

# **XIIème CONFERENCE of the CERC**

## in Prague

# from September 29 to October 2, 2005



Programme Action Promotion of the active European citizenship "Christian radios of Europe to the service of a socially aware European Education"

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## **Conference of PRAGUE** September 29 – October 2, 2005

## "Christian radios of Europe to the service of a socially aware European Education"

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## PROGRAM

## Thursday September 29, 2005

## 16.00 **Opening of the conference** Reception by the President of the CERC, Mr. Luigi BARDELLI and the Father Martin HOLIK, President of Radio PROGLAS

#### Prayer of opening

- 16.15 Ars Instrumentalis Pragensis: **Jan Dismas Zelenka** the sonata in trio No 3 in major B flat (Adagio/Andante/, Allegro, Largo, Allegro Tempo giusto)
- 16.30 Welcoming speech and exposed introduction of the Cardinal Miloslav VLK, Archbishop of Prague, President of the Council of the Media near the Czech Episcopal Conference, former President of the Commission of the European Episcopates.

**Welcoming speech of JuDr. Cyril SVOBODA**, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

- 17.00 *"Culture: basis of the European citizenship"*: Conference of His Eminence the Cardinal Paul POUPARD, President of the Pontifical Council for Culture
- 19.00 **Dinner**

## Friday September 30, 2005

- 8h00 Breakfast
- 9h00 Exchange on the leading choices of our radios
- 11h00 *"Which contribution of the Christian radios to the construction of a European citizenship"*: Intervention of Mr Stefan LUNTE, Assistant Secretary of the COMECE (Commission of the Episcopates of the European Community)
- 12h00 Prayer of midday Lunch
- 14h00Departure for BRNO
- 16h45 Visit of Radio Proglas

- 18h00 Mass chaired by the bishop of Brno, Monseigneur Vojtech CIKRLE (retransmitted by Radio Proglas)
- 19h15 **Dinner** at the restaurant Donum Dei (offered by Radio Proglas)
- 22h00 Departure for Prague
- 00h45 Arrival to Prague

## Saturday October 1, 2005

- 8.00 Breakfast
- 9.00 Mass with the vault of the Loreta Monastery
- 10h00 **"To educate to the European citizenship: the example of the ZNAK" Conference of Mr Stefan WILKANOWICZ,** President of the ZNAK Foundation for the Christian culture
- 12h00 Prayer of midday
- 12h15 Lunch
- 14h30Plenary Assembly of the CERC
- 16h15Taken photographs
- 17h00 **Conclusion** Thanks End of the conference.
- 17h30 Visit of Prague

Free evening

## Sunday October 2, 2005

- 8.00 Breakfast
- 9.00 **Mass in the Cathedral of Prague,** chaired by Cardinal VLK and retransmitted on the Radio of Suisse Romande, the Czech radio of public service and Radio Proglas.

#### Departure

## **Conference of the CERC in PRAGUE**

from September 28 to October 2, 2005

#### **BELGIQUE** – RCF Brussels

- Father Tommy SCHOLTES, Director
- Andre QUERTON, Secretary-general

BULGARIE – Studio Sveti Francisk

Father Krzysztof KURZOK OFMCap, Director

#### SPAIN - COPE

- Sose-Luis RESTAN MARTINEZ, Director of the religious programs
- Manuel Maria BRU ALONSO, Asesor religioso
- Mrs Isabel SANCHEZ REDONDO, Director of Documentation

#### FRANCE - RCF

- Emmanuel JOUSSE, General manager RCF and Secretary-general of the CERC
- Pierre LORIDON, Assistant Secretary of the CERC
- Father Paul HUOT-PLEUROUX, Founder member of the CERC
- Bertrand DUPONT, President of RCF
- Jean-François BODIN, Director of information RCF

#### ITALIE – Associazione Corallo

- Luigi BARDELLI, President, founder member and President of the CERC
- Enrico VIVIANO, Member of the Board of directors
- Free ROSSI, Member of the Board of directors
- Alessia CARICATO, Member of the Board of directors
- Claudio CAGNONI, Member of the Board of directors
- Felice BORGHI, Director Radio Cantu
- Antonella LANFRIT, Director Radio Spazio 103

#### Irlande – SOLAS FM & SPIRIT FM

- Cronin DECLAN, Director Solas FM
- > Dave HEFFERNAN, Spirit FM
- Marry BLAITHNAID, Spirit FM

#### MALTE – RTK

Victor FORMOSA, executive Director

#### MONACO – RMC

Father Patrick KEPPEL, Producer of the catholic programmes

#### THE NETHERLANDS - KRO

➢ Kees VAN MECHELEN

#### PORTUGAL– Rádio RENASCENÇA

- Jose Eduardo BORGES OF PINHO, Coordinator of the religious action
- Antonio CORREA Of OLIVEIRA, Secretary-general, founder member of the CERC
- Solution Section Section 2017 Jose Shine RAMOS PINHEIRO, Member of the Board of Directors
- Francisca FAVILA, Producer

#### **REPUBLIC TCHEQUE**– Radio Proglas

- Martin HOLIK, Director
- Martin ŠMIDEK, Vice-*director*
- Milan TESAR, Writer of music
- Marie BLAŽKOVÁ, Editor in chief

#### ROUMANIE – Radio Trinitas

Cristian-Petru RADASANU, Writer

RUSSIE - Christian Social Church Channel

- Father Ivan SVIRIDOV, Editor Radio operator Sofia
- > Dr. Piotr SAKHAROV, Editor Radio operator Dar

#### SLOVAQUIE – Radio Lumen

- > Mgr Peter HOLBIČKA, In charge of Direction
- Danka JACEČKOVÁ, Editor
- Štefan ŠAJGALÍK, Vice director

#### SLOVENIE - Radio Ognjisce

Mgr Franc BOLE, Director

#### SWITZERLAND

- Raphaël PASQUIER, producing Journalist Radio Suisse Romande
- Jean-François KISTER, Editor Radio City (Geneva)

#### INVITES:

- > Cardinal Paul POUPARD, President of the Pontifical Council for Culture
- Cardinal Miloslav VLK, Archbishop of Prague, President of the Council of the Media near the Czech Episcopal Conference, former President of the Commission of the European Episcopates.
- JuDr. Cyril SVOBODA, Foreign Minister of the Czech Republic
- **Mr. Stefan WILKANOWICZ**, President of the ZNAK Foundation for the Christian culture
- Mr. Stefan LUNTE, assistant Secretary of the COMECE (Commission of the Episcopates of the European Community)
- Father Andrea KOPROWSKI, Vice-director of the programs of Radio Vatican

## Short speech of opening

## of Father Martin HOLIK, President of Radio PROGLAS

Dear friends, dear guests,

I am very happy of being able to accommodate you in this old monastery of the Capuchins, which could 15 years ago to reopen its doors and to live again. We are located in the middle of Prague, not far from the tomb of Saint Wenceslas and other Czech Saints who were present at the birth of the Czech State.

I would more particularly like to welcome H.E. the Cardinal Paul POUPARD, President of the Pontifical Council for the Culture, and H.E. the Cardinal Miloslav VLK, Archbishop of Prague. Finally allow me to accommodate Mrs. Olga WALEWSKA, writer since long years of Radio Free Europe.

## Intervention of the Cardinal Miloslav VLK, Archbishop of Prague,

President of the Council of the media near the Czech Episcopal Conference,

former President of the Commission of the European Episcopates

Dear Brother Cardinal, dear participants of the CERC, dear Friends, dear guests,

Welcome in Prague, in the heart of Europe. It is for me a magic experiment that of being able to welcome you today in Prague, within my diocese, as Archbishop of Prague but also President of the Commission of the Czech Episcopal Conference for the media and member of the Pontifical Council for the media. By that I want to say that I value very much the media, and not only for the official reasons which I have just evoked: personally, for me, it is very important because I am a man who has a sensitivity and a empathy for the social and temporal conditions in which we live.

The CERC gathers 650 radios in 15 countries of Europe reaching 15 million listeners each day. It is thanks to the Web sites of the CERC and Radio Proglas that I am informed of the activities of the radio members of the CERC, among which I am happy to have quite a lot of friends, and of your Conferences. I was delighted to visit the headquarters of RCF in Lyon the last year: it was a splendid meeting at the time of which I discovered all the dimension of your work.

I am very happy that Radio Proglas belongs to this family: it celebrates this year its 10th birthday and this conference represents a gift for it. You came in a country which had a history very animated since the middle of the 20th century. You are undoubtedly informed of what was the situation of the media under the communist regime. The totalitarian communist power of the time knew very well that the communication constitutes a need, a vital thing for the Church, and this is why the Communists subjected to us to a very strong pressure while trying to make us conceal. I would even say, if you allow, that sometimes the forces of the Evil are able to better feel and know where are the moments and the vital elements of the Church. The Communists drew aside the bishops, they destroyed the contact of people with the parishes and their active participation in the liturgy. Thus they felt very well that the core of the Church is the communication: they tried by all the means to ruin it. We had neither access to the radio, nor to the television, nor to the other media. There was only one magazine, a weekly magazine, which was completely controlled by the communist power, even if the responsible writer was a member of the Church.

