

Delegation of the European Union to the Holy See
L'Osservatore Romano

The Popes and Sixty Years of European Integration



THE POPES AND SIXTY YEARS OF EUROPEAN INTEGRATION



Vatican City
2017

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Friendship and Cooperation

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Project by Ambassador Jan Tombiński and Giovanni Maria Vian

The text of Bernard Lecomte, the speech of Pius XII to the Participants to the Congress promoted by the European Movement (13 June 1957) and the speech of Pope Paul VI to the Christian Democratic Group of the European Parliament (14 October 1964) have been translated by the European Commission, Directorate General for Translations

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L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO



This year, the European Union celebrated 60 years of peace, freedom and progress. From the moment the Treaties of Rome were signed in the Eternal City in March 1957, the bond of common values and aspirations between Europeans has proven to be a force more powerful and resilient than the divisions and conflicts that punctuated our long and often troubled history.

Throughout this long and difficult journey, the Popes of the Catholic Church have accompanied the men and women who worked to construct Europe with their encouragement, their warnings and their spiritual guidance. This has been true since the very foundation of the European Union was laid with the blessing given by Pope Pius XII to the leaders of our six founding Member States gathering in Rome for the signature of the Treaties in 1957.

The idea of an ever closer union of the European peoples as a project of peace and reconciliation after two world wars resonates in the way the Catholic Church has spoken about the European Union. In the words of John Paul II, building a society based on values and not force is first and foremost the *“the fruit of a victory over ourselves, over the powers of in-*

justice, selfishness and hatred which can go so far as to disfigure man himself”.

There are many other recurrent themes that appear in the rich collection of speeches and iconic moments featured in this book. The warning that market forces should always be combined with a strong emphasis on people and their regional and local identities. The moral imperative for Europe to fulfil its duty to promote human rights, economic and social development, democracy and the rule of law across the world.

In many crucial moments of our recent history, the Catholic Church has added its voice to the debate on the choices for Europe. I will never forget the words that Pope John Paul II – a man who played such an important role in bringing down the Iron Curtain that still divided our continent – used in 1989. For him, the Church in Europe needed to breathe with its two lungs – East and West. A powerful metaphor of how unity is an existential condition for our common construction.

In more recent times, when Europe was confronted with the challenges and the divisions brought by the economic crisis and the refugee crisis, the calls for greater solidarity among European peoples of Pope Benedict XVI and Pope Francis have had a

PIETRO PAROLIN
Cardinal Secretary of State

Dialogue for the Dignity of the Human Person and Peace

powerful echo. In 2016, the award of the European Charlemagne Prize to Pope Francis recognised his tireless reminders that we should stay true to ourselves and true to our values of freedom, solidarity and respect for human dignity and civil liberties.

At a time in which Europe is looking back to seek inspiration for its renewal this book fills a gap in the literature on the history of European integration and casts a new light on the role that the Roman Catholic Church plays in the progress of the

European ideal. Unity, solidarity, subsidiarity, and peace are the very heartbeat of the European Union.

As the European Union looks ahead to its future, we will continue to stay true to those values. And we will continue to do so in close friendship and cooperation with the Holy See. In the words of Pope Francis speaking at the European Parliament a few years ago: “*I consider Europe as a family of peoples*”. Together, we must make that family even stronger.

There is a saying that “Rome was not built in a day”. This could also be said of the European Union, which, like every organic body, develops and matures over time.

The present volume, prepared by the Delegation of the European Union to the Holy See, with the contribution of *L'Osservatore Romano*, retraces the first steps of the journey that began with the signing of the Treaties of Rome. These Treaties gave birth to the community of States that desired to leave behind the polarization of two world wars and unite their own resources in order to implement a project of peace.

These pages, however, do not offer simply a historical account of all that has happened. They also describe a “dialogue”, namely, that between the Community which gradually developed and the Popes who successively governed the Church. There is no doubt that the Holy See has followed and continues to follow the European project with profound respect and interest, even when differences seem to prevail.

