, November 18, 2008, pg. 12.

[5] Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, "PW direction of reforming the international financial and monetary systems in the perspective of public authorities with a worldwide focus", Citta del Vaticano, LEV, 2011.

[6] Zamagni, S., "Caritas in veritate. Una clave para la interpretación de la crisis", in *Humanitas*, April 2012, pg. 28.

[7] cfr., COMECE, op. cit., pg. 13.

I.2 If the economic crisis and the Lisbon Treaty are good reasons to consider social market economy, it is also true that without **certain fundamental assumptions** this would be a futile mental exercise. I will present three that I consider most important.

1) Faith in Europe. In contrast to the trends that in the current geopolitical context place more value on other areas such as the Pacific Ocean, we must believe that Europe, thanks to its history and its perspectives, is a privileged place to face the crisis in an innovative and decisive manner.

2) Faith in European values. As the bishops gathered at COMECE in 2012 wrote: "the idea of social market economy is rooted in Christianity, the Western image of a person and in the unity of ethical justice and merciful justice that characterizes European culture and which is derived from Greek philosophy, Roman law and the Bible"[8]. However, in countries of the European Union that are becoming more multicultural, this is not at all an indisputable fact.

However, the third assumption is not disputed. Derived from Ordoliberalism, a social market economy brings respect for rules and **order**. Even further, it brings moral order, without which legal and economic order cannot harmoniously develop. In this environment moral order is especially a barrier dividing liberalism from permissiveness, a stateless market from a market guided by the state, which is responsible for adhering to common rules[9]: "in addition to the economic dimension," says John Paul II, "investing always has a moral dimension"[10]. All of this at a time of the "dictatorship of relativism", which includes fierce rivalry that characterizes the phenomenon of globalization, is exceptionally difficult to realize.

II. SOCIAL MARKET ECONOMY: A SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS?

Asking this question in reality means considering whether in the present time in history, social market economy is a solution to the following challenge: making the transition from a model of globalization characterized by radical liberalism and post-modernist relativity of values to a new order that respects fundamental human rights; order based on criteria of subsidiarity and solidarity that promotes different liberalism, or liberalism based on normalized relations between state and market[11].

[8] *Ibid*.

[9] cfr. Velo, D. e F., *A Social Market Economy and European Economic Monetary Union*, Schwiz, Peter Lang Verlagsgruppe, 2013, pg. 40 in the Italian version.

[10] St. John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus*, n. 36.

[11] cfr. Coccopalmerio, F., Presentazione del Volume di Velo D. e F., op. cit., pg. 2.

II. 1 The response to the question is supported by the fact that as Prof. Mueller-Armack believed, a social market economy is a "style, **an idea that needs to be developed**" or even better: "a style, an idea awaiting development", "a concept that is able to flexibly respond to the influx of new problems that come with every age"[12].

Therefore, this is about assisting the evolution of social market economy so that this system inspired by social justice responds to the crisis appropriately and stops the growth of inequality and rebuilds the conditions for equality that are the most important for achieving the common good. To study the phenomenon of growing inequality, based on what Pope Francis calls "global indifference" and to work out a strategy for an inclusive economy[13], at the invitation of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, in July a group of representatives of the academic world, international institutions, enterprises and civil society gathered at the Vatican. They emphasized the urgent need to escape primarily three kinds of reductionism. The first, which concerns the person, consists of viewing him as an economic factor that is primarily guided by egoism, while, as we know, in the context of cooperation egoism is a lower form than rationalism because reason is an essential part of humanity. The second reductionism that we must escape concerns economically active subjects, private or national, viewed as simple units guided by the production of goods and services or maximizing profits for owners of capital. Meanwhile, enterprises (national as well as private) represent a particular union of social and production goals that deeply permeates the lives of all stakeholders and they cannot only be guided by capitalists' pursuit of maximizing production or gains. The third kind of reductionism is the concept of value in economics. "Wealth of nations" does not just include the amount of goods and services produced in a given territory in a defined period of time (gross domestic product). Instead, this is the sum of cultural goods and natural, economic, social and spiritual wealth, which contribute to the growth of the common good[14].

[12] cfr. Lachmann, W.: "A stylistic idea in need of development or a stylistic idea awaiting for development, a concept capable of responding with great versatility to the constant stream of new problems presented by every era", *op cit*., pg. 19.

[13] cfr. Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, 54.

[14] cfr. Papal Commission for Justice and Peace, Seminar on the topic "The Global Common Good: Towards a more Inclusive Economy", Citta del Vaticano, July 11-12, 2014, http://www.iustitia-etpax.va/content/giustiziaepace/it/eventi/convegni-realizzati/2014/comunicato-stampa—seminario-di-alto-livello-in-vaticano-organi1.html

II. 2 Europe, a social market economy, faithful to its roots and as a developing system, can overcome these three kinds of reductionism and at the same time stand face to **serious new challenges that globalization brings to the continent**. Setting aside financial, monetary and fiscal issues, I am only referring to those that in large part impact the lives of residents: unemployment, the crisis in the social welfare system and issues of energy and environment.

However, let's remember that these critical phenomena are accompanied by a certain positive feature that characterizes our time: the constant and growing power of civil society, which in a certain sense is the solution to the fall of politics and institutions and also to the desire to resurrect certain old, forgotten ideologies. This spirit of citizenship and sense of participation in the common good is bearing fruit.

In light of this phenomenon, the transformation of the social market economy system[15] will enjoy success if it yields more space in the area of production for non-profit companies of the cooperative kind or *Impact Investing*[16].

Overall, if it yields to these kinds of enterprises that *Caritas in Veritate* described as "a new, broad and complex reality that engages the private and national sectors, that does not prevent profit, but considers it an instrument that serves the realization of human and social goals"[17]. All of this will be beneficial for employment, for cooperation, which has always passed the test in times of crisis and in recent years has literally exploded[18], but it will also benefit a system of welfare organized by the state. Although the system of state welfare continues to be a significant element, there is no doubt that it currently needs support. Bishops of the European Community also approvingly view the large number of initiatives that, in their opinion, are in line with forms of free solidarity and ensure that the market becomes more dynamic. As a result, bishops want these forms of solidarity to be given particular attention from the perspective of creating a European social market economy, with priority given to the solutions

[15] cfr. Zamagni, Vera, "Passato e futuro dell'economia sociale di mercato", in Atlante Geopolitico 2012, http://www.treccani.it/geopolitico/approfondimenti/passato-e-futuro-delleconomia-sociale-di-mercato.html

[16] To discuss this kind of finance, the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace organized a seminar in June of last year titled "Investing for the Poor: How Impact Investing Can Serve the Common Good in the Light of Evangelii Gaudium", http://www.iustitiaetpax.va/content/giustiziaepace/it/eventi/convegni-realizzati/2014/investing-for-the-poor—how-impact-invest-ing-can-serve-the-comm.html.

[17] Benedict XVI, *Caritas in veritate*, n. 46.

[18] Tiraboschi, M, "Il lavoro con riferimento alle politiche sociali ed economiche globali", report presented at the seminar Peace: New Challenges organized by the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace on October 4, 2013, in *Domus Pacis* di Roma, in *www.iustitiaetpax.va*.

that it generates in cases where it turns out that they are equivalent with national or market solutions[19].

I will briefly mention the issue of environmental protection closely related to energy, as the winds of war show in Europe as they bring the scent of oil and gas[20]. Art. 3 of the Lisbon Treaty appropriately emphasizes that the economic dimension is only one dimension of the problem that we are currently facing. The article combines the pursuit of economic growth through a highly competitive social market economy with a high degree of protection and improved quality of the natural environment. This is truly one of the greatest challenges facing Europe, which, as the bishops of COMECE emphatically note, in addition to the protection of socio-economic resources, requires redefinition of the relationship between person and nature from an ethical and anthropological perspective as well as coming up with a different concept of development. Environmental protection can no longer be a limiting factor; it must become the subject of development in a society that recognizes environmental quality as an integral part of well-being[21].

However, the challenge posed by the issue of ecology also concerns the role of the European Union and Member States in a broader global context. Environmental protection as well as the preservation of common goods in the European region and throughout the world requires international management, which is currently still insufficient: this can be seen in the mobilization at the end of 2014 as a result of the conference, summit and marches that were meant to bring attention to the serious problem of climate change. However, on the other hand we must remember that this need for united action at the international level does not mean a reduction in the responsibilities of individual countries. Their task is to ensure the protection of common goods that cannot be protected by regular market mechanisms[22].

In reference to managing the environment, shouldn't the European Union be the primary factor in the "polyarchic subsidiarity", which Benedict XVI saw as a path that the management of globalization must follow?[23]

[19] cfr. COMECE, *op. cit*., pg. 13.

[20] On the topic of energy, in 2013 the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace published the document *Energia, giustizia e pace*, as of recently it is available in English and Spanish, Citta del Vaticano, LEV, 2013

[21] cfr. COMECE, *op. cit*., pg. 22.

[22] cfr. Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, *Energia* etc. *op. cit*. pg. 101, referring to the treachings of John Paul II Paolo II, *Messaggio per la Giornata Mondiale della Pace* 1990, n. 9 and the encyclical *Centesimus Annus*, n. 40.

[23] cfr. Benedetto XVI, *Caritas in Veritate*, n. 57.

III. THE DAY BEFORE POPE FRANCIS' VISIT TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The association between social market economy and the social teachings of the Church is well known but on the day before Pope Francis visits the European Parliament it is worth considering at the end of my presentation how this is **associated with Papal social teaching**.

The Secretary of the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace dedicated a long analysis to this topic prior to the conference organized in Rome by the Pontifical Lateran University and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation[24]. In it, His Eminence Bp. Mario Toso underscored that although popes have often emphasized the necessity of development and implementing social economy into practice as the most appropriate for reaching goals that serve the common good, the term "social market economy" does not exist in Papal teachings prior to Benedict XVI (actually prior to Francis). Social economy, which was discussed in these teachings, the Secretary of the Papal Commission underscores, is more of a perspective than a concrete and defined system; it constantly changes and based on the anthropological vision that enlightens it, it should create a democratic and people's capitalism, which we should understand as guidance, not as a specific system. Therefore the environment of economic freedom, not oligarchy, but encompassing the greatest possible number of subjects, which enables them to develop entrepreneurship and favors healthly competition with clear legal regulations[25].

In the last phase of developing his social teaching, retired Pope Benedict XVI, emphasizing the principle of selflessness as well as the logic of a gift as a requirement of economic reason[26], combined two contradictory trains of thought. On the one hand is the one that led to the dissolution of subjectivity in collectivism (such as Neo-Marxism) and on the other is the one that glorified subjectivity but reduced the social sphere to the sum of individual preferences (for example, individualism)[27].

Now, awaiting the Holy Father's visit to Strasbourg, we must ask whether a social market economy, which should, according to the Lisbon Treaty, be "highly competitive", is able to respond to the decisive challenge of Francis, who wants to rouse consciences. He did this by shining light on the scandal that resulted from that fact that although humanity has ever more opportunities, we have still not been able to resolve certain structural problems that degrade the dignity of the human being. "So long as we do not radically resolve the problems of the poor," he writes in the *Gaudium Liturgy*, "by giving up on absolute market freedom and financial speculation and face the structural reasons for inequality, we will not resolve the world's problems or any problems in the end. Inequality is the source of all social ills[28]."

[24] cfr. Toso, M., "Dottrina sociale della Chiesa ed economia sociale di mercato", in *Civitas* n.3 – 2013 n. 1-2014

[25] cfr. Toso, M., *op. cit.*

[26] Benedetto XVI, *Caritas in veritate*, n. 36.

[27] Zamagni, S., *Caritas in veritate*. ecc. *op. cit.*, pg. 26.

[28] Pope Francis, *Evangelii Gaudium*, n. 202.

Discussion Panel

Father Maciej Zieba Ph.D.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I will begin by summarizing two thousand years of economics in three minutes, starting with Greco-Roman antiquity where the economy was reviled (this represented aristocratic culture). Christianity took over these stereotypes and layered them with terrible moralizing rhetoric, at least for the most part, since we are clearly simplifying this. I call this time a period of hyper-moralism, when the economy was encumbered by the corset of ethics and its development was slow for many reasons, yet it still developed. The division of Christianity into Catholicism and Protestantism heralded the end of this era and it liberated itself from ethics.

The concept of an invisible hand in this market was not really developed by Adam Smith, who barely used this term. This was a result of Isaac Newton's discovery, when he discovered the invisible hand of gravity to describe the enormous amount of movements of various bodies. This term elicited an uproar during the Enlightenment because everyone was looking for an invisible hand in psychology, sociology, history or wherever they could. It turned out that Smith's saying also made a career in economics by overstepping its constraints and doing so in a way that emphasized amorality in ethics.

In the living ethical culture where this developed, along with parallel scientific and technical progress, several hundred years marked a period of enormous development and confirmed this concept of the invisible hands of the market. However, this explains many injustices, so we had a second post-enlightenment reaction: central planning that was part of socialism and Marxism. We can either give the economy complete freedom and find an invisible order or we can control it with our minds and centralize it in order to fully control the economic process. This second part is even more inadequate and reveals its inadequacy more readily. Newtonian physics in economics was also very strongly criticized by ordoliberals, the Austrian school and the Church's social teachings; however, in principle to this day it is present in mainstream economics.

However, ordoliberals were only present in Germany; the Austrian school was on the fringe and the social teachings of the Church are considered anachronistic, moralizing, detached and are treated as a simplified way of thinking about economics compared to realism. Now, this evaporation of Christian culture and ethical culture, which was also discussed today including by Ms. Giovanelli, results in a lack of foundations. Was it not the ordoliberals who said that capitalism, the free market, this understanding of economics as well as the invisible hand of the market are consumers of morality, not providers; these are the words of Ropke. It is obvious that it needs resources from outside. The resources have been exhausted and now books such as Michael Sander's book *What Money Can't Buy*, Sedlaczek's *Good and Bad Economics* or Picket's *On Unequal Distribution of Wealth*, etc. are launching careers; they generally say very obvious things but they demonstrate that we are approaching the extinction of a certain formula. This is the question for the future: at the beginning of the 20th century, physicists discovered that the formulas of Newtonian physics are approximations. In economics, where verification is more ambiguous than in physics, the Newtonian model of the invisible hand, disembodied powers and this *orde naturelle* continues to exist. More and more this one-dimensional model of *Homo economicus* is too shallow, too narrow and inadequate in the face of today's challenges, which have greatly changed. Therefore, my question for all of you is, is this the end of a certain stage in economics that has lasted since the Enlightenment and the start of something new, or is this also a priest's limited assessment based on the social teachings of the Church? In my opinion, this is the fundamental question. I will just add that I always wrote about ordoliberals as the predecessors of *Centissimus annus*. It seems to me that the most completely sensible embodiment of the social teachings of the Church occurred in this German school, with its many dimensions. I began to learn about this school and now I am about to move on to welcoming our guests; I began to study Jedrzej Branecki's book in 1988 when I was still in the Dominican seminary. That was the pseudonym used by Janusz Lewandowski, who wrote a very interesting collection of articles about liberals in the 20th century and that is one of the reasons why we know that he is an expert on this subject as a researcher in the Gdansk Institute. On top of this we have his experience of free Poland and serving as minister and commissioner for budget in the EU, therefore, the person who stands before us, who theoretically and practically experienced and tested a great deal. Based on this I expect that we will be able to get down to the level of detail, not just these rather general musings that I sketched out here.

Our second guest and the first speaker is Professor Paul Dembinski, an expert in the field of social market economy. Last year the president of Poland hosted a conference on this topic and Professor Dembinski delivered the key-

note address about the social market economy. Besides this he studies the exceptionally important problem of financing today's economy and changes; this is why he founded a financial think tank and a quarterly dedicated to this subject and its deliberation. Recently in Poland, a very interesting book by the Professor was released with the title *Finances After the Collapse*. Therefore, we have two very competent people who will enlighten us about the topic from two different perspectives.

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

Fr. Zieba asked us a question, however, I will begin with a small contradiction of this historic recollection of economic events because Fr. Zieba attributed the invisible hand to Newton and Adam Smith. This was a rather typical deistic hypothesis that also enlightened the worldviews of Smith and Newton, meaning that a creator exists and therefore there is a visible hand that activates a certain earthly mechanism that moves at its own pace and does not interfere with this. This was the basis of deism, which was pursued in various fields. Reasoning was based on the clock; this was the best technology developed during that time, where someone brings something to life and it works. When we read Smith or other people from that period we can see that the deistic hypothesis was dominant. Now a small controversy. The question concerns whether a social market economy, as we understand it without delving into tortuous definitions, can be the answer to today's crisis? Certainly in modern European history the social market economy has provided an answer to the great crisis and all this in a country that introduced the term *Soziale markt wirtschaft*, that is, in Germany. This was an answer to this multidimensional crisis in a ruined state as well as to the battered German spirit after World War II and this is a fact because there truly was a German economic miracle, although to this day there is debate as to what extent this was simply the market economy functioning under the supervision of the Allies, a strong market economy in an industrious nation, and to what extent this included the social element that existed in the ordoliberal view and this redirection of the market under the supervision of the Allies by Erhard. The more complicated response to the question is whether the social market economy can be the answer to today's crisis because this is a different crisis. One thing it has in common with the German one is that it is also multidimensional. This is not simply a financial or economic crisis. Europe drags itself along very slowly and has discouraging economic prospects of stagflation rather than revival that also results in the revival of the job market and therefore provides younger generations with some kind of opportunity, because this is a crisis of Europe's self-doubt regarding this project, a crisis of European institutions' trustworthiness, thus, it is also multidimensional.

I would like to share with you one of my experiences because it is rather optimistic. During the economic crisis in Europe, when I was part of the commission during the Arab Spring, we observed social media in Arab states. Namely, the youth quarreled via social media, we could see what drove them and we had reports on this topic. It was intriguing that at the time of the deepest crisis in Europe, when reading some kind of yearning for this demographic boom on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea, Europe was the example of a good life, the European model of life, not the *American Way of Life*, not Saudi Arabia and not China, it was Europe. Therefore, there is something about this model of life, which is of course very different in different countries, but it has its exceptions because 7% of the world's population makes up approximately 20% of the economic potential but bears approximately 50% of all social expenditures at the global level. An additional unpleasant fact is that as Europe, we have a global record because every fifth European of working age is completely dependent on some kind of social benefits from the state. This is nearly two times as many as in the United States. However, this is the European way of life that for young Arabs on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea, who wanted to ignite their own revolution, which as we know ended in nothing but great chaos and disillusionment for us all, this was an example of a good life. This was in some way encouraging, that if in addition to the Arab encouragement we seek a way to enshrine this European way of life, then it seems to me that we are having very many doubts ourselves. Germany aside, from a historical perspective this method of building nationhood in Europe after World War II, which we call a welfare state with a social element that differentiates it from a market economy, certainly fulfilled its historical mission; it certainly freed a generation of Europeans from existential fears and definitely protected against the communist agitation that was very prevalent in post-war Europe, which means that it reduced the attractiveness of communist slogans in Europe by the fact that Europe had this social element, this element of *security*, a kind of insurance in its economic model. This was the case in the years 1945-1975, when Europe was expanding and when every generation believed that it was working so that the next generation could live better; this progressivism representative of Euro-Atlantic civilization existed on both sides of the Atlantic.

Unfortunately, even before this crisis the very structure of the welfare state began to crumble. This was before 2009, this way of ordering the world that grew out of the 50s and 60s in a stable environment along with the negative integrator of Europe, the USSR (which is returning in the form of Putin and is once more in some way beginning to integrate into the European community), even in states that were somewhat models of this welfare state or the social market economy, such as Sweden, began to waver. In the 1970s Sweden was

the sick man of Europe. This was the beginning of a phenomenon of parallel pre-crisis processes, that is, attempts were made to reform the welfare state, not based on the social market economy, but on preparing people and societies for more flexibility and for standing in the face of volatility and insecurity. Less security, more insecurity in order to prepare for the challenge of globalization: on the one hand this model of a welfare state or social market democracy, since I use them interchangeably, was reformed, which has always faced major political problems, job market reforms are especially never rewarded politically, but on the other hand this social element has started to appear at the European level. In 1961 the European Social Charter was signed, later the Amsterdam Treaty included some elements coordinating social policies and they were interesting as they occurred side by side, that is, on the one hand attempts to reform at the national level and on the other hand attempts to introduce this social element into Europe's economic makeup at the European level. At the same time attempts were made at the European level that went in the other direction; if Europe sought fuel for its economy in the 1980s through a common market, then this market, as the example of the Polish plumber in France shows, this was neither more security, nor was this more welfare and this all occurred at the same time. On the one hand we reformed the economic systems (pensions and insurance) that would overburden the economy in an aging society, and this was reason enough. On the other hand, we started to introduce the social aspects at the European level in the form of various declarations and charters, which were sometimes empty words, but they were at the European level; however, this same European arena was simultaneously used for attempts to free markets that somewhat exposed the French and Germans to greater challenges in the form of immigration, people's journey in search of work and as we know, Poles left in droves. This all happened before the crisis. A sufficient reason was the cost of a social market economy, the economic cost in an aging society. Then this enormous, very deep crisis came and in this I am not optimistic in my response to the question whether the social market economy is a cure for this deep crisis that is multidimensional and which is a crisis of Europe's self-doubt in this European project, because if we consider all that was signed after 2009, all of these pacts, fiscal pacts, two packs or six packs, this means imposing certain financial restrictions, very severe ones, for which the southern countries living above their means were especially politically unprepared, all for the sake of economic salvation. These states had to agree to certain conditions for providing them with aid. These conditions revolved around greater financial restrictions and eliminating certain social gains in Ireland, Portugal, Greece and other states, thus, they went against European solidarity or even maybe German readiness to accept responsibility for the eurozone.

For some time now the European Commission has been publishing country-specific recommendations, which are recommendations for individual states and are a result of the agreed upon requirements. They lead to deep reform in the job market, which is not towards a social market economy full of social security. Instead, it is a challenge to be flexible and leads to reforming pension systems, because today in Europe the retirement age is on average twenty years longer than in the 19th century when social security systems were created. I see today's Europe as a result of the crisis, more of an attempt, disguised as solidarity and providing aid to those who could not make it on their own, to impose more rigor, less security, unfortunately more insecurity and we probably cannot overcome this with some kind of spells or secular wishes. For me the social market in Europe at this time is also an economy that provides hope for creating new jobs. In this case it is the most social because young people are included in the flow of the economy, they can work and they do not face the humiliation of unemployment as a reward for their education. This is how I understand the social market economy but unfortunately this is far removed from the model that was created in a different economic environment, with a different demographic makeup and most likely these times will never return.

Paul Dembinski

Thank you very much for the opportunity to share my views or some parts of my analysis with you in such a distinguished group. The idea that I want to develop extends what the speaker before me just said. Namely, the fact that the idea of a social market economy was formed in particular conditions, economic as well as social ones. Today these conditions are entirely different, which I will try to explain the reason for and in reality today's discussion should not be about the social and competitive market economies as much as it should be about the competitive society that somehow has become a closer or farther reality for the states of "old" Europe, the twelve countries and so forth, but it seems more and more that this is becoming a reality for all of Europe. This is why in the 1940s, towards the end of the war German philosophers, professors, etc., wondered how, if the opportunity ever arose, to domesticate this apocalyptic view of the world and what kind of meaning to give it? I think that there are three parts to the answer. First, very important, is the element of freedom. Economic freedom and social freedom that permeate and develop in the market but not just in the market. The second very important element is solidarity, not necessarily a social state, just this solidarity in practice, in daily life, of a family and community type, which at some point could be supported by social institutions, that is, state ones. However, the most important part of solidarity is the one that is not noticed day to day, one that is not accounted for by statistics and

which is not part of the national budget but one that is absolutely fundamental. This is the second element. The third element that is very important, do not forget that this principally refers to the German economy and German philosophers, is to somehow limit the role of the state using the idea of a constitution, not just a political or institutional one, but also an economic and market constitution, where on the one hand the state has its role as the one who safeguards the good functioning of the market but on the other hand it is extensively limited in its ability to intervene to preserve this good functioning of the market and the good functioning of society as independent and autonomous and to not break it. This is very important to remember, the conditions in which this was created. The debate that started here, whether the market is a gift of nature or an institution created by people is very important because on the one hand if this is a gift of nature then the less of any kind of interference or public intervention, the better and what happens in the end does not matter much; however, if this is a creation, a human institution, then it truly needs firefighters, guards, police officers and certain rules that must be enforced by someone so that those who want to break it are forced to respect it and this sets the direction for concentrations, price agreements, etc.

Fifty or sixty years later, today we are in an entirely different situation. Notice that the Lisbon Treaty and the Polish Constitution still do not mention a social market economy, but they mention a competitive market economy. This rather fundamentally alters the situation. In any case, if we introduce this trifecta, social, market and competitive, the conversation changes rather fundamentally because we have this top of the triangle. On the one hand at the bottom is a relational society that at one point may have been closed and on the other hand we have a transactional society that could be called a market society and here we have the challenge of a social economy in the form of stewardship, effectiveness, etc. This we know. There must be borders and legal boundaries.

If we introduce the competitive dimension, we are not dealing with what is happening internally as much as with what is happening externally, therefore, this is somewhat relative to the rest of the world. One might imagine, as some countries have already done, that leaving a closed society and entering the market through globalization, entering the process of globalization, immediately leads upwards in the direction of a competitive economy at the international level; this is economic patriotism, directing trade, etc., which is unrelated. We are shifting from a closed economy to an economy that exists on international markets without necessarily crossing external markets. However, Europe did this through external markets, through Anglo-Saxon models, and we are meeting at the level of competiveness.

In Europe we currently have these three peaks. On the one hand, as Mr. Lewandowski just said, there is the social element; not a community one, a welfare state, where many autonomous gears of community and family solidarity have somehow stopped working. You accepted this. As a result of this we are dealing with the expansion of the welfare state in terms of budgets, finances, services, etc. We have social politics and redistribution politics that in some way took over the role of this spontaneous solidarity. On the other hand we have politics associated with marketization, elasticity, all sorts of flexibility, redistribution and individualization of risk and competitive politics, maybe not too powerful but still real.

However, we are to be competitive at the global level, where the measure of competitiveness is essentially the individual cost of labor. There are many definitions of competitiveness but nearly all come down to how much one hour of labor costs in different countries, if the issue of competitiveness is based on economic criteria.

We are returning to the topic of politics to protect competitiveness – the return of the state and the structural politics that is being discussed more and more often and which has not been working for the past thirty years yet today it is recommended as part of the economic development of national economies, whether inside European states or outside. Two or three years ago, Switzerland began debating exchange rates but America had already worked on this in the 1970s. There is one hard to maintain matter. There can be no coexistence of a social market economy in the form of a welfare state that inflates the individual cost of labor with a market economy, which means full flexibility and competitiveness at the international level. This is unresolvable and not feasible.

Sixty years after the first attempts to introduce a social market economy, the face of European society is entirely different. We are faced with a competitive society (not with a competitive economy, with a competitive society) that is increasingly a collection of egotistic individuals who are characterized by a transactional approach, not a relational one.

At the same time we are facing the crumbling of traditional forms of solidarity, the downfall of traditional extra-budgetary and extra-economic forms of redistribution. This is the basic problem of a competitive society. To escape this corner today, we need the resurgence of trust. It is exceptionally important that these sixty years of European prosperity somehow ended in 2007-2008 over one evident thing that everyone suddenly noticed: no one trusts each other, whether in financial markets, in society as a whole or in other forms of the economy. The trust problem has currently become a fusion of a social and an ethical problem. How can we bring this competitive society onto the correct path in European history and the tradition of a society com-

posed of communities, not just families? This is not just a challenge for the Church, it is also for politicians, that in some way they will encourage this passage and for this the Catholic or Christian social teachings are, it seems, an important resource.

As Cardinal Marks said several days ago, let us not forget that the Christian social teaching is a work in progress. This is not a set of commandments that can be used to solve anything, these are a kind of blueprint, a kind of roadmap that requires constant interaction and observation of these new things that new years, new decades and new epochs bring us. The challenge of a competitive society is equally a challenge for the Church and its social philosophy as well as for reflection within Europe on when a little less attention should be devoted to what kind of economy we want but at least the same amount of attention the economy receives should be given to the society that we want and how to create this society: society measured by the economy or the economy judged by society? Do not forget that one of the fundamental books about the social market economy is Ropke's *Civitas Humana* and Europe's *civitas humana* should be put back on the agenda of European institutions as well as possibly various kinds of Church institutions associated with it.

Janusz Moszumanski, Future and Labor Foundation

The point Commissioner Lewandowski made is that elasticity and social security are in conflict. This is not really the case. He even mentions flexicurity, that is, he assumes that I will have flexible employment options but ones that will not harm me. A contract, even for work that is elastic, remote, telecommuting, etc., guarantees minimal levels of social security.

My foundation works on social welfare and future job market scenarios including social market economy. My question is: a social market economy or a fraternal one? After the war, Germans added five basic principles to their constitution: that Germany is a republic, a democracy, a federation, a state of law and a social state. What did this idea of a social state pertain to? It pertained to what happened before World War II, which was growing asymmetry in relations between employees and employers. An employer must work, an employer does not need to hire. All compromises on our job market, even in the twenty-fifth year since we regained independence and the present democracy, are made at the expense of employees. The term "employee" is completely avoided. They say "workers" and "work providers". Meanwhile, the term "employee" is a subject of this worker. If we don't call someone an employee, someone we call a worker is a person who does not work under contract.

I want there to be discussion about the purpose of a social market economy. This is about social security for those who work and it does not need to be as Dr. Lewandowski described in the 1960s, since what was it like at the time? Erhard and Adenauer did the following: as much market as possible and as little state as necessary. Except there was no problem with the market because everything that was produced was sold. In our dictatorial patronizing model (I remember these times because I have seen my share of years, sixty-eight to be exact) in 1965 Gomulka included in the party agenda that we must create 3.5 million new jobs. He was not interested in whether the product could be sold or not. After the natural gas crisis in Germany (at the time I was in Bochum on a scholarship) it turned out that all of this started to crumble. The idea of as much market as possible and as little state as possible stopped working. As a result the idea "think globally, act locally" was created. What did this mean? Look at the competition, share work and share unemployment. For us, this discussion came after 1989 but to this day nothing has been done. To implement this well, we should say: think globally, act locally. We do not do this. To do this well, the state should learn how to manage economic change and changes in the job market. I have an example from Germany: the shipyard in Bremenhaven was to produce a beautiful cruise ship. After calculations, it turned out that to outbid the competition from Japan and Korea the shipyard would have to reduce the cost. How did they do it? The stern was produced in Indonesia. It was welded, but for this to happen, 80 welders in Bremenhaven lost their jobs. To avoid problems, these welders had been retrained in another specialty one year prior. This stern produced in Indonesia arrived in Bremenhaven and there it was finished.

A social market economy in the present day must assume some kind of solidarity: sharing work and unemployment. If, in China for example, unemployment shrinks, then it grows for us and they automatically have more work while we have less. The economic check must be balanced and this change in the job market managed; this means sharing income and if this does not help, then sharing wealth; we must consider whether the wealthy should pay higher taxes. The issue of distribution, solidarity that consists of sharing with one another and additionally, sharing income, and our incomes do not meet the criteria of appropriate and fair pay. Fair earnings exist in the budgetary and public sectors, but not in the private sector. Average pay in the public sector is 30% higher than in private companies. This is that social aspect and if we do not monitor these issues then in 30-40 years a social echo will rebound in the form of an enormous expanse of poverty and misery. According to today's estimates, the poverty line is at 60% of average income, which would be 2100-2200 PLN for us. Tell me how many people earn below the poverty level. I know people who earn a net income of 1000 PLN on markets through hard work.

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

I expressed my respect for the social market economy as a model for life, a European model of life, that fulfilled its historical mission under different circumstances, because it truly did free that generation from existential fears but unlike you, I see that pre-crisis Europe had been becoming less social for two basic fundamental reasons: the first is aging and the inadequacy of systems built around a different demographic structure, the second is globalization, the pursuit of labor costs or export opportunities for the German economy as a result of Schroeder's reforms. This was not a path towards more security; this was a path towards somewhat less security along with flexicurity, because in the end this is an elastic job market that one can easily fall out of. However, in Scandinavia there is a safety net, which is the second part of this comparison. This means extensive job market reforms that Spaniards have not been able to introduce to this day. We will see how France comes out of all this.

The Scandinavian job market is rather flexible from the perspective of an employer, but the safety net catches those who drop out of it, this is the term flexicurity and unfortunately post-crisis Europe, because in my opinion pre-crisis Europe, out of global and demographic necessity exposed people somewhat more to this uncertainty that was unfamiliar in many states, to a certain lack of job security and secure existence on the job market. However, what occurred during the crisis under the management of the troika, which we call austerity or corrective systems to control the flow of money from Europe towards Greece, Ireland, Portugal or Cyprus; this was a rather cruel reduction in various social privileges in these countries and besides these interventions, this has been established by certain rules that should in theory apply to post-crisis Europe. Once again, the greatest uncertainty will be in France, which signed them but is not really able to come to terms with this.

Speaker from the audience

It seems to me that this is very important, including what you said and the examples that you gave, if we are dealing with a society where every individual depends on the job market on one side and the state on the other. If the third element of dependence, which is solidarity, somehow completely stops working, then this is a tragedy. We can see in the southern countries like Italy and Spain that in some way the crisis reactivated the informal nets of solidarity. According to some anthropological and cultural studies they are also beginning to have aftereffects: people are starting to talk to each other, they are starting to do things together and they are even starting to be happier with what they are doing because they share little but they do so in a human manner, not just as parents or administratively. If this element, this social state, this social society

only has an institutional aspect, then we have a catastrophe. If the social net is more developed, then there are more opportunities for buffering. If statistics of national earnings per capita were real in African states, then Africa would have stopped functioning a long time a go. To a high degree, it continues to function because social ties allow for the production of at least twice if not three times as much as statistics show; these are immeasurable but fundamental things.

Prof. Jerzy Kusinski, KUL

I have a comment regarding the "invisible hand of the market", which started many topics here. This deism that Dr. Lewandowski ascribes to the invisible hand of the market is inscribed in the mechanism of this because Smith was an ethicist and he wanted people to behave in an orderly manner, including on the market. Here this order in the economic sense and in the ethical sense was not inscribed in the mechanism of the invisible hand of the market, which really works. I mean that there are mechanisms that ensure that if someone steals something, then they will be haunted by this for the rest of their lives even if nobody knows about this. If you push faulty products or sell broken ones, then there are mechanisms that potentiate this. These mechanisms are not so much associated with what we in Christianity often associate with God, they are mechanisms that are present in human activity. Therefore, this deism is understated because it is like Pulcinella's principle: everyone knows about everyone, except that it is not consciousness that knows as much as it is society that knows. These are subconscious mechanisms that are working here. However, this invisible hand of the market is a social and economic mechanism that ensures honesty, propriety and ethics in human behavior.

In terms of the social market economy, I see it as an achievement of Western civilization in its European form: the evolution of the social market economy, particularly this departure from security seems to be forced by competitiveness, which Professor Dembinski described, in the global economy and which results from the confrontation of civilizations. There have been models such as the Washington consensus that was essentially developed for Latin America, there was the Peking consensus, the Mumbai consensus, these are the ones that in a global economy started to take on meaning and in the face of these models, the social market economy model, which is the calling card of European civilization, was forced to change, to depart from excessive welfare and as was mentioned, Sweden had to back away from excessive welfare in favor of a more competitive international economy.

I would also consider the problem in a context that was not mentioned here, that is, today's economy is essentially an institutional economy. In this context, the question whether the market has Godly conditions or institutional ones is in

my opinion a superficial problem because the Lord is the foundation of every economy; therefore, I would not stir this. These are institutions that in general have the ability to execute and subordinate. An institution is a form of subordinating those that created it. We do not create institutions in order to become their slaves; we do so to rationalize our actions. Institutions are an expression of rationality. However, one form of rationality is what we call capital. Today when we talk about human capital, capital in the purest form, social capital, then in essence we are talking about certain views that exist to reveal governing processes so that they express full compliance with rationality. Rationality is the right of human activity, including economic rationality. We can see that the key source of any economic value is human capital that is supported by material capital, but we usually do not notice that this value would not exist if not for social capital. Hayek says the following: we are increasingly part of a civilization of knowledge that is characterized by the fact that each one of us uses the knowledge of others. You are wealthy because you do not just rely on your own knowledge; you use others' knowledge, society's knowledge and social capital. When the World Bank observes the Russian economy in its documents, it sees that it has the most natural capital in the world but only a pinch of social capital. The United States has enormous potential social capital and this is the source of its wealth. Therefore, in my opinion we should consider that the social market economy also came about because drawing on social capital was increasingly prevalent there, which is a tendency that characterizes the modern world. Human capital counts for less and less, of course material capital counts but the greatest support for human capital is from social capital.

Father Maciej Zieba, Ph.D.