Thus we lived this experiment. Thanks to God it is behind us, and we started again after the fall of Communism. It was at one time when your radios, in your respective countries, had already a whole history behind them. In our new situation, after the fall of Communism, it was not easy to build our own media. An enormous work was accomplished on this ground by Radio Proglas and its team with the Father Martin HOLIK at his head. This is why I am very grateful that you chose Prague as a place of your Conference this year and I hope that this working session will be a great support for our media efforts, that your already rich experiments will help us on the way of the communication with our society: our roots and our thousand-year-old culture are impregnated with Christianity. The task and the great challenge are to transfer the heritage acquired to our present.

I wish you in your work an intense medium of communication, without interferences, and a good connection through the main communicator: the Holy Spirit.

## Conference of S.E. the Cardinal Paul POUPARD

President of the Pontifical Council for Culture

## "Culture: basis of the European citizenship."

#### PRAGUE - SEPTEMBER 29, 2005

Eminence,

Excellence Mister the Foreign Minister, Mr. President of the European Conference of the Christian Radios, Ladies, Sirs, and dear friends,

1. It is for me a happiness to share with you some convictions on Europe, and more precisely on the importance of the culture like element founder of a common identity of a Europe united and happy to be it. We note it, Europe pains today to find its true aspect: it is crossed by series of crises which testify to the weakening of its thousand-year-old culture and prevent it from building a common house firmly, the "House Europe". The conscience of the values shared in the plurality of the cultures of the whole of the people of the continent tests some trouble asserting itself, sometimes for lack of will and engagement of the citizens, but especially because the model currently suggested, primarily through a set of constraining economic laws, is not appropriate to raise enthusiasms. Also it is necessary, to open Europe at new horizons, to give birth to some, with a communicative enthusiasm carrying a common ambition, a shared culture of which all will be recognized at the same time like the sons and the creators. Already, in his visit in the European Parliament in Strasbourg, in October 1988, the Pope John-Paul II spoke like of a sign of the times, "the fact that this part of Europe, which invested so much up to now in the field of its economic co-operation, is more and more intensely in the search of its heart, and of a breath able to assume its spiritual cohesion." (1)

**2.** I am happy to return to Prague. 13 years ago already, by opening in September 1992 the Conference on "God, the Church and freedom in Europe", I had the pleasure of declaring: "In Prague, in the middle of Europe, by discovering the wonders of a thousand-yearold culture to the incomparable masterpieces, we understand better how the faith in Christ scattered Europe with beauty, truth and unit, and that these seeds are always alive. Because the certainty of the eternal life causes creative hope, in art as in the domestic, social and political life".(2)

This marvellous town of Prague streams with beauty. And yet, its name itself, associated in our memories with the beautiful season of spring – "the spring of Prague" –, evokes also the tragedy winter of the hard confrontation of which we were witnesses at last century, between the culture and its negation in the atheistic Marxist-Leninist ideology. This tragedy shook the vast territories of the center and the east of the European continent during most of the XXieth century, depriving some whole peoples of their most fundamental rights, fist of all that of living through their religion in the full freedom of their conscience. God thank you, Mister the Minister, these times passed, and Prague delivers in our Europe too often amnesic, the message of a humanism born from a rich Christian culture of incomparable treasures of architecture, painting and sculpture, music and literature, signs admirable of the fertility filled up with humanity of the message of the Gospel.

(1) John Paul II, A soul for Europe, Centurion/Cerf 1988, p.182

(2) Paul POUPARD, New Europe. Reconquest of freedom and challenge of liberalism, Mame, 1993, p. 19; cf also Christianity and culture in Europe. Memory. Conscience. Project, Mame 1992; Christianity and national identity. A certain idea of Europe. Conference of Klingenthal, Beauchesne, coll "Churches and Policy", 1994.

It is our conviction: humanism resulting from the blisses has in itself an internal force which returns it, better than any other force educational, able to bring together the men, the people and the nations in a geographical and human unit which fulfills fully the requirements of XXIe century. Those are not other than those of justice and peace, prosperity and freedom, a world made for the man, conscious of his dignity and its responsibility in front of God and the history.

**3.** Thank you, Mister the Minister, to accommodate us so cordially, in the shared conviction of the essential role of the European Conference of the Christian Radios for the éducation to the European citizenship by the promotion of a culture authentically human, respectful of the dignity of each one and all, opened on the universal one. How not to refer to one of your major composers, Antonín Dvorák, whose *Symphony of the new world* is for us as an allegory – I do not dare to say a prophecy – of what we wish for our "common house". Following an attentive study of Indian melodies and of the Hiawatha de Longfellow, the brilliant composer translated into music the heart of a remote race, intermingling the imaginary popular melodies of the Bohemian and Indian of America regions in a powerful synthesis into E major. Isn't this what we call the intercultural dialog? Capacity of the man to discover the culture of his fellow man and to enter a fertile dialog with it in what it does have as specific and universal at the same time ? Precisely, this universal dimension transcends any authentic culture, makes of it an inheritance for whole humanity, and allows the artists, philosophers, poets and thinkers to draw there as from a source of inspiration to say the beauty one, the truth and the good in new forms and concepts. And thus is born a palette of symphonies for a *new world*!

Mister the Minister, time misses to me to evoke the native great men of culture of your country. I can only quickly quote Rainer Maria Rilke, the Austrian poet born in Prague, just like the writer Franz Kafka and the musician Gustav Mahler, the neuro-psychiâtre Sigmund Freud, and Edmund Husserl, founder of the phenomenology, who allured a young philosopher Karol Wojtyla so much, become pope under the name of Jean-Paul II! The list is long, I do not continue it, but it gives rise to think about the influence of some people on the culture of their time. The most recent history teaches us how much some exceptional people can change the course of it, for better and for worse.

**4. Being rich of its significant history, dear Czech friends**, your beautiful country, located at the full heart of Europe, knows how much the culture is element founder of a common identity and contributes to the emergence of an authentic citizenship. The horizons opened by the "velvet revolution" gave again full freedom to your people, and you took again the destiny of your nation between your hands by dissipating the thick fog of an insane oppression. But one decade later, we wonder about the future at the dawn of the third millenium. Any society is made up of men and women where each one has to respect the rights of his fellows, and fulfils the duties of his citizenship in a freedom lived for fraternity with the equal opportunity. Forgive the French who I am this allusion to the device of my country of origin – "*Freedom, equality, fraternity*", I am not unaware for all that the device of the Czech Republic, of a suggestive eloquence: "*Pravda vítězí*" – "the truth gains", especially for us Christians who profess in Christ the mystery of the love victorious of the evil and death.

**5.** Dear friends of the European Conference of the Christian Radios who came to Prague at the invitation of Radio Proglas, you intend to bring together the transmitters of the countries of Europe which share, in the light of Christian humanism, the same look at the world to promote the democracy, while supporting the emergence of a European conscience and comprehension between the people. It is a vast program, and it is good that the multitude of the radios of Christian inspiration act together, each one according to its own means, while feeling the support of this immense network able to touch the consciences and the hearts and, thus, to contribute to peace and the harmony between the people. As President of the Pontifical Council of the Culture, I am happy of this occasion which is given to me to encourage you to reinforce your collaboration, in the conviction of the importance of your mission, even if your audience can appear to you, for some among you, without common measurement with that of the great "laic" media. Vis-a-vis the Goliath giant, David only needed need, to release his people, one small stone and his catapult made by his own hands. Today, in the middle of the media din, you are

the David of the freedom of conscience by fully assuming your mission of advisers and teachers, without yielding to the sirens of immediate effectiveness and profitability at all prices.

In the document For a pastoral of the culture (3), published at Pentecost 1999, the Pontifical Council of the Culture underlines the role of the social means of communication and information technologies, and the cultural changes due to the change of the language caused in particular by television and the models which it proposes (N. 9). We note it, in particular in the field of publicity, the media ignore the borders and scramble the reference marks of Truth and the Good, and, by there, of the Beautiful, by hypertrophying the desire and sometimes the instinct of the listener to the detriment of his vocation as a free and responsible person. The media bombardment in the midst of all does not support the distance necessary to the reflection, and transforms the perception of reality: reality yields the step to what is shown by it, and the constant repetition of selected information becomes a factor determining to create an opinion considered as public. Too much often, we note it, media bludgeoning riddled with simplistic slogans is harmful to the listening of a spiritual message and the comprehension of the mystery of the Church. "Silence on the basic essentials", told my friend the philosopher Jean Guitton. This dominating influence of the media invites the Christians to a new creativity to join the hundreds of million people who daily devote a significant time to the radio and television. Means of information and cultural promotion, I like to repeat it, the Christian radios are also training and evangelization facilities, for a number of those which hardly have occasions to come into contact with the Church and the Gospel, in our secularized cultures.

To try to answer now more directly the proposal you made me of reflecting with you on the *culture, basis of the European citizenship,* I would like quickly to evoke three points:

- 1) the citizenship is daughter of the culture,
- 2) it is also responsible for its culture,
- 3) it does it in an authentic will to educate the man, all the man and all the men.

#### I. Citizenship, daughter of the culture.

6. Littré defines the neologism "citizenship" as what indicates the quality of "the one who enjoys the right of city in a State", the "man obedient to the laws", become "major citizen" when "all the acts have the good of the country for object". And he widens the concept of citizen to the "citizen of the world": "the man who puts the interests of humanity above the fatherland". The utility of these short definitions of the famous dictionary is in the point of view which they open, namely the question of the "good" and that, consequent, of "the interest" of the country, and, on a greater scale, of very whole humanity.