Among the many expressions that have emerged from the fruitful dialogue between the Popes and Europe, I would like to briefly emphasize two: the

dignity of the human person and peace. These offer a summary of the long process, to a large extent yet to be written, that has characterized these past sixty years. The dignity of the human person has always been at the centre of the European project, for Europe is not only a body of political regulations and economic processes. It is, as Pope Francis has highlighted, “a way of life, a way of understanding man based on his transcendent and inalienable dignity”¹. There is the need, moreover, to recognize a significant success of the European project, that of having ensured one of the longest periods of peace in the continent’s history. This peace, a precious good, can never be taken for granted; it is the essential condition for the harmonious development of every society.

In this perspective, the inclusion in this volume of the Apostolic Letters with which the six patrons of Europe were declared over these years is particularly poignant. In different contexts and eras, these patrons untiringly promoted the good and peace of the peoples of Europe, inspired by the hope of building a more just and fraternal world, worthy of the human person².

It is my hope that this volume will help relaunch the convinced and generous efforts of Christians to-

wards the building up of Europe, and at the same time help all interested parties to recognize the contribution that religious communities can offer to the construction of this common home which, as Pope Francis has reminded us, is certainly worth building³.

¹ Address to the Heads of State and Government of the European Union in Italy for the Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, Sala Regia, 24 March 2017.

² Cf. John Paul II, Apostolic Letter *Spes aedificandi*, 1 October 1999.

³ Cf. Address to the Heads of State and Government of the European Union.

BERNARD LECOMTE

The Popes and the European Integration

Nothing is more important
than shielding
Europe from war

Leo XIII

Nostis errorem, 11 February 1889

Historians believe that Pope Saint Gregory the Great, who converted England to Christianity, was the first to use the term “Europe” to refer to the part of our continent lying to the North of the Mediterranean, when writing to Emperor Maurice in the year 595. From Zachary to Leo III, successive Popes turned to the powerful Frankish and Germanic monarchs, particularly Charlemagne, who was known as the “*father of Europe*”, seeking protection against the invading Lombards, Normans and Saracens; in doing so, they invented the Christian West. Thus, from its earliest beginnings, the papacy had close ties to the European events that would influence the world order for centuries to come.

However, it is a very different Europe that the Holy See is celebrating in 2017. The Enlightenment, the French Revolution, the People’s Spring, the industrial revolution and two World Wars have radically changed the map of Europe, as well as its institutions, laws, culture and religious practices. The Popes are no longer the partners of emperors and they no longer have Papal States to defend. They are spiritual leaders once again, concerned with spreading the values of the Gospel around the world: peace, forgiveness, love of neighbour, the primacy of man and solidarity – values that are part of the Europe we know today. It was because of these values, and not a desire to revive a Medieval-style Christianity, that Popes Pius XII, John XXIII and Paul VI played an active role in the construction of Europe from 1945 to 1978.

In 1945, Europe was in ruins. Two terrifying conflicts had seen brother nations with more than a thousand years of shared history turn against one another, shedding “*streams of Christian blood*” across a deeply divided Europe, as Pope Benedict XV said in 1914. After two devastating world wars, which began in the heart of Europe, there rang out an almost unanimous cry of “Never again!”. But it remained to be seen exactly how to prevent such hor-

rors from ever happening again. Looking to the teachings of the Gospel, Pope Pius XII and the Christian post-war leaders contributed an essential concept to the debates at the time: “reconciliation”.

“Reconciliation” above all

On 1 September 1943, with the conflict far from over, Pius XII issued a call to the warring parties, urging them to adopt “*a new life of reconciliation between brothers, of harmony, and of diligent reconstruction*”. In his 1943 Christmas Message, Pius XII emphasised the point: “*This is our appeal to you: rise above yourselves, above narrow-minded judgements or calculations, above any advantages bestowed by military superiority, above any unilateral claims of what is right and just! (...) Do not seek to withhold from any member of the family of peoples any substantive rights or vital necessities*”. The Pope had in mind the failure of the Treaties of Versailles and of Trianon in 1919, from which the Holy See had been excluded by the Italian government of the time. The excessive demands of the two Treaties had made a future reconciliation between France and Germany impossible, leading to the tragic consequences of 1939-40.