The subject that you brought up is important although it is not strictly related to the social market economy, but it is much related to the approach to the economy. The theme of deism applies here. From what I understand, Newton is the founder of deism. In 1687 he described a world that could be compared to a watch. Newton is exceptionally fashionable. After Copernicus, who drove us to insecurity that we are at the fringe of the known world, it suddenly turned out that the human mind had found the invisible hand that surely directs all bodies in the entire universe. This is an exceptionally culture shaping moment and at the same time a moment of smugness that now we can handle. All scientists at the time in all fields sought what they had still not discovered: in psychology we had to find certain forces that function in the economy and thus Smith's marginal saying that was used three times in the 5,000 pages that he wrote, including only one time in the history of astronomy, the invisible hand of Jupiter, therefore entirely unrelated to the market, and made an enormous career.

Why is this so important? Because of course, is this a model, one that is good in physics, but one that is inappropriately applied to economics and is the economy more of a human enterprise?

We cannot imitate ordoliberals because the world is truly different. However, what differentiated ordoliberals from the majority of schools was that they believed that the economy is a human construct. Of course this is not from the creator's perspective but from the natural order of these people of the enlightenment, that is, an order in which we cannot go against gravity. To put it simply, we will either leave this way and trip or the other way and we will not trip; we must adjust. As a result, this involves some level of mercilessness. If we read various texts from the 19th century economists or politicians, they know that we cannot go against economic conserved principles of pay, this is objective and the extreme harm in colonies or in Manchester that leads to this rise of rebellion results from the fact that they believe that we are enlightened and that we see that we cannot falter and we cannot change. Ordoliberals look at it as a human phenomenon or a cultural phenomenon. Maybe today we should introduce a term that I like, "balanced development". This is also a broader view of the economy, not as an economic economy but as a human economy. This is an enormous difference; today's market economy is moving from a paradigm of an economic economy toward a humanist economy whose subject, not its object, is the person; this is the difference. Until recently various equations were developed, risk margins, complicated differential equations were introduced, which when the crisis came turned out to be worthless. It seemed that these equations would describe our entire reality because they were very complex. They do not describe it because people react differently and this is the paradigm shift. Maybe we will be able to realize that the escape from freedom that a benevolent state, a welfare state, offers will guarantee us security, work and all benefits, is also fiction and a safer one we might say. A new area is opening up for discussion but this is just the beginning. That is my feeling, that this crisis reveals something, that Europe's doubt reveals something; we no longer believe in any of these solutions but we still do not have a direction.

Marta Zuniga, Warsaw University, School of Political Science

I want to transition from the meta-abstract level to the political level of political tools, the particular kind of politics that I am referring to. For ordoliberals, order was obvious – the idea of real order based on something natural and especially on family. In general, they considered family to be their foundation and a reference to the role of the state and the role of society. But we know that these concepts have very little in common with today's interpretation of family and the family models that exist. As with other fields, a social market economy

can inspire; this idea can also provide inspiration regarding family politics, but this leads to the question how to condense this into concrete postulates for family politics; I am referring to the Polish context on the one hand and on the other hand the European Union. My question is whether there is some boundary and I think that this question will be best answered by MEP Lewandowski due to his European experience but maybe also the professor: where is this boundary between postulates inspired by a social market economy in its new form based on competition, more modern and post-crisis, and the ideas of communities that demand a welfare state with regard to family? This is a very practical question because when we talk in various circles, including among my generation of young academics, about our vision for a model of family politics, I notice that on the one hand we have ideas that include a very high degree of dependence and state responsibility for family from the left, including feminist circles and at the same time this of course means that the state receives certain mechanisms or instruments to influence the family model, which is no longer particularly optimal for us Christians. However, we support the rather clearly defined isolation of this private sphere from the state. This leads to questions about boundaries, what postulates inspired by a social economy would in your opinion be appropriate and would not reflect what the left proposes, which the proponents of a paternalistic state and a welfare state demand.

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

I believe that the ordoliberal philosophy, which does not mean the overgrowth of the paternalistic state but maintains its relevance in today's world at the beginning of the 21st century because this does not mean care from cradle to grave, became a convenient European model because the European model of life that exceeds the capacity of the economy could be seen in the south, which this deep crisis revealed, because this ordoliberal philosophy concerns an economy framed by certain hard rules. Additionally, the writings of these people contained many interesting thoughts that I see as a current counterpoint to a world understood through a socialist lens, that is, this was the idea of desocialization by participating in the job market, by expanding ownership in various ways or through goods such as homes, or simply even participation in civic auctions. All of this is fairly relevant because we can see this in attempts to rein in financial markets as one of the consequences of the crisis. This effort is being made on both sides of the Atlantic and it is turning into exceptionally long and horribly complicated regulations but attempts are being made to handle this fast stock market turnover, bank security for their clients and all this of course turns into regulations that are so complicated that they are difficult to even read. However, this contains an idea: we must use certain rules to regain control of this greed that if not restricted by rules destroys the world and causes these deep crises. Except that this does not mean a traditionally understood welfare state. Many of these safety nets that accompanied postwar generations are disappearing from the agenda of a social state in modern Europe under pressure from the crisis, under pressure from certain rules that were adopted, aging, the challenge of globalization and what is interesting, efforts are being made to transfer certain surrogates of this security to the European level. For example, the anti-globalization fund was established. In its financial might it contributes very little but sometimes and this means several cases per month, a factory somewhere fails and people can receive some money from this fund. We have several such instruments, there is an initiative called Youth Employment with six billion euro set aside to ensure that employers can provide young people with certain guarantees of at least finding work or if not work then internships or training so that a young person can prove himself to employers and reveal his or her talents.

This social fund is an interesting process because on the one hand the modern national state is being diluted, although it is still a kind of a base for people. Europe is currently associated in many countries with risk, with immigration, with uncertain job prospects and with displacement from the job market by some Poles who came to the British Isles, which of course is largely influenced by politics. This is the dilution of a national state that continues to be viewed as a source of security and certain social assurances because they are too expensive and unsustainable in the current state of the economy. At the same time certain surrogates are created at the European level, inefficient ones but ones that give the illusion that Europe is considering this fear because today Europe is full of fear, which was not the case for so many years after the war. Europe has returned to this fear of the future, there has been erosion of progressivism, this fundamental faith that today I am working so that my children will live better. Currently this feeling does not exist in Europe and this is what we are trying to remedy using these small safety nets created at the European level. There are also attempts to coordinate this but I am not in favor of creating too many expectations from the European Union as a parent because this management of expectations is very important in modern Europe, but if the birthrate is so low and if the rate of aging is so fast then various methods (there are many methods that have been used in France and Tusk's last promise was to families with multiple children) are being tried to patch this demographic hole. Is this effective? Right now I am not convinced that these tools of family politics will produce some kind of demographic miracle in Europe.

Father Maciej Zieba, Ph.D.

Many ideas were mentioned here and I will just mention two points that are in some way related.

First: the discussion about Smith, etc. Let us not forget that Smith wrote two important works. The discussion about how these were two stages of his worldview, whether empathy and sympathy are necessary as the foundation of social coexistence, which the invisible hand can influence in an effective manner or is it the opposite, a naive view of the world through the lens of empathy and a rational view of the world through the lens of market rules, etc. The question remains relevant to this day, to what extent is this empathetic aspect, or more broadly, this ethical element necessary for the effective functioning of economic institutions. In any case the financial crisis showed the advanced stage of destruction of ethical instincts similar to how in the 1950s and 1960s ecological aspects were entirely avoided and it turned out that the environment is something that must be taken care of. Today the crisis shows that the ethical environment must also be taken care of because it in some way greases or enables the functioning of the economy.

The second point: the economy. On the one hand the economy requires freedom and on the other hand it leads to effectiveness. And for the past several years it seems to me that we have gone fairly far in terms of effectiveness, but we've forgotten about short-term efficacy, that is important. We forgot that we have lost a whole mass of autonomy, not freedom, but autonomy to act. Returning to politics that can promote something to come after this competitive society, this is in some way regaining autonomy, communities, families, etc. In England the Relationship Foundation exists, which for several years has been implementing a tool called the family pressure coach. Supposedly now Cameron's cabinet is starting to use this instrument to test the implications for the autonomy of families, including multi-generational ones, to determine what the effects of certain legislative work are on the autonomy of families. It seems to me that the most important value, even more so than short-term economic efficacy, is a sense of autonomy, which is some kind of control over one's future, one's in terms of the groups or individual that are part of it.

There's a lot of creative work here, there are certain initiatives and there are also certain ideas, whether they involve economic solidarity, etc. that provide some part of the answer. These are still not systemic answers but these are certainly elements that are worth observing and in some sense maybe following to develop and support in the form of legal and legislative aid.

Zbigniew Zygala, self-government and social activist

I have a general comment. I don't believe that there ever was a social market economy in Poland. After 1990 a typically neoliberal model was implemented based on the Washingtonian model of consensus as most economists admit, unfortunately this includes Mr. Geoffrey Sachs, who was not a supporter of the system we introduced and is more in favor of a mixed economy with strong state intervention. Meanwhile, despite the recommendations and promises in the constitution, we have never had a social market economy. According to the Balcerowicz model this is a typically neoliberal economy whose effects we even see today when we hear about massive bonuses for members of various corporations and governments, which indicates that the state has completely lost control over the activity of its institutions by allowing a free American hand in all of its activity. Similar concerns were expressed by professor Kolodko and Professor Kiezun, who believes that in Poland this resulted in extreme social stratification that was not justified economically and at least up until now the state has not done anything. Towards the end of Prime Minister Tusk's term several timid steps were made and Ms. Kopacz will maybe implement them but Professor Geoffrey Sachs, who was the creator of shock therapy, has distanced himself from this and says that in Poland our model should be the Swedish economy or the Scandinavian one or maybe even the German one but we unfortunately have adopted a model that brings us closer to South American states where there are enormous gaps and inequality, and it seems to me that despite assurances and the constitution we have never had a social economy and we still do not have one.

Father Maciej Zieba, Ph.D.

One other term comes to mind, which Professor Dembinski mentioned. Not too long ago, these 100 zloty bills displayed a forest of smoking chimneys, or a symbol of Modernity for the erstwhile rather young Polish People's Republic. At the times the ecological dimension was ignored. Fortunately or rather unfortunately reality demanded its own and it turned out that the ecological dimension had to be fully included instead of just considering a strict economic bill that would have initially ignored this. Attempts were made to address ecological problems in the third world where such legislation does not exist. This turned out horribly and was also harmful but fortunately this is improved through trial and error.

Pope John Paul II coined the term human ecology. There's also something called the human environment and this human ecology includes family. This leads to a question, and I have encountered this in a meeting with Mr. Kolakowski, whether any form of manipulation of family is possible within the bound-

aries of social engineering and whether this will disrupt various social processes, including economic ones? It seems to me that these moments and these correlations can be observed although there are still no serious studies. However, I think that we manipulate a lot and part of the economic crisis is associated with this.

Father Prelate Stanislaw Stechly

Is there any need for the European Union to place limits on individual states? Do we need e.g. the elimination of sugar plants, limits on fishing or a climate proposal? Some parties supposedly propose that Poland should veto it.

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

The European project is a phenomenon; it is a utopia brought to life because utopia was once the idea of a Europe without borders. The lack of borders between France and Germany or Germany and Poland was once something unimaginable therefore as a result of this project Europe became the only continent to stray from the natural state as we might call this and built institutions for some kind of extra-national solidarity and at the same time changed regulations; this is my view on the current state of the European Union. Good regulations are essential, these are the ones that overcome national egoism and create a common market because there is some kind of support and search for mutual benefits, so instead of twenty-eight regulations regarding a certain economic zone there is one rule for all of Europe; it creates a common market. There are also regulations that irritate. There is agricultural politics because this is the only federal politics truly brought to the European level with its own large budget, the politics of subvention called subsidies per hectare, which have various economic effects in different states. The fund for rural development and the assorted limits that are defended so strongly. In every parliament when you talk about budgets and the European Union the most time is devoted to agriculture. This is a phenomenon because this makes up only several percent of the job market in Europe yet 80% of the time is spent discussing the subject. Except for Sweden, this was the only state that directly expressed support for eliminating this kind of subvention or agricultural subsidies in future European Union budgets. The European Union becomes the most irritating when it starts to dictate how people should live. This is exceptionally irritating because with every such regulation some sort of regional interest is set aside and if we introduced one such regulation then we can affect all regions and all habits in all of Europe and then this phenomenon of turning away from this definition of a regulatory mechanism should not be particularly surprising.

Europe is necessary in many cases. It must be large and this is where I agree with my boss Mr. Barroso. It must find the answer and draw on the potential of power in order to counteract the power that is rising in the east. It must create a common market, it must shape the Euro-Atlantic sphere and give people a break from the small interventions in daily life that are truly exceptionally irritating because in their entirety they represent dictating how people should arrange their lives. Europe is completely unnecessary in this aspect.

Speaker from the audience

I don't know if I'll be able to properly formulate the question that I have for Mr. Dembinski. You spoke beautifully about these issues and you appealed to the Church to create communities, that these social nets are so important and that they fuel the economy. On the other hand this can also be a question for the clergy. My priest points to consumerism, by which he means acquiring goods, fueling the market and production. As a result I see a certain contradiction or maybe a logical fallacy especially when you speak of Africa. Poor societies and strong social ties; how do we ensure that these two aspects permeate each other? How do we ensure that this economy will truly be more human, more personal and more social? Will we not lose these market elements that should work together? Please tell me professor, how do we coordinate them, how do we join them so that they are actually effective?

Paul Dembinski

The economic crisis was not a crisis of demand, it was a crisis of supply. We produce too much garbage not just in the sense of pollution but also things that are not really necessary or even entirely unnecessary. This is supported by the fact that in order for the economy of eurozone states and the American one to function for the last fifteen years it had to be peppered with credit and we know how that ended; this is a problem of overproduction and it is also probably a problem of too many people on the job market. Of course we can see this in unemployment statistics but also if we add that some people work for no reason, then we can conclude that today the job market is one of the fundamental social integrators.

This indicates some kind of disease. Until recently the purpose of the economy was to produce goods and services. Today it more often seems that the economy exists to produce jobs. At some point the circle closes, if everyone is to be active on the market then obviously there's no time or opportunity to work outside of the market and to create this social depth that we're talking about. But if working on the market leads to flooding the world with junk then my question is what is truly valuable, where is this *civitas humana*? Is it on the

economic end or not just on the economic end? These are questions that the crisis allows us to see more clearly than in 2006 or 2005 and at a certain point they require an answer. Is the job market the only future for entire generations? Can we not in some way that enriches the environment work on something outside the job market and be proud of this, receive moral satisfaction from this and also benefit from the opportunity to live in some community, whether it is family or something else? These are fundamental questions.

The issue of consumerism as something that on the one hand the Church potentiates in some parishes and on the other hand calls for consumption that can be heard in some public discourse; this is a kind of contradiction that should be addressed by asking whether we are just talking about the economy and whether all of society depends solely on the economy, whether the economy is a social instrument to do something that outgrows it and whether we can accomplish this through other means. Once again a comparison to developing states, we have a great deal to learn from observation, the coexistence of the economy or what we can call economic activity with an informal aspect there, in many countries where this social fabric is somehow coming apart, just as ours is. Maybe this is a little bit of a reference to the past but I think that a purely competitive society simply creates exclusion, whether of migrants, the ill, the elderly, etc., who will soon be part of the costs and we will approach these costs with scissors in a more or less obvious manner; yet this concept of a social market economy was not for exclusivity but for inclusivity, which is based on phenomena that are social as well as economic, not just economic.

Father Maciej Zieba, Ph. D.

I will allow myself to complete this picture because a competitive society produces what Mr. Dembinski said, a transactional society. This transactional aspect grows because this was once part of the economic sphere and more and more often today we also sign contracts in marriage. The health system, education, museums and everything else is becoming more transaction based. This is a serious challenge. I put less blame on consumerism alone. I am convinced, although I do not have studies to support this, that this consumer gene has always been present in most people. Of course, education, culture and religion play a role but even in ancient Egypt people wanted to have novelties, they wanted to possess more than they owned, this was also the case in other societies, except we are losing this ethos that should come from elites who could reform the Church. Once again, is the Church an example of anti-consumerism and not bending to this gene? This is a rather painful question. I am referring to transactions more as a fundamental category.

Paul Dembinski

It seems to me that pursuing wealth is one aspect and replacing unnecessary things that have in some way been expended either from the perspective of fashion or from the perspective of technology, this is not the same as hoarding wealth.

Father Maciej Zieba Ph.D.

In the new economic distribution there's a growing problem of human ecology. What we see in those models from the extreme Marxist left to the liberal right or the neoliberal invisible hand of the market, this is people's deeply seated desire to escape from responsibility. Responsibility is difficult and as a result if we have a market mechanism then we can only describe it better. The state pays us, it takes care of everything for us, it gives us work and income, healthcare and education. The state provides stability and certainty. All of these mechanisms or alternatively insurance are to protect oneself from risk, to ensure stability and that it cannot crumble; however, it did crumble as this financial crisis shows. We must instill this economic development, which must be more anthropological which I agree on with ordoliberals, with an element of uncertainty in human life or as Job says: "fighting is mankind's livelihood". In *Open Society*, Popper says that life is unknown, uncertain and insecure. This is the order of our fate and we must rationally prepare for this and act wisely knowing that this is not exactly the case and that we usually like to endlessly extrapolate. Suddenly Putin appears and the entire situation in Europe changes, two years ago this would have been unimaginable and we must also include this in shaping the economy and avoid fleeing to the left or to the right, away from responsibility for this risk that is written into the human condition.

Fr. Rector Wladyslaw Zuziak

I propose that we focus on this fundamental question of what unites us and what divides us in Europe. It seems to me that this is fairly important because we will not list what unites us: cultural heritage, the common good that we create, etc. When we spoke of solidarity, the states that help less developed states also indirectly benefit from this because there are better highways, better benefits, not just tourist ones, etc. There are also many issues that divide us including conflicts of interest at the economic level; why should Spain or another country reduce their production of tomatoes or oranges or our production of deli meats? We can always explain that this must somehow be balanced, which commissioner Lewandowski also mentioned, so that fewer interventions come out of Brussels as long as they are justified. There can also be a conflict not just of interests, but due to mutual prejudice regarding culture, religion, etc.

If we work together to answer one more question: what should we do or what can we propose regarding modern tensions in Europe that sometimes divide us in order to negate or reduce what divides us?

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

The state of Europe as a community is currently dismal because this post crisis shock that has turned neighbors into debtors has also made it so that we have more and more regulations and more community, that this is not a warm community; this is cold dependence and codependence of the north and the south, of German banks and Greek debt and this exposes rather cold codependence and the fading of this spirit that fueled these post war generations. Currently there is something like an empty keep, the walls are stronger but within it there is no community of the kind that so beautifully developed over the course of several post-war generations. For now I don't see a prescription for this. This post-crisis shock in Europe must somehow die down because it is terribly divided, although this in itself is a phenomenon that revealed itself during discussions about the constitution. In any case this was a sign of the gluttony of European elites to dream up the constitution at a time when suddenly several nations became independent and constitutionalism was synonymous to them with regained independence. At the time European elites decided that there should be a constitution with an anthem, which was an extreme lack of imagination during a period of convergence of these two worlds. Along with this there were major conflicts over *invocatio dei*, in Poland and outside, pushed by Christian Democrats who started this whole European project. I have an interesting observation that in reality Europe wants to run towards the future and is not very interested in reliving memories, including of its Christian identity, because memory means a great deal of grievances between these countries. Europe was facing forward. It did not want to build its historical identity and that is why it is so difficult to write a common textbook of European history because the memory was a memory of horrific catastrophes because we Europeans created two wars that are called world wars, but they were exported out of Europe. This was a continent where people constantly murdered each other and this is why during attempts to create a common good we are more likely to look to the future and reluctantly peek back at the past, which is a concern because this simultaneously eliminated our Christian core that the French find completely unacceptable.

Flaminia Giovanelli

I am glad that commissioner Lewandowski answered some questions, especially the question concerning too many regulations in the European Union. I can only agree with him. I will just add that even in Member States there are too many of these regulations, this is a kind of disease that is raging in many states; the state is encroaching on the private sphere. This is a rather common tendency. A brief comment on what Professor Dembinski said. I am referring to everyone having a job. In practice it looks like this: today we do not ask who the other person is, we ask what they do. The fact that someone is employed indicates he or she is part of society. This is truly a very important issue.

In terms of Africa, I also know a few things about this subject. How are some issues resolved over there? The point is to simply live, to survive and to give poor people some chance at survival. This is very important.

Now for the Church and the Church's role. In many places around the world, including Poland, the Church is very active and plays an educational role. This is about starting companies and enterprises with a human face. The concept of cooperatives is important for this. Look at Spain. Currently the situation there is not as good as it had been earlier, despite this, Spaniards are trying to maintain their Christian roots.

Let's move to Italian territory. There, an episcopal conference proposed a certain enterprise which meant that young Italian people learned how to start a company and become economically active, all of this thanks to the participation of the Church. The Church provides them with seminaries or buildings that are unused at the moment.

The final matter concerns competitiveness. Professor Dembinski mentioned that the Bishops commented on Art. 3 of the Treaty, therefore they wanted to emphasize this social model in favor of competitiveness because competitiveness is characteristic of globalization and this is the social aspect that the Bishops wanted to emphasize.

Father Maciej Zieba, Ph.D.

I want to mention an important topic that Fr. Rector Zuziak touched on and Mr. Lewandowski discussed afterwards. I am referring to Europe's self-doubt in all that relates to European identity, to what Europe created. The European Union, in its various metamorphoses from the Coal and Steel Community, etc., united thanks to the vision of the founding fathers, people who thought from the perspective of generations, many of whom were highly philosophical Christians, who had this vision of united Europe over the ages and besides this vision they had the clarity that this idea needed to be implemented through small direct actions, very minor ones. The Community of Coal and Steel developed into an almost thirty-member strong union, which is a great accomplishment and we must talk about the completed utopia, of something exceptional in European history, a great success.

There are new ideas of leftist provenance: “away with the national state”, moving in the direction of creating extra-national structures that completely do not fit the spirit of the time. There are no European *demos*, we must create *demos* for this to be a democracy. The matter of European identity; to a great extent it is the result of the vision that Mr. Lewandowski partly mentioned: four fears – the fear of poverty, which was a terrible experience after World War II, even after the first great depression, fear of war, two wars that are called world wars but which were primarily ignited here and this is where people bled so terribly, fear of Germany, because they are the ones who started this war twice and fear of the Soviet Union, of Bolshevism which also applied strong pressure, “Drang nach Westen”.

These four fears somehow started to burn out because Germany showed its peaceful side as part of the EU, the USSR fell and poverty faded into distant memory for younger generations, as did the war, fortunately. This is returning a little but these four primary points are not that strong. The idealistic point remains, and this does not exist.

As briefly as possible, Europe (of course we can also discuss the topic of Greek philosophy, Roman law, Imperium Romanum, etc.) in the modern sense was shaped by Christianity and Charlemagne et al. through a common language, education, culture, etc. This is reminiscent of an idea proposed by Krzysztof Pomian from *Tygodnik Powszechny*: “anyone who does not accept that Europe was built by Christianity is ignorant”. This is the first layer. However, the second European layer was shaped by aggressive animosity to Christianity after the period of religious wars, which were truly horrible, thus, in opposition, the enlightened mind decided to create its own culture or according to the ideals of the French Revolution, create an entirely new time, a new situation and an entirely new Europe by rejecting Christianity, thereby aggressively rewriting a great deal of history. This is when the religion of progress was founded, that the world is expanding uncontrollably and that it is moving from the dark ages to the enlightened ages, constantly moving forward.

This idea should have been laid to rest by two wars, but the experience of the French Revolution and the experience of these two wars were not fully considered. The experience of Christianity was critically reconsidered but these experiences were not. It was then that Popper developed the concept of an open society, an open Europe where out of principle nobody can dominate in the public debate, no view, no worldview and no religion; this is Europe open to everything. He used two anchors based on the truth present in the Third World, but these were weak anchors that broke and the aforementioned post-modernism as the ideal of political multiculturalism has become a way to resolve conflicts. Let everything mix together and this will somehow work out.

Today we see that this is a bad formula and one that is running out. Europe does not have an identity, in my opinion it is suffering from the dissolution of identity because the Christian layer is addressed by *invocatio dei* in the constitution. Nobody wanted, as far as I can remember, *invocatio dei*, we wanted to mimic the Polish solution, which states that those Europeans who believe in God and those who do not believe in him but who bring truth, good and beauty from other sources, are equal in rights and responsibilities. This is not *invocatio dei*, it is a description of the situation, that there are religious Europeans and non-religious Europeans, but that they are equal in rights and responsibilities. This has already muddled the conflict over *invocatio dei*, which narrow-minded conservative Poles are imposing their own solutions.

The word “God” cannot be changed at all; instead of the word “Christianity” we could write that there are Roman, Greek and Enlightenment roots. We have a Christian layer that unites, today it is being evaluated over-critically and its accomplishments have been completely deformed. The enlightenment layer is accepted without much criticism. It was important and sensible and it contributed a lot. I am not being critical of the Enlightenment, but these layers are completely antagonistic and mutually isolated. Many Christians react to this description of the issue with aggression and strong criticism of the EU of course. This is understandable because this is some kind of false moment. There are three very different mindsets that arose in animosity and which do not accept the existence of others. As a result, it seems to me that in this Europe it will be difficult to do something together if culturally there are three Europes that are exceptionally suspicious of each other. Neither will yield because it is afraid that if it yields then there will be an invasion or that it will have to give up what it treasures the most and lose its heritage. However, at least calling this a problem seems to be more progressive than disregarding it.

Speaker from the audience

I will start with a comment on the topic of European identity; namely, it seems to me that the powerful glue of European identity and the nature of the European Union is the principle of subsidiarity and assistance, which is in essence a Christian principle. Commissioner Lewandowski mentioned that it is as if we don’t remember this principle of subsidiarity. We should do all that can possibly be done in the national or smaller dimensions, or in the family dimension; a higher tier should not do this for us, maybe just create conditions that make this possible. It seems to me that we should more often realize that we do not want to become addicted, which is an effect of disregarding subsidiarity. We would like some level of autonomy, which this principle provides.

When Keynes criticized Sey and rejected the law he created, he opened the door to state intervention, especially in areas that fuel demand but also in what we today call marketing, which is encouraging demand; this is primarily an attitude to sell, not to produce, but to sell and selling means income. We have been raised for years beyond count, for generations, in this spirit that German sociologist Georg Simmel wrote about, that the highest, most common, universal economic value is money, this is why in the modern world we set ourselves up to earn income, to earn money. We make products that allow us to earn an income. It is no surprise that this is the case, it seems to me that Professor Dembinski's criticism, that we produce anything regardless of need, is a bit too harsh because we simply create products meant to provide income. This is a universal value.

Krzysztof Bramorski

I get the sense that we are approaching the conclusion that in a wider sense, and definitely in Poland, there is some absolutism in the economy. When we add "market" to the term economy, then this term essentially allows us to say anything and when we call it "social" then this justifies any idea that we ascribe to this term. It turns out that economy in the sense of pursuit of some kind of economic sense, including from the perspective of particular individuals, is viewed as a goal instead of as a tool. Competitiveness becomes a value in itself, moving from the economic level to all other levels of social functioning, now even encompassing, unfortunately, not just universities but high schools and later universities and then the beginnings of one's career, science, etc. If we are talking about the disappearance of individual perspectives, human perspectives and the goal of society as a perspective, then this is probably the cause, that at some point this appropriate and justified effort, based on the Christian religion, to possess and to appropriately use material goods starts to become solely an effort to gain increasing amounts of them and to be the best at everything. It is rare, even among clergy and entrepreneurs, to hear encouragement to succeed and praise for success achieved, of course in an honest manner, with respect for values. In the extensive mass of clergy "not specialized" in this area we rather frequently hear something that can be interpreted as discouraging success. "Why did you become successful when so many of our parishioners are poor and unemployed?" In the best case we hear calls for solidarity, but in the sense of somewhat pitying solidarity such as "do not possess too much and share." Meanwhile in other countries, I am no longer talking about Protestantism, there is honest discourse that honest work is also a foundation for becoming better, for gaining wealth and of course for later using this wealth appropriately. It seems

to me that there is a great deal that needs to be honestly said here when it comes to the Church's statements in Poland.

I want to discuss the words of the man who very critically approached the issues of employers, employees and job takers, etc. As a lawyer I have had over fifteen years to look at these problems from the perspective of entrepreneurs, a little bit of theory and of students. Most of all, terminological order is very important for me. I have an aversion to certain points that are intended to justify inappropriate thinking about the economy that goes in the direction of pure socialism. When we talk about garbage contracts, earnings chimneys, dismissals… there are no garbage contracts. Thanks to contracts that unions call garbage contracts, tens or hundreds of thousands of people have incomes, they have money and they have something to do. The fact that someone is an employer and someone is an employee is how the world works. The term job-taker is a logical fallacy. An employee does not take work, he performs it and he sells it. Let us not create some kind of terminological mess that is meant to justify false theories. This reminds me of a discussion with the president, where Professor Dembinski presented his lecture and Professor Bugaj strongly clashed with several discussion participants by presenting the idea that if an entrepreneur is unable to pay minimum wage, which should be three times higher than at present, then he should not engage in economic activity. From what I remember, it was the chairman of the exchange who said that his twenty-year conflict with Professor Bugaj has more or less been occurring based on the principle that the professor leans left and he thought that there still is a wall and now it turns out that there are still a few other people there, such as Professor Maczynski.

This in particular is very symptomatic that we are demanding certain things, we are demanding solidarity but we are forgetting that solidarity in an economy that is not centrally steered, not centrally planned, that is, economic fiction, is not just sharing wealth, it is also sharing the burden of being active and successful. As a result, I remind you that, at least in Poland (Germany also has a problem with this because this system of negotiating income, tariffs, etc. is well known to me), let us remember that despite the loud cries of trade unions and several other loud voices the Polish worker is in a decidedly stronger position than the employer. Every case in employment court is evidence of this. Let us remain grounded and not talk about theories. Today an employee leaves work, he resigns and as an employer I cannot touch him. I must pay him until the last day, the equivalent of unused vacation time, and bear the costs of finding his replacement, etc. An employee can simply do what he wants. An employer does not have the same options available as he would on the Anglo-Saxon market, for example, such as the lockout procedure or showing the other side, that I will steer this and you won't back me against a wall.

Demanding compromise, I remind you that most compromises are made at the employer's expense, in terms of changes to the work order starting with the issue of types of employment contracts and ending with the three-sided pseudo-commission which for many years has been unable to find any kind of solution because the employee side simply cuts off all negotiations. Now for the issue of fair pay and contrasting this with the fact that in the state sector incomes are fair but in the private sector they are not. Of course, but let us consider one thing: Tomasz Lis said this today on TOK FM if I remember correctly, ironically, because the issue of two million dismissals came up: we want the best specialists to govern us, so that they are knowledgeable about what they do but we want them to do this for 7,000 PLN per month. This is not possible. These specialists will not work for us, out of our taxes, for this kind of money. If we want to say that in the state sector there truly are institutions where average pay is 7,000-9,000 PLN and we can say that factories and supermarkets, where incomes are 2,000 or 1,500 PLN per person, etc., as brutally as it sounds, in state offices and institutions the employees are not unqualified workers who are part of some average. This is a fact and we should not overextend these interpretations for the needs of our argument, which will end up only partially true. If we contrast institutions that hire experts and specialists, who expect to make a certain amount, then we cannot say that it is one way there and it is different here. There is an enormous group of people who must do work that out of necessity will in Poland and other states continue to be paid relatively low for a long time. This will not change; this is just how it is.

Speaker from the audience

Inspired by what Father Maciej Zieba said, I will start generally. Sunday was the end of the second social days of European Catholics in Madrid, the first was in Gdansk. Professor Dembinski participated in this and summarizing these days the Archbishop of Triest, Giampaulo Crepaldo, former secretary of Iustitia et pax and author of a compendium of Church social teachings, posed the following question, the following reflection: "the Church loves Europe, but does Europe love the Church?" In reference to what Father Maciej said, I want Minister Lewandowski, who is part of the European Union, inside of its structures, to comment on this.

Second speaker from the audience

I want to add an opposing point. The terms employees and employers are very simple. We have them in job contracts. Please show me a contract anywhere in the administration of government, self-government or a university where the term employee is not present. An employee is someone who receives payment for work; the employer is the one who pays for work. Let us not confuse this with the term service provider and service receiver because this is about the effect of given work, however, here we are talking about a progressive, active term. The employee as well as the employer is a worker, e.g. the director of a corporation is an employer for the workers but he is also a worker because he receives payment for his work. When I was mayor for four years, I was the employer for the entire city and municipality offices but my employer was the city council and I was an employee, which was written in my contract and this is not up for discussion.

Why are we moving away from this? This is a simple reason. The term employee sounds subjective. If those who built highways and were not paid for this had been working under contract, if they were employees, then they would have been paid. Hundreds of owners of family businesses who bought machines for 200,000 euro at a high interest rate in order to participate in building the highway somewhere between Debica and Rzeszow and failed because they were not paid, because this chain of intermediaries used up the money and those at the end who performed the work were not paid. If they had been working under contract, if they were employees, then they would have gone to court and would have easily won.

You said a very important thing professor, that there are too many jobs. This requires a discussion to decide if this is the case. We truly are moving away from a work-based society in favor of a knowledge- and innovation-based society. Except that knowledge and innovation cannot replace the balance of jobs lost and gained, currently this balance is negative for us. The number of innovative jobs is less than the number of jobs lost. For example, in the United States it is the case that brilliant computer scientists lose their jobs because intelligent computer systems replace them. At one point weavers destroyed looms because they were losing their jobs, now computer scientists will not destroy the computer because the computer is a work tool. This is important for what the professor said, but it is worth mentioning Professor Ulrich Beck, a German sociologist who wrote the beautiful book *Schoene neue Arbeitswelt*. He says that in 2030, 80% of people in the world will be working according to the Brazilian model, that is, without a contract, under the table and this will be a problem because in twenty or thirty years like a social echo these people will demand retirement, pensions and welfare. The state will not be able to handle this. According to him, it is better to minimalize this social echo by eliminating this under the table "Brazilian" work.

When we talk about the social market economy, then by analogy we can say that there is a so-called private market economy. It differs from a social market economy because we have production, sales, we take money but we do not pay

taxes. This includes all of the people in Poland who work in a grey area. All of those who are insured by KRUS, they say that these people provide 30% of GDP. This GDP is not evident. This is a problem because if these taxes were brought in then we could do something in this country because in Germany and everywhere in the world, the issues of multi-child families, etc. are solved via the tax system. They have so-called social equalization. We could also have this if we could collect more taxes. Our taxes are paid by retirees, pensioners and the unemployed but not big businessmen who hire lawyers to advise them on how to avoid taxes.

I would strongly defend these employees because by today's standards, unions are viewed as something terrible, maybe even as the greatest cause of problems, those who unionize employees. Everywhere in the world unions are falling so I do not know whether this is such a good thing. According to our studies, conducted by the foundation, for fifteen years in Poland, all of the so-called compromises on the job market occurred at the expense of employees. Employees gave more than they received, which is supported by evidence.

Krzysztof Bramorski

The worst thing that can be done is to toss around certain key words that cannot be verified in real time. Therefore, I will verify them in two sentences. If a person who buys a machine for 200,000 euros works on a salary while building a highway, then, first, he would never need to buy this machine because he would be employed by a construction company that would own these machines and at most it would operate these machines. Second, Art. 1 of the work code defines the rights and responsibilities of employers and workers and in Art. 2 it defines a worker. There is no term such as employee. If someone in a corporation uses it then he might as well write "giver of work" as well as "taker of work". This term is neither normative, legal nor anything else.

If you are confusing basic terms, then I am beginning to fear the results of these studies because if you say that as a director you are both an employer and an employee, then this is complete fabrication. You represent the employer, which is the corporation, in relation to employees. As mayor you are a part of the municipal structure, where the municipality is the employer in relation to other officials and you are not their employer. If we confuse such terms then we will have adverse effects, false fate, incorrect conclusions and we will not accomplish anything.

Dr Janusz Lewandowski

We have a topic that came up thanks to your intervention and the man who represents self-governments. How brutal is Polish capitalism? Is this pure neoliberalism or does it have elements of a social market economy? I think that we need to revisit this topic but for now we have not finished with the subject of Europe's identity, something that today is a major problem for Europe because there is no warm, captivating and emotionally uniting common vision among Europeans at this time, which is a problem in the face of very lively Islam, very aggressive secularization and post-modernism that is aggressively trampling through Europe.

I do not believe that we will be able to find this uniting factor in the form of Christian memory even though Christians were the authors of the European project, but my feeling based on all discussions in Brussels and Strasbourg is that Europe does not want to remember its Christian roots because for some this immediately conjures unpleasant memories of religious wars, for example. There probably is no way to find this uniting factor, which is why the de-Christianization of today's Europe is progressing. The Polish missions that took place during the period of conflict over this unnecessary European constitution are treated as "we, from these ramparts"; we know that Poles, in their role in the European Union, do not receive much attention in these matters.