Also, the reflection on the European citizenship refers to the question of the *common good of Europe*. Indeed, if our ambition is to make a true "Europe house" with the whole of Europe, that one must answer a certain number of criteria who allow Europeans to fully feel themselves there "at home", in a clearly identifiable "space" by common characteristics, sharing at the same time a heritage and a vision of future. Indeed, how some men and women could feel themselves involved in a Europe with a vague identity, with a *common good* not very readable? Without a project clear and suitable to cause enthusiasm, the citizens of Europe cannot feel such in a "house" of profitability, where the interests of economic groups of dubious identity seem to take precedence over those of the man.

<sup>(3)</sup> The Pontifical Council of the Culture, For pastoral of the culture, Téqui, 1999.

**7.** How thus to define more precisely this European identity? The identity of a people takes shape and is discovered through a whole of characteristic features which, though according to different accents, always are a matter for complementary elements: art; science and technology; the language and manners, habits and laws; religious dimension. All these public expressions are rooted in various dimensions of the life of the man. The first one is that of the *homo faber* : the man is able to produce works, beautiful or useful, which come under the fields of art and the technique. Another constitutive dimension is that of the *homo amicus* and the *homo politicus*: the man is able to meet the other, to maintain with him particular relations according to a mode defined through habits or laws, and according to a language and manners which are specific to him. The man is also *homo sapiens*, capable of knowledge and fond of wisdom, and it is undeniable that science constitutes an irreplaceable element of the identity of people. Lastly, man is always and in spite of appearances, *homo religiosus*, able to become sensitive to transcendence, and to maintain with it a connection which he expresses in religious practices and rites, and which he clarifies through a specific knowledge, which influence deeply all the fields of his personal and social existence, thus giving him a clean identity.

8. Inevitably, the many times put fundamental question reappears: what is Europe? We know it, our continent could not be reduced to a geographical concept: Europeans live in territories which are not recognized as belonging to Europe, such Siberia. We should consequently traverse the History, in a fast overflight, to perceive its deepest nature (4). This History teaches us the deciding role of the Carolingian Empire on the one hand, and the extension of the Roman Empire to Byzance and towards the Slavic world on the other hand, until the vanishing of the graeco-latin culture in the East starting from the catch of Constantinople by the Turks. Then Europe is no longer supported by its two wings, Rome and Constantinople, whereas the third Rome emerges from the Byzantine heritage, from Kiev in Moscow, before the fracture which crosses the Germanic world with Protestantism, quickly burst by new fractures between Lutherans and Protestants, Methodists and Presbyterians while the Anglicanism seeks a center gate. With the discovery of America, Europe gives birth to it in its current reality, as historic subject which gradually stands out from it and becomes in control of its own destiny. With the French revolution, heiress of the Lights, the Aufklärung, it is the original spiritual dimension of Europe which collapses: rationality is essential in the rejection of the religious base of the History, and secularization opens the way to a laicism often of confrontation, even of combat against the religion, primarily Christianity, with the claim to relegate God to the strictly private field without any accepted incidence on the public life. The formation of the State-Nation in its modern design, with the claim of the "great powers" to the Universal, strongly supported national individualism and the disastrous wars of XIXe and the XXe century. A new phenomenon appears today: this secularized Europe, amnesic of its religious and moral bases, appears to Islam as a failure of the Christianity, which calls for a spiritual resourcing. Europe, in these last decades, focused itself on the successes of the new civilization of the technique and the globalized trade born on its territory, from where it was spread in the wide world with its model of life and its way of thinking. While in last century it believed to be proud of having exported its culture with colonization, here that it staggers in this beginning of XXIe century, feeling dizzy in front of an immense interior vacuum who does not cease widening.

Communism - atheistic Leninism takes a broad responsibility in this true wreckage which made occur immense deserts in the cultural landscape of the continent. As the Czech theologist Josef Zverina precisely stigmatized it, the Marxism was initially an anthropological catastrophe, a true Tchernobyl of the hearts: lie, degradation of the person, handling, obscure threats of violence. It stained with blood the heart of Europe (5).

<sup>(4)</sup> The Ratzinger Cardinal presents a historical synthesis of the origin of Europe in a conference given in Berlin, November 28, 2000, and included in his last work before his election with the Head office of Pierre: Europe, its bases today and tomorrow. Ière Left What Europe? Chap. Ier: Europe: its spiritual bases, yesterday and today, Editions Saint Augustin, 2005, p. 12-31.

<sup>(5)</sup> Cf. Paul Poupard, Felicità e Fede Cristiana, Piemme 1992, p. 67

**9.** To reflect on the identity of Europe, it is, of course, to question us on his future (6). *Does Europe still have a soul?* We know it, a person without a soul is restricted to be scattered underground in the vanishing of death and oblivion. And yet, is it not the overwhelming findings of our European societies where the weakening of the spiritual forces results in the poverty of the artistic and cultural production: the beautiful one is not there any more the standard, and the climate of suspicion about the truth sterilizes the research of the good, as emptied of itself, in the ambient relativism, deprived of any metaphysical substance. Without truth and research of the good in a life morally right, the human being does not have any more a possibility of fulfilling the requirements of its personality, and goes until losing the meaning of its identity.

It would be illusory to consider the culture of people without taking into account the legacy of the past and of its history: it enracine in a memory. But it also implies to become, a progress, which makes a dynamic reality of it, alive: from where its difficulty of letting itself imprison in definitions and diagrams, always reducing. The difficulty of a reflection on the European identity, it is that it does not refer to only one company of men, language, history, manners, technological and economic level or of similar artistic expressions: it covers a unit with people, delimited in a vast geographical area where all sometimes seems to be opposed in the extremes – it is one of the great lessons of the History.

**10. The rapid overflight of the origins of Europe** and the great movements which crossed and marked it, makes it possible to seize how much its identity exceeds the risks of the history and refers to a common fund which remains. This fund can be only its cultural heritage. Indeed, the identity of people comes from its culture, and if this one shapes under specific conditions of historical and geographical development, it is recognized roughly in the diversity of the particular identities which make it up. The same applies thus to our families: the husbands and the children have each one their own personality, but together, they form a clearly recognizable identity. The diversity of the cultural identities due to the multiplicity and the complexity of the environments, makes the societies inclined to concretize their inheritance of humanity through particular identities, without making them foreign the ones towards the others for that all, on condition of a political, social and educational willingness of maintaining them open through what we call today the intercultural dialog.

Already inside the same State, some cultural communities can exist, which aspire to living in a different way, according to particular characteristics', so much linguistic that ethnic, religious or customaryl, without seeking to separate from a political organization whose State is the legal expression. We only have to think of Switzerland to resist temptation to reduce the identity of Europe to a structure of State-nation, to a political identity already existing or only still desired.

We said it, the identity of people expresses his characteristic, but it aspires at the same time "to inform" the other cultures by the best of itself. The "relationship" between the cultures due to their rooting in the human nature – "*There is culture only of the man, by the man and for the man*" –, makes possible this fertile exchange in a dialog on all the levels. Also a culture is really human only if it is able to open up to the other cultures. And if the requirements of the characteristic are the background of the rights of the proper cultural identities, those of the universality are the background of the duties which result from them, towards the other cultures and the whole humanity.(7)

(6) Cf Cristo, sorgente di una will cultura per Europa ale soglie LED terzo millennio. Atti LED secondo Simposio presinodale, Vaticano, It Nuovo Areopago, Forlì, 1–2/1999.

(7)Cf The Pontifical Council of the Culture, For pastoral of the culture, N. May 10, 23 1999: "If the rights of the nation translate the requirements of the characteristic, it is also important to underline those of the universality, with the duties which result from this for each nation towards the others and all humanity. The first of all is without any doubt the duty of living in a will of peace, respectful and interdependent with regard to the others... Against nationalism carrying contempt, even of aversion for other nations and cultures, patriotism is the legitimate love and the service, privileged, but nonexclusive, of its own country and its culture, as far from the cosmopolitanism as cultural nationalism. Each culture is opened with universal by the best of itself."

**11. The draft treaty establishing a Constitution for Europe defines the** "objectives of the European Union" by shared values: "The Union is founded on the values of respect of human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the State of right, as well as respect of the humans right, including rights of the people belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a company characterized by pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between the women and the men". Thanks to God, these universal values are not specific to it, and we find them in a number of non-European States. As the Pope John-Paul II reminds in his speech, already quoted, to the European Parliament, "other continents know today a more or less deep symbiosis between the faith in Christ and the cultures, which is full with promises. But, for soon two millenia, Europe has offered a very significant example of the spiritual fruitfulness of the Christianity which, from its nature, cannot be relegated in the sphere of private life "(8).

**12.** The observation of the world, the history, the sacred art, obviously show the civilizing role of the religions. Component of the culture, the religion could not be reduced for as much to this one. This tendency to reduce the religions to their ethical and cultural dimension is what I call the culturalism, along the wrong way of the inculturation. When we note with the sociologist a real weakening of the influence of a given religion in such or such human society, or such or such fringe of a determined population, we observe at the same time the emergence of new demonstrations, which Frederic Lenoir calls in a recent book the *metamorphoses of God* (9). The English historian Arnold Toynbee made the remark of it, and I took it up again forward of my *Dictionary of the Religions* (PUF, Paris, 19933): "There is until our days no civilization which was not religious."

It is not necessary to try a definition of the culture – UNESCO currently counts some more than 500! – to seize the importance of its religious dimension. It is the same with Europe: born in the cradle of Christianity, the values of the Gospel gave it to continue through the major crises of the history. The Church largely contributed, as long as it was possible to him, to give it a heart, in the respect of the individual consciences. The mention of the Christian roots takes all its significance there.