Was Pius XII’s agenda too radical? Was it reasonable to ask people not to harbour resentment after so many senseless crimes and unspeakable atrocities? When at war, people can only conceive of the future as a power struggle and think only of winning the battle, judging the warmongers, obtaining reparations and plotting revenge, etc. The Pope was strongly criticised for his appeals, particularly in England, France and Poland. He was also savagely accused by the USSR of being too moderate towards, or even of being complicit with, a vanquished Germany.



But Pius XII did not back down. In his Radio Message of 9 May 1945, he launched an appeal: “*If the world wants a return to peace, there can be no more lies and resentment*”. One month later, on 2 June, at the traditional reception of the College of Cardinals for the Feast of Saint Eugene, he called for realism: “*The road from armistice to true and sincere peace will be long and arduous. (...) We must allow the whirlwind of heightened passions to die down...*”. Pius XII spoke unambiguously in his 1945 Christmas Message; for there to be a return to peace, the foremost requirement was to “*abandon any spirit of vengeance*”, as the Gospels teach us. Later, in his 1947 Christmas Radio Message, he stressed that: “*Nothing is more valuable than renouncing retaliation and letting go of bitterness*”, while “*the cruel and unjust acts*” committed during the war had “*sown the seeds of an instinctive desire to seek revenge*”.

The reconciliation between France and Germany was naturally the priority concern. To ensure its success, it was essential not to repeat the mistakes made in 1870 and 1918, [after France and then Ger-

many surrendered]. Any “*humiliation*” of the vanquished by the victor, and any calls for revenge, had to be avoided. Speaking at the International Congress of the Union of European Federalists on 11 November 1948, Pius XII declared that “*Nothing would be worse*” than for one country to “*exploit its post-war political superiority to eliminate an economic competitor*”. Such attitudes “*would only serve to immediately damage the work being done to bring countries together in mutual understanding*”, he added.

Halting the advance of Communism

Pius XII was adamant about bringing the peoples of Europe together, because it was the surest way of securing peace in that part of the world. He also felt it was the best defence against what he saw as the greatest danger threatening the Old Continent: Communism. The Holy See had long since identified this deadly threat menacing Europe; indeed, Pope Pius XI had firmly condemned it in the En-

The ceremony of 25 March 1957
(© European Union, 2017)

cyclical *Divini Redemptoris* (19 March 1937). But the circumstances of the Second World War had clouded the issue: the USSR had helped defeat Fascism and the United States had talked openly of including Stalin in a new world order, undermining the Pope’s Message; the Kremlin in particular exploited this situation in its anti-Papal propaganda.

However, history soon proved the Pope right. Firstly, religious persecution intensified in the USSR and Communist countries, reaching the highest Catholic authorities, including: Msgr Slipyj in Ukraine, Msgr Wyszyński in Poland, Msgr Mindszenty in Hungary, Msgr Stepinac in Yugoslavia and Msgr Beran in Czechoslovakia. From 1947 onwards, nobody would deny that a “*Cold War*” was taking place between the Communist bloc and the rest of the world. In his famous speech given in Fulton, Missouri, on 5 March 1946, Winston Churchill spoke out against the “*Iron Curtain*” dividing Europe. In his 1947 Christmas Radio Message, Pius XII denounced this “*titanic struggle between two opposing ideas fighting to control the world*”, while recalling the Holy See’s traditional refusal to take sides: “*Our position between the two opposing factions is not due to any preconceived ideas, any preference for one people or another, or for one group of nations or another, and nor is it influenced by the turn of events*”.

The Church took a stance based on its values and expressed – in the clearest possible terms – its support for the Western countries in organising the defence of European civilisation, under threat from “*Atheist totalitarianism*”. Addressing the College of Cardinals on 1 June 1946, the day before important elections were held in France and Italy, the Pope spoke plainly, calling on “*these two Latin sisters, of ultra-millenary Christian civilisation*”, to “*continue to build on the solid rock of Christianity*” rather than “*entrusting their future to the indifferent omnipotence of a*

materialistic State, with no lofty ideals, no religion and no God".