Of course, for a while there was another way forward for this European identity, this was referred to in discussions as *finalite*, of the European Federation. Several brilliant philosophers got involved in this, this flight forward, reinventing Europe, a great vision to build a federal Europe, a constitution and an anthem. This all became unfashionable, and that is for the best, because this is entirely irrelevant to today's attitudes in Europe. This discussion has faded.

Today we talk about "more Europe" in two contexts: the first is, how much more of it we need so that the euro survives and this is why the euro is surrounded by a variety of supra-national institutions that will be very demanding partners for the government in Paris, not just the governments in Athens and Madrid.

The second context of "more Europe" appeared recently, ever since the resurfacing of the negative integrator in the form of Putin and these types of threats and also the Caliphate is much closer than the Afghan Taliban and this is a kind of "more Europe", to harness more power from it, from this massive common economic and political potential, but there is no talk of *finalite*, of visions that seek to reinvent Europe.

This is still Schumann's method, to build the broadest possible common interest through specific steps, except that unfortunately, we want the immigrants from other countries to integrate, but what are they supposed to integrate with? This is the emptiness of relativism and post-modernism. What code of values should we give them? Should they integrate with the common market or with Erasmus? These are not captivating images for a European but this will also not be an emotional bond that creates a united view.

The elimination of Christianity that is taking place, as it is viewed by some as a bad memory or some kind of shame, has its price. We want someone to integrate with the core of European culture but it is difficult to integrate with relativism. It is too difficult for a code of values like the one that is de facto devoid of values and made up of certain declarations of human rights to serve as a bond. I do not see this opportunity but I see the price of de-Christianization in today's Europe.

Father Maciej Zieba, Ph.D.

We have fairly different views in general but we also have this similarity that is something around which we must build "us". My answer is: simply build it on truth. The issue is that this is about affirming the truth that Christianity formed the roots and not what resulted from this.

The religious wars that fortunately occurred a long time have been deeply and critically considered but World War II and the Vendee were not considered. The false founding story of the French Revolution is also important. I use the example of a well-known professor of the history of political doctrines at Berliner Fetsch who writes a massive work, 800 large format pages, on the history of political doctrines beginning with Plato up to Habermas, where the first chapter describes the ancient view of the world, the second is the Italian Renaissance. Along the way there are 1,700 years of emptiness from the perspective of brain surgery. I can list how many of Augustine's or Thomas's work concepts were politically important in the Middle Ages, strictly analytically. All this was written by an academic who believes that this is how it was. This is a problem that maybe a few more generations will struggle with.

Essentially every European, and others, from Moscow to New York and Sydney knows Galileo's saying "and yet it moves". Of course, Galileo never said this; this was fabricated 100 years after his death as part of rewriting history. Nearly everyone knows that Voltaire said, "I hate your views but I am ready to die for your right to have them"; this was also fabricated 100 years after his death. This had the complete opposite effect, to subdue one's intellectual opponents and destroy them. This history is simply rewritten if you delve deeper. Historians know this and this is a matter of recognizing the facts. We should do what John Paul II did, a symposium about the Inquisition and the matter of Hus.

We must reconsider certain things because as long as we falsify them then Christians will feel unjustly and habitually wounded and attacked because we will not talk about a university but we will talk about a witch-hunt. Regarding the founding myth of the French Revolution, it had its great successes and great nightmares. Hitler's racism was not accidental; it was scientifically prepared and developed in the 19th century. I think that in terms of the European identity,

we need a period of honest studies and discussions based on facts because if we do not at least subject this European foundation to a fair analysis then for me Europe will be a rather comfortable retirement home, one that is not too cheerful and not too safe.

Paul Dembinski

Identity is the question "who am I?" but it is also looking at others and how they view me. What we talked about was more along the lines of who am I as a European, we as Europeans, but it is also valuable to look at how the world views Europe. It seems to me that identity is the result of interactions between these two views: internal and external. I would also not place this internal one much higher than the external one. This is one point and the second point that in some way expands the previous one is external identity; Europe as it was built out of more or less national states.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, we have seen that borders can change and that regional conflicts of various sorts and kinds are gaining strength in probably all European states without exception, and while Bavaria has not said that they will secede from Germany, this could come up. The question of identity involves not just Europe, these are also infra-European discussions, and it seems to me that in this area the coming decades will bring a great deal of novelty because certain states will either be greatly weakened or will completely fall apart in their current state. The issue of organizational structure, of macro identity seen from within and micro identity seen in between, is a challenge that migration and mobility of peoples, Erasmus, etc. will of course disrupt to a great extent because this is not just my view from a stable place; during a person's life, he will change his place of residence fifteen to twenty times. The issue of this fleeting identity is very important, we can see this in Switzerland (a micro state outside of Europe as we all know), how this issue of local identity is changing today, where it is very visible while living in some city and when we leave, it becomes a great deal weaker. Therefore, I would differentiate macro identity and micro identity.

Father Prelate Stanislaw Stechly

I want to add to what Father Zieba said. Namely, in terms of inscribing Christian values in the European Union constitution, then of course Holy Father John Paul II worked very hard on this. However, I believe that we cannot say that the EU has rejected this. As Father Pienkowski said, the main opposition was from France. Since the veto power can be wielded on these matters, it was not all of the states in the EU, it was only France, which is why Father Pienkowski called France the "sick man of Europe". However, since Germany

continued its effort with Chancellors Kohl and Angela Merkel and our president, Kaczynski, they conceded and wrote in the Lisbon Treaty, which we are subject to, that in addition to Enlightenment traditions, the EU is based on religious traditions. This is written but they did not want to specifically name Christianity. What Mr. Lewandoski mentioned, that they recall religious wars, then it would be good if in Brussels the French were told what the Enlightenment led to during the Revolution. Vendee is of course the first most horrible genocide in Europe, similar to the genocide in Cambodia under Pol Pot.

The EU should be guided by the principles of subsidiarity. This is of course a principle that has been proposed by the Church since Pius XI. The Lisbon Treaty says that the EU is guided by the principle of subsidiarity and that national parliaments must preserve this principle. In Hungary, Orban's Fidesz party has used this point. Therefore, it depends on us and what parties we choose, whether we want to choose those that want to be guided by the principle of subsidiarity or submit. This is something to consider.

The previous speaker accused the Church of persecuting capitalists. In my parish we had a capitalist who succeeded, he built a factory and hired workers but as he said, his family and he lived very humbly in order to provide the greatest possible number of jobs for other people. I praised him at the altar. There was also another capitalist, for whom my nephew worked and unfortunately he sometimes did not pay him or paid very little, which was a ubiquitous complaint among workers, and he built himself a massive palace in the Przemysl Diocese. The Church cannot praise someone like this.

Father Maciej Zieba, Ph.D.

We are moving on to Poland. The question is, do we love each other? Does Europe love the Church and does the Church love Europe? I hope that the Church loves Europe because the Church is supposed to love, it is a spiritual requirement. We exist to love Europe, in terms of its people, of course, not as an entity. However, does Europe love us? It would be enough if it respected us, this honest intellectual order, we do not need to love each other, only work together and coexist in understanding, just like we do with the state. The state does not need to love the Church, the state is an external structure that it is good to have rational good relations with and work together on certain subjects or disagree on other subjects, which in the end is constructive in social life as long as this is rational, reasonable and with the willingness to compromise.

However, the Polish Church has a problem with its approach to success, which means that we, Poles, are suspicious of success for many reasons, historical or otherwise; we envy and we believe that it is unfair. In the Greater Church and in the Polish one we should teach people that neither success nor failure are

Christian categories. This is important in modern life. It is better to succeed than to fail. However, we try to live well and grow up loving Jesus and people, therefore in holiness. Helping people and supporting them is our goal. If you are able to succeed, then great, use your mind and qualifications as much as you can, but this neither makes you better nor holier, and if you experience misfortune and defeat, we are even closer by your side to help you because this is always difficult. But you are not a worse person, we need to say, you are not more depressed, you are not broken, try again and if you are unable to then we must support you. This is important along with the awareness that in life there are no complete disasters and absolute victories. This is the Church's task, to show another dimension in life. If we succeed, it is better to be successful and this is not in any way un-Christian, these are simply different dimensions of thought and action. That is my view.

In terms of social reform and the Balcerowicz plan, we must simply remember the point of reference. If we then talk about Sweden and the Scandinavian countries, these countries spent a relatively long time building wealth. This is not mentioned but the reforms that were implemented then contained obvious social nets, indexations, etc. and an entire ministry led by Jacek Kuron, who also worked hard. With his views it was not particularly easy for him to join the free market mechanism but instead he worked as hard as he could to humanize these reforms and remember those who are marginalized. However, the point of reference was terrible. I remember these pensions that I had to pay at the publishing house every two weeks. First, there was no cash and second, monthly inflation rose to 40%. This was a dreadful time and Poland was in the same place as Ukraine. Poland is the only country that started reforms on its own, so it was more in the dark, yet doubled its income.

Today we truly still have many problems and we must remember them but we must notice where Ukraine stands. There is no ideal exit from a state of bankruptcy like the one we experienced. There is no painless one. This truly was a painful process and this really was difficult but we were at a terribly low point, this is the fundamental idea that we must always remember. Balcerowicz was probably correct when he said that a fire needs to be extinguished quickly. This is a metaphor but this fire is relevant when we look at finance.

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

I am assuming and warning you from the beginning that I am not objective because I was sometimes involved in this. That first move to market prices and real interest rates that created credit and tied a noose for many entrepreneurs, since that was the result, this was the first step, a truly shocking one because this was to extinguish a fire. It was received by people as exceptionally brutal.

The second accusation that often falls here is about state agricultural farms, where the problem was learned helplessness. I think that we lacked the imagination to see the scale of these people's learned helplessness, ones who were incapable of becoming farmers who governed their own households or creating a corporation that worked well, although there were many such cases.

However, Polish capitalism could not be brutal for a simple reason. Even though there was no particular interest in finding our own path to a market economy, because there was some talk about the Scandinavian model, but not too much, we were constantly under pressure from Solidary and despite the most common version of the truth about these first years, Poland was the most satisfied nation in the world in terms of labor movements, labor unions because this was the inheritance of Solidarity. There was no other country that had as many labor unions, which sometimes ended badly. There also was no other country that had such powerful workers' income privileges along with privatization. We had a gigantic, nearly ten million strong group of pensioners and retirees, so from the perspective of transfers or redistribution through budgets, we were the European average in terms of how social the Polish economy was during the first years of joining the market. Except that I of course must constantly face this stereotype, that Poland has adopted a very brutal form of capitalism. The only brutality was encountering this world. Not where a labor union existed but where a private owner sometimes stepped in. I remember having at least one such occurrence that was exceptionally taxing for privatization. This was Porcelana Walbrzych. Sometimes a private owner during these years was simply a regular simpleton who wanted to flaunt his wealth, he joined a female crew sufficiently terrified by the process of privatization and surrounded the corporation with a wall, because it is a fact that a socialist corporation involved taking what was produced to the outside, this was a stale tradition and as the Slovak saying goes, he who robs the state robs his family. Western corporations treated these workers completely differently. However, from 1991-1992, I truly had several incidents that involved trespassing on the territory of a factory with guards, intimidating the crew and arriving in a Mercedes, this was a culture shock that also in some way shaped the image of these first years after joining our wild capitalism.

Paul Dembinski

I did not participate in this because at the time I was outside of Poland as an observer from the sidelines. First, this was an escape from a kind of economic lethargy, but as far as imagination and society are concerned, what does economic life mean? This was preparation to discover certain areas of freedom as well as the risks associated with this. This was an educational process that was

very difficult but also very important. In my opinion, one element was overemphasized – this was the idea that through financial and market regulations, half of society could grow rich while the other half did not fall into poverty. A lot of intellectual energy and emotions were associated with this and in my opinion this was an unnecessary lesson; however, escaping this lethargy as entrepreneurs, as those who can do something and build something, was extremely important. It may have been painful, but it was very rapid if we also look at the macroeconomic reaction.

Marta Zuniga

This is very interesting, these musings about how it looked at the beginning, twenty-five years ago. We can very easily recreate these debates that rolled through Poland. This is a question whether these reforms were neoliberal, how severe they were and how bloodthirsty this capitalism was at the beginning. The left will insist that Geoffrey Sachs and this entire brigade of American advisors were people who proposed very severe changes and in fact even today if we listen to Leszek Balcerowicz, and I had the pleasure of doing so several days ago at Warsaw University, we see that ceding to any kind of attempt by social minorities to secure any kind of privileges is in his mind being over-demanding. I do not know exactly how the situation was for pro-family politics but I think that if it was too close to welfare, pro-family politics would be over-demanding. I strongly disagree with this in particular.

This is all very interesting but this is already an outdated debate. It has been twenty-five years for my generation. At the time we really did need to fight for this capitalism, to ensure that we introduce not just democracy but also market conditions. But today do we really still need to tighten our belts so radically? Do we really need to acquiesce to junk contracts, which are deadly for my generation? From the perspective of demographics and family politics, this is also important. The generation of thirty-year-olds is currently a generation that most likely (and this is the deep conviction of many people in our generation from different backgrounds, left and right), during the next ten years will not have the opportunity to secure a good job. This is associated with everything that we know so well: with no plan for the future, with not taking credit, with not starting a family, with not having children, etc. Are today's social costs, which you might not fully notice from your generational perspective, too high in the long run?

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

One sentence from a historic perspective: please do not look at the entirety of the Polish reinventions through the lens of a single event that took place on January 1, 1990. In one of its aspects, it could have an affect and could be very

painful, although its effects showed very rapidly. This was the first country that already showed economic growth in 1991. This was the normalization of interest rates that overburdened credit. Suddenly many people who were in debt fell. However, every structural revision was done under pressure from Solidarity and this was an incredibly soft path. There was no opportunity to break free and suddenly jump to some kind of brutal capitalism of capitalists. Therefore, we cannot look at all of this through the lens of one action that may have been indispensable for extinguishing the fires in that period.

Now we are jumping into modernity and I ask, do we need to tighten our belts? Who is tightening their belt? Poland is in the midst of an excessive deficit; relative to economic growth, there was a massive budget gap in 2009. Somewhat knowingly, because this was the source for co-funding European projects, there were public expenditures and this was one of the aspects that buffered the crisis. However, our public finances require more belt tightening if we do not want to be affected by sanctions or practically lose our economic sovereignty like the Greeks, because then everything must be done according to the monetary fund of the European Commission and this is where these troikas come together and really take away sovereignty from these states in terms of economic politics. This is why it is so good that Ireland and Portugal have escaped this.

We can discuss many challenges, whether the Polish economy must imitate others so much, why are we afraid of the European idea, how to raise European champions when we are such a late participant in globalization and these spots are already taken. There truly is a major problem for the young job market, one that is in part deserved. This problem exists essentially in most European states other than Austria or Germany. First, our youth has European ambitions. They do not gauge their ambitions in the same way that we did at the beginning of the 1990s. They do not measure it according to Ukrainian standards; they simply want to live like others do in the West. This is their God-given right, to have these kinds of aspirations. We had a false model of education, the one that in Austria and Germany gave an entirely different job market and this is the so-called *Duale Ausbildung, Berufs Ausbildung* – this is the intermingling of education and science at every step with practice in technically advanced enterprises. Since they have less than 5% unemployment and less than 10% unemployment among young people, now Europe is at all costs seeking a return to this interpretation of education. We have broken world records in terms of the number of university students, but this was the creation of unemployed people who later landed in the sink. I am glad that now all of this is returning to the realm of good reason. These terrible ambitions of parents who were unable to complete their university studies and wanted to offer this opportunity to their children and sometimes these occasionally very bad schools were established, which awarded weak diplomas; this is a disaster in terms of structure and the unsuitability of education to the demands of today's job market. There is a reversal of course and I am very happy about this. It will take a long time to resolve this problem, which is partly being solved by job migration, which is also not beneficial for the country, but hundreds of thousands improve their fate and their chances in life by working in the British Isles, in Ireland and in Germany, and this somehow reduces this problem even though it happens at the expense of one's own country. Transfers are flowing in but this is the loss of very energetic people. This is how Poles differ from Spaniards. Spaniards have not moved. In theory, every other person is unemployed but somehow we do not see them flowing outside their borders in pursuit of their chance at life. Poles took a chance and thanks to this they reduced this problem. Spaniards have their families that had gathered wealth over generations. They do not necessarily have the motivation to take the risk of leaving for Luxembourg or Austria to find work that is available there in many specialties. This is an authentic problem and there is no miracle cure. We have European ambitions, we have a rather stagnant job market in this regard and it is not easy to start one's own business. My friends on some floor of the dormitory at the Gdansk Polytechnic University founded Wirtualna Polska. Just as it happened in California, only these kinds of ideas continue to have a place and we will constantly have an increase in the number of innovative entrepreneurs, but this is not a solution for hundreds of thousands of young people who sometimes graduate from mediocre universities.

Paul Dembinski

I am not an expert on the Polish situation but the issue of youth is not just a Polish problem, it is a European problem as someone mentioned. One of the elements, not the only one but one of them, is the mountain of debt that has accumulated over the last decades. Without going into detail, it seems to me that Europe has matured to the point of dealing hands in the intergenerational sense as well, which may undergo a rather radical reduction in the level of debt. This is a very unpleasant surgical procedure. For some this is good news because their debt is shrinking but on the other hand this is bad news because assets are being dissolved and these assets are to a great extent in various kinds of retirement systems, etc. A large portion of this debt that mounted over the last twenty years was due to neglecting the future in favor of the present time, which today results in the fact that there are generations that think they have no future because this future was somehow confiscated or sold from them. To allow some respite, we need to reallocate financial assets. There are two possibilities without which there will be no end to the crisis: one is the anarchic reduction of debt through bankruptcy and closing certain payment opportunities, the

second is the approach to this in an organized manner so that it does not topple from every side. I hope that Europe will be able to choose this path. I emphasize that this is not about erasing state debt, this is about reducing the debt of all economic factors, including domestic economies.

Father Maciej Zieba, Ph.D.

We are discussing this instability that we see as written into the human condition, this means that my generation as well as the younger one has benefited from this change that has already occurred. This generation had a period of maturation and education that was rather hopeless in Poland in the 1970s and especially in the 1980s, with the inability to travel abroad and if this happened it was seasonal, where a person saved and could not buy a Coca Cola because this was a fortune, etc. This was unpleasant, bad and humiliating. However, later this generation received dividends from fate and providence because in the 1990s everyone who could think and spoke English was needed by every corporation. There was national radio and television, so many new radio and television stations were created that everyone was taken and many people from rural areas launched their careers instantly. People were employed by self-government and diplomacy and we were creating all of this. In normal states there is a normal rotation but here these people were truly set. To a high degree, the political class is still from 1989. There is no regular rotation and this is a problem for the new generation. They truly have their share of problems. We cannot say who has it worse and who has it better; the important issue is how to intelligently and in a structural manner solve the education problem, for example. I was also proud that 50% of people went to university and later when it turned out that most of them are studying management, marketing or international relations, then how many graduates do we need in these fields? Out of this whole group, maybe three will succeed. This must slowly become more rational. This is a young democracy and this is about ensuring that it has the ability to self-correct and engage in public debate. I am afraid that these issues are interrelated. The ability to self-correct is middling because the public debate is terribly twisted and has a terribly emotional and aggressive approach, and for me this is the greatest challenge today.

What should we do so that Art. 20 of the constitution is better implemented as a social market economy in Poland?

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

Juncker's statement is accurate – he is currently the president of the European Commission – that we essentially know what we should do but we do not know how to win elections if we do what we need to do. This is a very accurate assessment of today's situation in many countries because what we have to do is generally not rewarded politically. Reforms are about the public good. Eventually something good may come out of this but for now the defense of the status quo is entrenched and this has enormous political costs for every government. Buzek's government was the second government of major reforms after this first opening at the beginning of the 1990s and they paid for it dearly. Not all of these reforms were very successful. I cannot criticize my own government here, therefore I will very carefully say that there is definitely no disputing the safety, including in the political sense, of everything that facilitates economic activity. This can be implemented in many ways, from the justice system to regulations, etc. This is also politically safe. If my government wants to do something in this regard, then I will applaud it. Facilitating economic activity is a whole catalog of enterprises that can be popular, good for the economy and can be politically beneficial.

Paul Dembinski

One important issue in European economies and in Poland is ensuring that small businesses can compete with mid-size ones and that these mid-size ones can compete with larger ones. There are some barriers here, not only in the form of taxes but also access to finances, to certain mechanisms for growth and understanding the international economy that they are inevitably joining, where public entities could do more than they are doing. This is not about subvention, it is about opening doors, about pulling and about stimulating, sometimes also about looking a little further in terms of international development.

The second important issue is for every education system to stand closer to professional reality. Switzerland is a country that probably thanks to this has an unemployment rate in the range of 2-3%.

The third element is the one that I talked about in the introduction: it is essential to activate socio-economic initiatives, not just business ones, this third sector that is often discussed. This is the only path that will allow us to avoid drowning in a competitive society that Poland and all other countries are heading for with giant leaps.

Father Maciej Zieba

Thank you very much and thanks in particular to our experts: Mr. Dembinski and Mr. Lewandowski.

III Working Group

Youth – between uncertain future and stability

Dr. Cezary Koscielniak
Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan

The younger generation: in between an uncertain future and stability. The Church concerning the younger generation of Europeans.

Magnificent father Cardinal Stanislaw, steward of the Archdiocese of Krakow,
Marshall of the Lesser Poland Voivodeship,
Minister Giovanelli, your Excellence, the Archbishop of Montenegro,
Your excellence, the venerable Father Primate Metropolitan Archbishop of Gniezno,
Your magnificence Father Dean of the University of John Paul II in Krakow,
Your excellencies, venerable ladies and gentlemen.

I would like to begin by saying thank you very much for the honor of inviting me to participate alongside such a brilliant group of people who have devoted their entire lives to working on behalf of the Church. I wish to discuss the role of the Church in overcoming the crisis in terms of the fears and concerns of young Europeans.

Myths regarding the crisis

I want to start by identifying several myths that guide us in defining the crisis.

The first myth is presenting the crisis solely in the context of economics. Meanwhile, the crisis that we are facing is not only economic in nature, it is also ethical and spiritual. We remember that the crisis in the U.S. was a result of unethical economic practices, such as "credit for credit" or creative bookkeeping. However, the spiritual crisis lies much deeper and manifests as a lack of

purpose in life that affects many young people. This crisis will not be resolved by simply increasing the number of jobs, increased pay or tax reform.

The second myth is the myth of utilitarian anthropology, which reduces the person to a number as well as productivity and pleasure from consumption. The mythical faith in the power of exchanging goods as a counter-crisis mechanism creates an opportunity for the select and wealthy, but only in the economic sense, to overcome the crisis. However, does this help overcome the spiritual crisis? The prophetic words of John Paul from *Solicitudo rei socialis*: "so few possess nearly everything and despite this they are not happy at all".

I am supposed to talk about the Church, therefore the third myth concerns an erroneous understanding of the Church's role in resolving the crisis. **The Church is often expected to act on or support certain political and economic doctrines.** The Church is not an economic institution nor is it a bank or government. The Church, as the repository of the Good News of Salvation, can primarily protect us from spiritual degradation and provide a moral compass, that is, to find what is at the heart of the crisis. According to Joseph Ratzinger, "faith does not lead to a theory of what is human or rational, but it explains the internal callings of God's grace" (p. 67) (Ratzinger, *Introduction to Christianity*). In this sense faith should not be treated on an equal plane with economic theories, instead it should remain the path to the Good News. I want to make it clear that this is not about turning back from this social issue, it is about maintaining an eschatological perspective on the salvation of humanity, which is the primary purpose of the Church.

Thus, if the role of the Church is primarily at the level of spiritual life, then a question arises: how can it participate in overcoming the crisis? I will focus on several important problems facing young Europeans as well as the possibility of solving them that the Church can create.

The young and a sense of not having a purpose in life

One of the important characteristics of a modern person, a person in crisis, is no sense of purpose in life. It is no surprise that for a large number of young Europeans life is composed of "collected experiences" as well as "consumptive drifting". More and more, this goal sets the direction for education; for example, many university curricula contain dwindling numbers of subjects like philosophy that encourages self-reflection and discipline. Secularization is certainly a significant factor: life without God must end at the time of a person's death. Secular processes not only cause the decay of faith but also of any deep and fundamental questions. In this sense secularism refers to faith as well as a deliberate lack of faith; secularism trivializes the value of posing any questions about God, the purpose of life or spiritual reality. The stance of one who rejects fundamental questions has already been characterized in the pages of the Liturgy. This makes me think of a scene from the Liturgy, involving a sad youth who chose not to follow the Lord and sadly turned away; he was held back by his fears and a lack of purpose. This illustrates the Church's most important role, which is to show Christ as a source of purpose and meaning in life, to demonstrate that he exudes meaning as well as joy and the energy to live. A person without God does not feel safe. It is the opposite: he is increasingly starved. In *The Wasteland,* T.S. Eliot says: "I will show you fear in a handful of dust"; the existence of a person like a handful of fear, the dust of confidence solely with its intentions and strengths. A lack of meaning is closely related to anxiety, loneliness and social alienation as well as feeling threatened.

John Paul identified anxiety as one of the principal elements of the crisis facing young people. Already at the beginning of his pontificate the Pope said: "Do not be afraid and open your doors to Christ." **According to the Church, conquering fear depends on becoming aware of who Christ is!** Christ is the savior from fear, thus our first task becomes clear: to progress from fear and meaninglessness to hope and God's energy. Pope Francis told the youth in Rio: you must be visible, go into the streets, that is, you must show that Christ is guiding you. It seems that this is one of the key tasks for the World Youth Days in Krakow. How do we implement the enthusiasm of these days into daily life? This is a serious challenge and problem. What do we do to encourage young people to accept Christ as the purpose of their lives and to thereby conquer their fears? How do we ingrain the Christian lifestyle as a lasting element of the private and public spheres? It appears that the most important act is to show God's concern for humanity's struggles. In the book *An Introduction to Christianity*, Joseph Ratzinger describes the process of faith as *stehen* or the mindset of enduring in a community that is based on listening and preaching. In this way we encounter the City of the Spirit or Spirit-polis, whose purpose is salvation. Spirit-polis, as the Catholic response to the need to find meaning. The Church does not provide short-term relief or toys to briefly soothe the soul. The Church gives a sense of purpose or *stehen* as standing with faith.

The theology of solidarity

The next element of the crisis of youth is a matter of economic issues, including the problems of work and pay as well as abandonment associated with resolving these issues. It is worth noting that approximately four million peo-

ple, out of sixteen million employees in Poland, are employed under so-called junk contracts that do not guarantee social services. In the European Union, over 23% of people age twenty-five were unemployed in 2013; in Poland this number was over 27% in 2013. Things are not much different in Spain and Greece is setting records with a number in excess of 50%. Economic troubles are also associated with the value of currency. The average Polish pension has a net value under 800 euro but cost of life is not much lower than in the West, which discourages people from establishing families. For this reason, over two million educated Poles have moved, primarily to the British Isles, in search of a better future. Economic emigration takes its toll and often breaks apart young families. This situation leads to numerous protests by young people in Europe and unfortunately strengthens radical views and mutual distrust. It is this decryption of the crisis that is a challenge for the Church. **A difficult economic situation causes a resurgence in the popularity of extreme solutions.**

Here we can read anew the prophetic encyclical of John Paul II, *Loborem exences*: the pope distances himself equally from the solutions of true Marxism as well as neoliberal capitalism. To John Paul, a person remains a partner to the Creator and possesses dignity. An employer cannot treat a person as a machine that is part of an assembly line. Here we have a kind of commonwealth of experiences of John Paul II and Francis. Just as Karol Wojtyla witnessed the communist myth of liberation through work, which in its socialist reality did not yield the expected benefits, Jorge Bergoglio witnessed enslavement to monopolistic capital and profit. The Church's response rises above political and economic systems, it penetrates deeper and touches the spiritual structure of a person. For Francis, the opposition to arrogant wealth and a materialistic ideology of lies represents opposition to violating the foundations of human dignity. Both popes place great emphasis on the *theology of solidarity*. What are its sources? The strongest factor in the theology of solidarity will be perseverance, being there for others, those whose situation is worse. The experience of Karol Wojtyla is relevant here, when in Krakow he was in the habit of paying his wards unexpected visits in their homes. This made them feel as if their shepherd were with them and understood them.

It seems that today the problem is leaving young people to their own devices: they need to find their own place in the system and should gain wealth and independence on their own; they should not rely on the support of others. Meanwhile, solidarity breaks this loneliness and shares the burden of misfortune of others. The theology of solidarity is another potential message for World Youth Days. Its source lies in the theology of God's mercy. Christ, as Faustyna Kowalska notes in *Dzienniczek*, does not let anyone get lost and nobody is left behind. The work of mercy refers to the sphere of the spirit and salvation but it can be translated to the public sphere. John Paul II spoke of the "imagination of mercy" and that we cannot ignore the needs of others. This is a perspective that goes beyond political and economic thought; it is a perspective that goes beyond self-interest and cycles of economic conjecture. St. Faustina, called the secretary of God's Mercy, explains it as **taking others' burdens upon oneself. The theology of solidarity would require participation in the fears, sadness and loneliness of young people.**

Finally, the theology of mercy allows us to overcome the secular "language of benefits" and replace it with the "language of mercy". When interpreted in its political and economic form, "the language of mercy" can seem like a laughable and trivial bit of naiveté. Indeed, from a utilitarian perspective this is still the case! St. Faustyna herself laments in her spiritual journal, *Dzienniczek*, about how she endures acts of love toward her brethren with a sense of humanity. However, the possibility of sharing Christ's love with naiveté becomes an act of love. **I do not stand in solidarity because of mercy or sentiment for another person but because of the mission that God gave that other person.** Josef Tischner interpreted John Paul II's encyclical "On God's Mercy" as follows: "the principle of justice governs people's social interactions but the principle of mercy governs direct interpersonal relations…The reverse is also true: a principle that intends to govern social life aspires to control direct interpersonal relations" (J. Tischner, *Robespierre and Sister Faustyna*). Similarly, individual mystical experiences that occur during individual relations with God can be adapted to society's experience. **The language of mercy is different than the language of benefits because it considers the issues of suffering and helping others, which occupies my efforts. It seems that without this definition of solidarity it will simply remain an economic act that does not change us or the social dimension.** It seems that the perspective of political philosophy based on mercy as a norm could be a perspective for the European Union in the context of society and not only religion, equally open to believers as well as non-believers. European politicians should have the courage to consider this perspective, especially now as the Community opens up. The Community is more and more involved in the politics of assistance, including to developed states, and a serious question arises: **how do we justify solidarity in times of austerity (retrenchment)?** Based on mercy, solidarity should ensure mutual responsibility where others are treated as brothers, not strangers.

Theology of fraternity

Solidarity is closely related to the problem of fraternity. We can currently see fraternity during the crisis: it seems that the young egotists' Europe is one of the threats to the future of the Community as one entity. This egotism can be heard in proposals to break up into states with the goal of separating from the "poorer" and "worse" ones as well as through the scope of nearsighted politics. This egotism's based on the false ideals of new nationalism as well as an unwillingness to share one's wealth with others. In the second half of the 20th century the idea of fraternity was coopted by Marxist ideology. However, it seems that this term needs to be reclaimed. In the European Union, fraternity manifests as the political goal of centralizing the politics of European states. Marxist fraternity mistakenly understands unity as "ideological homogeneity". However, European fraternity does not equate to homogeneity, it is the unity that exists through the constant process of unifying various interests, trends as well as political and social goals. The Church plays a significant part in this. Fraternity in the sense of collaboration and mutuality would result from solidarity and it is implied that this includes steps towards unification and the pursuit of common goals and interests.

In his book *Christian Brotherhood*, Joseph Ratzinger shows that the Lenten Table is the first source of fraternity for Catholics. This is the purest form of fraternity, which was established by Christ himself. It should also lead to what Benedict XVI called the "testimony of hope", or taking the energy and passion of faith to the faithless as well. Francis' ongoing pontificate could be referred to as the "pontificate of fraternity". The Pope points to social divides but he shows that the first step to resolving a crisis is not a political or economic one, it is about building mutual support and mutual understanding. I, being full and satisfied, cannot calmly watch as another is refused access to basic freedoms and rights. He, through his being, calls me to respond.

Summary

In summary, the economic and political side of the crisis that is affecting young people is also accompanied by a deep spiritual crisis that is in reality a crisis for all Europeans. The Church agrees that a plan to overcome the crisis solely by gaining an understanding of the state of "satiated egotism" is inadequate by far. Furthermore, it could have unintentional consequences. Thus, reminders of the spiritual side of the crisis are necessary. The role of the Church is to show the theological tools, based on the blessing of solidarity and spread of fraternity, as the road to overcoming the crisis. **The most important challenge is not so much to escape the crisis as it is to discuss that model of humanity that we would like to be; what should the "post-crisis person" be like?** What civic, social and human values do we presently need in Europe? **What axiological model will shape Europe for those currently in their 20s and 30s, who will take over its leadership in a decade or two?** What moral goals will guide our political and economic life in the future? We are to spend the remainder of this conference considering this, but this is a matter that cannot be restricted to the Church without reflection. In Poland, in 2016 we will be celebrating the 1050th anniversary of the Christianization of Poland as well as the World Youth Days; these are wonderful contributions to taking on these issues and they should be analyzed in the context of these events.

Thank you for your attention.

Discussion Panel

Przemyslaw Radwan-Rohrenschef

Ladies and gentlemen,

My daily work is at the Szkola Liderow (School of Leaders) Foundation, an institution that helps people of various ages who want to accept the call of leadership in the public sphere, that is, in non-governmental organizations, in self-government or in the political world. The younger generation has found itself between an uncertain future and stability, as Cezary Koscielniak tried to set our primary focus in his introduction. These dichotomies cause fear. I feel that the issue in question is a matter of fear that leads to focusing on oneself. If the theme of -isms is intertwined, then these are most likely rooted in this fear.

I would like to start by adding a few more such dichotomies so that we can attempt to refer to several views that concern the younger generation. By this I mean the problem of the job market and economy, the issue of younger generation versus family, younger generation versus politics and the political sphere, the younger generation versus intergenerational solidarity and an issue that we must discuss, that is, the issue of real and virtual dichotomies because inevitably when we talk about or experience encounters with people who, I don't know if anyone in the room was born in the 1990s, but if we talk to people born in the 1990s then to them the reality of the Internet is already their reality. This is not a tool; it is a kind of reality where one functions. Therefore, I would like us to discuss these areas and confront these various fears that were discussed in the introductory remarks.

There is also a question of how we define the younger generation: where does it begin and what birth years does it include, who are we really referring to, are these the 1980s, the 1990s or the 2000s, where is this younger generation that stands between an uncertain future and stability? The first dichotomy that I want to share with you is a simple matter: individualism vs. community. The second matter is virtual reality and reality. The third is a kind of position between being an advisor and being a leader who takes responsibility. This escape into advisorship is also a tendency that we see, not just in the younger generation. Consumerism versus participation. This is consumerism in relation to the state, to each other, or else participation and co-creation. I have experience working with many people from self-government in Poland and I often get the sense that our dreams of self-government are somewhat dreams of an efficient customer service bureau. The question is whether self-government is something that we should co-create, although this can be applied to everything, to family, to work, to every dimension and to the Church: do we want consumerism or participation? Who are we? A very difficult dichotomy facing this generation is the issue of whether we give up or stand up. This is very often a paralyzing fear, fear of resignation because inevitably some of these younger generations are generations that were programmed for success, to win and to not give up, either in the primitive sense, not giving up on oneself, not giving up on opportunities, etc. Somewhere this perspective of giving up starts to obscure the perspective that this is an experience; that we are instead choosing and not giving up, this is a conscious decision that we are taking something. Somewhere in all this there is certainly a question of fear of losing status.

It is very difficult to talk about the younger generation because I think that this young Western generation is different, their parents lived stably, and it is different for the younger generation whose parents lived on an average income and fought on a daily basis, so here we will have divergent views. Somewhere beyond all of this, past these dichotomies and these topics, a question comes up: what kind of values so that we do not become lost? The fact that we have such a dichotomous reality is the normal course of events and I would not want to encourage us to tear out our hair because these questions come up. I think that as long as questions arise and someone sees the dichotomy, then the situation is not bad. It becomes a problem when they are no longer noticed.

Pascal Lejeune

I understand that I was invited here to share with you my views regarding an uncertain future and future stability from the perspective of what Europe can do in this context.