The Pope John-Paul II, in his visit wto the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, October 8, 1988, recognized it: "The identity of Europe is not a reality easy to define... But, taking into consideration the other continent, Europe seems to be only one unit, even if its cohesion is less clearly perceived by those who constitute it... In nearly twenty centuries, Christianity contributed to forge a idea of the man and the world which remains a fundamental contribution today". And to enumerate some essential features: the valorization of all the aspects of the life, to start with the physical life. The faith in God Creator demythologized the cosmos to offer it to the rational investigation of the man and largely contributed to the development by Europeans of sciences and technology. The dignity of the person, the proclamation and the protection of the humans right, the family like main element of the social life, the dignity of all the workers and an incomparable cultural inheritance, which constitute "the soul of Europe" (10).

#### II. CITIZENSHIP RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS CULTURE.

**13. We put the question, at the beginning of our topic**, of the importance of the culture like element founder of a common identity, likely to ensure the future of Europe. If the citizen is, according to the definition of Littré, the man, the woman whose "*all acts have the good of the country for object*", the awakening of this good must inevitably lead to actions so that this *good* is authentically human. It is not enough to hold up its values in the concert of the Nations, as France which likes to be defined the fatherland of the humans right, it is still necessary to take a sharp conscience and to keep in memory their own significance of it. I am going to explain myself:

(8) JEAN-PAUL II, Op cit., p. 187.
(9) Frederic LENOIR, Metamorphoses of God. New Western spirituality, Plon 2003.

(10) Cf. Jean-Paul II, op.cit., p. 30-32

The humans right and the dignity of the person are not the work of the legislator: they are the inalienable rights of the man, and it is to the man – and thus to the citizen – that they belong by rights. I cannot develop here all the question of the natural law (11) and his essential place in the political vision of Christian humanism, but it goes without saying that it constitutes one of the major fields of reflection where you, the Christian Radios, have a role important to play for his right comprehension. The human rights are not conferred to the citizens, and they *precede* any legislation which must respect them.

To speak about natural law, it is to put the fundamental anthropological question. For the Christian, it is quite clear: God alone could register in the human nature and in the order of the world a fundamental law which evades the free will of the man and at the same time guarantees it. How to share this conviction in pluralist Europe, if not by proposing as base of the European citizenship a culture which is the convincing expression of it?

14. The research of the good of the city finds in the awakening of the authentic good of the man a light bound to guide its responsible action to humanize the culture always threatened to denature itself. It is to say the importance of the culture like element founder of a common identity, able to face and overcome a number of challenges, even of heavy threats for the man, carried by globalization. The Pontifical Council of the Culture identified in its Plenary assembly 2002, some "challenges of universalization: "the omission" of the common good; the new culture which borrows its values of behavior from the logic of the market; the destruction of models of life – family, education, research of the truth, effort of holiness, sense of beauty, generosity and selflessness, etc - patiently introduced into the cultures by long centuries of Christianity fertilized by the grace; rupture in the transmission of the standards of common life which does not pass any more but with difficulty by the parents, the school or the parish; the loss of the moral consensus in the traditional societies; reinforcement of the autonomy of the people by the exaltation of freedom and individualism " (12). Certain challenges deserve a very detailed attention: the development of sciences and technology and their consequences, cultural diversity, the sects and the new religious groupings, the great innovations in the information technology, in particular with Internet, and the phenomenon of the terrorist violence promoted by a certain Islam.

The Christian radios, by the priority granted to a fully human dimension and the Christian look at the world, do not cease, while informing, to train the citizens to an understanding responsible for the elements of "counter-culture of death". The culture, as the man of which it is the reflection and the carrying medium, is a closed field where the good grain is inextricably mixed with the ryegrass. In our culture marked by "the *dictatorship of the relativism*", such an understanding is as difficult as necessary, when the "tolerance" set up in dogma stigmatizes the assertion with strong convictions, to the wrong way of the "pensiero debole". But how to found a common identity, without a culture of an objective common good prior to its expressions? The concept of *public space* is in this meaning revealing of an attitude which feels reluctant to consider the culture in its constitutive bond with the man, his history and its inheritance, and looks at the society only on "the *surface of scum*", that of the intersubjectivity of the people and the groups, in the illusion to solve antagonisms by the means of constraining laws, and a dialog consequently without scope, promoted by "cultural activities" without a future.

**15. Christian humanism formed in Europe the** melting pot of its common identity which is cultural. This one today is threatened, and first of all by the will to use the technical exploits at the detriment of the humanity of the man: the dream of cloning the man, decisions to preserve, regardless of their dignity, the human embryos for research or transplantation, the genetic engineering without being able to measure with certainty their results for the man, in danger. The Pope Paul VI, of which I was then the young collaborator at the Chancery of State, had known, in a marked prophetic cry on October 4, 1965 at the platform of UNO in New York, to share his anguish for humanity, while presenting himself,

(11) Cf Patrick DE LAUBIER, the natural law, the policy and the religion, Word and Silence, 2004.

(12) Cf The Pontifical Council of the Culture, Cultures and Faith, vol. X, 2, 2002.

not as the spokesman of God, but as spokesman of the man, in the name of the Church, "*expert in humanity*", before affirming his faith in "*God alive, the Father of all the men*" (13).

It is not enough to formulate values – dignity of the man, freedom, equality, solidarity – in a Charter or a Constitution: they presuppose, for the legislator as for the citizen, a shared vision. And if this one cannot be the fruit of a culture in its characteristic, it is it in its universality, drawn, for the Christian, from his vision of faith. Thus Paul VI at the UNO platform concluded: *"The structure of modern civilization must be built on spiritual principles, the only able ones, not only to support it, but also to light it and animate it. And these essential principles of higher wisdom cannot only rest – it is our conviction, you know it – on the faith in God*".

.III . EDUCATION, KEYSTONE OF THE CITIZENSHIP AND THE CULTURE.

**16.** Neither the citizenship nor the culture are immediate products of nature. One and the other are formed, are forged, and thus are taught.

The school is, with the family, the first place of education, one and the other today competed with by the media, in its slow training to the living together, and the awakening of the conscience of the duties, in a globalized society where the economic situation is dominant. It is to say the need for insertion in a culture by the knowledge of its history, of its customs and habits, of its inheritance, not to be disconnected from the citizenship. The transmission of the culture is justifiably, today, a major topic of reflection and debate. In this concern, some European countries discover the devastations of cultural illiteracy, and wish to cure the loss of the key of reading of their spiritual inheritance by the establishment of an education to the religious fact. This awakening is without any doubt salutary, but one has to present the religions in a right and balanced way through programs approved by the relevant authorities. Each one of us can contribute to it. For my part, my "*Que sais-je?*" book, "*The Religions*", whose 9th edition exceeded the 50.000 specimens, is now present in the culture through the translations in Spanish, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Armenian, Russian and Chinese.

You can make much by sharing information for education to the religious fact. Your role of Christian media appears capital to me, in particular in the dialog which you develop with the other media. Your programs of quality on the matter cannot be ignored by your fellow-members and consequently you pull them upwards to you, if I may say so, when they cover subjects where the religion is implied, particularly the Christian religion. Better than me, you know that one of the difficulties of the Church vis-a-vis this wide world of the social communications, is the ignorance, following the lack of training of a lot of its pastors to his own language. You, Christian Radios, you speak this language: in an authentic dialog of truth with your fellow-members, close of whom you attest the fruitfulness of Christian humanism.

**17. The recent polemic around the Christian roots** of Europe and the refusal of their recognition by some political leaders forces us to a true pedagogy so that the attitude of the Church is well understood when it declares this standpoint as unacceptable. To say it with the President of the national Foundation of political Sciences in Paris stigmatizing the refusal opposed by the French government to any explicit reference in the preamble of the European Charter of the fundamental rights to the religious heritage of Europe:

"This strange initiative attests the ignorance of the established fact and the ignorance of the state of right: if it afflicts the historian, surprises the lawyer, shocks the citizen and wounds the Christians, it is revealing in its archaism of the persistence of this refusal to admit that the Church can play a social part." (14)

<sup>(13)</sup> Cf Insegnamenti di Paolo VI, Libreria Vaticana Editor, III 1965, p. 507-516

<sup>(14)</sup> Rene RÉMOND, Conference of December 19, 2000 with the Cathedral of Strasbourg.

However, what a civil entity, without there being for the people loss of their own conscience, their traditions and of their national identity? Isn't this a political organization with the strong direction, where all the members, people, communities or nations, is entitled to their own identity, enjoys the rights which are clean and achieve for them their duties in conformity with the good of all? General de Gaulle, enumerating the great direct ideas of Europe, recalled with good direction that "each people are different from different, incomparable, inalterable, irreducible. There must remain itself in its originality, such as its history and its culture did it, with its memories, its beliefs, its legends, its faith, its will to build its future." (15)

#### CONCLUSION

**18. There dear friends, we only outlined here** some fundamental convictions on the *culture, base of the European citizenship*. By observing the interaction between culture, citizenship and education, we could distinguish a certain number of challenges to which Europe have difficulty to bring a relevant answer. We directed our reflection towards the identity of Europe, and clarified all its complexity, but also its deepest nature, inherited from the Christianity, which gave him its soul. And I made a point on several occasions of underlining the essential and completely considerable role of the Christian radios, quite worthy to cause your enthusiasm, not only in your broadcating programmes, but also in your dialog with the other social means of communication. I like to repeat it: if with the others, you give obviously information, your own vocation is, through information, to give a formation.