The Congress of Europe, held in The Hague from 8 to 10 May 1948, brought together a number of European movements attracted by the idea of a "United States of Europe", and the Pope sent a personal envoy there, Msgr Paolo Giobbe, before broadcasting his 1948 Christmas Radio Message, launching a clear call for Western "solidarity". In the spring of 1949, he welcomed the establishment of two institutions whose aim was to "safeguard and defend an entire shared civilisation founded on the principles of Christianity": these were the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (4 April 1949) and the Council of Europe (5 May 1949). Discreetly, but persistently, he encouraged the Italian government to join NATO. And, leaving no room for doubt, on 1 July 1949, Pius XII caused a sensation by publishing, through the Holy Office, a Decree stating that membership of Communist parties or any form of propagation of its "materialistic and anti-Christian doctrine" could lead to excommunication.

The myth of a "Vatican Europe"

It would have been difficult for Pius XII to go any further, since the Holy See does not take political decisions like others. The Pope can set out principles, but his role is not to take strictly diplomatic initiatives. In his speech of 11 November 1948 at Castel Gandolfo, he made it clear that the Church would not be "involved in purely worldly matters". In the same speech, he issued a reminder that "technically" the Church is unable to further any sort of European Union, refusing to give any reason to those who so wanted to oppose a "Vatican Europe". However, Pius XII knew that he could count on a number of Christian movements (such as Pax

Christi, of Franco-German origin), political parties (such as the Christian Democrats in Germany, France and Italy) and a handful of Catholic leaders (such as Robert Schuman, Konrad Adenauer and Alcide de Gasperi).

It was one of these personalities, the French Catholic Jean Monnet, who inspired the historic Declaration of 9 May 1950, proposing a Europe concerned only with "coal and steel", a matter that would bring France and Germany together on an equal footing. The European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) came into being in 1952. The same strategy of limited integration focusing on a specific sector led to the signing of the Treaties of Rome on 25 March 1957, one of which was on Euratom, the other on the Common Market.

On 13 June 1957, speaking at the Congress of Europe, brought together by the Italian section of the European Movement, Pius XII expressed his enthusiastic support for these developments, calling the ECSC's first steps "encouraging". He expressed regret, in no uncertain terms, that French resistance had led to the failure of the European Defence Community in August 1954. As regards the new European Economic Community (EEC), he stated: "Granted that this community is under some restrictions in the economic area, it is nevertheless able, by extending its field of activity, to make the member States aware of their mutual interests. This awareness, naturally, will exist at first only in the material order, but, if the attempt is successful, it could extend to those areas where moral and spiritual values are concerned". And the Pope urged the Congress participants to "examine means for re-enforcing the powers of the executive branches of the already existing communities, in order to succeed, finally, in outlining a Constitution demanded by this single political body".

In the eyes of the Church, the Europe of the Six created by the Treaty of Rome was not a finished

product, nor was it ideal. In much the same way that coal and steel, or indeed enriched uranium, are not specifically Catholic values, just as the concept of a "common market" is not mentioned in the Gospel! But this new institution, this "Community", which brought together six Christian countries, represented a major step forward, hailed by *L'Osservatore Romano*, *Vatican Radio* and *La Civiltà Cattolica* as the most important political event in the modern history of the Eternal City. From then on, whenever speaking before a good-sized audience or during any important visit, Pius XII would recall that a European Union was a much needed and welcome benefit.

The Vatican: European or Universal?

Pius XII died in October 1958. His Successor was Cardinal Roncalli, who was familiar with the European issues, having been Apostolic Nuncio in France from 1945 to 1953. However, times had changed in the space of just a few years. Although Peace was still threatened, it was no longer due to any Franco-German rivalry; the two States, represented by Chancellor Adenauer and General de Gaulle, formally made peace in January 1963, because the threat now came from the Cold War between the USA and the USSR. This conflict involved a number of non-European countries, such as Korea and Vietnam. In January 1959, John XXIII convoked the Second Vatican Council, the objective of which was clearly "universal". The Pope himself had to face international tensions, well beyond Europe's borders; such as the Cuban Missile Crisis in October 1962, which almost triggered a nuclear war. While guiding the initial work of the Council, John XXIII wrote the Encyclical *Pacem in Terris* (published on 11 April 1963); this clearly showed that the Holy See's staunch commitment to promot-

ing peace, defending the human person and bringing peoples together, had taken on a new dimension – from now on the stakes were global.