In particular I will consider the problem of uncertainty that affects people. Uncertainty is a natural trait that influences young people. Youth is a transitional period between childhood and adulthood but it is a fact that today this transition is more difficult than it has been in the past. The global crisis has deeply shaken the European economy and many regular people feel the consequences of this crisis, they have felt it directly, and especially young people more than others. We heard some statistics this morning: approximately five million young people are unemployed. Average unemployment for young people is twice as high as average unemployment for the whole population. We

should remember that there are countries where nearly 50% of young people are unemployed: Greece, Spain, Italy and Croatia. Unemployment has enormous consequences, not just economic ones, because work opens the possibility of taking further steps in life or starting a family. Unemployed young people are also more prone to feeling socially excluded and lonely, which is also exacerbated by a lack of social support. The situation is also not ideal for those who work because very often this is temporary work where they must accept these precarious work conditions, which also undermine their stability, such as shift work; this work essentially does not guarantee stability for family life. This lack of stability undermines future outlooks and creates uncertainty, but this also has its own broadly interpreted repercussions for society, economic and political ones; social exclusion ensures that young people do not see opportunities, they do not see the possibility of employment and they do not see the possibility of education. We are not talking about five million, we are talking about nearly fourteen million people who are not in school, not in work, outside of education; these people, according to a study that we recently published, are much more involved in the voting problem, which is a concern for all of Europe. For example, in the European elections, these groups were divided by age; in the last elections participation was 49%, now it was 43%, but among young people this number was 29%, which is our concern that we must face. If we talk about these elections, this reflects the issue of young people's view of the future. According to this study, which was carried out by the London School of Economics, trust in institutions is shrinking and young people are becoming less active in social initiatives. These people are leading a more dangerous lifestyle; they are attracted to populism and extremism.

Recently a packet of initiatives was published as a guarantee for young people who have spent over four months out of work or school to offer them help finding work, training or a return to school. This is a recommendation for Member States. These recommendations should be very quickly accepted by the European Parliament and the European Commission and this is about establishing plans at the European level for individual Member States because of the potential to obtain additional funds – approximately six billion euro to support these young people in education, training and work. But we need more to return to stable growth. To maintain our European model, the most important thing is to concurrently ensure economic growth and a just society. The European model is facing a test of what the European Union should do in the face of many debates. It is often debated whether the EU can do anything so that these people do not feel abandoned. President Juncker will soon assume his duties and he will have to tackle this. Balance between social and economic issues, this is an issue that Mr. Juncker wants to bring up during his first appearance at the forum of the European Parliament.

Therefore, stability and uncertainty. We are convinced that there are not so many victims; that there do not need to be so many victims. Young people can also be the target of solutions that ensure social calm if we listen to them and also give them some kind of executive power. I want to emphasize that during the Italian presidency, during the next two presidencies, Lithuanian and Luxembourgian, during the following half-year spans, work must be found for young people to help them in some way and to give young people impact, to ensure that they believe in themselves. These are the next eighteen months in the European Union.

Many young people are turning away from traditional political parties; many are dissatisfied with how politics is being managed. Very often nobody takes care of them and they are not heard, they feel excluded and underrepresented in political discourse. We must rediscover young people's problems in all European countries. Of course, we expect active involvement of civic societies in the attempt to attract young people. The Catholic Church, in part by emphasizing Christian values, should start the dialog with European values, it should attract young people. The Lisbon Treaty calls for active participation and encouraging young people to participate. This is not some fundamental change in European politics, but the mandate of the European Union must be changed by adding this active involvement of young people in political life. Based on this, the EU has worked out a new strategy that has several main goals; first, this is about equipping young people with abilities and competencies that are necessary wherever young people must learn certain abilities to create their own future, but we must also encourage them to participate in democratic political life and here the key word is subsidiarity. Member States should integrate this issue into their activities and civic societies must also ensure involvement. Young people should be given the opportunity to develop. We must invest in young people and at the same time enable them to participate and give them executive power at the European level. We are trying to create a framework for dialog to avoid these problems associated with a lack of education and employment or training. For us, this is in accordance with agreements between individual Member States, the way in which we can introduce this and implement it at the national level so that young people are engaged in planning political paths. Therefore, we must acknowledge and recognize youth in civil society. In this context, civil society organizations are key partners who must present values for youth organizations by helping young people obtain qualifications, mutual work, initiatives and communication; we know that these abilities are very important on the job market, but these initiatives by young people also influence their social standing and how they are viewed by society.

We must prepare them to become active members of our society, so that their voice is audible now and in the future. Maybe some of you know this firsthand, the Church often handled this, Christian fellowships organized political action by young people, and we support these kinds of initiatives at the European level. You heard about the new Erasmus program, this is an informal involvement of young people, that is, opportunities to gather new experiences by exchange, through European social involvement, if only people offer their time for the good of others in another country. In summary, this is about somehow solidifying initiatives related to youth, especially through subsidiarity. This is what politicians at the European and national levels are offering, to inspire young people using direct learning, for example, through youth exchange programs. Of course these initiatives do not erase uncertainty but they can build young people's trust in their own abilities and put them in a more powerful position.

A region can also be a source of inspiration and support. We are confident and aware that Catholic organizations are active in the world and often also benefit from these opportunities. Recently approximately one thousand programs were proposed by Catholic organizations in all members of the European Union.

Therefore, to expand the opportunities for further initiatives, today's young people are the most affected part of society by the crisis, but we must continue our efforts to resolve the crisis and show young people a positive future so that they will also participate in civic life. In terms of young people, there are different segments of the population and we must remember that some people can withstand critical situations but we must also remember the number of young people who are entirely removed from normal conditions so it is difficult for them to improve their situation in life.

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

Good day, ladies and gentlemen.

I understand that these important problems of youth will be discussed in a group composed mostly of people aged fifty and above. Further, I have a program where we get people over fifty involved, I am also in this profession. As a result, my main problem, which I am in favor of, is this inspiration by the Holy Spirit, that I know everything about young people because I am over fifty. Therefore, I will move on and say what I think about this.

This is because when I hear about this dichotomy between stability and uncertainty, it seems to me that the greatest problem of our times is this lie that stability exists. This is simply one big lie. I don't know if you noticed, when suddenly in stable Europe, a volcano erupted in Iceland. Suddenly airplanes stopped flying. Or a meteor fell. For example, I was involved in rescue efforts in Poland, in 2010, during the flood and the last time this kind of flood occurred, there were flooded regions, so I spent quite a bit of time there to see what happens and to convince myself that stability is one big lie. There is no such thing. Not in nature, or life or the economy.

One of the greatest lies of recent years is that the cycles of economic conjecture stopped turning, and that we are able to shield people from crisis. As a result of growing up with these delusions, the younger generation, as if accustomed to comfort, was at some level unable to adapt to discomfort. When I hear that there are so many people without work, I say, maybe I will use myself as an example, I am an employer. I employ, only counting the headquarters here in Krakow, approximately 100 people, the average age of people who, for example, manage a Paczek, one of the greatest projects, the most inspiring one in this country, is twenty-five years old. At the same time, there was a time when I was involved in recruiting and young people came to me, whom I would never in my life want to hire. They were so demanding, so devoid of ambition, I simply do not want to work with them. Why, when I am trying to create some meaning, especially because I manage non-governmental organizations, I have public funds for which my conscience is responsible, should I waste them by hiring people who for many years did not want to do anything with their lives? I do not possess this mercy, further, for years I have been an academic pastor, I have now educated thousands of young people, and I have ten thousand volunteers, young people, as part of my volunteer program. These are young people who I educated and they generally do not have problems finding work.

I apologize for using myself as an example. Once I was walking with my students in the mountains and among them was a young person who did not know me and he asked them: how is the priest? They said: free market. This means that, for example, sometimes I tell my employees that before you do something that will make it outside that will go on the free market, I am your free market, and I will tell you that it is bad. I will stress you, I will have expectations. This ensures that when a person knows that it is necessary to fight for survival, when a person experiences the pleasure of effort and the result of effort, when endorphins are injected into the brain because someone expended effort and did something instead of having a moment of pleasure because he ate a cream puff or played a game, later on this person will never want this dull life.

Let's stop living the lie that stability exists. Stability does not exist, even in our lives. Today I am healthy but tomorrow I will be ill. There is no stability, there is only an intermediate phase where life is good. There is no stability, there is no such thing. Thank you very much.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Thank you. It seems to me that we have more of these dichotomies. Having read Minister Adam Tanski's writing about the lie associated with unemployment in PGRs several weeks or months ago, I decided to delve deeper into this subject especially because once, back in college, I conducted research in post-PGR towns and of course statistically this does not look bad because by today's estimates, this is only fifty thousand unemployed. This is what Tanski writes. Because they are somewhere in some kind of enclaves, only several post-PGR apartment buildings placed far from some center where they could work. Not too long ago we celebrated the anniversary of the first government and at one of these meetings regarding Tadeusz Mazowiecki, someone remembered his reflection that he regrets that we did not realize that this unemployment will be the same kind of unemployment and that the opportunities will not be the same when looking for work. This is because the situation is different. I understand this perspective and the particular reality and these wonderful chosen ones will find work but in Poland there are still those, not necessarily by their own fault, who grow up somewhere in these five buildings, several kilometers from any center where work can be found. So here I do not agree that this is a world of simple solutions. I admit that I myself once believed in it. I mean that fifteen years ago I was more free market than I am today. Today it seems to me that these simple proposals do not work out in the end.

Cezary Koscielniak

I want to add several problems to this list that Przemyslaw mentioned at the beginning. The conference is about the role of the Catholic Church, so inevitably we are talking about religion, therefore I ask, is religion currently a uniting or a dividing factor for young people? It seems to me that this conflict is serious in various parts of Europe despite appearances. Some of you are from Ukraine, therefore, we also clearly see how the Ukrainian-Russian conflict is also a conflict between the Russian Church and the Ukrainian Church.

We have a very serious problem in many Western countries, where now there is not only marginalization but also intolerance aimed at religion, often animosity, including in relation to the Catholic Church. The question is: to what extent can religion unite us in the younger generation and create common interests, somehow create this sphere of fraternity and what can be done from the perspective of the Catholic Church so that this role is truly filled? I am posing this as a kind of question, as a kind of problem. Based on my experience as an international lecturer (I lectured a little in Italy and in Malta) I know that in Poland the divisions are still not as strong as in other countries, at least this is what I see when I meet with young people. This, I believe, is

one of these challenges. I am not giving any answers because I think that this requires a separate discussion. However, I think that in addition to these economic and Internet issues that you mentioned, this is a very important problem. Because this is a problem that extends to axiological issues, to ethical issues and often to the foundations of these fundamental choices and when talking about the younger generation it is impossible to stray from this issue. Thank you very much.

Przemyslaw Radwan

I think that, if you allow me, there are de facto two problems. This means that on one hand there is the problem of finding one's place in reality and I would not look too far because probably many of you know that in some of the big city high schools, there is slowly a shift from an issue of intolerance of those who do not attend to those who do attend religious education. In reality, the issue of religious space for the younger generation is an inevitable challenge. The other matter is certainly a question of its role. What values from the depths of the Church should help with orientation in these dichotomies?

Fr. Henryk Szymczak

I have been part of a parish in Poznan for thirty-one years. Until last year I still taught youth in middle school, in the third year and in the second and third years of high school, youth in their final year. What Father Jacek said about how youths are; there are youths who deserve an A, those who deserve a B and those who deserve a C, D or F. Most of them are those who deserve a C, D or F. These are the ones who do not really want to do anything; they cause the most problems. In my opinion, based on long observation, the key is family. If families are very weak, often broken or with parents who are mostly out of work and then at home with the television, beer, conflicts and arguments, then we usually have youth with a C, a D or an F. Then we have this drifting consumerism, somewhere they will even find work on junk contracts and in the evening they will stop somewhere, drink some beer and that is how their life unfolds. But we also have those who get an A or a B and they are part of various groups and for them religion is important, very important. They are able to visit the sick, they are able to organize help during Christmas or Easter. They know how to be part of groups like Caritas; there are many truly good youths who have principles and wisdom. In principle this is a result of our families. I think that this is where the roots are. Later they also receive their wings there. The Church also gives them these wings.

Fr. Aleksander Leszczynski

In my opinion priests are the ones most interested in youth. This is the situation. I have only been a rector for thirteen years but for twenty-seven years I have taught in a school and primarily in high school. For several years, since a middle school was created in my parish, I have also been teaching at this middle school. This includes students in their last year and so I agree with the venerable speaker before me and with Father Jacek. But I do not entirely agree with Father Jacek. The venerable priests look at this issue from the perspective of a large city. However, for twenty years I have had the pleasure of living in a city called "eighteen thousand residents" plus a few local villages; additionally, the entire county is less that twenty-something thousand. Certainly we have youth who are very good and those who are not necessarily very good but I think that the problem is that they found work with a priest, because in Bogatyn, we practically have no work. Of course, there is even a very large group of youths who do not want to work. The saying goes: Father, but where will I go? They can go to a large city such as Wroclaw. Our county has depopulated by 2,000 people during the last ten years according to official data. The power plant is laying workers off, the mine is laying workers off and there is no work, there are no prospects. Thanks to various intelligent ideas of the first governments, everything that could be called light industry has closed, there is nothing. There was once some kind of chemical cotton, Pollena, now there is nothing. Now the youth have this saying, I ask, how is everything going at school? "Very well father." And what was your average for the semester? "2.8". That is enough for them because they will finish some kind of school and go to Germany, England or Ireland and wipe butts or empty chamber pots. Very many youths currently have no ambition. They have no desire to have something more because they will earn something and will have something to eat but there is nothing like what was once called higher needs. In my opinion this is also the fault of media and maybe those in power that young people have been told that consumption is the most important thing. If there is food, of course there are good youths, I am involved in Caritas in the parish, and twice a year we collect at Biedronkas and youths gladly help. But to do this permanently, every day, constantly: "No, Father, I need television and games"; there are no volunteers. In our school, in our county, there are not many schools, so there are two high schools and several middle schools, where I have been involved for practically twenty years. There is no one willing in the long term. If it is a movement, then of course.

I think that you are right Father when you say that family is at the root of this. A family that also seeks money, that does not have time for children, for these small children in second, third or fourth grade of elementary school. Later, just like there was no time for children, there is even less time for youths. The current plan for youths: set oneself up, buy a car, finish school and move to the West, this is their ambition. During the last ten years my parish shrank by 600 people. From 2,500 to 1,900. As usual, the truth lies in the middle. I want to say a few more words about religion. I think that there is a kind of permission to attack the Church that comes from above. I dare say, this is equally from some EU agendas as well as national ones. It is true that they mock those who, fools, go to religion class more than those who do not go. At least this is already the case in my district.

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

What is work? It seems to me that we are living in this strange world where politics first takes care of workplaces. Work is something where I go out into the field and I stand behind a plow, digging and work is something like this where someone wants to pay me for this. This is the second dimension. I ask: who stops a European from entrepreneurship? For him to be an entrepreneur, since there are no workplaces, then maybe he can create his own workplace. Who stops people from working? I do not know this. I don't know about you but I come from a small town: we had vacation, I went to the village and worked on the field normally, and I plastered, painted and dug ditches, fixed cars and finished AGH University. Does someone forbid these young people from working? Who forbids them?

However, the second question is: who wants to pay for this? Are they able to learn something that someone will be willing to pay for? For me this is basic education. However, I wanted to say that we have a project called Akademia Przyszolsci (Academy of the Future), for example, where we help children who have trouble at school learn how to manage their lives. We say: we will move them from defeat in school to a better life. Therefore, it is not the case that nobody takes care of this. However, to me it seems that often during these discussions there is no mention of the most fundamental truths that everyone can and should, they just should, work.

Przemyslaw Radwan

I think that this is a good statement for us to move on to the area of economy and the job market. I will start with a few introductory thoughts. Many tools, including education and many EU and national policies, are fixated on work. This is reality and at the moment I do not want to assess this, but this is reality. I think that in Poland we are on the fast track from our taste of a free market economy, despite the fact that of course our western neighbor was very deeply entrenched in a social market economy, to a certain correction associated with the fact that we

think about social economy on the one hand and corrections to the market rate on the other as well as something that is overvalued in our way of working.

When we talk about startups, when we talk about spaces that are being created in large cities for people who leave corporations and want to develop their own businesses, to make it more interesting, I should probably call these "creative businesses" because this still sells, but this is reality, this trend exists. This means that there are more and more of those who do not want to work in corporations. On the other hand there are those who look at this and see a path to self-realization and to buy a home. I do not know, with this car, this is probably not just a problem for young people, I think that this is a problem for every well-off society, that we have a multitude of these cars and we must drive in them individually instead of taking the train. This is because we have expressways but we do not have railways. However, I think that this is the curse of all societies that rise up. I mean that it is easier to buy a car than a home. I remember that the onetime dean of the School of Sociology in Warsaw always said that he was surprised that in Warsaw in these "plytowe osiedla" (template communities) there were cars similar to ones in villa neighborhoods in Germany. But this is available, this is a curse of the 1990s.

However, something is happening with this economy that we are torn between this fascination with a very free market that still exists and undoubtedly this voice is still heard, to this solution associated with family businesses, individually owned businesses, a truly social dimension associated with a social economy. Some kind of fixation. Somewhere in a village I conducted a study and the message at home was: choose a school that will help you get a job; this means that the deeper we go into this kind of place, the more we hear this. Despite the fact that sometimes this message was absurd because it suggested school that did not provide this work but we are fixated on this. Are we reducing ourselves, or not; I do not know.

What should the Church and general educational institutions suggest? I mean, what should we have, because it seems to me that this is not a matter of the market, it is a matter of what we will do on this market, how we will behave. I agree with what Father Jacek said. If we have people who are brave and enterprising, then they will take a risk. I know very many nice people who started their own companies and took a risk. However, they had the courage to take a risk. I always tell people at our leadership programs that this is key; they must be able to stick out. If you stick out, you can get hit on the head but most of us grew up in homes where we heard *tishe yedyesh dalshe budiesh*; don't stick your neck out, what do you need this for? This is an element of upbringing and I think that we should consider whether this is a departure from this upbringing to an upbringing to "stick your neck out, take a chance", and this is sinusoidal.

I am asking you what about this market, what about this economy and what should we pay attention to so that we do not get lost because this is probably a good way to phrase it. What should we talk about, how should we raise young people so that they manage and are able to pass? I think that this is a matter of a good spine, to not get lost when we are thrown to *korpo* and to not get lost when we are unemployed for a time.

Speaker from the audience

Thank you very much, I would like to add something to what one of the speakers before me said. The issue of young people growing up is a deeper problem because it is associated with the politics of the government in a given country. As was said, the most difficult situation is in small cities and in small towns where the infrastructure is entirely different than in big cities – the educational, recreational and sports, etc. infrastructures. In small cities and small towns, the situation continues to improve but young people feel abandoned, they have nothing to do besides school in order to develop, there are no sports complexes, there is just a church and everything depends on the pastor.

Przemyslaw Radwan

But the vast majority of us play football on a normal asphalt field. Is this really so hopeless?

Speaker from the audience

Yet the small towns are in the worst positions because there are no small businesses where young people could find work. There are no employment opportunities. Young people only look for recreation to kill time or they leave in search of work. Self-government officials also do not try to help them in life. Maybe it is even worse in life but we must work on this so that self-government authorities make this effort and the government must also support self-governments in various actions aimed at young people.

Speaker from the audience

I have two questions, which maybe are not directly related to the market, but I want to focus on education, which is preparation for the market and I would also like to ask Mr. Pascal Lejeune what has been done in the European Union at the institutional level to promote family? Is there some roadmap for promoting family, for promoting marriage and can Christians do something for family so that a family becomes an attractive model that is worth devoting oneself to? At the same time I would like to ask the representative of the Church about what the Church is doing so that Christians and young Catholics can start polit-

ical careers if we must have young people involved in Brussels, young Catholics, in European institutions? What should the Church do so that secular people also act within the bounds of these institutions, to have the right people in the right places?

I am fortunate that I generally do not work with young people, only with those who organize their free time or various forms of school and extracurricular activities because every year I evaluate approximately three thousand petitions of common schools, organizations, sports clubs, foundations and self-governments that submit Polish-German applications to include third partners. I see in black and white that the qualitative value of these projects can be assured when we entrust young people with responsibility for these projects and they develop them. Every year I participate in several multi-disciplinary conferences like this one. They generally have a plenary session and a work session. I would guess that just like in the case of this conference, the workshop dedicated to youth will have the number three or the last one. If there are ten workshops, then the workshop dedicated to the problems of young people will be number ten. This is reality, that we approach young people in a protective manner, whether we admit this or not. However, if we look truth in the eyes, this is the case. After all, we know what is best for young people. Unfortunately young people do not share this view. They probably never shared it but now thanks to modern means of communications, it is easier for them to organize in opposition to this approach of the so-called adult world.

In our activity we have set a focus for the next three years on issues associated with orientation on the job market and entrepreneurship; setting a certain course for young people is acceptable but solving their problems and absolving them of responsibility for the result of this endeavor is one of the worst mistakes that we can make. In response to the question that was asked at the beginning to supplement our topic, whether religion divides us or unites us, I will say that in Europe, when I visit a place such as Taize I believe that this unites us. When I go to parlors in Warsaw or a street in Warsaw then I think that we are united by disdain for religion, which is also a common denominator but not the best of paths. This is probably because we do not take young people completely seriously, that is, we do not fully consider them responsible and prepared to accept responsibility.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Thank you very much for that comment but I also thank you for your attempt to address what is important to avoid getting lost. I think that the matter of responsibility and subjective treatment is key. Several years ago I had an experience where we had a competition for projects created by high school students for middle school students. We gave them 1,000 PLN each to complete these projects starting with nothing. This means that formally, legally there was nothing, we did not want this to go through schools so we gave them the money directly. They signed an affidavit that they took the money for this project. Never in my life have I had such well-accounted projects as those. However, I took a risk, I trusted and gave responsibility instead of taking it. I think that from the perspective of this kind of education, the first step is to become part of the market and to be part of the economy. I mean that we must teach trust and responsibility, not take them away. This is the creation of conditions where a child learns to tie his shoes instead of us constantly tying the shoes.

Speaker from the audience

I want to add a brief remark that many young people seek work that is appropriate for their level of education and they especially lack professional experiences.

People who graduate university have a high level of education but they do not have career experience and this is why it is very difficult for them to find a job that they would be interested in. They can find some kind of work but for work that they are truly interested in, it is not so easy. This is in order to have a job where a person can develop his or her personality and develop his or her professional skills. This is why many young people are disillusioned because after completing university and higher education they cannot find work that would allow them to fulfill themselves in these areas that they find interesting. This is a problem and it seems to me that Europe and European Institutions should do more to provide more opportunities for young people so that they have some kind of professional internships that will give young people access to appropriate professional experience to find work that is in line with their aspirations.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Are you not falling into the trap of a promise that nobody really gave you? I mean that you are not starting university with the assumption, which is supported by education, that experience comes with time. I know that when I hire people I do not ask about prior employment, I ask about experience. I mean that I ask whether the person did something with their scout troop, I ask whether he is fit and whether he took responsibility. After all we know that someone coming out of university will not have ten years of professional experience; let's not deceive ourselves. However, ask whether he has other experiences. Is it not true that, this will be a bit of a jab at the European Union, fixation on education, this Erasmus culture and prolonging or excessively focusing on education causes

that we have more and more people who do not have experience, they do not have real life experience and later they are twenty-something years old with university studies, three scholarships but in life, they have no experience, and it truly is difficult to hire them. Maybe we need to find some balance in this?

Speaker from the audience

We must teach youth passion, help them develop their passion through education, starting in elementary school because later they will use this on the job market. We must steer away from teaching a subject to teaching a child or a student. Only then can we develop their inquisitive passion. And in my opinion, work requires passion.

Speaker from the audience

I want to say something about young people's motivation. I think that young people only have one motivation: money. Therefore, they go abroad, they go to America, they think about America because there they can earn a lot of money, the American dream. This is of course a matter of young people's motivation. They should be motivated in their studies, in Church but they should also be motivated in every aspect. This is also true if money is the goal.

Speaker from the audience

I would also like to point out that today we are saying that the Church, or the European Union, or anyone else should do something for young people, create conditions in which young people can develop. However, I also want to point out that the main problem is not a lack of opportunities for young people; it is that young people do not want to work. They do not have dreams that they want to chase. In terms of education, especially elementary education in schools, we should have classes to teach them faith in their own power, so that they are prepared to be involved in the world and conquer the world.

Przemyslaw Radwan

I hope that it is not as you said, that young people do not have dreams, because this would be rather sad. I think that we sometimes do not have the courage to talk about these dreams and I would say that this courage is important. But we have gathered quite a bit. We have gathered courage, we have gathered the issue of giving responsibility and trust, the issue of experience and varied experience. I must admit that recently someone applied to me for work and had so many internships that I was horrified in a certain sense. Because this was some kind of internship hyperactivity, a kind of fickleness and I thought: God, will this person last for three years since he changed jobs every three

months and had a new internship? Consistency is also a virtue. I mean that I would not overvalue this jump to education by internship; sometimes a person must take a risk or even a dive when starting. I happened to have this privilege, as I'm sure many of us did in the 1990s, that it truly was different and I started with everything: I laid lines for the first computer network in our office, I made copies, and on Mondays, some of you will remember the scourge known as faxes, I came to the office and the entire office was flooded with fax paper and this had to be cut. I do not feel, from the perspective that today I employ twenty people, that this experience has hurt me. In a certain sense, thanks to this I know how my business operates. Maybe I have a somewhat overly sentimental relationship with it because somewhere in every corner I left my mark. Sometimes it is worth starting small. What should we emphasize in education, in upbringing and in family so that later people will truly be prepared to encounter the job market, the economy, and also the fact that sometimes a person is on top and sometimes on the bottom? As Fr. Jacek said: it is sinusoidal, the economy is sinusoidal. Monsieur Pascal?

Pascal Lejeune

Let me be clear: we have a mandate at the European level that must respect the Lisbon Treaty. In terms of marriage, for example, I do not see any important tasks for us here, this Treaty does not tell us what constitutes subsidiarity in this aspect, which is what depends on us at the European level. Having said this, we know how important values are, we know how important the scope of values is and we know that there are organizations working in all European countries, however, we must create opportunities for these organizations to work with us. This will not come from the European level that we will give the organizations meaning in Member States. However, there are various ways, we offer these civil society organizations the opportunity to work with us in implementing educational policies. There are many organizations at the level of the European Union that also represent students and those who work with us have the opportunity to improve education, but of course this does not concern the content of education.

In terms of training, I agree that we should offer more to students and young people in general so that they have their first experiences that could make it easier for them to get hired; internships are an example. However, we agree that sometimes these internships do not have much value, which is why we last year we proposed to Member States to ensure internships at the European level. This is to ensure that these are quality internships that will help achieve an appropriate job and will not just be fulfilling a mission. We share the view that school is not enough. We should propose extracurricular activities, informal education,

work with young people and the opportunity for young people to gain experiences outside of school. Because this is a stronger, more powerful issue of human development. In this context we can develop our qualifications but the point is for these internships to truly have a quality contribution to enabling participation in social life.

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

I want to begin by saying that if I could choose to spend my youth in the European Union as it is today or in the Polish People's Republic, I would prefer the European Union. Maybe I will start with this. Besides, ladies and gentlemen, there were comments from young people. How do we differ from young people? By the fact that we were once young and when, to this day wherever we are today, we return to these first moments then most likely in all of our lives there were many dilemmas, many difficulties, we cut these faxes many times and this was no small thing and today the illusion that we give the younger generation is that the beginning is banal, effortless, uncomplicated and pleasant. This is a complete lie and nobody – at least I did not have this kind of youth, I don't know about the rest of you.

I hope that my statements are not controversial because I only take care of one thing, that is, I have a mission to expose the truth in this reality. To say that stability does not exist, to say that work is work. Everyone is simply obligated to work. They should work from childhood. Furthermore, this reality is obscured by the fact that many people have co-created this reality and this crisis. If, for example, a person did not expect anything from their child during their child's childhood and only said: you just study, and now he looks on with horror as this child is unable to cope with the free market, then he searches everywhere for someone to blame for this crisis, anyone but himself.

I had a period while I was an academic chaplain when I demoralized my students. This is because I accepted that since they did not have money we would not discuss money. When money was needed for the parish, I found it myself and when they did not have money, I supported them. I raised a generation of egoists. People who made money but for years had trouble sharing what they earned. This is because later they had another car, another home, and then a child and so on. I never made the same mistake again. When I hear that the main problem for young people is what we did not do for them, then since you mentioned small towns, my friend is a professor of physics. He comes from a small village near Nowy Sacz, they had twelve children and he spent his childhood barefoot. For them, the lowest position in the family, this very poor family, is mayor. Everyone is higher. Is this a problem that someone is born in a small town or a large one? When I am hiring someone, I prefer someone from a small

town over Krakow or some other large city. In reality, the problem is that the environment where a child grows up gives it inspiration and also demoralizes it, it provides a false view of the world and provides protection, which ensures that for many years the child is not confronted by real problems, so later it is not adapted to reality and we should talk loudly about this.

If I was ever asked a question as a representative of the Church, then I am not a representative of the Church, I am part of the Church. This means that I can speak for myself. The Liturgy states: whoever wants to save his life will lose it. The Liturgy is built on risk, not on security. If the Church accepts the formula of conformism and Christianity, for example, is reduced to participation in holy mass without challenges, without seeking truth, without confronting evil and without overcoming difficulty, this is conformism. In this kind of Church, how are children and youth supposed to have the courage to cope with the adversities of fate, with illness, with crises or with bad people in this world? I think that the Church's great privilege in Poland is that many people took youth or children into the mountains, just as I did for years. This taught challenges and it taught work. There is less of this and there is more conformism, more often the role of the Church is reduced to ensuring that in general everything is good and that we all get along. I do not identify with this. To me it seems that despite appearances, my views are really built on the Liturgy. That "you will recognize it by the fruits, he who doesn't work should not eat". But we can work.

I have this view when I ride my bike to Tyniec that many fields are abandoned. In general in Lesser Poland there are fields but nobody goes into the fields. There is one field near a private home, where I often see elderly people who work in this field. But nobody works the others. This is the fundamental question of the 21st century: is it better to work or is it better not to work? Since this work does not contribute much to one's income anymore. We, I speak for myself, we, Christians should say that it is better to work. Income is the result of the fact that someone is able to work. It is not a result of waiting for a good job. This is a big difference. A person needs achievements. We are over fifty years old but I think that since we are here then we have achievements, so we worked somewhere along the way. Thank you.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Thank you and with this we will transition to the topic of family. I do not want us to discuss whether family is good or bad, I want us to consider the younger generation that has this dilemma and looks on and hears about stability, instability, being closed off and that this is the beginning or the end, giving

up scholarships or something else. This is somewhat a question: what to do to prepare for this?

This start, this entry into family life is delayed and occurs later. Italy is at the forefront of this. In a sense, I apologize to Pascal, but this Erasmus culture also somewhat causes this delay. In general the start of life is delayed: we are constantly preparing and constantly learning about life. In my experience when we work with different kinds of leaders, we have a category that would constantly come to our leadership courses. Someone once maliciously said: essentially, you need a kick you know where so that you finally start acting like a leader because you theoretically are already. It is a little bit like this, that we are better prepared for family life and for professional life but we cannot take off. This is probably a question of what to do in this stable and unstable reality, which I agree with, it is sometimes stable and sometimes unstable, to enable this younger generation to go and sensibly build a family or even make an attempt at this? Where is the key? I think that these times when we arranged marriages are over. Although maybe this would be a good and efficient solution but it is over. I do not think that this is about bad young people not wanting to start families; let's not mislead ourselves. It is easiest to say that young people do not want to. In reality most people want stability and security, it is not that people want to separate, ladies and gentlemen, let's not deceive ourselves. Few people are masochists. Except that somewhere we have this fear of starting a relationship and starting a family, of having children, etc. In this race that we are a part of, realization, focus on success, because this is how at some point our culture teaches us what we should do, what we can do, what the Church can do to prepare people despite or maybe because of this to live as part of a family, to know how to start a family? Father Jacek? How would you begin?

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

I will essentially say two things. First: I have many friends in different places in the world and I often get the sense when I am in their homes, inside, that I am the first person to expect partnership from their children. That I extend my hand and say: shake my hand just as I shake yours. That these children look at me as another bearer of various things and I say: no, what can you offer me? This brings me to the other thing. Ladies and gentlemen, who in the modern world teaches friendship and what is the basis of friendship? For example, friends are met in poverty, friends can support or notice values, friendship is more important than adversity of fate. We talk about great things, love, marriage but friendship comes first. There are ages when this friendship must develop and take shape. The model of scouts, oasis communities and many other places comes to mind. We should return to the beginning, that something like friendship exists.

Przemyslaw Radwan

I understand that you are saying that fifty likes on Facebook is not enough and at least a single friend is necessary. What can we truly do as families, since we find ourselves in various situations, as parents, friends, schools and the Church? What can we do to prepare people for jumping aboard this ship that is called family?

Speaker from the audience

As a priest who has been in school for twenty-something years, I think that the school and also we, I try to do this as a priest, must set expectations. This is what John Paul II told the youth at Westerplatte: "you must set expectations for yourselves so that nobody ever has expectations of you". If the modern model for youth is "do as you will", then let's not be surprised that youth sometimes do not want expectations. In my opinion, we currently very often teach egoism. We promote egoism. We promote: "I deserve it", "we deserve it." Sometimes it is the same in the parish: "please father, I don't have anything, can you take care of it because I need it and I deserve it. I need to have new shoes, a new phone, etc." And they can go to a priest and say: "buy me a phone because my parents can't afford it, you take care of it". I think that we need to have expectations in school, in Church and in scouts, which are barely functioning. I am an old scout; I even still have the paper affirming that I was the pastor of the scouts. I was once in oasis. Now they promote an easy, light and pleasant life. I think that what Fr. Jacek said, that we must set expectations and ensure that I am not the only one with expectations, that the whole environment has them. We must tell parents this and now we are back to the beginning: to parents.

Katarzyna Tracz

I am the voice of a young and still unemployed person. For the longest time I have been preparing myself to rebel here, in truth. Maybe this will be the opinion of this demanding youth, who allegedly have no expectations of themselves, etc. Let's begin with these expectations. All of you here are saying that a lack of expectations is the problem. I will say the following: I was born in the mid-1980s. Plenty of my acquaintances, my friends and my peers fell victim to overly high expectations from their parents, from teachers; everyone pressed us and at one point we were destined for success and some part, I don't know if 1% versus 99% or the golden ration 20:80, achieved that success. However, a large number of my peers, I won't say that they got lost on the free market because that is probably not accurate. There is a multitude of young people with skills and with an education but who do not think that this education in any way immediately allows them to take jobs. These people cannot find their way in the

job market and perforce are unable to move on with their lives and start families. Why are they afraid to start families? Because they do not have the means, they do not have the conditions. Some young people, those who stand a chance, since their parents gave them an apartment, they stand a chance and are not too preoccupied with this. However, many of my peers earn 1,200, 1,400 or 1,600 PLN and half of this goes for rent. I am talking about a big city, these people take the opportunity to work anywhere, often in very demeaning conditions, people who sometimes work as translators and other times as dishwashers for months. So how are these people supposed to consider taking this brave step? As long as they have the courage to take responsibility for themselves, then it is probably a responsible decision on their part to delay having a family, they can at most have a cat and one at that, not two, because they are unable to realistically take responsibility for a new life that they could bring into this world. I would also say, maybe this will anger some of you, that a couple of days before this conference I started to consider young people's situation, is this not some kind of survival instinct, that young people somewhat withdraw from life, go a little deeper into their own world, because when they expose themselves to the outside, despite being destined for success, this success is nowhere to be found, despite trying with hard and strong efforts, getting their hands dirty and not being above any job, it is difficult for them to achieve this success.

Thus, this is my skeptical voice of the younger generation, from the perspective of a graduate with two majors, who in any case does not feel entitled to immediately begin making thousands in her first job. My only problem is that nobody wants to hire me for some work because I am overqualified and to work in a boutique, I hear: "sorry, you do not have two years of retail experience to sell clothing". This somewhat reeks of absurdity. Thank you.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Thank you, I will honestly admit that I am far from saying that young people are bad because they do not want to start families. This means that something has happened in this environment, as the Father said about expectations, that we should set expectations. It seems to me that there are now entire generations that on the one hand grew up with this pressure to study and develop because they can study and they must study. I think Krzysztof Rybinski was the first to say that Chinese must be learned in the crib and we can still add a few more things. Sometimes when I look at some of my friends who get caught up in taking their children to some kind of extracurricular activities every day, they essentially do not have a family life at all because these children run between extracurricular activities and they are fixated on this so they do not really experience this family. Most likely later they feel as if they must pay off a debt since

they learned Chinese they must find a great job, etc. And also a view that this family will not work out because with all of these expectations that we have or even, God forbid, if they start a bad relationship or something does not work out… I don't know if maybe we painted some kind of paralyzing image for the younger generation. A martyrizing and paralyzing one, now I am exaggerating but in some sense when later I speak with my younger colleagues at work, the decision about marriage is a kind of decision that is entirely paralyzing in reality. I do not know whether only they are to blame for this.

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

Let's assume that none of us feels entitled to speak for all young people. Many of the opinions that you said are filled with this vision that you are qualified, you have an education and essentially someone should recognize you. There is an ideal of how the entry into adult life should be. I come from a generation where we knew that if someone got married then he would not have the opportunity to have a home for twenty years and this was known. The only difference was that there were none of these illusions at the time.