I would like to conclude with one of the fathers from Europe, Robert Schuman, to whom I devoted one of my conferences of Lent, in Notre-Dame of Paris, March 9, 2003 (16). Here is the vision which I gave of him:

"Inspired by his Christian faith and nourished by the experience of an exceptional parliamentary longevity, Robert Schuman could incarnate in the middle of the political contingencies his evangelic ideal at the service of the men... At one half-century of distance, allow me to restore this remarkable standpoint to our amnesic memories: "*I speak*, said President Schuman, as a believer to believers... Our contemporary democracies develop in us the sense of the personal liability. It is the happy consequence and the counterpart of any regime based on freedom. But civic, individual or collective courage within an Assembly is not always worthy this responsibility... It is important to realize that Europe could not limit itself in the long run to a purely economic structure. It is necessary that it becomes also a safeguard for all that makes the size of our Christian civilization: human dignity, freedom and responsibility for the individual and collective initiative, blooming of all moral energies of our people.

Such a cultural mission will be the essential complement and the completion of an Europe which up to now was based on the economic co-operation. **It will confer a soul,** a spiritual ennoblement and a true common conscience to it. We should not have a skimped idea of the future Europe, being confined in material concerns, if we wants that it resists the attack of the racist coalitions and fanaticisms of all kinds. Europe, after the discredit which one poured on it, in most of the world, will have to be capable to take again its role of selfless teacher, in particular of the people which have just been born at the freedom.

The assistance to the underdeveloped countries will be thus the great task to which will have to join all those which have the privilege to be in advance on others. The humanity of tomorrow will be what we will have known to do. If we restrict ourselves to equip them economically and militarily, without providing them with this moral reinforcement at the same time, without giving them

<sup>(15)</sup> Cf Alain PEYREFITTE, It was De Gaulle, Editions of Fallois, Fayard, Paris, 1995, p. 63. Peyrefitte brings back also this warning of the General: "One cannot make Europe that if there is a European ambition" (p. 367), and "This Europe-there will occur the day when its people, in their depths, will decide to adhere to it. It will not be enough that members of Parliament vote a ratification. One will need popular referendums, preferably the same day in all the countries concerned." (p. 64).

(16)Cardinal POUPARD, Holiness with the challenge of the History. Portrait of six witnesses for thousand-year-old IIIe, Presses of the Rebirth, 2003, p. 19-21.

the example of a behavior based on spiritual principles, we would have made a work, not only vain, but dangerous. We would have detached them their old traditional beliefs, without giving them a new ideal, complement and counterweight of technical progress... In their connection we have a true responsibility of their soul. We would fill our duty by no means by limiting our action with the construction of roads and factories, schools and dispensaries, if we bring autonomy or even independence to them, without to have taught them the use which it is necessary to make of it, without to have warned them against the abuses which can be made of it. It is necessary that the emancipation is accompanied by a moral education as much as technique, otherwise one is likely to see occurring lamentable relapses in anarchy and cruelty... And it is still a specifically European task... "(17)

But here in Prague, I would like to leave the last word to Jean Patocka, a Czech philosopher, spokesman of the *Charter 77*, died after leaving a police interrogation: "*Europe is a concept which rests on spiritual bases. Therefore it has a mission to achieve*".

(17) Robert SCHUMAN "Is it too late to make Europe?", in Which Europe? Research and debates n°22, Paris, Fayard, 1958, p. 227 and 230-231, quoted in Paul POUPARD, the Christian heritage of the European culture in the conscience of the contemporaries, Fondation Jean Monnet for Europe, European Research center, Lausanne, 1986, p. 14-16.

## Intervention of Mr. JuDr. Cyril SVOBODA, Ministre des Affaires Etrangères de la république Tchèque.

Which influence the media can they have? Which influence the radios can they have? One says: "it was heard somewhere". "ONE", but nobody knows it because it was said in public and itt was taken as a given thing, because it was said somewhere.

Some media, especially the electronic media, deform the man systematically. As example I will allow myself to quote a programme of a Czech private television which is called "the elected ones". The elected ones, I think that it should be somebody who was selected, in the positive meaning of the word, but this programme is full in fact with antihero, people which have problems with law, which has behind them relations which did not succeed, prostitutes, etc...., and it goes so far even that the children of the nursery schools identify themselves with these "heroes", to these "elected ones", who have influence. Thus the topic of your conference, the base of the European citizenship, I think that this topic is extremely important.

In the Czech Republic the Christian media are very limited; there is little space for the radios. There is indeed Radio Proglas, but its impact is rather limited. I think that it would be necessary to underline what has potential in the Christianity and that other "elected ones" that those from which I was just speaking who carry these words, who make this appeal.

Those who follow the programmes of the private television PRIMA, from which I was just speaking, where will that take them, what will be the futures of the children who follow these "elected ones" and let themselves influence by them? It is there that the question should be raised, and still allow me another remark of a general nature: the European Union will live, its two processes will coexist, the process of integration and that of widening. If the European Union loses one of these processes, that will not be any more one Union, that will be other thing.

Thus, if we put to ourselves the question: how and where must widen the European Union, the question also should be raised: what European Union? it is able to digest, and when one speaks about widening in Turkey for example, if one speaks about fears which we can have with widening in Turkey, they are our own fears with us, we are afraid not to be able to assimilate it, to be able to assimilate this Moslem world, or another world which the European world, we have fear of not being up to it..

I think that it should be a challenge to take up, and it would be necessary that we realize that the capacity to widen, it means that we have the insurance to put forward what we carry, and it is necessary that we know exactly what we want, and which it is not like an Egyptian minister said: "For the Koran I am ready to give my life", and it asked the European ministers "for what would be you able to give your Europe here?" and nobody knew to answer him. Thus the radios have a role which we cannot replace, the radios enter the closed houses, the buses, in the cars, and they can influence the free people, who can be an "elected one", one day.

# Which contribution of the Christian radios to the construction of a European citizenship?

#### Introduction

This year the Council of Europe celebrates an European Year of the citizenship by education. It celebrates it hidden from the general public, as it is often the case for the elder girl of the European organizations. At side, the action of the SOEC appears often more spectacular, for example in its mission of supporting the processes of democratization, in particular in Eastern Europe as in Belarus where we await new elections for 2006.

And the European Union, which is more spectacular by its existence itself, exceeds by far at the same time the Council of Europe and the SOEC in the media of any kind but also in the conscience of the citizens. Its Member States conferred some of their competences to him, in an exclusive or shared way, and the legislative acts of the Union apply directly in these Member States, which is new in the international relations. I remind this because in the debate on the constitutional Treaty which marked first half of the year in France, and elsewhere also, one could note that it was a news for many people to discover themselves as member of a European organization of which the right takes precedence over the national law.

Thereafter, I will refer especially to the European Union while knowing that the EU is not already all Europe.

To speak about a European citizenship these days thus requires a certain audacity, insofar as the shift between European citizens and their City appeared again vigorous and in broad daylight. This shift is not only the prerogative of the famous "man in the street", it also relates to our administrative, cultural and political elites. I quote you in example simply an extract of the program of the studies for the colleges proposed in 2002 by the Ministry for Education, of Youth and of the Sports of the Land of Brandebourg in Germany, which requires – I quote to you now - that "the schoolboys know the operation and the mission of the bodies of the European Union: The Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the European Court of Justice". (18)

The Council of Europe is not a body of the Union, it is the European Council the educational originators in this Land of Germany wanted to speak of. As for the European Commission, which is since always in the middle of European construction, it was not considered to be worthy to be known for the schoolboys of Brandenbourg by the senior officials of the higher education in this Bundesland.

This example should lead us not to give an opinion on the people but to measure the complexity in front of which we are while speaking about Europe This complexity naturally also weighs on the European citizenship. It also weighs on the mission of information of all the media. It also weighs on the work of an authority like the COMECE.

I delivered to you this review of an immense complexity as an introduction to approach the subject that the organizers of XIInd Colloquium of the European Conference of the Christian Radios suggested me like subject of this morning.

"Contributions of the Christian radios to the construction of the European citizenship" - I will not venture to define what a Christian radio is. You know it much better than me, even if I try, as far as

(18) Cited in Osteuropa 55/2005, Nr.8, 5

possible, to collaborate in RCF Allier, our diocesan radio, and in Domradio of Cologne, that I visited and with whom I had several contacts in the past.

Thus allow me to rather turn myself in my first part towards this concept of "European citizenship" before approaching in a second part, much shorter, some ideas on the possible contributions of the Christian radios to the construction of the European citizenship

#### 1. The four dimensions of the European citizenship

The word "citizenship" passes well, especially in French language. It knows the most varied definitions and it is risky to use this word like a pass key. For more clearness in my topic I would like to suggest you four concepts, four different aspects, each one of them calling to a comment.

According to a first definition, one can understand by European citizenship some rights and duties which are conferred to the citizens of the European Union by the existing Treaty, but also by the Charter of the fundamental rights.

In this catalogue of rights and duties one could distinguish on a second level a European political culture, which would relate to the acquisition of the knowledge on competences of the Union and the work of the European institutions.

Thirdly, one can describe the European citizenship under the aspect of the values. Values to which it is advisable to adhere to become a responsible citizen

Lastly, the European citizenship can mean a cultural dimension of the European citizen, who is more and more obliged to position himself compared to this enormous cultural wealth present in Europe.