If you look at me today, that I am president of the Wiosna Society and I employ 100 people, then maybe I should tell you that for two years I did not sleep because I was in charge of an organization that was unable to balance its budget and had enormous difficulties and problems, that my mother gave me money during my ten years studying at AGH, then in seminary and also after I finished seminary. I think that many people have this kind of experience in life that is not trivial.

I want to say that there is an illusion about young people's entry into life. I repeat that I employ approximately 100 people, including many young people and one can become director of Paczki at the age of twenty-six, a massive organization with 600 locations. My greatest achievement in the Wiosna Society where these young people are is making them understand that at minimum the first two or three years are a time of hard work. If someone wants to do this in eight hours, then this makes no sense because he can work eight hours for me but for the remaining four or five hours he should study and should develop. Because of course he can work eight hours but his level of development will ensure that his career path will be long before he accomplishes something in life. That if he does not invest more at the beginning, he will not exceed his limitations and barriers and we have nothing in particular to offer him. Since we got through to these people, they also see role models alongside them, people who overcame these difficulties. For example, in my first parish, not to mention that I had eighteen hours of teaching, I worked from 6 am until 12 am with one hour of break and during this time I intensely studied methodology, didactics,

and etc. related to teaching religious lessons. For me this was something obvious. My ability to conduct training, for example, is a result of the fact that for the first two years of priesthood I taught myself all possible methods for working in groups and I invested this in myself. I think that we need to talk about this. I am not trivializing the reality we are in but it is a real problem of our time that there are no role models. We all experience many things for the first time, including the younger generation. Therefore it would be good to have someone as an example to say: I will do as you did. Except there was nobody to learn this from.

For example, I saw unemployment in Krakow in 2001 when there were many layoffs in metalworking and telecommunications and the greatest tragedy for these people was that they had never seen anyone unemployed in their lives. These were entire families. And year-by-year the number of unemployed people increased and these families did not know what to do. In reality, only when borders opened up and we joined the European Union after three years of crisis and degeneration in these families did some kind of path to rebuilding one's social position arise, by going abroad and making money. This is a large problem, that there are many unknowns. I try to talk about this, how this is done and what causes this. In Paczki, I have people who have been working for three or four years, this is very hard work. They made it and they worked to the limit of their abilities and those who join learn this ethos from the beginning, how to build one's life, one's job and one's competencies. We have developed this ethos. Thank you very much.

Przemyslaw Radwan

I admit that I am somewhat saturated with this theme of education, this leadership philosophy, that we should not only expect, but also support. I remember that my parents, for example, were involved in things that I did socially and accompanied me. At a certain point this became very important to me that I could count on them. Now a few words about my area, Szkola Liderow (Leadership School); when we read most books about Anglo-Saxon leaders, they are based on the theory of subservience. What is the role of a leader? The role of a leader is not, unlike what people in Poland believe, to do something for people, a leader's role is to ensure that people discover their own potential and do something. Day to day it is terribly difficult, I have trouble with this too, that sometimes when I have a new coworker, I sometimes simply cave and write something myself instead of sitting with him so that he writes this good text. Because sometimes one does not have this patience, right? As a result, it is easier to set expectations than to support someone in writing and giving them the experience of already having written something well. When I think about maturing to family, that is,

that the role of parents and the Church is to accompany and support, not just account and demand.

The Citizen's Congress that will take place in Warsaw in three weeks will discuss national coaching. What is this to us? For Poles it is very difficult to not engage in rivalry and to support instead. However I think that we should expect and also support. At some point in Szkola Liderow we concluded that training is not enough. We introduced a method of tutoring ingrained by our founder, Professor Pelczynski. This means that there is a tutor who accompanies a leader. He supports him, including when he experiences a setback – or maybe even especially then. He does not tell him: it didn't work out, you are useless and you failed. No, he says: listen, now let's get back up and move on. I think that this family may have a problem with balance and in general with starting, supporting instead of demanding, not just rivalry.

I am still part of this generation that had it easier because we did not have many options. I simply went to the nearest high school. There were no private ones so as a result this was fairly simple, this way of laying the educational path. However, the worst thing is that as a result I am not a partner for conversation because I have not had this experience. There is an important matter that we must remember in Poland, it is the intergenerational rift. I mean that the parents' generation does not feel like they understand this world that their children's generation is living in. Because this is a different world with different expectations. I think this is why without support these expectations are a problem because our expectations or those of some of your parents are somewhat unrealistic expectations. This leads to a kind of clash. I truly get the impression that when talking with some of the people I employ, born in 1989 or 1990, we come from different worlds, because I still went to a school named for Ernesto Che Guevara, learned the Cuban anthem and went to the nearest elementary school and later I went to high school, then I was fortunate because there was plenty since this was the 1990s. Truth be told I did not experience a job search at all because I had an open mind, hands and I was not afraid; Pelczynski came from England, founded Szkola Liderow and I started working there. Therefore, my experience is completely different.

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

When someone asks me if I value my personal life, which means that I do not only live to work, I say yes but maybe because I spent my summers in the country and nobody there considered that a workday is eight hours; in general I believe that this is a kind of superstition. Most of all, what I tell you is that I simply believe that the line between work and daily life should not be so sharply defined. The fact is that who we are at work strongly influences who we are in

our personal life and vice versa. However, I am simply saying that if someone wants to get rich quickly then he must first invest. When you ask me about the home on a cliff, the story of building a house on a cliff says what I said, that is, what is inside you is strong enough that it will also weather the storm. If you learned comfort and cannot manage in a crisis, then you have a problem and should prepare for a crisis while you are still comfortable. For this reason when I hike in the mountains I do not need to climb peaks when the weather is nice. As we know, generally the weather is bad in the mountains. Therefore, if a person wants to hike in the mountains, he must be able to deal with adverse conditions. The same is true for the job market. I teach people how to prepare; when you lose your job, you will find a new one. I do this for a living.

The question is about satisfaction from work, since I think that this is the younger generation's problem. Job satisfaction, what other experience should this be like? That when I sit in front of the TV and I have 100 channels, will I choose the one that satisfies me the most? This question concerns whether everything in life should be tailored to me? For example, I don't like to teach religion and fortunately I no longer do this because I am not a teacher, I am an educator. In order to make my time at school more interesting, I started learning various didactic methods and this was my method because I was simply bored there. I believe that we should take responsibility for what we give and what we do. However, I know quite a few people who pursued a degree in music. For example, someone practices violin and dreams of living off of playing violin. However, ladies and gentlemen, how many people in the world get paid to play violin and play concerts? We know that most of these people will never make a living off of this because there is so much competition; people do not want to pay for this. I just don't understand this pretentious approach to life, that I want to do something so why doesn't anyone want to pay me for this? It is necessary to learn to do something that people want to pay for. Otherwise one's life must be divided into hobby and work, which requires effort for this to be satisfying and this is generally very simple. For this reason if I wanted to become a writer and maybe I do, then first I would need to write for myself. Either way for many years nobody paid me for this. I don't know what the problem is here.

Speaker from the audience

Thank you very much, the truth is that my youth took place in an entirely different, changed world; sometimes it was better, sometimes worse, I don't know but it was just different. Today, as an adult, it seems to me that I do not miss stability. For me stability is stagnation, not developing and a lack of dreams. In terms of not enough work for well-educated young people, I don't know if maybe our system is to blame in this case for the fact that young people's choice

of education was not in some way a glimpse of whether they would find a job in this field they chose to study. Maybe this was still a time when some people chose their major without being fully aware whether they would find a job in this field. In terms of family issues, I think that in a family and in a team of people who constitute a work group, or in some different environment, there is a division of labor. There is one place for a person who will be the locomotive, who will act and who will coordinate. There are also places for the critic, for the seeker of sources and for the team spirit. Maybe if we acknowledge this we will find new places for these young people to work.

Speaker from the audience

I just want to say that based on my experience in Poznan, people get married. Really, they get married. A large majority of young people… yes, of course. Those who do not get married make up a small percentage. But they are definitely the most noticeable. Additionally, it is fashionable to say that people do not get married.

They greatly value their marriages. I prepare people for marriage, every year I have approximately fifty weddings in my parish. I must also say that people who grew up as an only child are getting married more often. On many occasions I have met girls who say: father, we have been dating for two years but I don't want to start a family with him, he's a momma's boy, I will keep looking. But they get married and there are many marriages.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Thank you very much, as you can see, despite appearances, it is not easy for us to accept this perspective to not complain and to consider what we can do. It is probably easier for us to complain about how bad young people are or how bad the world and who is at fault. But to consider what to do, this is more difficult. We are moving away from this a bit. I think that this is also a sign for us to try to think about what we can do positively to support. I will admit that I am fascinated by this support and accompaniment. At one point this was how the cycle of trade education worked, right? In a certain way. In education, tutoring is part of good education. Accompaniment is a good idea and I think that, I apologize to all clergy, this is not an allusion, we need less preaching and more accompaniment. This means that this is incredibly taxing. I know this from my professional experience that sometimes I just don't have the strength and I do it for someone, instead of staying with him and accompanying. I know that this would be better. We are left with politics, we are left with intergenerational solidarity, we are left with the Internet and after the break we will try to consider political interest among young people and participation in politics.

We are moving on to a topic that was discussed by Pascal Lejeune and something that is particularly interesting. In reality, if we look at recent studies such as those by OSCE concerning political interest among young people in Poland and Europe, inevitably this 18-24 age group has an evident aversion to politics and political parties.

On the other side there is fascination with some kind of –isms and various fringe movements. Third, we have something that surely some of you experience, that is, non-affiliated political interest. Most likely those I am talking about would be very offended that I am categorizing them as political because they would very much like to be even more removed from parties and politics, I am referring to civic movements and various new forms of participation in public life. This situation is not so clear because on the one hand there is a departure from traditional politics but we also cannot say that the rest of people are not interested in public life and politics. Somewhere this leads to the question what to do, how to do it, how to teach, how to prepare and how to encourage taking this form of responsibility because we talked about responsibility for oneself, in a way, responsibility on the job market and responsibility when starting a family, but this is also the sphere of public life, the political sphere where we cannot just advise and only criticize. We need those who will take responsibility for our small, medium and large communities. I will admit that I honestly root for everyone who runs in elections, regardless of political affiliation because this truly requires the courage to stand up, especially since in Poland being in power is not always associated with positive perception because various more or less "wonderful" things can be discovered about oneself. When I talk to many alumni of Szkola Liderow who move from local involvement to self-government, later they experience a period of frustration because they get asked why they went and what they worked out. This is very difficult. On the other hand if we do not move and if we do not raise the next generation of politicians, large and small, then we will have negative selection.

Let's begin the discussion about this stability and instability, the uncertain future and young people's foray into politics and let's try to not answer "why", because soon we will be saying that politics is bad and discouraging, but "what" to do so that people start getting involved in politics and taking responsibility.

Halina Bieda

I am a mother of four and my eldest is running for City Council for the third time. He first ran at the age of nineteen. He did not imbibe this in his mother's milk because I was more of a social activist than a politician, but what bothered him the most was that every time he spoke, older councilors would say: "you, young man, still have a lot to learn". And they mocked the fact that he is young.

As adults, in my opinion, we must above all not mock them and say that they are young and don't know anything.

Often we have this reflex that as older people who experienced more, went through more and have more experience, we try to direct them onto our path; as a result, they must also follow this path. I don't think that this is completely appropriate and my eldest, Michal, once told me: "mom, everyone must have their own experiences even if the consequence is that he will sometimes trip or get burned, etc." I believe that we must cheer, but wisely, I mean support them and even when someone mocks their young age, I believe that we should defend those young people who get involved.

Przemyslaw Radwan

In Polish public debate calling someone "young man" or "we invite our younger colleague here", is equivalent to telling him to get out. Isn't this very amusing? I mean that in some sense, the Anglo-Saxon "me" is not degrading but to say "young man" means in some way that "you must wait longer".

Mariusz Jedrzejko

Yesterday I asked my students to conduct an experiment: one group watched TVP Info, the second group watched TVP1, and the next ones watched Polsat, TVN24 or Panorama. The prompt was very simple: take a blank sheet of paper and write down all the good information about Poland that you heard yesterday. They heard two about volleyball players but not strictly about Poland. When you ask about young people's relationship with politics, this question needs to involve another question – how are politics presented to young people? Every one of you has in your consciousness an enormous amount of good information. Please forgive me Rumcajs, Balbinka or if someone watched some other cartoons, however, I am an educator and a psychopathologist, I am in charge of the largest clinic in Poland for children with mental illness. I don't just ask them questions about the etiology of their illness, I look for the answer to what is happening to them. I want to tell you that my students and research assistants asked nearly one thousand young people in Poland a question about Polish politics. They asked whether Polish politics is honest. These are studies from the current year. 79% of Poles said no. When asked whether the language of Polish politics inspired their trust, 84% said no. Finally, whether being a politician provides benefits: 90% said yes.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Thank you and at the same time I will immediately say, before we move to the next discussion, that before the European elections, as usual Poles are very

pro-European and in Europe we are one of the societies with a very high level of enthusiasm for Europe, 85%, and at the same time, only 23% of citizens take part in elections. The most recent studies about local self-government show that this is the most trusted authority in Poland, all indices are very positive. Other reports of CBOS studies conducted before every self-government election, although participation is relatively low, but greater in smaller communities and lower in large communities.

Studies of political participation in general and interest in politics, which I discussed, covered all countries in the European Union, not just Poland, so I think that a question remains. Now there is only one question: what do we do? I mean what do we do so that we truly take care of the next generation? Because I think that the generation gap in politics is just as important as everywhere else.

I understand that in Poland we can be disillusioned with various things. I mean that I understand one thing: that we still have not accepted that there is no place in the world where politics is ideal, it is a bit like the economy. This means that we do not choose the ideal parties. We choose those closest to our views. We need to accept this, that in a democracy we choose the best fit but not the completely ideal one. It is as if, I apologize for trivializing, but I deal with elections a little, this is like buying various things on the free market. We dream of something and later we walk into a store and must choose from what is available because otherwise we will not have pants or something else. I think that the problem here is that we have still not learned that this mechanism is the way it is.

I now want to ask about active participation in politics, candidacy and signing up for political parties in Poland and in Europe. Because I think this is something that unsettles us.

Jerzy Bahr

Of course we understand that the role of political parties is changing in Europe and the potential participation of young people in these parties is also changing. However, what surprises me in my country is that during these tens of years of independence now, political parties don't seem especially concerned and now we are in a situation where this political landscape is so clear and rather even. These political parties do not form what were once known as youth groups (mlodziezowki), there is simply nothing resembling a sense that each of these parties is taking care of the next generation in terms of education or pushing them to act and to be politically active. I recommend we look closer, delve ever deeper into this European reality in our practice and experience from countries that can provide positive examples. It would be very good if we went through this kind of exercise and made it known to public opinion. This is my first comment.

The second comment is directed at our colleague who represents the European Commission; I imagine that in light of all of these youth problems in Europe there is also a problem, a specific but very serious one, the problem of Muslim youth present in Europe. The question is: to what degree are these Muslim youths, by some European impulse which we will call "Brussels induced", pushed in some way to political involvement and is it visible, is this really occurring or does this not exist at all yet, are they not taken care of at all, or even worse, will they take care of themselves?

Let's ask ourselves this question as Poles simply because what is currently occurring in France or Germany in this regard will at some point happen to us. This is evident and it would be good to prepare for this.

The third thing is a problem that I can only name but I cannot comment on it. Whatever can be said about most recent history, the history of our generation and people younger than us, a history of peace, peace in Europe. So it seems to me that along with everything that is currently happening, there is also a growing possibility, a shadow of war. With this in mind, one of the elements, this is probably an important question, how to raise people and how to push people to peace in a time when war is approaching? Thank you.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Thank you very much, I will give the floor to Pascal in reference to what you said. We experienced this time of youth groups in Poland, which we somewhat collectively mocked because I believed that these were "rainbow bearers". Of course this is compounded by a global problem that unfortunately the more often electronic media replace basic electoral action, then membership will also decrease in Western parties because we won't need people to hand out fliers and in some sense we do not need these youth groups. Still, it is much worse for us and I think that this is a question for Pascal, where we could really draw on the Polish perspective to determine what kind of solutions to seek to try to really bring young people into politics.

Pascal Lejeune

First of all, what was described here in terms of Poland is also something that we see throughout all of Europe in practically all countries. This is what we feel in the political system that we have had so far. For me it is important that there is no political apathy here or resistance to involvement in political life, that young people are interested in politics but the manner in which politics is implemented institutionally repels them. This is the general trend in Europe.

We also noted that involvement in political parties throughout the European Union is decreasing. People no longer want to participate the way they did forty

year ago. This is a challenge and we must create or find new ways to participate. We still do not know what will work but these are opportunities for political parties to expand their spectrum and welcome and accept young people and we must do this. In terms of social media, they of course create the illusion that they are a different form of participation but this is not enough, it is superficial and this is not deep enough.

We are discussing this, in any case thanks to this, new questions come up: are all young people equipped with the idea that social media are an appropriate form of participation? Not all of these young people know how to master these tools enough to be able to consider this an effective form of participation. We discovered that young people don't want to be near politics and grand ideas. We believe that at this time people maybe do not see greater political topics like the ones that existed forty years ago, these ideas. There is no more of this tension between left and right. In France this essentially does not exist, there is no tension like the kind we had even thirty years ago. However, interest in politics is more related to the opportunity to be active in the context of closeness of this politics. For this to be important to this society that young people live in, for example, what happens in certain cases, what is representative of young people in councils, in self-government, sometimes regional and sometimes county. We encourage a kind of network of these opportunities that arise.

This is my response to your question. Yes, we see this everywhere in the European Union and we should try to identify good practices that exist in various countries. We have certain structures, young people also make up some kind of structures; this is a result of dialog in European institutions, in Parliament and the Council. Organizations that represent young people should have a voice regarding what should be done for young people, for example, in terms of employment.

We now propose guidelines that should be implemented in Member States. This means that the phone is ringing in terms of young people's expectations but implementing a civil society should identify these new methods to expand participation and offer young people something attractive so that they can participate in this, for example, this e-participation is a subject of interest but what does this mean and how do we use this in practice? This is something that should be expanded and something that we would like to receive a mandate to implement into the daily practice of life.

At the level of ministries, some countries worked on ministries for youth affairs and identified these problems. Maybe these are ways to draw young people to politics, an opportunity to solve another problem that we discussed here, this community that is becoming a more real part of life. You referred to Muslims, however, and this is something that we should fight against, for these

foreign communities to not isolate themselves. Therefore, this open approach must define our actions. In certain situations we are afraid that this trait might disappear, for us participation means finding new paths and new ways to promote tolerance in societies so that these particular regions or social groups or cities can work with each other. There are certain projects here that are working towards this end.

Finally, there was mention of peace. Does the younger generation still have an understanding of the threat of war in Europe? I don't think so. Instead, I think that some distance from these kinds of open projects can lead young people to decide that peace is a given once and for all. The construction of Europe in the spirit of the founding fathers was not through economic cooperation. The end goal was precisely this: a peaceful life. The younger generation no longer appreciates this. I think that there is no understanding in a strictly political sense, there is no clarity regarding what the European Union means to citizens, not just in the youngest generation. This is something that I consider a threat to Europe. Many people consider Europe as the first level, as something that threatens their lives, they are afraid of it. In my country the results of the most recent elections revealed that people feel bad, there is unemployment and a multitude of threats to their lives; they associate this with globalization and processes related to globalization and they see Europe not as insurance against risk, but as the first stage of globalization. They no longer consider Europe further and what Europe has to offer. For example, in Greece Europe is criticized instead of noticing that Europe was a tool that enabled them to avoid bankruptcy. We must create this understanding in Europe. In France we have the term *ré-enchanté*, which means renewed enchantment with Europe to gain a deeper understanding of the reasons why the European Community was created.

Przemyslaw Radwan

To expand this theme that the Ambassador brought up, it seems to me that the political moment is in reality a kind of result of recent times. This means that on the one hand we have Facebook revolutions in some countries, we have protests against ACTA and in Poland we have bursts of solidarity with Ukraine, which were most likely a kind of generational experience, the Orange Revolution, people gathered here and so forth. But these are just shots. This means that we have enthusiasm and we have focus, this is falling.

How do we transform this political moment and Facebook politics into active politics? In reality it is as Pascal said. It is not that people are not interested. They do not want to participate in these traditional ways. On the other hand, at some point we encounter virtual reality and reality. One post on Facebook sometimes focuses thousands and saying: "Good, we will stand at the corner of Jasna

and Swietokrzyska in Warsaw outside the Commission Representation Building" when we need to protest ACTA and they show up. Not to mention Egypt and other countries where these Facebook revolutions started like this. However, they ended the way they did because there is some problem with transforming this political moment into responsible and engaged politics and also taking responsibility at some point.

Maciej Stanczyk

This is a result of the fact that young people are generally full of ideals. This is why there is a problem with young people in politics because at the beginning of their journey when they get involved in any kind of organization, youth or political, they quickly collide with the reality that their older colleagues in parties are completely anti-idealistic.

Currently in Poland we have a problem that the number of young people getting involved in politics is decreasing. The problem is that there are no ideals in political parties. There is no sense of belonging, no party symbol and no party has ideals. This leads to political actors changing sides from right to left. A young person full of ideals and still untainted sees this firsthand. Therefore, why should he get involved if either way it makes no difference is there is a program, if they are for or against, since in any case I will be on one side or the other?

Przemyslaw Radwan

On the other hand we have a rather stable situation. For several years, more or less, we have had the same political parties in elections. This is not the beauty of the 1990s when we truly had many parties and every election there were new names and new configurations. There are some changes but they happen in the West as well and also in old democracies. Therefore, I do not completely agree. We have a certain stability in terms of the main political parties.

The three most recent elections, besides Ruch Palikota, had a consistent composition. We have some rotation because inevitably this first rush into politics, they have now left it behind. Therefore, maybe this is the case but I do not agree that we have total changeability. Recently we have achieved some stability of political parties.

Maciej Stanczyk

Good, but we have polarization, we have Platforma Obywatelska (Civic Platform) and PiS (Law and Justice) and this makes no difference because a person can suddenly move from Platforma to PiS and the other way around. However, one more thing is important, that young people are now getting involved in

freedom parties, which are against everyone and suddenly among these young people who are full of ideals we hear about Korwin-Mikke.

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

In general I agree with you but I want to mention that many of my young friends have the privilege that they don't need to be interested in politics. This is their privilege that they can lead completely calm lives, learn, work and start families. On the other side, in the media, politics is noise and why would someone participate in this as it shown externally? Third is what you said. I once wrote a CV that I want to be the head of the Polish Left, I don't know if you remember. There was quite a commotion surrounding this and of course I was invited to SLD, but I said that I don't want to join the party, I want to participate in metapolitical discourse. After this nobody wanted to talk to me about this, except for the fact that I participated in the program "Mlodziez kontra" (Youth against), where all party youth groups invited me to join them. This was a paradox.

At today's meeting I am impressed that we all respect each other, there are no comments that go on too long and follow up comments refer to previous ones, so we can discuss. Along with my young friends I also feel young, I try to discuss and there are many subjects that people find interesting.

What is politics? I understand that we are trying to construct some kind of worldview that we would like to change for the better. Today politics is the empowerment of party politics over idealistic politics. I want to tell you publicly that I am convinced that one of my students will either become president or prime minister of this country. In general I am one hundred percent convinced that this kind of person will emerge from my environment because we have discussions. When we talk about young people's involvement, ladies and gentlemen, I don't know how interested you are in management, but the most powerful motivation to work is the purpose of work. If every year my organization recruits 12,000 volunteers and other organizations complain that they have trouble, yet we do not, then this is only because we sensibly organize this volunteerism. If party or political involvement were similarly sensible then this would work the same way.

Speaker from the audience

I want to refer to what the coach of Antigua said. Why did young people win the world championship in volleyball? He said that each ball was a party. This means that these small actions must be attractive. Only out of the small attractive actions can we create something larger. This probably attracts young people, I think.

Przemyslaw Radwan

I don't think that we answered the Ambassador's question and I also don't entirely think that we answered our own question about what to do. Inevitably, for people to go into politics, in its various forms, there is no point in arguing that politics involves parties and opinion-forming communities, that this is a broad sphere of influence. This is important. It would be bad if soon our lists only included negatively selected people or those who are trapped because there are no volunteers. I think that this is already beginning in many places because despite appearances there is no one willing. Now a question: what do we do so that there are volunteers? I remember that Michal Kulesza had a great story of the division between private and public and about the very important component of preparation, in the family sense, for civic life, this means that this is the moment when, he says, self-government is closely aligned. It is very important that people sitting at dinner do not talk about only where they will go on vacation but sometimes also about the fact that they are building a bridge in the county or doing something else. This is crossing from the private sphere to the public sphere. I strongly believe that if at home nobody talks about public life then this first element of civic preparation is lacking because later it will always be too late.

When I was in the United States on a scholarship I was fascinated by civic education programs. Do you know who the target was? Preschoolers. In reality, today everything occurs earlier. In a certain sense maybe we should simply show good statesmanship starting in preschool and take the eldest group to the local or county office and show them that this is our small local parliament and show these good experiences. It exists somewhere within us, not to mention that many speeches by John Paul II referred to pro-government service. I think that this is also a role for the Church, but we are talking about the public sphere, not public life. We must realize that we do not support party loyalty but we do support politics. Each of us here should seek this mode of communication. How should we talk about this? What do we do so that when in four years we are standing in the polling booth for self-government we do not feel as if there is no appropriate candidate? Because each one of us is responsible for these elections.

Jerzy Bahr

It doesn't matter what social group we are talking about but in this case we are talking about young people, but the simple question of what to do can also be answered simply, namely, we should use positive examples. Specific examples of something that was impossible to accomplish in a given group for many years that we were able to do, this works and this is an argument that in my opinion can also appeal to someone who is older as well as someone who is young. Of course, it is best if this young person participates in what will later be successful but this is the next step. However, at one point someone here very appropriately talked about this terrifying disproportion when talking about one's own country, in distinguishing what is positive and what is negative. With this proportion we cannot appeal to young people who think normally. I would even say the opposite: this is not about selling them something that is propaganda, it is that they are by nature positioned for success and that it can be done. As a result we should show them this when we are fully convinced that something worked. And we should talk about this. Maybe we should also add to this that it must be phrased a little differently; this cannot be complicated, it must be tailored to them but I think that this is a simple answer to your rather simple question.

Halina Bieda

As a supplement to what the Ambassador said, I completely agree. I once wondered whether we should introduce some kind of program in the context of information politics in the media. What is good news today? It is bad news. Bad news is popular news.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Except that we vote with our feet, this is the most depressing. We watch this television and we browse this Internet and choose because the fact that there is a great deal of one kind of news but not another, in today's time there is no central information steering committee. We voted for this. We want this.

Halina Bieda

I don't know if we want this. I don't think so. Unfortunately, today's media, starting with local media, with the local city paper, bring our attention to bad news. I think that there are many good things that happen in various societies, communities, various subjects and in school; if something bad does not happen, a journalist will often not come to see something good. Sometimes even, as deputy president, my boss and I said: "listen, we need to say that we will fight or do something bad", then all of the media are guaranteed to attend. I have a colleague who works in television, whom I sometimes called when we were doing something, opening up something interesting, some kind of project with children and he replied: "listen, if nobody gets in a fight or if miners don't go on strike or if they don't start lighting tires, I will 100% come, but if something bad happens I will not come".

Speaker from the audience

I want to say that probably none of my young friends, and I truly have many, watch television. I am fifty years old but maybe I will describe the life of a twenty-year-old. They have no interest in what is in the news or in Panorama. If they want then they can go on Facebook, to their friends and they look for what interests them. Only we are under the impression that the world is walled off in many places, we are accustomed to this. Politics is walled off to young people today. However, business is not, for example, this is why there are startups and half of my community wants to have a startup. Education is no longer blocked, if a person wants to study in one place or another, media are absolutely not blocked, and if a person wants he can have his own writings, his own blog. Ladies and gentlemen, we really do not have a monopoly on this world and I think that 3/4ths of young people live in their own way.

Przemyslaw Radwan

They read what someone shared on Facebook.

Speaker from the audience

I have a friend who says: "Why should I watch the news to see what an earthquake in Japan looks like, I just use local services." This is truly a different world now.

Przemyslaw Radwan

I get the sense that this political involvement is something difficult for us. However, maybe it is good that we have touched this because this is a dimension that a lot will depend on. The second thing is that, of course the warmer the water is, the further from war we are, the less interest there is. However, this situation is changing. I must admit from my perspective that since childhood I remember the arms race and for the first time after several of the last speeches, probably American ones, I began to think that this rhetoric is resurfacing. I mean that it is a bit different than during the last fifteen or twenty years. Of course, it is a pity that only then we begin to think that it is worth getting involved, but this is how it is.

We have two remaining topics: intergenerational solidarity, intergenerational dialog and the issue of virtual reality and reality. I get the sense that we have discussed a lot about this virtual reality and reality while discussing various themes and the experience of the younger generation, but inevitably it is also the case that for demographic reasons the issue of intergenerational solidarity or lack thereof and intergenerational dialog are something that the younger generation is confronting or will confront soon. There are already areas of our cities

that are described as very old neighborhoods. We have a problem of fractured experiences, we still have generations that grew up in an entirely different reality, a different reality for communications and even if they have learned to use a computer, this is different from generations that live in the reality of the Internet. This is probably not about saying what is bad and what is good because this is not relevant, this is a question of what to do so that we get along, what to do so that we can have a mutual sense of responsibility and solidarity? Because this is starting to happen throughout Europe.

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

Allow me to tell a brief story. At one point I was given the task of preparing young people for confirmation. I am really not a teacher and the first thing that I did was to assign work for my students in groups of sixteen- and seventeen-year-olds. Parents protested this and we went through this whole process. And, ladies and gentlemen, in the end I asked my students, the leaders of these groups: "what happened?" They responded that many of these children, because these were still children, thanked them because they were the first people in their lives who were interested in who they were and what they had to say. The first people in their lives. Their parents, guardians, teachers and priests were not interested in this. When we talk about this intergenerational gap, we should also acknowledge that nobody is interested in these people and nobody wants to listen to them. If a parent raises their child according to their own plan but does not look at the future along with him, then he should not be surprised when the child that has been told what to do for its whole life does not want to go back to this kind of parent. Homes where parents have a good relationship with their child are rare, in society these children are considered exceptional, unique and everyone envies them. This is currently the fundamental way of experiencing life for young people; I don't know why this is unknown. I spend time with these people and maybe I have been saying a lot here but I mostly listen. I am with them and this is my opinion on the subject. I have not encountered a situation where a young person flees the older generation if they support and listen.

Pascal Lejeune

In terms of this issue, I can describe what we discovered in the program I am in charge of. There are many projects where young people want to do something useful for older generations. This concept of an intergenerational gap is certainly real but it is a fact that people on top believe that they only need to meet with each other. There is a lot of evidence and testimony about service and volunteering and caring for the elderly with assistance from young people. We see the consequences that this has for older people. Not only are young people

willing to take part in these kinds of projects to help the older generation, it is also a fact that this paints a picture. Two or three weeks ago I saw that elderly people in Finland, there are only elderly people there and they are accustomed to accepting volunteers from Italy or other countries, but this was something that frustrated them. This is not just an experience for young people, that they can go to another country, but it is the fact that these host societies, this was practically impossible for other people from other countries to arrive with all of the obstacles, language barriers, etc. There was something missing and I think that this is something that in terms of a real offer for young people of what they can experience, they can fight this kind of discrimination or negation of older generations. They do not necessarily fight but young people are open to these kinds of experiences.

Jerzy Bahr

It is quite common for people who are interested in politics to very frequently be interested in architecture as well. A somewhat anecdotal example related to this subject that we are currently discussing is associated with the architecture of space, shaping public space, which means the space where an older person and a younger person both function. In our reasoning, for example, when designing a home for elderly people, the ideal is for this house to be somewhere near a forest, where it is calm, so that these people have silence, so that they have contact with nature and this is alright but the effect of this is also that these people are lonely. They are also lonely in terms of space. Let's say that if you talk a little it is more likely with a squirrel. However, urban planning in Scandinavian countries has a theme that when a home is built for elderly people, they try to place it in a way that it is not far from a student town. In any case, it is far enough that they do not get in each other's way. However, in terms of space, this creates a network of connections between one group and the other so that when you walk as an elderly person, you see a young person just as you once were and when you walk as a young person you can realize how you will one day be. This is a very simple thing. I am of course giving an example of a tiny aspect of our discussion. However, there are many ways to push people together. There are also ways, I gave a simple example here, something that in our Polish reasoning still does not exist, because it seems too abstract. People should be pushed together, including those who are very different.

Przemyslaw Radwan

Old age is changing very much because if you look at this, in Poland we will soon have these generations that are almost entirely composed of people with higher education in retirement. These will be the people who built the Polish

banking system, the entire 1990s. Yet we constantly think about this old age where say 3% of people had higher education. When you look at many senior programs in Poland, they all come down to them being able to teach young people how to cook, sew or dance. This continues to be an enduring stereotype. This is also a matter of preparing and opening up to this new old age by hospitals and various places where people will end up who can read, write and use computers, instead of just being able to knit. This is very cruel but this is our Polish problem that we must deal with. Soon we will be here and we will not be able to say that we do not use computers because we do use them. But we are mutually completely unprepared for this.

In regard to the example of architecture, in the 1930s, in spirit of PPS and WSM, in Warsaw a "dom pod grusza" ("home under the pear tree") was created and nearby a home, I think it was called social, this was a place where old people could move from large apartments to small ones but in the same complex, to a building that had common areas such as a dining room and downstairs there was a daycare. This was the "dom pod grusza". But why? Because elderly people stayed in the same complex and had their friends nearby and they were not shipped off somewhere where they could not be seen and where they would have peace and quiet, but also where they would not bother us in the social reality. This is a matter of dialog. However, look, old age is increasingly agile, Nordic walking, walking and travel in general. We are only at the beginning. On the other hand, from the perspective of the younger generation, this is capital for non-governmental organizations, people with enormous experience. I also have the privilege that my organization was established by a professor emeritus from Oxford, Prof. Zbyszek Pelczynski. Yet I would have never hired him. After all, as a non-governmental organization, I would not have been able to hire a professor from Oxford. The fact that he, at the age of eighty-seven, is still an active retiree, this is capital. In Poland we still do not think about this enough, that soon we will have a very large amount of volunteer capital to take from people who are retired. Soon, those who built mBank, Inteligo, etc. will be young retirees and we will be able to draw on them.

Speaker from the audience

I am referring to your earlier comment, that there are things in Poland, and here it would be worth taking a good example from the Roman Catholic Church, where this is especially beautifully evident in monasteries, where postulates and novitiates in every order are always in the same facility where the senior home is for older priests. And this younger generation always learns responsibility and monastic life from their elders, and the opposite, these older monks who have served their time, draw on the youth of fresh blood. Therefore, this is

happening and it seems to me that priests in this room could tell us more about this than I can. Thank you.

Fr. Jan, Luck Diocese

Today's conference on the role of the Catholic Church in the European integration process has convinced me that the path that I have followed for six years is correct. Because what we said about the role of the Church, and I am part of the Catholic Church as a chaplain, what has been happening in Luck Diocese for six years correlates well with the subject of today's conference.

The integration of people representing various Churches, because in the East we see much more diversity in the Church than here in Poland. Therefore, the Eastern Church, and this goes in essentially two directions because there is the Moscow Church and the Kiev Church, there are very strong Protestant churches in Wolyn and for many years I have personally, as a chaplain, experienced the need for this unity that not only flows from the top, imposed or desired, but primarily from the bottom. Already in the 1990s, in 1993 to be exact, we organized an ecumenical meeting and I invited representatives, chaplains and laypeople, from eastern churches. For the first time a small church in a tiny town was so filled to capacity that people stood outside, during the weekday, during the workweek. Later, in 1995 when I changed my parish at the request of Card. Jaworski, near Lviv, between Lviv and Tarnopol, in Zloczow, we started an ecumenical initiative that is ongoing to this day. This has already been nineteen years. I recently went there and asked: how? "Father, every year there are more, the Protestants have joined." Fantastic. Therefore, the integration of people from different faiths is not difficult. For six years I have been operating an integrative center on the border, near Bug, literally four kilometers away. Young people come from Poland, from Ukraine, they meet and this is a continuation of the idea that came to me in 1994. A former soldier in Gen. Maczek's division who lives in Oosthout near Breda, came from the Netherlands to visit me and said: listen, I brought youths from Amersfoort, from a school because I wanted them to meet the locals here because if they meet then they will not hate each other. And truly, this meeting in 1994 still bears fruits to this day, now they are mothers and fathers who visit each other. I go to the Netherlands, they come here and what was sown once as a seed has become fruit. I have another experience with pleasant old age, my dream because, listen, we are young as long as we dream. I have dreams despite being closer to the end of my 50s. There, in that place, besides integrating young people, I wished and continue to wish that one day when I have completed this investment, there will be a home for pleasant aging. This once caught the interest of my friends, people who came from Europe and said: this is fantastic. Many young people see this, despite the forest there; many young people go there. And there should be a place for elderly people who bear a tremendous wealth of experience and fantastic issues that they could convey to young people.

Przemyslaw Radwan

You mentioned the problem of dialog and encounter, which keeps coming up here. Essentially regardless of which theme of this generation's debut is discussed, the issue of dialog is important.

I feel a kind of insufficiency and that some issues would require a longer discussion. If we return to what we started with, which is answering the question: how to shape? How to support? How to show the way so that these various fears that are certainly natural, the fears of every younger generation do not lead to closing off and focusing on oneself? We talked about many things here, about teaching courage, supporting, requirements and discussions at home, discussions at school and various aspects; Father Jacek said a lot about listening. We talked about experiences and I think that this shows a good spirit for how to discuss this; I mean that an important component of various leadership concepts is discovering talents and abilities in people.

Something that is probably important for this discussion is that we noticed that in reality both this younger generation and we all have something to offer and bring to the table. Just as with this intergenerational dialog, it is very important to be aware that essentially from various perspectives, but each is important in both ways, there is this time of a path in life, when we are taken care of by our elders and later we take care of our elders and at some point there is an exchange of experiences, learning. After all this experience of grandchildren teaching grandparents how to use a computer or a digital camera but at the beginning it is in the other direction, this must be witnessed. I think that the most important issues are: partnership and respect. We must do away with, especially in our backyard, with addressing people as young man. "You, young man, wait" – this has absolutely no place. I mean, this is what some boy said in the City Council somewhere and the way that the *Vogt* shot him down was by saying, "young man, what do you want to say, young man?"

If we actually want to transfer this discussion today outside of this room and draw conclusions, this is a matter of a paradigm shift, that these are people who we have been talking to since childhood, who we support and one day they will support us, so let's treat each other seriously. I think that we also have a problem of controlling sometimes-excessive infantilization. These children are completely normal, they talk and we try to talk to them like something is not right. We do not treat them as citizens, albeit small ones, and I think that what fascinated me in the U.S., in the civic education of preschoolers, is our future. Just as

children now enter every sphere of life earlier, they should enter the public sphere the same way. And all of this will probably acclimate us to these fears. The more time we spend together, the more we will talk and the more we show them certain positive experiences, the easier it will be to enter reality, political, economic and family. And the fact that as Father Jacek said, the world is sinusoidal, is something we must accept.

Pascal Lejeune

I could not agree more with your conclusions about the meaning of this behavior, I would only add that we trust young people and have concrete ways to examine what they feel and what could work for them, and of course we may make mistakes but we should also acknowledge the right to make mistakes. To create these opportunities, speaking from the Commission's perspective, these opportunities are offered as broadly as possible, like European opportunities, because these dilemmas are the same. By doing this we bring attention to this other form of participation that is a supplement to participation in European projects. This is what we do because we cannot act at the national level; this is an issue of mobility, which we support. In the upcoming term we will have a budget to support young people who will go abroad. However, when we do this at the European level, these are exactly the opportunities to increase capabilities, scale and also to create a sense of belonging in Europe, to find friends abroad, fight prejudice and increase tolerance for others in the national context. If we do this, it is so that young people can also take advantage of this. This is a way for Member States, for regions and for the local level to draw inspiration. We should create more of these kinds of opportunities for young people so they participate and also complex opportunities so they have concrete input in European projects.

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

Thank you for inviting me here, although it was difficult to imagine that a four-hour conversation could draw me in, but inadvertently you became part of my new mission. My job is to help people and I believe that this world, looking at young people, at children and youth, is a world full of ideology and lies and this results in a great deal of harm. I have a renewed mission to tell the truth. When I hear different opinions here and also in other places, I think that many people notice various occurrences, the Internet over here, over there something else, and so on and based on individual events, they try to generate an image of a generation without cohesiveness.

This is why I want to mention a simple thing: what does it mean that 50% of people cannot find work? Because most comments on this, and to me this is

political correctness, state that someone should give them work. But who is this someone? How is this when the free market is composed of people who want to make money and do not run a business to provide employment? As a result, I have the courage to say that this 50% of people who cannot find work, this is the outcome of insufficient conditions for starting a business, this is demoralizing to parents and schools and demoralizing to young people and I think that this should be discussed. Because this is not something that will happen on its own.

I also want to say that now we are producing programs for public television about the new approach to parenting because this is really what I do but in the sense that "you will know it by its fruits", only when I see that this is how it is going, these are good results. I will end by telling you what good parenting is to me. Let's imagine parents who sit at the edge of the sea and there is a sea between them. They look at the horizon where the sun is rising, they look into the distance and they look at the future of this child along with it. Later they return to the present and as a result of this future that will be, they start to take advantage of this time. Because a child is a person who has a brief past and an expansive future. I understand that we have a tendency to say, based on our past, how their future will look. I believe that we should look toward the future together. These young people should already, when they are three, four or five, take responsibility for themselves. A friend of mine came to her parents at the age of seven and told them: "I want to go to music school." I don't know what the problem is that this approach to life is not ubiquitous. I believe that this is an important life mission to abandon myths, preconceptions and stand in the light of truth. This means to see where it works, who is successful and when this works instead of just observing: these are the phenomena and we have no control over this. Thank you very much.

Przemyslaw Radwan

I feel that we have not covered everything and sometimes we strayed from the topic. However, maybe this is our Eastern European appeal and maybe we need something to distinguish us from other nations. I think that even the fact that we differed here and sometimes Father Jacek's position was more courageous and more liberal than ours, this is good, but we talked. This is also a kind of charm that this problem can be viewed from different perspectives, as can the issue of the younger generation's debut, and we can still talk. Most of all, I wish us all that in our daily experience working with people we look at as partners, with more openness, more support and accept that someone else may follow an entirely different path than us and this path will be equally good. Thank you.

Presentation of the working groups' outcome

Falk Altenberger

Good day, I sincerely welcome all of you. To those people who actively participated in the working groups yesterday, thank you for your willingness to share your views. Ladies and gentlemen, as the program indicates, now we have the summary session; we are very happy that Fr. Maciej Zieba Ph.D., director of the Tertio Millenio institute, has agreed to moderate this session. Reporting will be done by journalists from *Tygodnik Powszechny*. In the name of all the organizers, I want to thank *Tygodnik* for their willingness to sponsor us and report on the course and results of our two-day conference. I give the floor to Fr. Maciej Zieba, Mrs. Katarzyna Tracz, Mr. Artur Sporniak and Mr. Marcin Zyla. Thank you.

Father Maciej Zieba, Ph.D.

I sincerely welcome all of you. We are moving on to the inevitable conclusion of the main part of the conference. The organizers provided three important issues that can unite us and divide us.

The issue of migration is a great challenge and also a great opportunity, but there is a possibility of unfriendly or hateful confrontation; this leads to high tensions and this is also an existing European problem. However, it is also a great opportunity to open up, to meet and to face Europe's demographic problems. One of the groups discussed this side of the coin.

We had a very important topic: the issue of youth and in general, I would say, generational solidarity. The problem of falling into debt and life at the expense of future generations, the problem of retirement costs and the general problem of social relations: either a confrontational model to protect solely one's interests or we try to defend free access to the labor market and to stabilization, or at least optimization to ensure that this labor market stays open to the younger generation and gives them an opportunity other than just exploitive and unstable employment or no employment at all. This carries an entire host of problems that we can either resolve – and here Christians have a lot to contribute, together and creatively – or we can somehow confront these two worldviews, the young and the old, and disrupt this solidarity or rather have them collide. These three challenges were selected by our organizers as the themes for group deliberations. We had plenty of time and there were opportunities for joint analysis and an exchange of views; there were occasional confrontations in our group but there were no clashes; there was some common endeavor and interesting introductions, therefore, I think that this describes all groups but because smaller groups lead to better discussion, none of us know what happened in the other two groups. For this reason journalists from *Tygodnik Powszechny* accepted the difficult task of summarizing the very numerous views and assessing the situa-

tion. I hope that we will leave this session smarter and richer and that we reach the coalescence of our various solutions because at first, joint analysis is a beginning but later it directs actions. I think that the editors will mention something about this, although we primarily focused on the analysis. The first speaker will be Mr. Marcin Zyla.

SUMMARY OF THE FIRST GROUP

Marcin Zyla

Good day, ladies and gentlemen. Father, you spoke of analysis, and I think that this discussion in the group for migration was most of all a description of the situation. Sociologists frequently refer to migration as the sixth continent, which is a phrase that conveys the magnitude of this occurrence. I would add that very often in daily life, when we discuss the migration issue we, consciously or not, add two more words: either problem, we speak of the migration problem, or trouble, we often talk about trouble with migrants. Those of you who attended yesterday's introductory lecture by Archbishop Montenegro will remember that he instead appealed for us to consider migration as a sort of Provident opportunity, because this is also a possibility for us and a challenge as well as an opportunity to search within ourselves and confront this other culture, other religion and other traditions. This is always a kind of moment where we can almost destroy our own identity a bit and attempt to build it and assemble it anew after meeting another. So migration is a phenomenon that exposes us to a test. I must say that it has been long since I witnessed a discussion that could impartially present a given problem based on specific examples that described the problems and structural solutions primarily at the level of the European Union, because we primarily discussed Europe. This mainly occurred due to our two invited panelists, on the one hand we had Fr. Ziad Hilal, who is the director of a refugee aid center in the Syrian city of Homs and on the other hand we had deputy Jan Olbrycht, who described his experiences in the European Parliament and how the situation appears from the perspective of European institutions. The discussion was led by Fr. Leszek Gesiak from Vatican Radio, who began with the admonition that migration is as old as the world, in fact, the first person, according to Holy Scripture, was banished and in some sense had to leave paradise; he was a migrant. Abraham heard God say "leave", Joseph was in Egypt: these are biblical examples but migration is of course also a modern process; however, the difference is that it is much easier today. It is easier because, first, we have better means of transportation and communication and second, especially in our part of the world, we erase barriers and we erase political and economic borders, which all enable somewhat easier meetings. However, a problem arises – note that I used the term "problem" – when we come to external migration, which is migration that leads to confrontation with a different culture, different system of values and very often a different lifestyle. As a result, the process of acculturation must occur, which is difficult for the person who enters a new culture and also for us, people who accept migrants. One important distinction here, which yesterday fell on people who migrate because in some sense they want this and this is their free choice, which is in large part exemplified by income driven migration. On the other hand we have people who migrate because they do not have this choice and because very often leaving their state is a flight from death; it is saving one's life. I will do something that should not actually be done because I will begin my report on the discussion with statistics; however, the numbers presented by Father Hilal yesterday were apocalyptic. Please imagine that half of Syrians, half of the residents and citizens of Syria are internally displaced; they move within the borders of a state eclipsed by conflict or war. Children make up half of this half. Ninety percent of these children range from nine to seventeen years of age; these are the ones who should be covered by education and school requirements. Of course, most of them exist outside of the education system. Eleven million Syrians need financial assistance and nine million Syrians need healthcare or medical assistance. Yesterday we watched a slideshow from Homs and other places in Syria, which showed how Fr. Hilal's organization helps these refugees. We also heard that the United Nations estimates that the conflict in Syria, which began three years ago, has reversed the development in this country by thirty-five years. These statistics speak for themselves. However, ladies and gentlemen, we have a tendency, which was evident yesterday, to primarily view migration as a humanitarian problem. When analyzing this occurrence, we also encounter a certain lack of clarity. Let's return to the example of Syria: Christians who are forced to abandon their territories have until now played the role of a bridge, which also occurred among various Muslim social groups. There is a view, a fear that when they have to flee Syria then social unrest among Muslims will sharply increase. What do we do to address this? One argument states that it would be for the best, in the best interest of that state and in the best interest of this culture that was shaped over centuries, for the good of Christianity and for the good of Islam, if they remain there. On the one hand they are fleeing and on the other hand as a result of this flight for their lives they are also deprived of the opportunity to contribute to the development of civilization in their own country. This

means that politicians must answer a question that Deputy Olbrycht mentioned and one that has two ethical interpretations: how and in what manner do we avoid promoting this migration? In other words, how do we help them without encouraging them to leave?

Please recall the introductory remarks by Archbishop Montenegro and the images from Lampedusa, a small Italian island where boats filled with immigrants arrive. There is only one physician and once a month three specialists arrive. There is only one lawyer. These are mostly people who are seeking asylum in Europe. Why do they go there? They go there because in Europe we define our democratic space in the European Union as a place of freedom, security and justice; this is exceptionally important and distinguishes us, in our eyes, from other parts of the world. However, this is a place of freedom, security and justice for more than just ourselves. It is not only for citizens of the European Union, it is for the citizens of the entire world. At this time, when we face the issue of immigration, the world says "I am watching", that is, the world is telling Europe "fine, in that case let's see how you deal with this in practice" and of course this is a broader question because the actual question is: does Europe, the European Union and the European Community in their current form meet the founding fathers' criteria and is this still working? This is also a question for us, an institutional and political one. Are we staying in control of migration in the European Union? The answer was simple: no, we are not in control and we still do not have common migration politics, its creation is a slow process, these four pillars. They are worth reciting because they also reflect the complexity of this matter. On the one hand this is a matter of legal migration, or moving within the European Union and this is also a matter that concerns us, Poles; thousands, even tens of thousands of us left for the West in search of work. It turns out that this continues to be a small-scale event, that is, if we look at what the European Union's economy needs, it turns out that this mobility within the Community is still too limited. Approximately eight million people, citizens of the European Union, do not work in their place of birth, which is supposedly too low. Why is this? It is because every country defends its market. On the other hand we also have the issue of external migration, or the influx of migrants to the European Union. We would like them to be educated, highly qualified and in reality this is a question of how to exploit the brain drain from developing countries to our advantage, which is another problem and another ethical uncertainty.

Yesterday we discussed challenges that illegal immigration presents, such as the Mediterranean Sea with boats full of immigrants trying to make it, to begin a better life in Europe and to escape suffering. It turns out that in the last few months there have been cases where these boats, which very often sink because they are overfilled, are ignored by boats flying flags, including those of

Western states, which reportedly often do not stop and do not always rescue these people. This happens because, this is one reason, accepting these people aboard one of these ships is also accepting them onto the territory of the given state whose flag is flying over the ship. This is where problems with legalized residence arise. As it turns out, these are things that prevent first aid from being provided. Four hundred and fifty thousand people, this is the number for this year, will seek asylum in the European Union. For them asylum is of course the beginning of life. This leads to further issues of how to arrange this life for them and how to integrate them into our societies.

The fourth and final pillar of immigration politics after illegal immigration, legal immigration and seeking asylum is optimizing the influence of this migration on our development, our wealth and our security. This is important in consideration that we are currently facing a demographic catastrophe that will certainly occur and the sooner we prepare for it, the sooner we take some action, the greater the benefits will become.

How does this relate to Poland? For now, Poland is outside the primary trail of immigration. Yesterday we also brought up the issue of uncertainty on our Eastern borders, because what would happen if the conflict in Ukraine precipitated such a wave of refugees. Poland will of course be a nation on the front and this is where refugees from Ukraine would come if something happened to them. This leads to further questions. That is, are we truly capable of accepting other family models and can we accept a different lifestyle, other religions and other customs, and whether we will teach this to our youth. Is our education system currently preparing us for what will certainly occur here in several years, that is, a confrontation with otherness and with another world that we are unfamiliar with? This led to hesitation because it turns out that we should also begin to work on schools.

I will also give you examples because they will most likely be better at illustrating these matters and they show that the reality of immigration is certainly not black and white. The first example: many Europeans fight for the Islamic State; yesterday we heard that this may include up to three thousand people, citizens of the European Union who went there and now there are efforts to prevent their return. This means that there is fear that at least some of them will be a threat to Europe's internal security. Thus, we consider how to stop them from once again seeing their families. The second example: this is a matter of economic politics and the fact that African states, if they wanted to, could prevent this immigration by force, violently. This reportedly happened when then living Muammar Gaddafi somehow communicated with a European state regarding matters of the energy sector and suddenly this stream of refugees ceased for a time. Later relations between these states deteriorated and

ships began to sail again and what affected me the most yesterday, please imagine that since the beginning of the year, six thousand parentless children have arrived in Lampedusa, six thousand. Half of them disappeared. Half of them are nowhere to be found in Lampedusa. Why? This is a result of the actions of criminal organizations, mafias; issues like slavery are of course part of it.

Yesterday, I recalled what Francis said during one of the first months of his pontificate, that the Church is nothing more than a field hospital, a hospital after a battle and that the Church should be on the border.

Therefore, Lampedusa, by the testimony of the Archbishop and the testimony of Fr. Hilal of Syria, Lampedusa and Syria are currently places that are borders. These are places for the Church. Everything that I talked about today, these are the costs of being a place of freedom, security and justice; this oasis that we wanted to be and that we see ourselves as. We are in the process of establishing immigration politics in Europe. The two principles that according to the participants of yesterday's discussion should in reality always be followed are, first, the principle of unconditional help for anyone who is in need and second, the necessity of crafting a just law, a law that will only have a humanitarian side and will also function in all these areas, that is, one that will promote development and help these people integrate into society; many of these aspects require the cooperation of very different institutions, from aid organizations to educational ones. In a discussion that included guests from the audience, the issues of Syria and Lampedusa came up and another issue was brought up by a priest from Ireland, who said something exceptionally interesting: once, people traveled by sea and this journey took a long time, they traveled far and this migration was always permanent or lasted many years. This American, Canadian and Australian migration, or to Latin America, these were lifelong journeys. Today, primarily as a result of inexpensive airlines and a lack of borders, we migrate for shorter periods and we migrate, as evidenced by Polish immigration in Ireland, only for a few years to later return and take care of our security, our welfare and that of our domain in Poland, the entire country; we bring some experience and sometimes also money.

From the perspective of people who permanently live in e.g. Ireland, this is somewhat different. They would also like, in a way this is also a duty that is ethical in nature, these people, Poles and citizens of other nationalities, who work there for several years to contribute to the wealth of this state, that is, for them to think about this.

This is also a question for the Church. It turns out that we once had Latin as the common language for the whole Church and now it is very difficult as it turns out to encourage Poles, in this case Poles are the example but I think that this can be extended to other nationalities, to come to English-speaking Churches.

They say: thank you but we have a Polish parish here. Therefore, this is a matter of integration and involvement from the perspective of the host country.

I will tell you one more thing that came up yesterday; this was an exceptionally powerful appeal by Fr. Hilal to us here in Europe and news regarding the Church in Syria. The Church in Syria currently has a great deal of work at the level of humanitarian aid and many things to do but few people and few European institutions that could in some way support the Church there in a completely fundamental manner. For instance, there is a shortage of physicians. Very many Syrian physicians left their country; they left their country for Europe, including Scandinavian states, but this medical aid is currently required in Syria.

Some European states declared that they could accept Christians from Syria who are being persecuted as well as those from Iraq in areas where the Islamic State has been declared. When I first heard about this I thought: this is excellent and demonstrates the grandiosity of the European idea. However, from the perspective of these states, the question is whether this will lead to a general exodus of all Christians from a given place and some kind of transformation in that place that will lead to its death. We witnessed the example of Mosul and this exodus after Mosul fell to ISIS extremists. I also want to remind you that several years ago nearby, a thousand kilometers from here, we had a similar city, Sarajevo, that is entirely different today than it was before the war, when it was an example of coexistence of cultures and today is essentially a homogenous city. These events continue to occur. Some brief appeals were also heard from the audience. I will now mention them and we should remember them, a request that we avoid identifying Islamic State militants with Muslims in general. Sometimes this actually comes up in discussions and we generalize, we even start talking about the conflict as a war between Muslims and Christians. This is a request for more information about Europe to be directed at the residents of eastern Ukraine. The purpose for this is to somehow defeat or prevent the Kremlin's propaganda that exists there. Additionally, one more appeal from Ukraine for more European programs, program similar to Erasmus and volunteer programs that will enable Ukrainians, especially young people, to come to Europe. Finally, I will tell you the most important thing, something that was a sort of conclusion. We decided that migration is nothing new but that it has been subject to qualitative changes in recent years; it requires our understanding and also requires an active position. These are the institutional actions that I mentioned and this is also our active position to meet the other person. In the case of Poland, it is high time for educational activism and to prepare for these meetings so that when the time comes, we understand other cultures. Thank you.

Father Marcin Zieba, Ph.D.

Thank you very much. The editor painted a sometimes dramatic picture, gave dramatic examples and also presented dramatic directions for certain actions that are evidently within our abilities. Certainly, I think that what the editor said, that we are not currently on the front line, draws us into a false sense of security and really we should first encourage greater sensitivity from ourselves and our education program to prepare for these challenges because it is truly easy to remain isolated.

As Christians we have the imperative of the greater Church. However, Christians are not the only ones greatly suffering and this is a suffering we are familiar with. This leads to the dilemma: "I was hungry and you did not feed me, I was thirsty and you did not give me anything to drink"; this is an incredibly important dilemma and I think that this is a matter for us all to consider and act within our means. However, prayer and sacrifices of time, offerings and money are within our means. In this group of people, how we presented ourselves in our group, we could see wealth and engagement.

An important conclusion that must follow our discussion is that in order for some kind of external and internal specifics to exist, the general dimension is also important, the one that fits with what we discussed in the second group on social economics. The problem is that in Europe we consider democracy important and as an accomplishment, as a democratic state with laws, this is how we define it. Thus, the democracy of *demos* requires a united "we", it requires united people as subjects. Now this is a great challenge to consider, how to encourage newcomers from other cultures and other traditions, very different traditions and very different cultures, to maintain their identity and at the same time create a united "we" without feeling like only newcomers are benefiting from the common good and that some invisible wall of animosity, to quote Ephesians, exists, invisible but present. This double-sided tension comes up once in a while; we saw examples of this in England and in France, large scale examples, and this happens in Italy and Germany; this is a European Problem. This almost never happens for us because this problem is not so developed. Thus, how do we include and how do we create this "we", this European *demos*? This was rather extensively discussed in our group, that in reality Europe is suffering an identity crisis and that it does not really know what "we, Europeans" means, "we, Europe", "we who are supposed to build a certain community that includes the economic dimension". Now I would like to move to the second group and give the floor to Mr. Sporniak.

SUMMARY OF THE SECOND GROUP

Artur Sporniak

We tried to answer the question of what to make of the crisis. This question pales in the face of Marcin's talk about the problems that migrants experience but this does not mean that we should not try to find answers to questions about the crisis.

In my case this summary is a kind of experiment to determine what a layperson without economic credentials can understand from a discussion with an economist and this also goes along with a remark by MEP Janusz Lewandowski during his presentation, which he opened by saying that when an economist answers a question, then we cease to understand the question. Thus, you and I must check what I understood from this discussion.

A very clear address was delivered by Ms. Flaminia Giovanelli, representing the Papal Commission *Justitia et Pax*, although she did not immediately answer the question posed to the second group, whether a social market economy is the answer to the current crisis, a social market economy that has been discussed for years, which Ms. Giovanelli also mentioned. However, she immediately answered another question: is this worth discussing? Yes, of course it is worthwhile. *Justitia et Pax* has been discussing this since the beginning of the crisis, which if I am correct, means that as early as 2008 this Commission presented a response, a document and information about finances and development. In light of the Papal Commission's work, the crisis is a crisis of meaning and this is what our diagnoses pointed to. Essentially all participants who spoke indicated that this is a crisis of meaning, not a crisis of some kind of structures or the economy; it is a wider crisis. It is rooted in three dichotomies as Ms. Giovanelli said: in the separation of the economic and social spheres, in the division between work and the creation of wealth as well as between the market and democracy. She noted, and other participants underlined this as well, that in reality we should be discussing a social competitive market economy. This expansion of the term can be found in the third point of the Lisbon Treaty.

Professor Dembinski showed the kind of tension that this leads to, this separation to save ourselves from the crisis. Without certain postulates we will be unable to manage the crisis and these postulates were proposed by a guest from Italy: faith in Europe, we should not lose faith in Europe and faith in European values. The Church can contribute a lot here. The idea of a social market economy is rooted in the Christian image of a person. This has already been noted by European bishops. A social market economy assumes that rules are obeyed and

that moral order is a boundary dividing liberalism from laissez-faire capitalism, which absolutely precludes interventions in the economy and calls for just letting it be.

The moderator presented a diagnosis of the situation because Father Zieba demanded a diagnosis: we should move from a model of globalization marked by radical liberalism and relative values, which the Father emphasized, to a new order with respect for basic human rights. There are many negative phenomena, of which I can name several: growing inequalities, manic competition and most of all, which the moderator emphasized, three reductionisms: in this view of the economy that led to the crisis, a person is just an economic pawn, someone who plays on the market and for whom this is the purpose in life. The second reductionism is entrepreneurship, an entity created for the purpose of generating profits, this kind of reduction. Third, the wealth of a nation is primarily and almost exclusively measured by gross domestic product. These reductionisms can be countered by a social market economy in Europe, they can be overcome if the economy is more socialized and if our thinking promotes sharing. Examples include creation of enterprises that are non-profit or impact investing, which means projects that combine financial and social profit; these new ideas can inspire certain hope.

Of course in the social teachings of the Church, there is evidence that popes understand the essence of the crisis because in the encyclical *Veritatis in Caritate*, Benedict XVI emphasizes the principle of forgiving debts. Ms. Giovanelli's remarks concluded with a beautiful quote from Francis' exhortation *Evangeli Gaudium*: "until a radical solution is developed for the problems of poor people by refusing the absolute autonomy of markets and financial speculations that target the structural causes of inequality, the world's problems will not be solved, nor will any problem be solved in the end. Inequality is the root of social maladies."

This introduction was followed by a subgroup discussion, which was instigated by Father Maciej and his three-minute summary of two thousand years of economics. I will try to summarize this in one minute. In antiquity, the economy was reviled, this was a part of aristocratic culture and in reality goods were produced by slaves. Christianity took these stereotypes and layered them in moral rhetoric, which the Father termed a period of hyper moralism that led to stagnation. During the reformation, the economy began to free itself from ethics and began a period of what was essentially amorality. During the enlightenment a very creative theory of invisible forces was developed, the "invisible hand of the market". The Father mentioned the main founder of this idea, not Adam Smith, but Newton. Therefore, as a physicist by trade he delved deeper. Of course, everyone began to seek these invisible powers or invisible forces in

many facets of culture, including economics. This led to the postulate that for these invisible forces to act, they must manage on their own and should not be tampered with. This results in some kind of crisis, if we let loose what is happening in the economy. However, the other fringe reaction, the Father mentioned central planning of the economy, which I happened to experience in Poland. This of course collapsed, fortunately, but that does not mean that this Newtonian model is sufficient; it is too shallow and inadequate. Christian culture was ejected from the economy and this in turn resulted in a lack of foundations. Ordoliberals said that capitalism and the free market were not the only important matters. We are reaching the extinction of a certain formula and this leads to the question what social role the Church's teachings can play. The Father concluded with a provocative question from a Catholic priest who asked whether the enlightenment of economics is ending.

Our subgroup had two moderators: Mr. Janusz Lewandowski and Professor Paul Dembinski from Geneva. In response to whether a social market economy can be the answer to the crisis, Mr. Lewandowski said that it was the solution to the crisis in Germany and it worked there, or it worked for many years. In fact, it led to the rise of a state of wealth and welfare and also led to the crisis that we currently see. This model had advantages because it protected many from the temptation of excessive reliance on central planning, which is simply the temptation of communism. This model turned out to be very attractive for young Arabs, for example. Mr. Lewandowski followed the movements during the Arab Spring in Northern Africa and noticed that young Arabs are not attracted to the American model or China, for example, as much as they are to Europe. With some irony, he also said that we have a world record in Europe because every fifth European depends on social welfare from the state, while in the U.S. this is every tenth person. The price of a welfare state has been revealed and the social market economy is now operating in an aging society with all of its problems. Certain postulates were mentioned: less security, more insecurity, freeing the market, exposure to change, uncertainty and the necessity of eliminating social benefits.

Today the social market economy is more of an attempt to introduce rigor in the name of social solidarity. The social market economy was created under different conditions, after World War II, and it was created on three pillars: freedom, freedom of the market as well as social freedom, national solidarity and possibly more important, social solidarity; it was a constitutional limit on intervention in the economy. This leads to an important point: is the market a gift of nature and therefore we should not interfere with it, which is the economic philosophy or is the market a human invention and therefore it needs regulators, police officers and regulation of e.g. prices? The situation is differ-

ent today. The Lisbon Treaty expanded this social market economy model and it is much more tightly wound. Competitiveness has brought tension to this model so that today, this model is not easy to assemble and more importantly, implement into reality, which is of course the point. The root of the crisis according to Professor Dembinski is the dissolution of traditional forms of solidarity, which turned out to be very important and as a layperson, this is also what I have discovered. Today, since 2007, nobody trusts anyone else. This is the basic social problem and this is also a challenge for the Church.

Catholic social teachings mention a communal society. This is a kind of hope that maybe some matters should be considered in conjunction with the Church. The conclusion: instead, we should consider the kind of society that we want and not the kind of economy that we want, because this is the opposite of what we thought until now; the economy should exist for the sake of society, this is the reality and not the reverse. The discussion was very long, interesting and multifaceted as the Father mentioned. Mr. Lewandowski discussed emergency procedures such as the creation of the Anti-Globalization Fund, which guarantees payments if a factory fails in some corner of Europe; there is also the Social Fund with stipends for young people so that they can show employers that they did not idle away on unemployment, which is very emotionally destructive.

Do these mechanisms help? As an economic layperson, I thought that help lies in the clever ideas of specialists: we can fix something here or we can introduce something, some kind of relationship between economic subjects, and it will move. However, I realized that help depends on us, on the relationships that we create, to change and this is much more difficult. In reality, this is a pessimistic conclusion. I just want to mention that a question was posed or more of an accusation to take advantage of Mr. Lewandowski's presence, that Poland never had a social market economy even though we have one described in the Constitution and that this was ruthless neoliberalism of the American sort. The moderators and the Father bravely defended the reforms and said that these were social protections and that certain things had to be let go such as freeing interest rates. Of course, I remember this; at the time someone had credit then in reality… However, as economists convinced us, this fire had to be extinguished quickly using drastic measures but there were also certain safeguards. The Father also defended these times and said that these were the excellent 90s of the generation that entered adulthood in the 80s, in such misery; at the zenith of the Polish People's Republic this was truly misery. Suddenly, so many possibilities opened up that if someone had a skill they were pulled into this market. Unfortunately, now it is not so good. I mean that there are allegations that there are no free jobs and this generation occupied the best positions;

we must somehow learn to wait for these exchange mechanisms because there is no way to somehow structurally fix this immediately.

I will mention one more comment: we had a real example of a person who lost her job in Donald Tusk's government but found employment, at least for now, because already today we heard the news, in the management of Orlen for a pension of two million per year. This is an example of how this perversion multiplies and these disproportions result in a crisis. One person was very opposed to this saying that we should appreciate the difference between a lady at a register who makes thirty thousand zloty and a specialist who brings innovation and should earn a good wage. However, yesterday evening I thought, because this example would not leave my mind, and I calculated that two years ago this man, if he stayed in his position, would earn the equivalent of the Nobel Prize. Ladies and gentlemen, this is kind of outrageous. Therefore, for me this example is still a symptom of the crisis. Thank you.

Father Marcin Zieba, Ph.D.

I must be concise and omit very many of the nuances that I would like to bring to the discussion because I was a witness to this. In terms of Orlen, it is obvious that this is an example of a typical political appointment to a typically political institution; this is an example of how small scale interventions are very bad for the economy and in general we discussed how the state has the right and should shape certain parts of economic life.

However, in terms of the overall issue, Ms. Giovanella Mueller-Armack mentioned the one who came up with the term social market economy, who always talked about a free, and therefore social, market economy. This tension is fundamentally important. Today we talk about a competitive economy instead of a free one, but overall this is the intention. If we make it completely free, as proposed by determinism, and continue this mechanistic theme from the enlightenment, then it will be unbearable; however, if we want to limit it and only interfere based on social sensitivity but direct it using an economic sense, then it will also become unbearable. This is our problem; the only thing I would add is that the direction Europe was heading after the German success, this is full security.

In our part of Europe we have studied the matter of full employment. We were well aware that this is fictional employment. Today we know that a certain level of unemployment is an inevitable result of progress and the goal is to, first, minimize unemployment, second, eliminate long term unemployment and, third, to provide those who are temporarily off of the job market with effective support, economic and especially personal, that means psychological, spiritual, etc. This is a very important social task, this solidarity with others instead of the

view that they did not manage. However, full employment is destructive and we have tested this carefully.

Fortunately, we did not have the postulates more insecurity and greater danger. However, this full security that states and people have begun to seek, to protect ourselves from everything and from any risk, is a false postulate and is impossible for the human condition. We are headed for the unknown and uncertain and as a result we must accept a certain level of this insecurity, some sort of liability and uncertainty with regard to the future and now we must rationally answer them to minimize this risk and to rationally help those who are facing a greater danger. However, one important answer is to accept that uncertainty is foretold. We cannot entirely protect ourselves from the future and let the state take care of everything.

This brings us to an important theme that Ms. Giovanelli mentioned, to move away from this mechanistic and deterministic economy or the one where the state and a central planner rules for us, which remains part of the German idea, although today we discussed differences, a personal economy that is fueled by the person, a multidimensional person, not a *Homo economicus*. Business is not solely a place to produce profits, although it should produce profits, it is an association of people. If we steer our economy in this direction, and it seems that many socio-political powers already know this, then this is also an opportunity for the thinking that has long been present in the Church, for the social teachings of the Church; here we have an opportunity to be actively and creatively present.

Now we will move on to the third group. I will now give the floor to Ms. Tracz. Welcome.

SUMMARY OF THE THIRD GROUP

Katarzyna Tracz

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not have the same privilege as editor Sporniak had to speak with the cool eye of a layperson because I myself am one of the youth and thus I am inevitably part of this subject. It was telling that the young generation was discussed by people primarily in the 50+ age range. However, I must admit that the discussion was very successful and surprisingly, four hours was not enough. This is because we did not have enough time to expand many themes. Earlier, editor Sporniak discussed the mechanism of intergenerational

exchange. I get the sense that on many levels, it has gotten stuck, which we talked about yesterday during our discussion.

The topic and title for the working group was "Between an uncertain future and stability" and the subject of stability has already been mentioned here many times. In our group, Father Jacek Stryczek, who often brought us, the debaters, back down to earth and also stirred the anthill, said that stability and stabilization are lies and that such things do not exist. History has not ended; economic cycles continue to evolve, this has not faded from memory and we cannot forget about this. This was one of the topics that highlights our discussion.

The second was what Father Zieba mentioned a moment ago, that I will be young for a time but this time continues to grow longer. Italians are the masters of this, which is already legendary. However, this period of youth extends to the third and even fourth decade of life. Furthermore and most of all, we heard the postulate that we should not disapprove and not complain that these young people are so terrible and that there is no hope for them at all. The group's moderator, Przemyslaw Radwan, proposed that we should instead postulate and propose solutions, which is what we primarily focused on. However, we of course started with diagnoses. The entire discussion was divided into four main subject groups. First, we discussed the position of young people on the job market, second, young people and their approach to family and to starting a family, third, we focused on young people and their presence in politics and, fourth, intergenerational solidarity.

The subject of young people and the job market of course elicited strong emotions because as we know, this is an exceptionally urgent problem. We know that we had to start with a diagnosis. In certain European states, unemployment among young people exceeds 50%, as is the case in Greece; the number of unemployed young people is statistically two times higher than for older people who are unemployed, which is also visible, and this reveals the magnitude of the problem. We cannot forget that unemployment is not only a lack of day-to-day work, it also leads to social exclusion and this leads to a whole series of other problems.

At the beginning of the discussion about the job market, Fr. Jacek Stryczek stirred the anthill, who I already mentioned and who very often made provocative statements. Fr. Jacek spoke primarily from the perspective of an employer. He concluded that when young people come to him aggrieved and have a plethora of grievances against the world, then he unwaveringly decides that he is not merciful and has no desire to hire such people, but this is a somewhat large city point of view which was quickly evident from one of the responses because small towns and villages experience this entirely differently. This perspective is entirely different, because there is simply no work. Factories close, mines close,

electrical plants close, etc. The peak of young people's ambition is to finish some kind of school without excessive demands and ideally to go find work in the West. A point came up that this approach, a passive and ambitionless one, is the result of the inadequate education of young people and parental deficiencies. At this point we strayed into somewhat more axiological issues, despite Dr. Koscielniak's introduction, which all of you have heard and which was not discussed in as much detail during the group's work. On the one hand, parental neglect and a lack of education are part of the problem, but there is another issue. When parents raise, I am using a special word here, when they raise young people to achieve success, this other extreme does not bring any good either because the moderator, Mr. Przemyslaw Radwan, asked whether we may have focused too much and maybe created a fetish out of education and promotion. Young people constantly want to go to school and increase their qualifications because on the one hand, this is what we demand from them and on the other hand they constantly feel unprepared to take responsibility for themselves and to start by really working. There was also an accusation that in reality, the elders, the generation above me, neglected the formation of bonds, supporting and accompanying young people in development, in favor of this, to put it bluntly, farm. Is it possible that the generation before me concentrated too much on expecting and accounting than on providing an example? This is the last question from our first subject.