By developing these four definitions, which respectively emphasizes on the constitutional aspect, political, ethical and then esthetic of the word "citizenship", I hope to be able to clarify in this first part of my remarks what we understand and imply while speaking about the European citizenship.

#### 1.1 European citizenship in the constitutional Treaty

Fourteen countries out of twenty-five ratified the constitutional Treaty. It was not withdrawn by the Heads of States and of government. Politically, we are during a time of reflection, juridically the declaration annexed to the final act of the Treaty applies according to which the European Council takes a decision on the fate of this document if at the end of two years 20 States ratified it and one or more "have met some difficulties", and practically we are in a generalized perplexity, not only at the European level but also in a good many Member States.

Is this situation a new "Euro-sclerosis", like at the beginning of the Eighties which was overcome by Jacques Delors at the head of the Commission and - it never should be forgotten - by the friendship between François Mitterrand and Helmut Kohl, who put Germany and France at the service of Europe instead of using Europe for their particular interest? No one knows it.

In any case, in the constitutional Treaty there is an article which is new, but which does not make basic modification, and its contents thus remain applicable. I speak about article 10 which has the title "the citizenship of the Union". It carries out a synthesis of the principal components of the European citizenship. These elements are found, in addition, in the Charter of the fundamental rights (Title V - Citizenship). Paragraph 1 defines the European citizenship as complementary to the national citizenship and does not replace it. Paragraph 2 draws up an inventory of the rights attached to the European citizenship: right to circulate and remain freely on the territory of the Member States, the voting rights and of eligibility to the elections to the European Parliament like to the local elections, the right to benefit, on the territory of a third country, from the protection of the diplomatic and consular authorities of any Member State, the right to address Petitions to the European Parliament and to turn to the European mediator in one of the official languages.

This inventory should not however be regarded as exhaustive. Indeed it does not mention the right of access to the documents of the institutions or the new right to take popular initiatives (1 million signatures of a significant number of Member States to approach the Commission concerning a question), which for the moment and as the remainder is not in force, but could be introduced as soon as institutional affairs are examined again.

Concurrently to these rights one could also quote a passage of the preamble to the Charter of the fundamental rights: "The use of these rights involves responsibilities and duties as well with regard to others as with regard to the human community and the future generations."

I make a point of mentioning these rights and political duties of the European citizens for two principal reasons:

Initially, the European citizenship exists, but it remains in the second place and does not supplant it under any circumstances the national citizenship. "Jus sequitur vitam". The right follows realities of the life and not the reverse.

Then, to exercise these rights of European citizen reasonably and also to fulfil its duties, a minimal knowledge of competences and operation of the "res publica" European Union is essential. How to claim to reasonably elect the European Parliament when one is unaware of its competences? It is where the shoe pinches.

#### 1.2 A political culture to acquire

It is probably extraordinarily difficult, even in a faculty, to make a course on the duties of the citizen, to remind that our civilization, insofar as it is liberal, is also a civilization of the citizen and not only of the consumer, not only of the producer." (19)

We all probably share the scepticism of Raymond Aron. In a consumer society, where all becomes consumable, including the major media and a certain presentation of the policy itself, the civilization of the citizen sinks and that becomes obvious when the national framework which is known to us and to which we are accustomed, is no more the reference.

The debate on the constitutional Treaty I could have a very close watch on from France was exemplary on this line, because even for the French, for which the "policy", in small letters, is always present in the family dinners and elsewhere, a badly defined fear or on the contrary a simplistic enthusiasm dominated the atmosphere. That would have been probably similar or worse in other countries. Which leads us to the conclusion that a new political culture in the European and global affairs still remains to be acquired. How to reach that point? I cannot give any receipt. It remains a great open question for me.

Everything implies that the only alternative to the political integration of Europe is its decline, but to make a success of political integration it is absolutely necessary to rebuild the civilization of the citizen in Europe. Allow me to illustrate for some examples what I mean by a political lack of culture.

Some remarks :

- <u>on the "all economic Brussels"</u>: One often hears of "Brussels of the economy". This perception of Brussels and the European institutions at disposal of the big companies and high finance has – in my opinion – contributed considerably to the refusal of the constitutional Treaty. However, nothing is less sure. There are indeed many lobbyists of the industrial and financial groups in Brussels, but they are there not because one makes economy in Brussels, or rather not more than elsewhere. The economy is done everywhere in Europe, in this town also, at the time of this conference too. As soon as the production of the goods or services and their exchange are concerned, the economy appears. On the other hand, which one does in Brussels it is the economic policy. A large Common Market was created in Europe and so that this market does not fall into the most total anarchy, many rules were necessary and Brussels, with Strasbourg, is a place to write rules which must take into account the European common good. Thus it is indeed a noble political task about in Brussels and not only a business with "a lot of cash involved".

- <u>on the great compromises between nations, which are nonnegotiable</u>: During the debate on the constitutional Treaty one could sometimes hear voices which said that one could quite simply simply renegotiate one or the other aspect of the Treaty. However, it should not be been unaware of that this document contains some of the concepts and ideas which for historical reasons are simply not negotiable. I quote you the example of independence of the European Central Bank. This clause was the price required by Germany to accept the

19) Raymond Aron, The engaged spectator, 297

creation of the Euro. For the Germans the experiment of a hyperinflation in the Twenties and Forties is still a traumatic experiment which is related to the incapacity of the political world to follow a responsible monetary policy. From which the creation of a Bundesbank very independent, from which the requirement of an ECB also independent. To exceed this aspect of the collective memory of the Germans was simply not possible for the Convention, apart from the fact that it is believed justified or not.

- <u>on the meaning of the words which changes with the nations and their history</u>: Let us take the concept of "the highly competitive social market economy". This concept is rather reassuring for a German and rather worrying for many Frenchmen. The same is true for the "price stability". Or let us take the notion of the "free trade". The "free trade" was a claim of the left in England to free itself at the 19th century from the domination by the monopoly of the great landowners. In France it is perceived like a threat held up by the "ultralibéral" trend. And yet all these expressions are in a constitutional Treaty for all Europeans. This text could only be one great compromise and one can wonder about a political culture which refuses the compromise. This culture of the "whole or nothing" in policy seriously questions the functioning of the Western democracy.

The difficulties do not stop there. Other examples could follow to show how much in the French debate the reason and the intelligence were replaced by the ideology. The ideology that one believed exceeded in our modern democracies and which recuperated a youth. There is thus a great need for a new intelligence of European construction.

Against the ideology, the intelligence is impotent without values, hearts. This is why the European citizenship must be based on values.

#### <u>1.3 Values to be developed</u>

The European Union, according to the good formula of article 1 of the constitutional Treaty, is formed by the citizens and the Member States. "The Union is opened to all the European States which respect its values and which commit themselves to promote them jointly." The European citizenship can thus also be perceived like an adhesion to some values.

But which values? Article 2 of the constitutional Treaty proposes a rather short list: "The Union is founded on the values of respect of human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the State of right, as well as respect of the human rights, including rights of the people belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society characterized by pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and quality between the women and the men."

However, a list can be discussed, one can lengthen it or shorten it as in this case with a very precise aim (in bond with article 58). It is variable. A solution can then consist in treating on a hierarchical basis these values and article 2, read at the same time as the Charter of the fundamental rights, proposes a starting point, which could be useful like key to understand this community of values. Indeed, the values of respect and human dignity and the right to the life can be regarded as values founders. The first two articles of the Charter of thefundamental rights (II-61 and II-62) are devoted to human dignity and the right to the life. The European citizenship can thus result in the acceptance of the fundamental value of the respect of human dignity and the right to the life. That, almost everyone accepts it in Europe, the problem resides rather in the field of application of this value, if I may say so.

In a recent conference before the Catholic Academy of Munich the French philosopher Rémy Brague insisted on this fundamental value and his significance for our civilization. At the same time it explained why it was precisely the historical role of the Christians to correct and to widen its field of application: to the women, the slaves, the embryos. At various times of our history, and to start in antiquity, one refused this fundamental value to them and it was the Christians who claimed to include them among those which have the absolute dignity and the right to the life.

Even if they are not today the only ones to do it, the contribution of the Christians thus remains very important for the European citizenship and one is tempted to associate a certain weakness of Europe with the weakness of Christianity in Europe without adhering hundred percent for all that to the opinion of George Bernanos, who already in the Thirties wrote: "Christendom made Europe. Christendom died. Will Europe die, what could be simpler?" (20)

Another great European of the last century, the Hungarian Sandor Marai, perhaps expressed in a way a little less brutal this weakness than we feel so painfully today. While speaking in his autobiographical reflections about his voyage in Western Europe at the beginning of the Fifties he notes: "Indeed there was something in Europe, which one could call - perhaps naively – "vocation". A pompous concept. However, it contains a reality which starts to be also erased for my generation: consciousness that the fact of having been born in Europe is not only a natural or legal fact, but also a profession of faith. But this feeling of bing called could be found at nobody and nowhere here (in the West). Old and wise politicians said that it was necessary to create in Europe an economic community against the national interests and exceeding them – but a Europe unified from the economic point of view which does not feel called cannot be a world power, as it was the case for centuries when it still believed in oneself even and its vocation. "(21)

I then conclude on the ethical dimension of the citizenship by stressing that for me a European citizenship without concept of vocation, without the consciousness of being able to bring some good in the world and to prepare a better world for the generations to come will remain insipid.