The second subject was family and young people's readiness to start families. To put it gently, at this time the discussion exploded dramatically. I have no idea why this happened, of course several people discussed whether it is currently fashionable or unfashionable to get married, however, as I said, there were no conclusions, no postulates and nobody even began to wonder whether these young people really want to start families. However, I think that we should discuss this subject because it is exceptionally important. There was one single proposal, which in my opinion is essential for a discussion of young people so that we do not focus too much on big words such as marriage and love, we know, instead we should begin to discuss interpersonal relations, that in reality, friendship is the most important and we should teach this to young people, focus on this and give this example, that a single person will accomplish little and that only when there is some bond with another can we share our experiences, exchange views and only then will something sensible result. Oddly enough, this was the most significant conclusion from the discussion of family.

In contrast, major emotions came out during the debate about engaging young people in politics. Participants devoted most of their attention to the problem of political parties and young people's participation in this form of political action. However, we started from the perspective of a general reflection that, first,

if the older generation does not nurture the young generation of leaders, then society will be doomed to negative selection and this is by its nature dangerous. Second, we generally see a change in the model of politics. Young people are turning away from politics in the sense of party politics while still participating in public life and without moving away from it at all, but this takes a new form. Political parties have turned out to be the biggest problem; on one side, Ambassador Bahr, who was participating in the discussion, shared the reflection that the role of political parties and the model of participation in them are changing but parties are neglecting young people, youth groups are practically gone and there is no preparation of young people to participate in politics in its existing form. On the other side, a response from the audience addressed why this happens and also what elicited the heated debate: by their nature young people are ideological, idealistic and do not see how they can work through political parties to express themselves in a heated and involved manner as they would like because politics is, as one of the participants mentioned based on studies of the subject, considered distasteful and is associated with fuming and dishonesty. Therefore, how are young idealists to feel encouraged to participate in something like this? An important point was mentioned by Mr. Pascal Lejeune from the European Commission, who suggested that we take a closer look and prevent this so that young people do not seal themselves off in some kind of hermetic groups and communities; instead we should certainly open them up and show them by example that discussion is important.

The last topic was intergenerational solidarity. Here, practically everyone was in agreement, however, the conversation once more started with Fr. Jacek Strycz poking the beehive, by proposing the following: how can we expect intergenerational solidarity when parents, I will use this word again, raised the young generation by constantly demanding and constantly pushing, not taking the role of mentor, guide or someone supportive? Therefore, how are young people to feel responsible for those older than them, who in their youth were truly their tormentors? Sometimes, I must admit that I am a member of this generation that was raised for success and I admit that there may be quite a bit of truth in this. My peers may not respect their parents, who only demanded from them and did not talk to them. The second important issue was the problem of organizing the public sphere. With increasing frequency we hear about this but the ideal still remains in the form of a senior citizens' home somewhere in the woods, idyllic. However, from a practical point of view, there is nothing worse that you can offer a person because of what this means: loneliness and hard work to organize this home in the woods. Ambassador Bahr used Scandinavia as an example, where homes for the elderly are built near student towns but far enough away that they do not disturb each other. This is designed to encourage connec-

tions. For instance, when an elderly person goes grocery shopping, he sees young people and remembers: I was also like that once and I also lived like that. The young person might notice elderly people other than the unpleasant woman looking at a young person with avarice because she wants him to offer his seat on the bus; this is simply another person who may sometimes need help and there is no pressure involved. People should be pushed toward each other instead of building artificial expansive borders.

The final matter that we discussed in this context was that along with social changes, the idea of aging changes. Inevitably the architects of change in Poland will start retiring. This brings an enormous number of opportunities. These people, while they are still part of the workforce, receive high pensions for their counsel, their experiences and their work. When they retire, they will be able to share their experiences, possibility in the form of volunteering, and this will be an enormous opportunity for young people to benefit from these experiences.

In conclusion, the most important issue is mutual respect because elderly people do not always take young people seriously enough. Frequently we heard examples from the work of city councils and county councils where young people were treated with disdain: "you young person, what do you have to say?" We must simply learn mutual, I emphasize this, respect. Second, young people are now maturing faster and they are even learning Chinese in the cribs, etc. Therefore, why not teach people civic foundations in preschool? This was the second postulate and the third: above all, we must discuss and listen to each other; maybe this is banal and maybe this borders on psychology from the "convenience store", but we should focus on creating bonds and trust because this is lacking everywhere and without this, it is difficult to talk about a satisfying personal life, professional life and in reality, a social life. Thank you very much.

Father Marcin Zieba, Ph.D.

I thank you very much madam because thanks to this we have come to understand what happened in the group that discussed generational problems, especially young people's problems.

After the break we will talk about hopes and a new beginning, therefore I am very grateful to you because you accepted a very difficult task and I think that now we all know more, we know a few details and this is one message. In my case, I will need to probe further because I am a bit concerned that this "young" group, as I will call it, spoke more of being present in political life than about family issues.

HOMILY

AT THE HOLY MASS
in the Sanctuary of Pope St. John Paul II
in Krakow-Lagiewniki

Archbishop Wojciech Polak
Metropolitan of Gniezno,
Polish Primate

He asked them: how do you see me?
Peter replied: as the Lord's Messiah (Lk 9)

Your Eminence, Cardinal, Shepherd of the Church of Krakow,
Your Excellence Bishop Tadeusz,
Dear Brothers in the Christian faith,
People whose lives are consecrated,
Brothers and Sisters in Jesus Christ,

Peter's infamous response once more directs our gaze to Jesus Christ. "He is," as Pope John Paul II told us, "the beginning, meaning, direction and fulfillment of history; he and only he, everything was already revealed through his death and resurrection". Furthermore, "he is also the one who is constantly present through the preaching and actions of the Church throughout human history". This is why today we turn our thoughts and our gaze to Christ. It is through him that we seek to answer the questions that will guide us in the end. Jesus Christ is mankind's answer. If what the Second Vatican Council said is true, that "in essence the mystery of mankind can only be explained through the mystery of the Incarnation", then throughout our entire lives, including its personal dimension, we must turn to Christ. He reveals the truth about us and motivates us to experience it in unity with others. He is our endless source of unity. He is our peace. "He," as St. Paul the Apostle wrote to the Ephesians, "who made both pieces of humanity into one by tearing down the wall between them, that is, animosity". Through the suffering, death and Resurrection that he revealed to his students in the Gospel, he united humanity and God and called us to live this new life and be at peace with one another. He challenged us and continues to challenge us to proclaim this peace and show the modern person the path and offer her the means she requires to accomplish this work. According to St. John Paul II, this is a *central role* for the Church.

Brothers and Sisters in Christ our Lord! For the past several years, this international conference has become an opportunity to return to the source and roots of this Christian unity and to search and continually rediscover the unending themes of unity. By taking on new challenges each year, it also becomes another stimulus for contemplation and reflection on the role of the Catholic Church in the European integration process. The Church exists through Christ, as the Second Vatican Council constantly reminds us, "like a sacrament, or a symbol and means of achieving internal unity with God and the unity of all mankind".

As a result of its nature, the Church is called upon to build unity in various fields that are currently being pursued with renewed passion, renewed tenacity and renewed enthusiasm for the mission to evangelize. In order to face this task, including elements such as strengthening unity in the heart of the European continent, we must first thoroughly reflect on what truly unites us and what really divides us in Europe today.

My dears! First, what unites us? During the Vespers leading up to signing the Apostolic Exhortation *Ecclesia in Europa*, John Paul II answered the question as follows: "The Good News has become and continues to be a source of life for Europe. If it is true that Christianity cannot be attributed to one particular culture but that it leads to dialog with each of them and supports all in expressing their best elements in every field of knowledge and human action, then Christian roots are the basic guarantee of a future for Europe. Could a tree devoid of roots live and grow?" (John Paul II, Speech during Vespers, Vatican, 2003). Thus, we are united by the common roots that we developed from. One cannot sever a tree from its roots and be surprised when it dies. Only a tree that has strong roots need not be afraid of the passing of time, wind or storms. In Gniezno, John Paul II compared European history to a great river that is fed by many streams, which represent the many diverse cultures and traditions that shape it. However, he also said that "this deepest foundation of Europe's unity as well as its strength throughout the ages has been a result of Christianity with its Gospel, with its understanding of the person and with input in the development of peoples and nations" (John Paul II, Homily presented during the Holy Mass on the millennium of the martyrdom of St. Wojciech, Gniezno, 1997).

Now, what divides us? In answering this question, allow me to once more recall the words of St. John Paul II in Gniezno: "is it not true that after the fall of one wall, the visible one, a second wall was revealed, an invisible wall, which continues to divide our continent; it is a wall that runs through people's hearts. It is built of fear and aggression, lack of empathy for people of different backgrounds, different skin colors and different religious faiths; it is built of political and economic egoism as well as insensitivity to the value of human life and the dignity of every person" (John Paul II, Homily during the Mass in honor of the millennium of St. Wojciech's death, Gniezno 1997). Thus, we continue to be divided by a lack of spiritual unity. We are divided by this invisible wall built through anxiety, fear, prejudice, aggression, egoism and self-centeredness. We are divided by everything that promotes self-interest, often at the expense of others. We are divided by prejudice, but most of all, we are divided by the increasing weakness of the human spirit and disregard for the person and her dignity, for human life, which is holy and inalienable from conception until natural death.

It seems that I could end here and finish my lecture. However, for the sake of cohesiveness, we must still answer the following question: where should we seek a proper and good solution to this situation? I think that the answer could also be, and in a certain sense is, this place, where we meet in the Sanctuary of God's Mercy and in this context, the words of Pope Francis during his last visit to Albania: "may every person feel the call to proclaim the Liturgy with all their spirit and bear witness to the mercy, to strengthen the bonds of solidarity and promote more just and fraternal living conditions for us all" (Francis, Homily during Mass in Tirano, 2014). A proper and positive solution would be to regard others with openheartedness, forgiveness and merciful love. This means unending concern to ensure that our thoughts and actions serve to build the foundations of the spiritual community.

Beloved by Christ our Lord!

The author of Ecclesiastes, which was the source of the first reading of today's Liturgy of the Word, began his meditation by saying that everything has its time and the hour for all matters under the heavens has been set. Without a doubt, everything in the life of a person and in human society has *its time*. "In time," as St. John Paul II taught us, "the world is created and the history of salvation occurs in time". A person is constantly challenged to interpret the signs of time. Without a doubt, one of these is currently awareness of life on Earth as divided along multiple lines and marred by numerous tensions and conflicts. Other signs of time also include any human efforts aimed at achieving unity. This is why the challenge issued in the Apostolic Exhortation about Jesus Christ, who lives in the Church as a source of hope for Europe is still relevant, that strengthening unity at the heart of the European continent must rouse modern Christians to cooperate in the process of integration and unite through theological, spiritual, ethical and social dialog. This Great and Holy Pope provocatively asked: "can we allow Christ's Church to become a source of divisions and discord in Europe that is on its path to political unity? Would this not be the worst scandal of our times?" Foremost, this papal appeal and this warning were directed at any ecumenical actions that Christian communities pursued. However, today we see this more broadly and we see opportunity and hope in each of us. May we be inspired by these types of meetings to use it well for the common good. Amen.

Session

A NEW OPPORTUNITY FOR EUROPE

Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld
Chairman of the Center for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding

An old threat: new answers

The fundamental question is: what determines the important weaknesses of the Euro-Atlantic system of security in the second decade of the 21st century?

In general, the answers of experts and researchers can be brought down, on an intellectual level, to the fact that security institutions, structures and organizations are static by nature (and are tailored to the present need when they were created). However, risks, threats and challenges are dynamic. As a result, the mandates of security institutions are not adequate in the face of newly changed and changing needs.

This is logical and rational reasoning but it does not explain the political essence. There are organizations assigned particular tasks and after completing their work they die off if states cannot promptly establish a new mandate for these institutions.

Among a number of other international organizations, NATO is practically the only Euro-Atlantic security institution. Let us imagine a threat to Poland and other states in our region, if the Russian postulate came true and these states found themselves in a gray area outside the treaty. In this situation, which is difficult to imagine right now, this group of states and their security would increase the zone of risks and threats.

The conflict over Ukraine prompts us to reflect deeply and reaffirms the importance of military power and its role in preventing conflicts by being a deterrent to potential aggressors. The threat of a return to the Cold War is often used. This is outdated reasoning.

Today's threats are of a different nature. During the Cold War, East-West relations were characterized by ideological animosity, which permeated every aspect of inter-bloc relations: politics, economics as well as military and humanitarian affairs.

The post-Cold War period was marked by reduced ideological extremism in international relations. However, in non-democratic states, this practically meant a return to treating military power as a tool for bargaining and extortion as well as for stronger countries to enslave weaker ones. This is a resurgence of the concept of "spheres of privileged interest", which, contrary to their accepted responsibilities, would be used by global powers.

Authoritarian systems in Russia and in the states of Central Asia and the Caucasus do not accept European values and see responsibility for freedom and civil liberties, or more broadly, human rights, as a threat that could lead to systemic changes, to transformation and modernization. As a result, authoritarian leaders fear that public discontent will lead to a change of leadership. This is the way to explain the rejection of values promoted by OSCE as weak as the tactical solidarity of Russia and China in relation to democratic states in the West.

Russia's current leader, Vladimir Putin, has garnered the support of the right and far right communities in France, England, Italy and other Western states. Russian mass media have "tasked" the Russian president with a new role as the leader of the conservative factions in Europe and on a global scale. Russian commentators are not concerned that the powers supporting Russian politics toward Ukraine include nationalist, chauvinist and even fascist groups. It seems that the most important criterion for conservatism is opposition and destruction of liberal Democratic principles. This new hybrid of ideology and politics is becoming the primary obstacle for efforts to create a security community based on universal values.

A transitional system for international security is characterized by uncertainty, instability, vagueness and no sway of its own. This leads to the phenomenon of political unpredictability. This is a state where the old threats have not disappeared, they are still holding on, and effective mechanisms and procedures for preventing and counteracting new threats and challenges have not been developed. This includes inspired unredeemable and "rebellious wars", which destabilize states; they weaken them and allow political, economic and military goals to be achieved *per procura*, with no involvement of one's armed forces on the territory of the state that is being targeted by these actions[29].

This does not necessarily require a new theory, as much as practical actions based on decisions made at the highest level, at the top of NATO. These decisions should be preceded by agreements that will enable a joint assessment of risk. This is a highly divisive issue for many signatory states. Part of this is the

[29] In the context of actions intended to undermine Ukraine and induce political instability and dysfunction as well as initiate the dissolution of this state, Russian military publications *Niezawisimoje Wojennoje Obozrienije*, *Znanije-Wlast*) started referring to "rebellious wars" ("matiezewojna"), a term authored by Evgeny Eduardovich Messner (1891-1974). In the 1960s in Argentina, Messner published a series of works devoted to a new concept of war: *Miatez-imia trietjej wsiermirnoj; Wsiermirnaja miatezwojna* published by Kuchkovo Pole in Moscow, 2004. The author's main idea is that "rebellious wars are battles over the soul of the warring nation". This theory can be seen in action through the activity in the south and east of Ukraine. Furthermore: "Putin is fighting for Russia's soul". Interview with Adam D. Rotfeld in *Gazeta Wyborcza* on March 26, 2014 (Polityka Ekstra, pg 10-11)

necessity of increasing military spending and adapting to new threats[30]. In practice, this will be possible by overcoming opposition with the European Union and making a decision about the common defense and security of NATO and EU Member States.

Institutions and security

Trust in systems and institutions as well as the belief that they are reliable means that when they are tested, and one of these tests is typically serious tension between states and crises, when these organizations and instruments turn out to be faulty. The deciding factor regarding the efficacy of each security system is the willingness of states and their efforts to defend values and interests that justify the course and the need to establish certain structures and institutions. Of course, institutions arise at a given point in history and are a response to the needs at the time and conditions that led the state to accept one system of security over another. However, the passage of time and changing historical circumstances ensure that some of the established institutions lose their meaning and are marginalized or merged with other structures[31].

The significance and longevity of security institutions cannot be predicted from the formal or organizational perspective as much as the political involvement of states that their interest in using tools that simplify tasks and that justified the creation of a given framework. In other words, the primary reasons for the ineffectiveness of our security institutions are not institutional deficiencies and organizational deficits.

The weakness of the current system in a regional and global sense is the false assumption that the Member States of the UN or OSCE are guided by the same values that are described as universal or common European values. The power of the North Atlantic Treaty and the European Union is that they are founded on the will to defend and build shared values. However, these liberal

[30] Only four NATO allies spend 2% or more of their GDP: the United States, Great Britain, Greece and Estonia (US military expenditure encompasses 73% of the total expenditure by all 28 NATO members) LT Heather Conley: "Is it fair to say there is no Euro-Atlantic security approach?", CSIS, Washington D.C., May 16, 2014.

[31] One example of a security institution that did not accept the role that its Member States wished to entrust it with by signing the Brussels Treaty (1948) was the Western European Union. Its duties and functions were assumed by the North Atlantic Alliance based on the Antarctic Treaty (1949) as well as the European Union after signing the Maastricht Treaty (1991), which went into effect on November 1, 1993.

values are not universal. These values are not shared with two nuclear powers (China and Russia) or states in regions of particular conflict and threat to world peace, that is, the Persian Gulf states (Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, states of the Middle and Far East, e.g. Syria and North Korea) as well as various African, Asian and Latin American states.

Postulates, initiatives and projects

The conflicts of the past fifteen years, especially the crisis in Ukraine as well as the revolutions in the Arab world, are excellent examples of how the liberal values of Western democracy are not and cannot be treated as the foundation of a global and regional security system in Europe.[32] This leads to the scientific and practical postulate that in light of the heterogenic composition of the modern world, members of the Trans-Atlantic community (Europe, the United States and Canada) have made an effort alongside other states, including non-democratic ones, and have developed a normative consensus that would form the basis of new guidelines for international peace. The upcoming OSCE summit titled "Helsinki 40+" will be a good opportunity for this.

Initiatives toward this goal were launched by several groups of thinkers, researchers and former politicians, for example, the Aspen Minister's Forum headed by Madeleine Albright, the Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative (EASI), whose work is signed by former U.S., Russian and German politicians (Senator Sam Nunn, Igor Ivanov, former minister of foreign affairs for the Russian Federation, and Wolfgang Ischinger, former secretary of state in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs), or the European Leadership Network, an institution created by Secretary of Defense of Great Britain Desmond Brown along with researchers and experts from states in the European Union as well as Russia and Turkey. Also worth noting are the reports and publications prepared under the auspices of various research institutions and think tanks in Europe and the United States (Carnegie Foundation, German Marshall Fund, Stockholm Peace International Research Institute SPIRI and others).

In 2008-2012, projects spearheaded by academic institutions also arose in Russia with the goal of finding a new algorithm for cooperative security. The publications of the center established after Dmitry Medvedev's election as president, which was created to serve as his scientific advisor, were particularly scrutinized. This was the Institute of Contemporary Development (ISOR), which

[32] Further reading: *Liberal Order in a Post-Western World*. Published by the Transatlantic Academy Foundation. Washington D.C., May 2014.

worked closely with the Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO), the most respected institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences in the field of social sciences. Both of these research institutions developed concepts whose basis was that Russia will accept the liberal democratic path of development.[33]

In the publication *Architecture of Euro-Atlantic Security*[34], authors from ISOR wrote:

> "Our objective interest for today is to ensure that Russia is not so much feared (because it is powerful and very little can be done to stop it) as it is respected (because it is powerful and engages in responsible and cooperative politics)[35]."

Unfortunately the political leadership in Russia made a different choice. Russia openly raised the stakes before the world through militarization and the use of force, which are based on the idea that respect can only be gained using force and fear. Russia's power should be the result of three factors: army, fleet and the weakness of Western partners.

ISOR and IMEMO's approach is currently viewed as harmful and anti-Russian. The idea has resurged that Russia should build its system on power instead of co-dependence, on surprise, fear and force as well as aligning neighboring states with Russian interests instead of predictability and cooperation.

Intellectual debates with the most respected researchers in the West have started to realize that the foundation of the new global system and world order must take into account that liberal democracy and its values and principles are only recognized by the transatlantic community of states. This includes NATO and EU Member States as well as the European states that share close ties with the EU (Norway and Switzerland). This community also includes North America (the United States and Canada) and Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico). In Asia liberal democratic principles and values are accepted, without opposition, by powers such as Japan and India as well as Singapore and the Philippines, in the Middle East, it is Israel and in Africa, the Republic of South Africa. What does this mean?

First, this means that postulate of agreement on the path of consensus for new rules and codes of national regulations in the affairs of international security is entirely justified.

[33] Two publications warrant particular attention: *Architektura jewroatlanticzeskoj biezopastniosti*, co-authored by Igor J. Jurgens, Alexander A. Dynkin, Vladimir G. Baranowski. Econ-Inform. Moscow, 2009 as well as the monograph *Jewroatlanticzeskoje prostranstwo biezopastnosti*. AA Dynkin and S. Ivanov. IMEMO. Moscow, 2011.

[34] *Jewroatlanticzeskoje prostranstwo biezopastnosti*

[35] There, Pg. 117

Second, this means the necessity of consolidating the democratic world and close cooperation between the European Union and the United States.

Third, this finally highlights the necessity of increasing the role and significance of power as a factor, which continues, much like values and interests, to guide the security policies of states in the modern world. Power in the 21st century cannot be the result of military power.

In Europe, it is commonly believed that the military factor no longer bears any significance; it is not only unjustified, it increases feelings of uncertainty and instability, which in effect becomes, as the crisis in Ukraine illustrates, a source of additional risks and threats[36]. The might of an aggressive state will only be neutralized if it encounters a limiting factor, which is the might and resistance of a democratic community that Russia views as an adversary and potential enemy.

Finally, we should remember that security is subject to change. New powers rise alongside the old. By their nature, they undermine order and strive to gain positions or influence in regional and global systems to further their own strategic agenda. This natural dynamic of the world order creates international tension. It inevitably leads to a rearrangement of power.

A new cooperative system that respects the unity and co-dependence of the modern world should itself undergo uninterrupted peaceful transformation, which in practice means diminishing the significance and role of "old" powers as well as accepting the growing strength of "rising powers". "The fluidity of strength is a constant characteristic, but the rhythm of changes shifts. Brutal rejections of the past are in contrast to gradual evolution that maintains a semblance of stability, in accordance with the classic example of peaceful times that occur between wars, after which peace treaties sanction a new distribution of power[37]."

We are witnesses to this time in history, as described by the French author. We are living in a world that does not fit into single track molds: it is not an international order ruled by a hegemon (unipolar model) or an order that recognized the right of global powers to possess their own "spheres of influence" or "spheres of privileged interest" (multipolar model). After the fall of a bipolar system, an order is formed where power and strengths are widely distributed or polycentric. However, rules and norms, established in the past and adapted to a world that no longer exists, require rapid adaptation to a new reality and new conditions.

[36] French author Pierre Buhler ("On the power of the 21st century" *Dialog*, Warsaw, 2014. Pg. 494) correctly notes that "power belongs to those (…) who know how to use the subtle and vague words of power for their own benefit".

[37] Pierre Buhler, Pg. 494

The most important priority for the European and even more widely, the transatlantic community, should be to create this system of norms and procedure that would effectively shield the foundations of their democratic process. International order based on democratic values is a guarantee of peace, freedom and wealth. On the other hand, the rules in the new system cannot ignore the fact that Russia and a major portion of actors on the global stage do not recognize the universal nature of the fundamental values of the Western world. They do not accept political plurality and democratic legitimacy for authority. They also do not recognize individual rights and personal freedoms. They assign more weight to collective rights than individual human rights according to the explanation accepted by the Euro-Atlantic community. This interpretation of a polycentric system requires accepting that the world is heterogeneous, not homogeneous. This means the necessity of developing and accepting new rules through consensus in response to the political diversity of the international community in the second decade of the 21st century.[38]

Concluding remarks

Since wars, as stated in the preamble to the Constitution of UNESCO, "are started in people's minds, thus people's minds must also be built to defend peace"[39].

This causes various groups of thinkers and former politicians to present new ideas pertaining to the present needs. The concept of Greater Europe developed by the European Leadership Network, whose security is to be based on collaboration, requires innovative thinking by the governing groups of both transatlantic security institutions.[40] The starting point to effectively implement a common strategy for building lasting peace and security in Europe is for all states in the transatlantic Community to observe and interpret threats the same.

In relations between the Alliance and EU with Russia, rebuilding mutual trust will require not so much new institutions or new political dialog as much as creating conditions that enable political dialog and a return to fundamental

[38] Charles A. Kupchan: *No One's World: The West, the Rising East and the Coming Global Turn*, Oxford University Press 2012 as well as Charles Kupchan: "Reordering Order: Global Change and the Need for a New Normative Consensus". *Liberal Order in a Post-Western World*, Pg. 3-12.

[39] *Collection of Statutes and Regulations of International Organization* published by Stanislaw Hubert, Vol. II, part 1. PISM. Warsaw, 1966. Pg. 302.

[40] This idea was the subject of deliberations in Warsaw (May 30, 2014) based on *A Task Force Position Paper on Crisis Management in Europe in the Context of Events in Ukraine*.

principles of respecting laws as well as rules of the game and the established code of action.

The problems that led to the crisis in relations between Russia, the EU and NATO are not a result of too few institutions, procedures or a lack of diplomatic techniques. They are a reflection of deep political, cultural and psychological differences in understanding the meaning of values in defining strategic goals and the means for realizing them.

In the second decade of the 21st century, the principle threats to international security are unconventional. They form within states and not between them. These threats result from undemocratic means of leadership and rejection of universal values as the foundation for the new security system.

Unconventional challenges constantly require developing appropriate unconventional political and military strategies. This is a new ambitious task and also a challenge for political elites in the Democratic world, as well as intellectuals, theoretical and practical, so their ideas and new concepts can influence the process of making strategic decisions.

Fr. Dr. Florian Kolfhaus

Secretariat of State of the Holy See

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen and dear brethren. I am very happy for the opportunity to speak to you today and that as a participant in this conference I will learn a great deal of new information and establish new contacts and friendships.

All of you know the myth of Europe's founding. Zeus in the form of a bull captured Europe. Today it seems that this bull has become somewhat more important than that beautiful woman. I will explain how this should be interpreted. Consider Wall Street. The economy can either be a bear market or a bull market. Using its horns, the bull charges upward while the bear does the opposite. Europe only considers the bull that should power the economy and this girl Europe is a kind of cowgirl who does not really know where to lead the bull.

What can the Church do in other equally important subjects to help Europe overcome this all-consuming subject of the economy and the market, which on the one hand unites us but in reality is mostly divisive? I think that, using the terms coined by Pope Francis, the Church in Europe can lend roots and wings. Roots: Christian culture, not faith. Faith is always a personal and individual matter, a decision for each person. I am referring to culture as a common language. If I wanted to live in Poland and integrate into this state, I would need to learn Polish. Of course, I could speak Italian or German with my family but people on the street must have a common language. In Europe Christian culture is this linguistic code, with our Easter holidays, Christmas and Sunday, which is the day of rest and is important for society's existence. This in no way infringes on citizens' right to choose a different religion as faith.

This is our common language that grows and develops layers over centuries. It must be defended. These roots are exposed to harsh attacks. My responsibilities in the State Department include combating discrimination against Christians. I must admit that the scope of this phenomenon is expanding drastically. Each year the so-called Hate Crime Report is published; it is a report on the groups that are targeted by attacks. In Germany several churches are victims of attacks each year. These common roots are being brutally pulled. Even worse, there is no public reaction to this. Please imagine someone writing vulgar words on a synagogue. This would lead to an uproar, which is appropriate. In the case of a Christian cemetery that is desecrated, there is no such reaction. Thereby, we are losing our Christian culture, the common language that creates unity and from the perspective of the Church and for the Church, it must be defended

above all. We do not need new legislation. We only need more consideration and sensitivity to these Christian roots and here the Church must also act with great care to generate interest in these problems. That is it for Christian cultural roots. I also mentioned wings. These are our values and that which guides our gaze upwards, past our everyday horizon, although I must critically admit that values rarely sound like platonic ideals. Something that rises above us and that we demand from others but that does not concern us. Why do we not discuss virtues? Virtues are something that lies within our hearts. My virtues concern me directly because I must do something myself. These virtues that we could give to Europe are what the Church should be concerned about.

During international gatherings where we speak as representatives of the Apostolic State, representatives from other states are shocked when we talk about love. Please take note of this. There is no politician and no government representative who would use the word "love" in their speech even though this is a key virtue. This is something that should motivate us individually as well as in the scope of civic engagement. Love is not a keyword. It is a proper spell or a magic word that can resolve all the problems that we have discussed now. For example, the subject of migration, fraternal love among people who are in need and in the case of youth, intergenerational trust.

Thus, the Church can give Europe wings by promoting virtues. Not some kind of abstract ideals or values, although they are important, but virtues.

This means that the woman named Europe will no longer be dragged by this bull known as the economy. This does not mean allowing money and the market to decide Europe's direction, it means that this woman whose name is Europe can catch the bull by the horns and decide which direction the bull must go – in the direction of virtue, in the direction of values and in the direction of social and cultural unity. The Church can have input in this because the Church is the template for this woman named Europe. The Catholic Church is universal. The Church is united and from this plurality it creates singularity. Our efforts should also ensure that this pagan woman Europe will finally become the beautiful Christian woman Europe and will tame the bull, not the reverse.

Fr. Patrick Daly, Ph.D.

Secretary General of COMECE

It is my great pleasure to meet with you here as Secretary General of COMECE in Brussels. I am very glad that we have helped organize this conference for many years and that we can be present here.

In reference to the title of our conference, "What unites us and what divides us in Europe?" I would like to say a few words about what unites us in Europe, today in the year 2014. I think that, first, we are united by the fact that English is our second language. Twenty years ago, when I was already working in Brussels, French was our common language, but now, especially since the changes in 2004, English has decidedly dominated. At the same time, language is a kind of vehicle for culture; it guides our way of thinking. Therefore, does Anglo-Saxon pragmatism predominate? In the European Union we ask ourselves this question and we also wonder whether the United States also plays a greater role as a result of the English language. Yes, English is the language of science and computer science in particular. Recently the United States ambassador to Germany, John Bloom, told me that the greatest battle in the coming years will be the battle over who will control data storage systems and the Internet, what language will be used and what method. Here we see a significant battle between the American system and other alternatives from the Far East. It is interesting how this will actually develop in the future.

Another thing that unites us is that none of us seem to enjoy war. We try to avoid war. This is especially clear when we read a detailed analysis of strategic European documents. It seems that in Europe we are doing everything we can to avoid war. Many families in Europe and America still remember the events of World Wars I and II. They do not want to repeat the experiences when nearly every family lost someone during these wars. Therefore, now any kind of involvement in war has very little social support. We saw this many times. We know that many people debated whether or not to react militarily in Syria. Therefore, we share the dilemma whether at this moment we as Western societies will ever want to go back to being involved in military action. We can consider where this comes from. Are we truly afraid of this for the good of our families, in order to shield our children from potential conflict, or are there other reasons?

We are also united by initiatives to promote democracy. Democracy is perceived and interpreted differently in different parts of the world but in general it seems that we are in agreement that a citizen has a right to make decisions and

to influence decisions in a democratic country. For years democratic parties have enjoyed the Church's support. In various documents individual Holy Fathers have commented on this topic many times. According to the Church a democratic system seems to be the best system for the modern world. Today there is a lot of talk about strengthening democracy even more. Many people talk about a crisis in the European Union, about a lack of democratic legitimacy. I know that in elections to the European Parliament, participation by citizens of the European Union is decreasing. It seems that citizens of Europe are not very interested in what is happening in various parliaments. This is unless something is truly very tightly associated with daily life, as was recently the case with the referendum in Scotland, where very many people went to the polls.

I think that for the most part there is agreement that we are trying to work together for the benefit of our own wealth. We are increasingly wealthy, at least since the time of World War II, and many people say that this is because of the success of the European Union. Thanks to the European Union, quality of life has increased but this is associated with various kinds of problems. Of course, there are major differences between these levels of wealth, not everyone benefits from wealth as much as others, there are wealthy people and poor people, and there are also people subject to social welfare. I think that the Church's voice in the debate about the future should be particularly strong in this context as well. We can continue to be even wealthier and this does not mean that parked in front of every house will be a Mercedes or a BMW. We should also remember to develop our internal life; it is important to read books, go to concerts and promote culture, in my opinion the Church should also talk about this. We should consider what the most important values are in our lives. What does human life mean to us? What ensures that a human life becomes an enriched life?

Another important message that the Church should convey is that we should limit our desire to gather increasing amounts of wealth. Of course there are those who move to some hermitage and forsake all wealth but this is probably not a solution for all of us. In my opinion, one of the greatest virtues is the virtue of moderation, the ability to say "enough. No more."

For example, after undergoing a fast most of us seem to feel better, not to mention dropping a few kilograms, about saving a little bit of money on food, but this is also a sort of external value, a spiritual one. A fast is something that unites us with our brothers and sisters who practice Islam.

Today most of us probably agree that the European Union has already reached its limit, twenty-eight Member States. Some say that this is enough. We have quite a few diverse countries that have different traditions and different ways of shaping their own legislation. There are naturally major differences in terms of wealth in these countries. It seems that many people are of the opinion that we

should now work within the bounds of these twenty-eight countries without further expansion of the European Union. We have enough to do for the sake of a common future for these countries, to consolidate what we have been able to achieve. This to a large extent concerns the question whether to further expand the European Union? Did the large expansion in 2004 primarily occur for economic or political reasons? As we remember, the biggest expansion of the European Union was in 2004 and at that time a lot of talk focused on the fact that these countries joined the EU with a primary focus on economic issues. Then the EU was expanding but several years later a great crisis occurred, the largest crisis in the history of the European Union. Meanwhile many of these countries, Poland, Estonia and Lithuania, started to ask themselves how their participation in the European Union looks in the context of the strong economic crisis in Western European countries. Various kinds of questions come up regarding how united economic policy should look.

Another thing that seems to divide some of our countries is the issue of subsidiarity and assistance. This is discussed in the media in Great Britain, not just in the context of the referendum in Scotland, but also in the context of the discussion about the future of the European Union in Britain. Great Britain is not part of the eurozone and as we know, it is not part of the Schengen area. British people are reluctant to accept various EU documents, including the Declaration of Human Rights. It is not part of British law. Therefore, in Great Britain, there is a preference for choosing only what is best and not accepting other solutions that are not so good according to British people.

I come from Ireland. As you know, we are much more enthusiastic than the British about our membership in the European Union. Our journey to a united Europe was entirely different than the British one. The British have made an enormous contribution to the idea of Europe. The British tradition of a Democratic parliament is of course something that is difficult to overstate. The British also made a major contribution to the development of Ireland.

Another matter that in my opinion may also lead to divisions is something very important in terms of our identity.

Currently in our country we already have the third or even fourth generation of European Union residents. The founding fathers died many years ago but I think that this experience that contributed to the rise of the European project is already fading from our memories. Very few people present here remember anything about World War II or the reconstruction of our countries after the war. We need collaboration in this area, an imperative that talks about the need for this close cooperation and also these deep Christian values of forgiveness and closeness, united action. All of these are ideas that are of course at the heart of the European project.

It is important to know how the narrative about the future of the European Union will be. History is an important part of our common memory and our identity. For us Christians, for example, Alzheimer Disease is a great tragedy because it means losing one's memory.

Let's also think about identity. As Europeans, we must maintain this memory, remember history and what happened in the past and teach our children about what we were able to accomplish. What we have already done together in terms of the European Union, the legal accomplishments of the community, *axis communautaire* – these are our common achievements. In large part these accomplishments also meant a need for hard work and action for Europeans, but now we see many threats to our common European home.

One more issue of what divides us. I am referring to our approach to work. Sunday, the day of rest, of course it is important for the seventh day to be the day off so that then we can rest. This is a very important part of the rhythm of the whole workweek. It seems that in Europe some think about further harmonization of the approach to work or work ethic, but here we see many differences in terms of approach.

The question that I think will be at the center of the entire political debate will be the matter of extending or expanding the European Union. Is the federal model the best solution from our perspective? The British might want the return of EFTY, the free trade community. Or maybe an intermediate solution is best? Is more solidarity among Member States the appropriate solution? There are different approaches and this is probably the most important, how we will answer these questions. Let's remember that the European Union is composed of sovereign states that make their own decisions about joining this body for their own good and for the good of other countries. On this basis they try to work with each other. In my opinion, this is also at the center of the Church's support for the entire European project.

Josip van Gennip

President of the Socires Foundation

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Your conference is very timely and very necessary. Its subject extends a significant distance beyond Poland's borders. The combination of ethics, religion and the European Union, these subjects are currently very relevant and need to be discussed.

Many people wonder what will happen to ethical challenges during the new term in the European Union. The internal market will be the primary focus. Many believe this but I say that if at this moment Parliament, the Commission and the Council have a mandate for the next five years, then they should expend much more effort and be much more systematic in working on the relationship between these three elements that I mentioned.

Meetings such as today's are rare but necessary. They are also very moving for me personally. Forty-three years ago I was a guest of the group "Znak" and I met Mr. Turowicz, Mr. Mazowiecki, Mr. Stomma and people from "Wiez". Of course for me, as a student, this type of meeting had an enormous impact. It shifted my gaze towards the future as well as my positions in the subsequent years of my life.

Three subjects, which we discussed yesterday and which we are discussing today, of course have a common ethical and religious foundation. In terms of matters such as the internal market, this is also without a doubt a common subject but I must begin by saying that we should be aware of mutual demands, especially while we have a five-year mandate at our disposal. Estrella's testimony, which was rejected by only fifteen votes and among other things concerned abortion, demonstrates that if this type of discussion were to once more come up in the European Parliament then maybe permission would have been granted.

Let's begin with the internal market. What does this have in common with ethics? Among other things, media politics can influence various kinds of studies on human embryos. Helmut Kohl always said that the stable price of books was an important element of a nation's identity. All of this constitutes the internal market. There are numerous other examples, concerning the internal market, thus economic matters, and at the same time, ethical matters. Throughout Europe the question arises whether we are seeing true freedom of belief and whether this means that everyone has the freedom to recognize the hierarchy of values. In his address to the Bundestag, Benedict XVI said that there are certain

universal values that are not subject to authority and a majority vote in parliaments.

We must also recognize that various religions are used as an excuse, as a reason to create a counterweight to modernity. Religions are also used to negate the world order and social structures. All of this can set us back to the beginning of the 20th century, to the period before World War I.

The Church's social teachings do not seek to negate modernity, instead their goal is much more important, namely, to create an equilibrium between the structures of society and on the other hand the opportunities to use social progress as such. Furthermore, this is important for us at a time when we are engaged in dialog with other religions and other minorities. These kinds of minorities and other faiths are no longer minorities in some parts of Europe, they are majorities. We should not assume that this modern approach cannot be reconciled with religious traditionalism. This is not the case. If this is how we acted then this would lead to the formation of ghettos for religious minorities and these kinds of ghettos would be forming in different parts of Europe.

As Christians, we have a different response to this situation. This response indicates that modernity and modernism can be reconciled with social changes and structural changes. This kind of agreement or consensus is also possible in relation to other minorities. Forty to fifty years ago in Europe we thought that modernization and secularization are parallel processes but we are now much further along and we see that these kinds of processes are not parallel, at least not in relation to certain groups. Just as we have already heard today, we should be aware of this and take this approach to dialog.

I also spoke with the Bishop of Montenegro and values such as responsibility, family and work are of course also important for other religious groups. Similarly, these kinds of values form the basis for mutual dialog. These types of values also lead to a European community. I will now transition to a particular point that we have certainly touched upon already during this discussion; in many states, including in Southern Europe, we must understand that half of migrants are Christians. The Bishop of Montenegro told us yesterday about the crosses and medallions on people's chests, many of whom die during their flight to Europe. We must ask ourselves why the Church's politics in their states is unable to effectively ameliorate this kind of situation that confronts us. Without any doubt, this is an enormous challenge for the Church as a whole.

The following is another challenge. There are efforts to associate certain religious views with anti-European sentiment. As Christians we must say: no! For example, in the Netherlands, maybe even last year, Wilders created a portal for people to post complaints against Poles who are living in the Netherlands. However, now he has tried to establish an anti-European partnership with one

of the Polish groups. This cannot be tolerated; this cannot be a response to the problems currently plaguing Europe. In terms of 21st century Europe, we also need new dialog with the Orthodox Church and with various groups that belong to the Orthodox Church. Every analyst is aware of this because this kind of dialog could help overcome crises such as the one in Ukraine.

Today, several people have already mentioned that we also need new discussions about values and Europe's identity during the upcoming five years. This is not easy but it is necessary because this is the only base upon which we will be able to lay the foundations of new Europe. They will be the response to globalization, which in turn will influence the position of Christians in Europe.

Of course we do not have a monopoly or the authority, however, we can work to create the foundations for compromise that encompass the values that we have in common. Yesterday, Flaminia Giovanelli spoke about our basic challenges. The new definition of the social market economy that has a certain biased target in the younger generation as well as elements that concern environmental protection should be reflected in this new politics. From the perspective of the position *Justitia et Pax* this approach could create a new worldwide financial structure. Nevertheless, ladies and gentlemen, as Christian politicians and members of the Christian community we must redefine our position in Europe. We do not have a monopoly but as John Paul II said, politicians have a calling. In his last essay Francis also mentioned politicians' dignity. We must be aware of this dignity, especially in light of certain populist trends in Europe, and within the bounds of existing institutions (and also possibly ones that must be created) we must work to ensure that politicians serve European society. This will be possible if over the course of the next five years this European project can be bound to a certain perspective and a certain hope. I am convinced that today's meeting at this conference will be influential in shaping this kind of approach.

Conclusion of the Conference

Rev. Prof. Wojciech Zyzak

Rector of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow

Ladies and Gentlemen!

"The joy and hope, sadness and resilience of modern people, especially the poor and all who are suffering, is also the joy and hope, sadness and resilience of Christ's followers." These are the first words of the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et spes* from the Second Vatican Council, whose 50th anniversary will be next year. "Joy and hope, sadness and resilience" is also a simple expression of the ambivalent feelings that we see in response to the phenomenon of migration.

First, ambivalent social views. In the 1990s in Oswiecim, near Auschwitz concentration camp, where the Nazi ideals of animosity to other ethnicities were brutally implemented, a church was built in honor of St. Jozef Robotnik and for several years I served as vicar there.

Italian painter Americo Mazotta adorned one panel with Europe in the form of a pregnant woman. This symbolic image unites hope for the future with concern for the development of future generations. Last year's conference on family made me realize how much the development of the Church and societies in Europe depends on favorable conditions for giving birth to and raising children. For this reason I must emphasize that in the context of Poland, mass emigration of youth is a growing problem. This is also a growing problem for universities. Many European states show appropriate concern over birthrates. However, this cannot be an excuse for animosity to immigrants, which can be seen in the once touted German phrase "Kinder statt Inder" ("Children instead of Indians"). Unfortunately immigrants often attract animosity, especially when problems with integration arise. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the extent of immigrants' contribution to the wealth and success of the host state. We just need to consider that seven members of this year's World Champion German football team come from immigrant families. Throughout the conference we looked at migration as well as what it means for the new generation that is suspended between an uncertain future and stability. From this perspective, we must appreciate the significance of openness to outsiders or newcomers that is deeply rooted in Judeo-Christian culture as well as the appropriate concern for maintaining a religious and cultural national identity.

The speeches and discussions revealed the relatedness of problems and the ambivalence seen from the perspective of migrants. Anyone who is up to date on top music charts knows that recently the top song was by French singer

Indily, titled “La Derniere Danse”. This artist, whose ethnic background is Indian, Algerian, Cambodian and Egyptian, begins her song with a rhetorical play on words. She sings: “O ma douce France” or “douce souffrance”, which translates to either “sweet France” or “sweet suffering”. Truly, a new homeland can be sweet and full of hope but occasionally it can be a place of great suffering, separation from family and culture as well as a drastic reduction in social, and occasionally, material standing. This validates strengthening the social market economy in immigrants’ home countries as a response to the crisis and an attempt to avoid the necessity of leaving one’s homeland in search of more dignified working and living conditions. On the other hand, we need to acknowledge the need to open up to immigrants and provide them with the best possible opportunity to live, integrate and develop. The Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, where I have spent several years regularly observing dozens of immigrants who mostly come from Central and Eastern Europe, also wants to contribute to this project.

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is impossible to conclude a conference in the series “Role of the Catholic Church in the European integration process” without considering one more issue of ambivalence that relates to the topics we discussed, one that has been a particular challenge for Christians from the beginning. An anonymous Letter to Diognetus from the second century expressed this particularly well; he described Christ’s followers: “every foreign land is their homeland and every homeland is a foreign land” (Phi 3:20). However, it would be a mistake to search for similar statements in the New Testament that justify indifference and lack of involvement in matters of Earthly homelands. In fact, the opposite is true. By manifesting in a particular place, era or culture and sharing a migrant’s faith along with the Holy Family, through this act God’s son entrusted the welfare of temporal matters to his students. However, the eternal perspective gives the faithful more space, which allows for more freedom and a new perspective for involvement in changing the world and initiating dialog with all who are concerned for the good of the homeland. From this perspective, the lectures and discussion in the now ending conference seem even more valuable.

I want to end my conclusion to this year’s conference with acknowledgements. My greatest recognition goes to His Excellence Bp. Prof. Tadeusz Pieronek, who came up with the idea of these fall conferences in Krakow and for years he has led the conference organizing committee. I also wholeheartedly thank the co-organizers of the conference, without whom this endeavor would have been difficult to realize: the Konrad Adenauer Foundation in Poland as well as the Robert Schumann Foundation in Luxembourg, the Polish Club in the Group of the European Peoples’ Party in the European Parliament, the “Wokol Nas” publishing house in Gliwice, as well as the Commission of Episcopates in the European Community, COMECE. I want to extend special thanks to Mr. Marek Sowa, Marshall of the Lesser Poland Voivodeship, for being an honorary patron of our conference and for hosting a dinner for all of its participants. At this point I also want to thank Fr. Dr. Andrzej Nowobilski, director of the Archdiocese Museum, for giving us access to the beautiful museum halls for this dinner. I also want to thank the president of the city of Krakow, Jacek Majchrowski as well as Mr. Jerzy Marcinka, Director of the Board of Communal Infrastructure and Transport in Krakow, for making buses available to conference guests.

I sincerely want to thank His Eminence Cardinal Stanislaw Dziwisz for leading yesterday’s Eucharist in the Sanctuary of St. John Paul II in Krakow as well as His Excellence Archbishop Primate Wojciech Polak for delivering the Homily. Wholehearted thanks to the host of the Lagiewniki Sanctuary Fr. Prelate Jan Kabzinski, liturgical assistance from the High Spiritual Seminary of the Congregation of the Mission as well as the choir from our school Psalmodia for their beautiful liturgical rendition of Friday’s Eucharist. I also want to thank Mr. Sayed Raoof for hosting the conference in Tomaszowice for three days, thank you to the translation bureau for efficient translation services, students from the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow for volunteering during the two days of the conference as well as all those whom I have not named but whose work and involvement ensured that this 14th conference will be remembered by its participants for a long time and in a positive light. Finally, I thank all participants in the debate for their presence and very interesting discussions.

SPEAKERS

Piotr Checinski

Publicist at TVP Info

Born in 1981 in Warsaw, Piotr Checinski is a publicist, writer, journalist and TV presenter in public television. He studied journalism at the University of Warsaw. He was a fellow of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the United States. He also served as a correspondent in Japan and the UK. He currently manages the information program "World Economy" in TVP Info and has reported on the most important events in politics and business.

Dr. Patrick Daly

Secretary General of COMECE

Born in May 1951 in Dublin and grew up in Sligo, Daly was educated by the Jesuits, studied at the University College Dublin (UCD) and received his Ph.D. in medieval history in Louvain. Between 1982 and 1987 he worked as an interpreter for the staff of the European Commission. After four years as a student of the Birmingham Diocese at the Beda College in Rome, he was ordained a priest by Archbishop Maurice Couve de Murville on April 5, 1991. In 1992, Daly helped Archbishop de Murville on the work of plenary sessions in Brussels and for European Affairs of the conference of the English and Welsh bishops in London. After two years as a cape, Daly was between 1993 and 1999 pastor of St. Chad's Cathedral in Birmingham and since 1999 at the St. Peter & St. Paul Cathedral in Wolverhampton. Since 2013 Daly has served as the new COMECE Secretary.

Prof. Dr. Pawel H. Dembinski

Director of the "Observatoire de la Finance" Foundation and president of the international union for "Christian Social Apprenticeship"

Born in 1955 in Krakow, Pawel H. Dembinski studied economics and political science in Krakow, Geneva, Fribourg, in Cameroon and at the St. Anthony College in Oxford. He also teaches at the Tischner European University in Krakow and at the Universita Cattolica del Sacro Cuore in Milan. Pawel H. Dembinski is director of the Geneva Foundation "Observatoire de la finance" (Obsfin), founded in 1996, which is committed to business ethics. He is an expert on non-governmental organizations such as UNCTAD,

ILO and OEEC. He is a co-founder of the Institute for Socio-economic Studies Eco'Diagnostic. Among his numerous publications in the subject area of financial globalization, he has served as the editor of the bilingual magazine *Finance & the Common Good / Bien Commun* since 1998. Today he is professor of strategy and international competition at the University of Fribourg, director of the "Observatoire de la Finance" Foundation and president of the international union for "Christian Social Apprenticeship".

Kardinal Dr. Stanislaw Dziwisz

Archbishop of Krakow

Born in 1939 in Raba Wyżna (Lesser Poland), Cardinal Dziwisz studied philosophy and theology at the Higher Priest Seminary in Krakow. In 1963 he was ordained as a priest by Bishop Karol Wojtyla of Krakow, who later became Pope John Paul II. Since 1966 he served as first secretary under Archbishop Wojtyla in Krakow, later also his secretary in the Vatican. In 1998 he received episcopal ordination by John Paul II. He was in the service of the Pope until his death in April 2005. A few months later, Cardinal Dziwisz became the Archbishop of Krakow by Pope Benedict XVI, and he was following in the College of Cardinals in 2006. He is the recipient of an honorary doctorate of the University of Lublin. Since 2007 he is member of the Council of the Polish Bishops' Conference and the chancellor of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow.

Jos J.A.M van Gennip

President of the Foundation Socires (Center for Society and Responsibility)

Born on January 6, 1939, Jos van Gennip studied law at the University of Nijmegen and is now president of the Socires Foundation, chairman of the First Food Coalition, member of the council of the Inter Press Service (IPS) and General Rapporteur of the EPP. After studying, van Gennip was an officer of the Royal Dutch Air Force between 1963 and 1967. Afterwards van Gennip served as chairman of the National Committee for International Cooperation and Sustainable Development (NCDO) and vice president of the Netherlands' Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD). From 1991 to 1997 van Gennip was a member of the Christian Democratic Party in the Senate and between 1991 and 2007 Member of the Upper House of the Dutch Parliament. Regular publications have been published by van Gennip in many areas including: development issues, foreign policy, agriculture and reorientation of democratic politics.

Dr. Leszek Gesiak SJ

Journalist, Radio Vatican

Born in 1965, Leszek Gesiak studied theology in Warsaw and Paris. He was ordained a priest in 1996. Between 2000 and 2003 he worked in the Jesuit Catholic Information Office and the European initiative OCIPE in Brussels. From 2006 to 2010 he was editor of the monthly magazine *Messenger*. He is a researcher and teacher of the Academy of Culture Ignatianum in Krakow, head of the Polish section of Vatican Radio and the author of several publications, such as *Multiculturalism. The Role of Religion in the Dynamics of the Phenomenon*.

Flaminia Giovanelli

Undersecretary of State, Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace

Born in Rome in 1948, Flaminia Giovanelli first studied political science at the Universita degli Studi in Rome and then completed her degree in library science at the Vatican Library at the Pontificia Universita Gregoriana. Since 1974 she has worked in the Pontifical Commission for Justice and Peace, and addresses the topics of development, poverty and work in the context of the Social Doctrine of the Church. Since 2006 she is a member of the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches. There she supervised the work of many global organizations such as the International Labor Organization, the EU, the Economic and Social Committee of the United Nations and the Economic Commission for Europe. Flaminia Giovanelli is the author of numerous publications.

Ziad Hilal, SJ

Director of the Social Centre in Homs, Syria

Born in 1973 in Syria, Ziad Hilal studied theology and philosophy at the Sevres Centre in Paris and currently is completing his doctorate in theology and education at the Jesuit University of St. Joseph in Beirut. He is a director of the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) in the Middle East and North Africa in Homs, Syria, where he still lives with his students in destroyed buildings in the city. Ziad Hilal is a social worker, human rights activist and journalist, reporting on the war and the suffering of the Syrian population.

Mons. Dr. Florian Kolfhaus

Secretariat of State of the Holy See

Born in 1974 in Straubing, Mons. Dr. Florian Kolfhaus is priest of the diocese of Regensburg and staff of the Pontifical Secretariat of State. He studied at the Pontifical Gregorian University and graduated with a doctorate in 2006 in the trade "dogma" and the acquisition of Lizenztiat in canon law. This was followed by the Pontifical Ecclesiastical Academy between 2004 and 2006 and activity in the Nunciature in Bogota, Colombia and in 2007 in the Euro Europe in Strasbourg. Since August 2009 Florian Kolfhaus is has worked in the Second Section of the Pontifical State Secretariat in Rome. His main task there is contact with international bodies such as the OSCE, NATO and WHO. An important theme of his work is the research on discrimination against Christians in Europe. Besides his work as a pastor, he is in the Catholic fraternity "Capitolina" and for the preaching of retreats in use.

Dr. Cezary Koscielniak

Adam Mickiewicz University of Poznan

Born in 1976, Czesary Koscielniak studied and graduated with degrees in social sciences and political philosophy at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan and the University of Florida in Gainesville, USA. He is a former Chief Specialist in the Ministry of Science and Higher Education. From 2012 to 2013 he was a member of the think tank Idea Lab of the President of the Polish Republic. Today, he is a lecturer at the

Collegium Civitas and a research member at the Institute for Cultural Studies. His research focuses on political change in higher education, education for sustainable development, the role of religion in public life and the concept of the knowledge society. Cezary Koscielniak is the author of numerous publications, including *The New Criticism of the Church* and *Liberty, Equality, the University*.

Horst Langes

Honorary Chairman of the Robert Schuman Foundation in Luxembourg

Born in 1928 in Koblenz, Horst Langes studied German, history, philology and theology at the Universities of Mainz and Munich and worked as a teacher. In 1952 he joined the CDU. In 1960 Horst Langes was elected to the council of the city of Trier. He was a member of the Rhineland-Palatinate Landtag from 1967 to 1975 as a CDU politician and served from 1974 to 1979 as Secretary of State in the Ministry of Culture of Rhineland-Palatinate. From 1979 to 1994 he was a member of the EU Parliament, and in 1994 he held the position of Deputy Chairman of the EPP Group. From 1995 to 2007 Horst Langes was Honorary Consul of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Trier. From 1989 he has been a member of the Robert Schuman Foundation in Luxembourg and later on for a long time Chairman of the Foundation. Currently he holds the position of Honorary Chairman.

Pascal Lejeune

Director of the program "Youth", European Commission, DG Education and Culture

Pascal Lejeune studied management at the Ecole Supérieure de Commerce de Paris. Afterwards he began his work at the headquarters of the oil company Total in Paris. In 1986 he came to the European Commission, where he worked in the General Budget. Since then he has held various positions within the European Commission, in the context of budget and finance. In 1993 he followed his entry in the Task Force for Human Resources, Education, Training and Youth. He is currently working in DG Education and Culture. Since 2006 he has been head of the unit that deals with the implementation of the program "Youth in Action".

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

MEP for the EPP

Born in 1951 in Lublin, Janusz Lewandowski studied and graduated with a degree in economics at the University of Gdansk. After teaching at the University of Gdansk and Harvard, he worked at the Polish Ocean Lines and founded the Research Institute for the Market Economy in Gdansk. Between 1980 and 1989 he served as an economic adviser to the Solidarity trade union and was co-founder of the Liberal-Democratic Congress. From 1990 to 1993 he was minister of ownership transformations of the Polish government of Bielecki and Suchocka and Sejm deputy of the first cadenza. After the electoral defeat of his party, he worked from 1994 to 1997 as an expert among other countries abroad and joined the Sejm in the third and fourth cadence of the newly formed Civic Platform (PO) party, where he sits on the board today. Since 2003, Janusz Lewandowski has served in the European Parliament, among others he served as a Chairman of the Budget Committee and between 2010-2014 as a Commissioner for Financial Programming and Budget.

Dr. Francesco Montenegro

Metropolitan of Agrigento, Italy

Born in 1946 in Messina, Francesco Montenegro received the priesthood in 1968. On March 18, 2000 he was named by Pope John Paul II titular bishop of Aurusuliana and auxiliary bishop in the Archdiocese of Messina-Lipari-Santa Lucia del Mela. The consecration took place in the same year at the Cathedral of Messina by Archbishop Giovanni Marra. In 2008 he was appointed by Benedict XVI as the Archbishop of Agrigento. In the Sicilian Bishops' Conference Francesco Montenegro became a delegate for charitable affairs and health.

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

MEP, Chairman of the Association of Polish Members of the EPP Group in the EP

Born in 1952 in Rybnik (Silesia), in 1984 Jan Olbrycht received his doctorate in the Department of Sociology at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. From 1990 to 1998 he was mayor of Cieszyn and co-founder of euroregion Silesia-Cieszyn. From 1998 to 2002, Jan Olbrycht was Marshal of the Silesian Province, member of the National Council for Regional Policy and a member of the World Council of United Cities and Local Governments. In 2004 he was elected on the list of the Civic Platform (PO) to the Members of the European Parliament. Currently he is working in the Budget Committee and the delegation for relations with the countries of Southeast Asia and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Jan Olbrycht is winner of several prizes and awards, among others the Europe Prize for Local and Regional Policy and the Euro-Parliamentarian of the Year Award 2007 in the category Regional Policy.

Bishop Prof. Dr. Tadeusz Pieronek

Chairman of the Organizing Committee

Born in 1934 in Radziechowy (Silesia), Tadeusz Pieronek studied from 1951 to 1954 at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, then at the seminary in Krakow. From 1956 to 1960, he studied at the Catholic University in Lublin. From 1961 to 1965 he studied at the Pontifical Lateran University in Rome. Bishop Tadeusz Pieronek habilitated in 1975 and was appointed in 1987 as a professor of canon law. He was rector of the Pontifical Academy of Theology in Krakow and was consecrated in 1992 by Pope John Paul II. From 1993 to 1998 Bishop Pieronek was the General Secretary of the Polish Episcopal Conference. From 1998 to 2004 he served as a rector of the Pontifical Academy of Theology. Currently he is a board member of the Stefan Batory Foundation. He is Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the International Conference series "The Role of the Catholic Church in the European Integration Process".

Przemyslaw Radwan Rohrenschef

Director of the School of Management Foundation, Warsaw

Przemyslaw Radwan Rohrenschef studied at the Institute for Social Policy and is working as a lecturer at the Collegium Civitas today and social policy at the University of Warsaw. He is director of the School for Leaders Association and coordinator and author of educational programs in the field of leadership, citizenship and political education in Poland and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. He also advises and conducts educational programs for non-governmental organizations, local governments, political parties and ethnic minorities.

Prof. Dr. Adam Daniel Rotfeld

Chairman of the Center for Polish-Russian Dialogue and Understanding, former Polish Foreign Minister

Born in 1938 near Lviv, Adam Daniel Rotfeld moved in 1951 to Poland, where he studied from 1955 to 1960 at the Warsaw School of Diplomacy. In 1962 he completed postgraduate studies in journalism. He earned his doctorate at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow for the self-determination of peoples in modern international law. From 1961 to 1989 he was a member of the Polish Institute for International Relations in Warsaw. He was appointed as a professor by the Polish president at the University of Warsaw in 2001. This was followed by tasks at the International Institute for Peace Research (SIPRI) in Stockholm, as a Polish Undersecretary of State in 2002 and as a Polish foreign minister between 2002 and 2005.

Dr. Christian Schmitz

Director of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Poland

Born in 1959 in Limburg a. d. Lahn, he studied history and romance studies. Between 1985 and 1989 he obtained his doctorate in history from Prof. Dr. Andreas Hillgruber. He was a freelance journalist at the *Kölnische Rundschau*, freelance at the German Cooperation of Foreign Policy e.V. and received a scholarship at the German Institute of History in Paris. Since 1990, he has worked at the Konrad Adenauer Foundation e.V. (KAS). First he worked as the head of the Bildungswerk (educational regional office) in Saarbrücken. From 1992 to 2003 he was the head of the Department for Civic Education based in the Center for Political Education, Eichholz Castle. In November 2003 he became the Resident Representative of the KAS office in Zagreb, Croatia. From September 2008 to May 2011 he was the KAS representative in Brandenburg, based in the educational institute in Potsdam. Since August 2011, he has served as the Resident Representative of the KAS office in Poland.

Marek Sowa

Marshall of the Lesser Poland Voivodeship

Born in 1967 in Libiaz (Lesser Poland), Marek Sowa studied at the Academy of Science and Technology in Krakow. Since 1999 he has been active in the Marshal's Office of Lesser Poland. In 2006 he was elected on the list of the Civic Platform (PO) in the regional management of Lesser Poland. A year later he was on the Board of the Lesser Poland Voivodeship. Since his reelection in 2010, he has held the office of Marshal of Lesser Poland.

Artur Sporniak

Journalist at *Tygodnik Powszechny*

Born in 1966, Artur Sporniak studied philosophy at the Pontifical Academy of Theology in Krakow. Since 1993 he has worked as a journalist and is the director of religion at *Tygodnik Powszechny*. He is also co-author of numerous articles and books of interviews on topics of faith and ethics such as *Autobiography, Stairway to Heaven* and *Secrets of the Law*.

Jacek Stryczek

Chairman of the WIOSNA Association

Born in 1963 in Libiaz, Cardinal Jacek Stryczek studied vibro-acoustics at the Academy of Science and Technology in Krakow and from 1988 to 1993 at the Pontifical Theological University in Krakow. In 1993 he was chaplain at St. Anne's Church in Krakow, and since 2007 he has served as pastor of business people and volunteers in Lesser Poland. In 2006-2009 he was a member of the Council for NGOs in Lesser Poland. He is the co-founder and chairman of the WIOSNA Association, which advocates for civil society aid and works for the PR of the church. He also deals with the responsibility of business. Jacek Stryczek was awarded the "Milito Pro Christo" Medal, the social worker prize from the weekly magazine *Newsweek*, the prize of the Polish Economic Council and the title of "Personality of the Year" by the magazine *Gazeta Krakowska*.

Katarzyna Tracz

Journalist at *Tygodnik Powszechny*

Born in 1985, the journalist studied international relations at the Tischner European University in Krakow. She is currently studying law at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow. Since 2005 she has worked for the editorial office of *Tygodnik Powszechny*, in the field of religious, social and international issues. As a project coordinator, she works alongside a think tank that deals with commercial law and business.

Dr. Maciej Zieba OP

Director of the Tertio Millennio Institute

Maciej Zieba studied physics at the University of Breslau and theology at the Pontifical Academy of Theology in Krakow. He was a fellow at the University of Eichstätt and at the Catholic University of America in Washington. In 1997 he received his doctorate in philosophy and has been a lecturer at several Polish universities. Since 1973 he has worked in the democratic opposition and later became a member of the Solidarity movement. In 1998 he was appointed Provincial of the Polish Province of the Dominicans. His term lasted eight years. In 1999 he was appointed by Pope John Paul II as a member of the European Synod of Bishops. 2003, he was appointed adviser to the Justice and

Peace Pontifical Council. From 2007 to 2009 he was Director of the Solidarity European Center in Gdansk. Maciej Zieba is the author of numerous publications and is a regular participant in the Polish media landscape.

Prof. Dr. Wojciech Zyzak

Rector of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow

Born in 1969 in Zywiec, Wojciech Zyzak studied theology in the years 1987-1993 at the Pontifical Academy of Theology in Krakow. In 1993 he was ordained a priest for the Diocese of Bielsko-Zywiec. In the years between 1996 and 2000 he received his doctorate from the Catholic University of Lublin. Afterwards he taught at the Theological College of St. John Cantius in Bielsko. From 2003 to 2006 he researched in Cologne, whereupon he wrote his habilitation thesis at the PAT. For further research Wojciech Zyzak went to Avignon a year later and shortly afterwards began his work at the Pontifical Academy in Krakow. Since 2009 he has been the editor of *Polonia Sacra* and since 2014 rector of the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow.

Marcin Zyla

Publicist at *Tygodnik Powszechny*

Born in Krakow, Marcin Zyla was editor of the Social MARK Publishing Institute between 2006 and 2010 and since 2011 has been a journalist and editor of the *Tygodnik Powszechny*. The author reports on topics such as the former Yugoslavia and southeastern Europe in *Newsweek Poland*, *Dziennik Polski* and *Znak*. He is also co-editor of the magazine *Europe – An Unfinished Project*, with a series of interviews with leading European intellectuals such as Martin Pollack, Hans-Gert Poettering, György Spiro, Dubravka Ugrešić, Hans Rosling, Rocco Buttiglione and Luke Bärfuss.

Bishop Prof. Tadeusz Pieronek

Cardinal Dr. Stanisław Dziwisz

Opening of the conference

Marek Sowa

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

Conference guests

Hanna Dmochowska

Horst Langes

Conference guests

Bishop Dr. Francesco Montenegro

Fr. Dr. Leszek Gesiak SJ

Participants in the conference

Fr. Ziad Hilal SJ

Dr. Jan Olbrycht

I working group

Flaminia Giovanelli

Fr. Dr. Maciej Zieba OP

II working group

Prof. Pawel H. Dembinski

Dr. Janusz Lewandowski

II working group

Dr. Cezary Koscielniak

Przemyslaw Radwan-Rohrenschef

III working group

Pascal Lejeune

Fr. Jacek Stryczek

Journalists for *Tygodnik Powszechny* – Marcin Zyla, Artur Sporniak and Katarzyna Tracz – summed up the discussions in the working groups

Prof. Adam Daniel Rotfeld

Fr. Dr. Florian Kolfhaus

Holy mass in the Sanctuary of Pope Saint John Paul II in Krakow-Lagiewniki

Fr. Dr. Patrick Daly

Jos J.A.M. van Gennip

The homily was delivered by Archbishop Wojciech Polak, Polish Primate

Fr. Prof. Wojciech Zyzak concluded the conference

At previous conferences our guests were

Archbishop **Celestino Migliore**

Archbishop **Józef Życiński**

Franz Fischler

Jaś Gawroński

Rev. Prof. **Andrzej Szostek**

Archbishop **Józef Kowalczyk**

Cardinal **Attilio Nicora**

Stephen Biller

Prof. **Danuta Hübner**

Dr **Piotr Nowina-Konopka**

Prof. **Wojciech Świątkiewicz**

Zbigniew Sulewski

Rev. **Noël Treanor**

Tadeusz Mazowiecki

Prof. Dr **Hans-Gert Pöttering**

Cardinal **Jean-Louis Tauran**

Prof. **Norman Davies**

Prof. **Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz**

Horst Langes

Ursula Stenzel

Jan Truszczyński

Prof. **Aniela Dylus**

Dr **Jan Kułakowski**

Rev. Prof. **Remigiusz Sobański**

Prof. **Rocco Buttiglione**

Prof. **Władysław Bartoszewski**

Cardinal **Audrys Juozas Bačkis**

Elmar Brok

Aleksander Kwaśniewski

Prof. **Bronisław Geremek**

Cardinal **Angelo Scola**

Prof. **Hanna Suchocka**

Peter Liese

Prof. **Leszek Balcerowicz**

Archbishop **Paul Gallagher**

Jacek Saryusz-Wolski

Cardinal **Paul Poupard**

Prof. **Irena Lipowicz**

Carl Anderson

Bishop **Josef Homeyer**

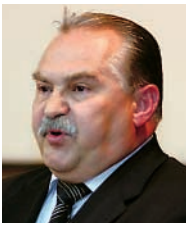
Jan Rokita

Marek Grela

Dr **Andrzej Olechowski**

Pier-Ferdinando Casini

Bishop **Franjo Komarica**



Jerzy Swatoń

Ireneusz Jabłoński

Henryka Bochniarz

Prof. **Jacques Santer**

Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz

Adam Michnik

Prof. **Józef Pacyna**

Rev. Prof. **Jan Dyduch**

Prof. **Jerzy Buzek**

Dr **Helmut Kohl**

Cardinal **Walter Kasper**

Archbishop **Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz**

General **Mieczysław Bieniek**

Prof. **Bernhard Vogel**

Cardinal **Marian Jaworski**

Cardinal Dr **Stanisław Dziwisz**

Prof. **Hans J. Meyer**

Fr Dr **Adam Wąs** SVD

Dr **Andrzej Ananicz**

Cardinal **Franciszek Macharski**

Fr Prof. **Emilio Platti** OP

Dr **Jan Olbrycht**

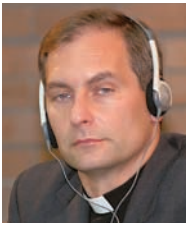
Dr **Naika Foroutan**

Krzysztof Bobiński

Prof. **Stefan Meller**

Prof. **Alfred Grosser**

Alojz Peterle



Rev. Prof. **Piotr Mazurkiewicz**

Archbishop professor **Alfons Nossol**

Archbishop **Giovanni Lajolo**

Dr **Jacek Cichocki**

Jürgen Wahl

Father Doctor **Hans Langendorfer** SJ

Roman Graczyk

Maria Martens

Dr **Jan Tombiński**

Michael Gahler

Cardinal **José da Cruz Policarpo**

Vincuk Viachorka

Dr **Christoph Böhr**

Dr **Jarosław Gowin**

Tomasz Lis

Dieter Althaus

Cardinal **Tarcisio Bertone** SDB

Bogusław Sonik

Ewa Czaczkowska

Archbishop **Emanuel**

Jaime Mayor Oreja

Dr Mariusz Siwoń

Paweł Kowal

Dr **Norbert Lammert**

Prof. **Lech Kaczyński**

Othmar Karas

Archbishop **Diarmuid Martin**

Alexander Milinkevich

Stephan Raabe

Michał Góra

Dr **Jerzy M. Nowak**

Marcin Przeciszewski

Michał Serweryński

Karl G. Wellman

Andrzej Sadowski

Semiha Borovac

Professor

Marek Zając

Marek Orzechowski

Bronisław Komorowski

Cardinal **Angelo Sodano**

Archbishop **Reinhard Marx**

Cardinal **Péter Erdö**

Dr **Stephan Eisel**

Waldemar Pawlak

Lasha Zhivania

Jan Figel

Michel Edde

Andrzej Grzyb

Dr **Janusz Lewandowski**

Mikołaj Dowgielewicz

Donald Tusk

Lech Wałęsa

Prof. **Gerald Pillay**

Fr Dr **Bernhard Felmberg**

Prof. **Krzysztof Rybiński**

Dr **Werner Langen**

Prof. **Franciszek Ziejka**

Fr **Adam Boniecki**

Prof. **Georg Milbradt**

Prof. **Jan Miodek**

Fr **Paul Tighe**

Bogdan Zdrojewski

Dr **Michl Ebner**

Prof. **Stanisław Rodziński**

Günter Verheugen

Fr Prof. Dr **Władysław Zuziak**

Dr **Andrzej Grajewski**

Dr **Maria Flachsbarth**

Abp **Dominik Duka OP**

Fr Prof. Dr **Tomáš Halik**

Ria Ooman-Ruijten

Dr Filip Kaczmarek

Róża Thun

Jean-Claude Juncker

György Hölvényi

Katarzyna Wiśniewska

Jochannes Zeller

Christian Wulff

John Dalli

Laszlo Szaszfalvi

Christine Lieberknecht

Prof. Joaquin Navarro-Valls

Roland Freudenstein

Fr Kazimierz Sowa

Fr Prelate Dr Ettore Balestrero

Tunne Kelam

Dr **Stefan Vesper**

Konrad Szymański

Bischop **Dr Piotr Jarecki**

Dr **Wojciech Olejniczak**

Jarosław Makowski

Tomasz Arabski

Prof. **Libero Gerosa**

Krzysztof Zanussi

Romana De Gasperi

Klaus Otto Skibowski

Archbishop **Jean-Claude Hollerich**

Zbigniew Derdziuk

Maciej Gajek

Cardinal **Kazimierz Nycz**

Dr Christian Schmitz

Zbigniew Nosowski

José Ramos Ascensão

Jacek Protasiewicz

Fr Carlos Simon Vazquez

Bischop Tadeusz Szurman

Father Maksim Obuchow

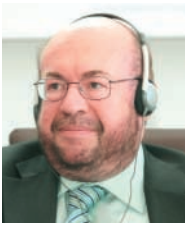
Archbishop Henryk Hoser

Prof. Marguerite Peeters

Monika Sieradzka

Prof. Inga Iwasiów

Prof. Pierpaolo Donati



François Biltgen

Andrzej Godlewski

Abp Dr. Francesco Montenegro

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Fr. Dr. Leszek Gęsiak SJ

Fr. **Ziad Hilal SJ**

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Prof. **Paweł H. Dembinski**

Przemysław Radwan-
-Rohrenschef

Pascal Lejeune

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Prof. **Adam Daniel Rotfeld**

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Fr. Prof. **Wojciech Zyzak**