Lastly, it would be fatal to conceive the European citizenship without evoking its cultural dimension.

#### 1.4 The cultural dimension of the European citizenship

"Bürger erzieht ihr der sittlichen Welt; wir wollten euch loben,

Stricht ihr sie nur nicht zugleich aus der empfindenden aus. "

I quote you Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In French one could translate it in a following way:

"You educate citizens for the moral world; we would like to sing you praises,

If you do not withdraw them at the same time from the world of the feelings "

This basic translation that I propose to you of these two lines of our great German poet renders certainly only partially the opposition that Goethe feels between the political world and the cultural and esthetic world. Today, the tragedy of the citizen who does not manage any more to preserve his sensitivity to art, to the beauty, to the cultural diversity is the major interrogation for Europe in search of vocation.

How to recover a vocation if one lost the feeling of the beauty which takes us out of the ordinary and which through the sufferings and happinesses of the men opens another horizon to us where will raise at the same time the compassion for the world and the love of God. It is this cultural dimension which allows us better than any other one to feel us as European citizen, to relativize our national references.

When he was still the Cardinal Ratzinger, our Pope Benedict XVI wrote while speaking about Europe: "The principle of the national States proved, while looking at there more closely, impracticable... and insufficient... to become the base of a new order of peace." Being given my own origins I understand very well that this is simpler to say for a German Cardinal than for a French intellectual, because we Germans know the nation only in the plural: "The Saint Roman Empire of the German nations". Before there is only one Reich, there were the German nations. As a result, the nation necessarily does not coincide with the State. This is much less obvious for a Frenchman. The British, them, do not know this problem either: they speak about "four nations within one state", even if the Irishmen, who are included inside, protest rightly. We Germans we found the expression of the "Kulturnation", of the cultural nation, which enables us to consider more easily that one can preserve his language and his culture without a State having to defend them. It is, in addition, my conviction that it is not the European Union with its institutions in Brussels and Strasbourg which threatens before all cultural diversity, but, if there is a danger, it will have rather to be seen in the steamroller of consumption and excessive production of an economic system which lost its compass.

(20) George Bernanos, Large Cemeteries under the Moon, in: Tests and Writings of combat, Edition of the Pleiad,

450.(21) Sandor Marai, Land, Land, 222

Let us understand well: The race for productivity is not a bad thing in oneself. Simply look at the example of the Cistercians which revolutionized at the XII century the methods of agricultural production to survive in a hostile environment and especially to have more time for the prayer. There the profits of productivity had an immediate meaning. The fruit was an additional time for the prayer. What a beautiful gift! Today, we save time without really knowing what to make with and... we consume either increasingly sophisticated and absurd gadgets or some televised image. It is this nihilist threat which weighs on cultural diversity in Europe, which weighs on the literary work of the Hungarian Sandor Marai already evoked, on the music of the Estonian composer Arvo Pärtt, on the poetry of the Polish Nobel Prize Wislawa Szymborska and – how not to evoke it here in Prague - on the philosophy of Jan Potocka. I gave here only examples of people coming from the countries of Eastern and Central Europe, the reason is that I think that it is in these countries where the threat is currently most spectacular.

Ladies and Sirs, to summarize my first part I will say what follows:

What a challenge to constitute a European citizenship which is more than one right, more than one to political knowledge, but also a vocation and which is finally filled by the richness and the cultural diversity of the people of Europe! This challenge does not form part of those which the political institutions will be able to raise alone. The European civil society, which is much more than some NGO in Brussels, is called to this task and of course also the Churches, and among them the catholic Church in first line.

The Christian radios are an expression of the Church. Which could be their contribution to the European citizenship?

#### 2. Contributions of the Christian radios

Before proposing some ideas, I would like to tell you an obvious fact. If one wonders about the contribution of the Christian radios to the European citizenship, it is clear that a radio that nobody listens to cannot much contribute. And so that a radio is listened to it must propose programmes of a very good quality. It would also be necessary that a radio be in phase with its audience and knows its expectations. Is there an expectation of European citizenship among people who listen to local Christian radios? Most probably yes, but with limits. Would they currently have the feeling of a serious European crisis? Probably not. The last edition of European construction. The September, indicated that 80% of Europeans were satisfied, even very satisfied with their life. Their principal concern, mentioned by 50%, is unemployment and not European construction. The case is thus not simple, but the effort will be worthwhile: 32% of Europeans say that they use the radio to obtain information on the European Union (after the TV for 70% and the daily newspapers for 43%).

With all the precautions I will thus dare to submit some suggestions to you:

#### 2.1 To launch projects

Local radios can pull, they can pull young people to Brussels. In 2004, I could take part in a project for young people. 30 young people of the catholic colleges of our diocese took part in a visit in Brussels. On the spot, they were divided into small groups for interviewing people who work in or with European institutions: usher of the Parliament, translator, senior official of the Commission, person in charge of a political party, manager of an information office etc.... What's more they were delighted with this experiment. During months which followed the young people produced their programme and some lasting contacts developed with them. Above all, they discovered that one can feel passionately about Europe.

#### 2.2 Special programes devoted to European politics

With Domradio, I directed some points of information at the time of the closure of the European Summit. To make understandable the conclusions of these summits is important. Behind the diplomatic formulas true facts are hidden that our Heads of States and governments do not dare to announce on their premises.

Another example: With RCF Allier we produced this year a monthly emission "Europe in debates" which brings together during 25 minutes a protagonist of yes and another of not during the election campaign on the constitutional Treaty. We seek to stimulate and continue a debate in a more serene environment and by implying local actors.

#### 2.3 Training of the journalists

Your journalists often do not have the European reflex. Perhaps the adapted formations are missing. Specialized trainings are perhaps necessary and, today, I also came to say to you that the secretariat of the COMECE is quite ready to help you to set them up if that is wished.

#### 2.4 European themes like transverse themes

To find the opening European in all the programmes, to make speak about the neighbours of other countries, to seek the comparison – here is an interrogation on the general line of your radios which I would like to subject to you.

#### 2.5 <u>To create a European Label</u>

Quality radios which speak about Europe, which makes Europe a transverse set of themes, which opens systematically with European co-operations in particular in the field of the culture, which launch participative projects are hard to come by. They deserve a support, for example by the creation of a label. It would be necessary to suggest that to the European Commission, which currently reflects on its strategy of communication. One could call it "RUE" Radio Union Européenne.

#### Conclusion

#### Ladies and Sirs

The European citizenship remains to be built. The Christian message does not come down to Europe, I know it well, but insofar as Europe as "a new thing" can become a vector of hope for all humanity, it deserves that the Christians and their radios commit themselves to do it.

Prague 30/09/05

## Intervention of Mr. Stefan WILKANOWICZ, President of Foundation ZNAK for Culture

## "FUTURE OF EUROPE reflections, experiments, proposals "

A quarter century ago a French friend, writer of the review "the Life", asked me to write two pages on the future of Europe. This proposal was, in my opinion, quite odd: what can one write on two pages? But my sense of humour suggested me writing one page only, written in the form of catechism for the children.

Later this "catechism" gave me the inspiration for the creation of our foundation, which has a European vocation, works in three directions and tries to build three "dialogs": an interreligious and intercultural dialog, a social dialog and an international dialog.

#### Interreligious dialog

The interreligious and intercultural dialog is carried out through the "Jews - Pole – Christians Forum" which gives each week on Internet a review of the Polish and sometimes foreign press, but also some news on the important events in this field, reports of books, the reflections of certain personalities, sometimes documents and even books accessible from the Web pages of the foundation. This dialog, started between Christians and Jews, develops now with the Moslems. The foundation for example collaborated in 2003 in the realization of a tour of a group of 500 Arabs and Jews, mainly from Israel, in Auschwitz, whose goal was to understand one another in the light of the history of the genocide. The initiative was that of a priest of Nazareth, Father Emile Shoufani, who is head of a school attended by Christian and Moslem children and twinned with a Jewish school in Jerusalem. At the time of this tour, we organized in Cracow a meeting with Father Shoufani and his collaborators. In their presence, a declaration on the corresponsibility of the believers for Europe (text available on our Web pages: http://www.forum-znak.org.pl/index-en.php?p=declaration-francais) was presented and signed jointly by two Polish councils: the Polish Council of the Christians and the Jews, and the Common Council of the Catholics and the Moslems in Poland.

#### Social dialog

The social dialog takes the shape of a forum of work on Internet, which deals mainly with the unemployment and the culture of work. One finds there theoretical articles and documents, but especially practical reports of experiments carried out by various circles. Within the framework of this social dialog, the foundation already organized or co-organized two social weeks on the unemployed people and unemployment, in Oświęcim [Auschwitz city] in 2003 and the other in Cracow in May 2004. These weeks wanted to be different from the scientific conferences on the topic of unemployment as theoretical problem: it was about meeting unemployed people with representatives of various organizations or institutions which help the unemployed people, who organize their formation, which try to build the culture of work.

The last of these social weeks, organized in Cracow in the premises and with the collaboration of the Club of the Catholic Intellectuals (KIK), found his continuation in a series of similar but more

detailed meetings: meetings with representatives of these institutions where the participants could put practical questions and had the possibility of consulting a lawyer for all the questions of employment law.

Following these meetings, the foundation co-organized with the Labour Office of Voïévodie a contest open to all. It was a question of presenting a project at the initial stage, an idea, which would make it possible to help the unemployed people (as well on the human side as by creating jobs) while building a culture of work. The seven people having presented the most interesting projects gained a formation organized by the Labour Office to give them the skills necessary to the realization of their project.

Another consequence of these social weeks: the foundation is creating a network thanks to a program on Internet which facilitates the exchange of information and of projects between some organizations which work for the unemployed people and who decided to collaborate.

We also prepared a "Letter on unemployment, work and the solidarity", which contains reflections on these topics and proposes the exchange of the addresses and information between the institutions and the circles which carry out an activity in the social life. This letter is now distributed nationwide.

The next project of the foundation on this topic is to prepare a booklet for all the teachers (parents, teachers) which will be called: "How to prepare the children for work?". This topic is very important now because to build a real culture of work it is necessary to start very early, in the nursery schools and the families, by accustoming the children to take part in the house work and to get some skills, some virtues, some practices to be active, to understand the needs of the others and to work.

#### The international dialog

This dialog developed within the framework of the "EuroDialogue" program, created initially in the Institute of Central and Eastern Europe of Lublin (with our collaboration), then transferred on our Web pages (<u>www.eurodialog.znak.com.pl</u>) which include several texts concerning the dialog of the cultures and the problems of the minorities in Europe.

This file gave place to the one of the strong initiatives of the foundation: that to write and promulgate a declaration whose goal is to restore the historical truth on the essential European values. This European declaration is regarded as a text which supplements or accompanies the constitutional treaty of the European Union, and was signed by a series of personalities in Poland and abroad, inter alia by Mr. Mazowiecki, former Prime Minister, Mr. Bartoszewski, former minister, Mr. Kułakowski, former representative of the Polish government during the negotiations with the European Union (to be read on Internet site: <a href="http://www.forum-znak.org.pl/index-en.php?p=declaration1-francais">http://www.forum-znak.org.pl/index-en.php?p=declaration1-francais</a>).

Today the international dialog is especially carried out through the Institute "Bridges towards the East", created within the framework of the foundation to facilitate contacts with the Ukrainians, the Slovak ones and Belarusses. This Institute sets up several programs of exchange, some workshops with Polish, Ukrainian and Slovak journalists, but also meetings with the civil servants of the local authorities or officers of the Non Governmental Organizations. The Institute "Bridges towards the East" for example organized in September 2004 an international conference on the human rights in Poland, Ukraine and in other European countries. Thanks to the program of the Institute, journalists of the three interested countries could visit for the first time a refugee camp in Ukraine and could speak with people who are placed over there, mainly Chinese or Vietnamese illegal immigrants which tried to reach the European Union.

The Institute also organized meetings between the representatives of the local authorities on the two sides of the border which gave good results. Another project is to set up at the East of Poland a European academy which shall have the purpose of training students of all the Central and Eastern Europe to collaboration for European integration. That will be able to be carried out in collaboration of several higher schools, of which the Jagellonne University of Cracow. The

Znak foundation will probably take part in this realization as far as remote teaching and training are concerned

#### The foundation and young people

The foundation has finally part of its activities turned towards youth. In 2004, we worked on an interactive project of teaching of the Shoah and the knowledge of the Jewish presence in Poland, intended as well for the professors as for the pupils. This project consists of a corpus of texts and documents of very varied nature (books of history, essays, talks, memories, literary texts, iconographic reports but also documents, photographs, pictures) between which it is possible to browse. It will be published very soon on Internet site of the foundation and available for downloading for the professors, in three parts: Jewish culture in prewar Poland and its disappearance; the holocaust; and finally the work of memory and the danger of the oblivion.

The foundation organizes also investigations and contests addressed to the young people. For example, we diffused an investigation in Poland about "the young people and the violence" which produced very interesting information on all the problems of violence among the young people. The foundation also organized during the war in Kosovo, a contest for young people the called "3 questions:" Why Auschwitz? Why Kolyma (most terrible of the Soviet camps)? Why Kosovo?" We received almost a hundred answers, sometimes so interesting that they were worth being translated and published on our Web pages in 5 languages (Polish, English, French, German and Russian. See www.3questions.pl). The answers and the reflections of the young people are accompanied by a file of information on these three massacres as well as series of pictures of Józef Szajna, old captive of Auschwitz and highly skilled professor to the Academy of Fine Arts of Warsaw.

Another competition was proposed to the secondary schools and colleges of the area of Małopolska, around Cracow, and entitled "Our exceptional friendship". We asked these young people to describe a difficult friendship, an unusual friendship, i.e. a friendship between people who are different by their nationality, their religion, their culture. We received many very interesting answers, those which we selected are also available on our Web pages (in Polish: http://www.tolerancja.pl/przyjazn/index\_net.php).

Today, after the 60th birthday of the liberation of the camp of Auschwitz, the foundation prepares a project in collaboration with UNESCO like with other institutions in Poland and abroad. It is about an investigation with three other questions: Which are the events which threaten us today, the dangers similar to the genocides of the past? What can and must one make to eliminate them, to fight against these threats? What you (your school, or yourself) can make in this field and perhaps you make already? This investigation is intended initially for a few tens of schools in several countries on all the continents, especially in countries which crossed or which today pass through crises of great violence or wars such as for example Iraq, but also Kampuchea and Rwanda. The professors of these schools will have either to organize discussions among the pupils, or to ask for written answers and for more personal reflections, and to accompany these results by a report including their own reflections and some information on the environment and the problems of this school, of these pupils, of the youth in their country. Later we hope to widen this investigation with the collaboration of the media and other institutions, especially in Europe.

In 1997 we organized, at the time of a conference within the Institute of the Central and Eastern Europe of Lublin, a discussion on the Ukrainian culture. We now prepare a discussion on the Belorussian culture, discussion carried out by Internet, with the participation of the eminent Belorussian from the country and from the diaspora.

And finally the biggest and most difficult project: a series of publications, partially printed, partially on CD, on the topic: "My culture and our Europe". We think of asking for eminent Europeans to present their reflections on their own national cultures and the dialog between the cultures. These reflections must be accompanied by literary texts, images and music.

#### Which pluralism, which integration?

It seems that Europeans are influenced more and more by a certain chaotic relativism where nothing is stable, where even the development of the man loses his meaning, for lack of orientation. Of course this "nebulous environment" causes confusion, concern and the frustration which sometimes leads to the aggressive attitudes. The proliferation of the sects is a reaction, the expression of a need for mental and social safety.

Then it is necessary to remember a happy formula of Richard von Weizsaecker, former German President, persuaded that Europe needs an oecumenical pluralism, which appreciates the richness of diversities and at the same time searches for a common base of the values. Thus we need enriching, deepening and integral dialogs at the same time.

#### Which fatherland?

Each one of us has his basic fatherland: people, landscape, culture, in which his small fatherland can be, a place or a village linked to his childhood or his youth (for me it is a garden with a statue of the Blessed Virgin and a nest of storks). But one can have also fatherlands of adoption (for me it is the Roman district Trastevere and Hue, the old capital of Vietnam).

But each one of us has (or must have) also his spiritual fatherland, a whole of inherited and adopted values, which is built in permanent dialog with other people and other cultures. A whole and not a hubbub of the ideas and emotions (i.e. an anticulture). If one speaks about the war of civilizations it is necessary to think especially of this war between chaos and cosmos, i.e. the order. The future of Europe depends on our capacity to develop Europe as a common spiritual fatherland.

#### Which Christians?

It is obvious that the Christians are obliged to work for the development of the dialogs and of the many-sided collaboration – the pope John Paul II reminded us several times this duty. But how to be prepared for this task? We need living examples, people who could inspire and initiate us.

#### **Disciples of Christ in Europe**

I do not doubt that there are people who can give us this example, who are deeply linked to Christ and who follow him. But they should be found, because they do not like publicity, they do not make noise. Sometimes they do not know that they can inspire well-known and sometimes famous people. And we, the journalists, we are by principle researchers of hidden wisdom – it is our vocation. Thus let us try to address our listeners, spectators and readers, let us ask for their assistance in our work

We can ask them to describe us those which are, according to them, true disciples of Christ.

We can ask them some simple questions, for example: Do you know somebody who is for you a true disciple of Christ? Why? How it follows him:

- in its spiritual life, in the prayer?
- in its family life?
- in its work?
- in its relations with the others, including the foreigners?
- in the social life?

How can he be an example for the others? For whom?

If we manage to have answers coming from the various countries of Europe and the various religious communities we all will be enriched. And we will be able to carry out an effective education, based on the sharing of wisdom in the spirit of solidarity

#### My answer

When one prepares questions for an investigation it is initially necessary to think of its own answers. How will I be able to answer myself? Almost spontaneously, without deliberation, three answers come to my mind. Atypical answers.

Initially I think of more than one thousand of people (including children), inhabitants of Oswiecim (Auschwitz), who helped and sometimes saved prisoners, often by risking their life. More than one hundred of them were imprisoned, more than fifty died in camps.

Then it is a German, who dared to oppose officially Hitler, during the war, while trying to save handicapped and sick people, then he hid Jews at his place, and after the war he founded Aktion Sühnezeichen, which proposed to the Germans to make penitence for their crimes and to work for the reconciliation with their victims.

And finally a 12 year old young girl, invalid as of her birth (with paralyzed feet), who took part in the activities of the scouts, animated charitable and missionaries actions. After an accident she offered her life for the life of her mother, seriously wounded. And she died in an unexpected way, due to a light wound.

Certainly, there are "ordinary" people who do not cause astonishment immediately, but who can guide us. Thus let us search for!