Pope Paul VI, who succeeded John XXIII in June 1963, was committed to Europe. Giovanni Battista Montini, who had personal and family connections to the Christian Democrats of Italy, followed in the footsteps of Pius XII by taking a keen interest in the building of Europe. Addressing the Italian Catholic University Federation after his election, on 2 September 1963, he spoke of the "duty to find a positive solution to the great question of European unity". The Pope reiterated this commitment to a Group of Christian-Democrats from the European Parliament, whom he received on 14 October 1964: "This Europe of tomorrow, which is already taking shape, must be based on the human, moral and religious heritage inspired to a large extent by the Gospel, which has exerted and continues to exert on the continent of Europe an influence that is unique in the history of civilisations".

In 1967, the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Treaties of Rome was celebrated amid much pomp and ceremony in the Eternal City. In 1970, Paul VI appointed an Apostolic Nuncio to the European Communities and a Permanent Observer to the Council of Europe. In 1977, the Pope also officially recognised the Council of European Bishops' Conferences (CCEE), founded in the wake of the Second Vatican Council. In 1975, speaking at the Third CCEE Symposium, he urged the participants to "awaken Europe's Christian soul; therein lies its unity".

But the slow and difficult process of constructing the European Union was no longer the Holy See's central preoccupation. Following on from John XXIII, Pope Montini deliberately chose to give the papacy's diplomatic efforts a global focus. Thus, in his Encyclical *Ecclesiam Suam*, published in August 1964, Paul VI made clear that the "great and universal

*Flags of Vatican City State and the European Union in
Strasbourg (25 November 2014)*

question of peace” was still a sacred duty for the Church, and that it would be central to the Vatican’s diplomacy: “*Wherever the councils of nations come together to establish the rights and duties of man, we are honoured to be permitted to take our place among them*”. The Holy See began to work more closely with the United Nations’ main bodies (ILO, WHO, UNHCR, IAEA, UNCTAD, UNIDO, UNESCO, FAO), and it did so as a sovereign and universal power concerned with all spiritual and religious matters affecting mankind, and not in the name of a “Vatican City State”, geographically located in Europe. Addressing the United Nations in 1965, Paul VI explained that the Church speaks as an “*expert on humanity*”, an expression that would go down in history.

This concern for a global, as opposed to purely European, dimension led the Vatican apart from the so-called “*Western*” powers, to attempt to establish diplomatic relations with the Communist countries (in a policy known as *Ostpolitik*) - an attempt that was not without its difficulties. In 1969, the Pope accepted the USSR’s proposal to take part in the work of the future Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). The Vatican’s diplo-

mat focused their efforts on the topic of religious freedom and human rights. At the time they could never have imagined how important these rights, enshrined in the Helsinki Accords, signed in August 1975, would prove to be for the Eastern European dissidents, whether Christian or not, who were fighting Communist totalitarianism.

For thirty years, Pius XII, John XXIII and Paul VI were part of the process of European integration. This process, although not a religious project in itself, echoed the values of the Gospel: reconciliation, solidarity between peoples and the primacy of man, etc. Then, in 1978, the Conclave elected a pastor from Poland who would modify, expand and enrich the Church’s European vision. John Paul II added a strong cultural dimension to this vision, looking to the history of the Old Continent, which was guilty of having forgotten its “*Christian roots*”. Well before the fall of the Berlin Wall, he developed the idea of a “*Europe of nations*”, one that stretched far beyond the confines of Western Europe, and which he hoped would once again achieve the “*dimensions that geography and [...] history have given it*”.



Pius XII
13 June 1957

To participants in a Congress promoted by the European Movement

It gives Us great pleasure to welcome you, gentlemen, on the occasion of the Congress of Europe, which was called by the Italian Council for the European movement.

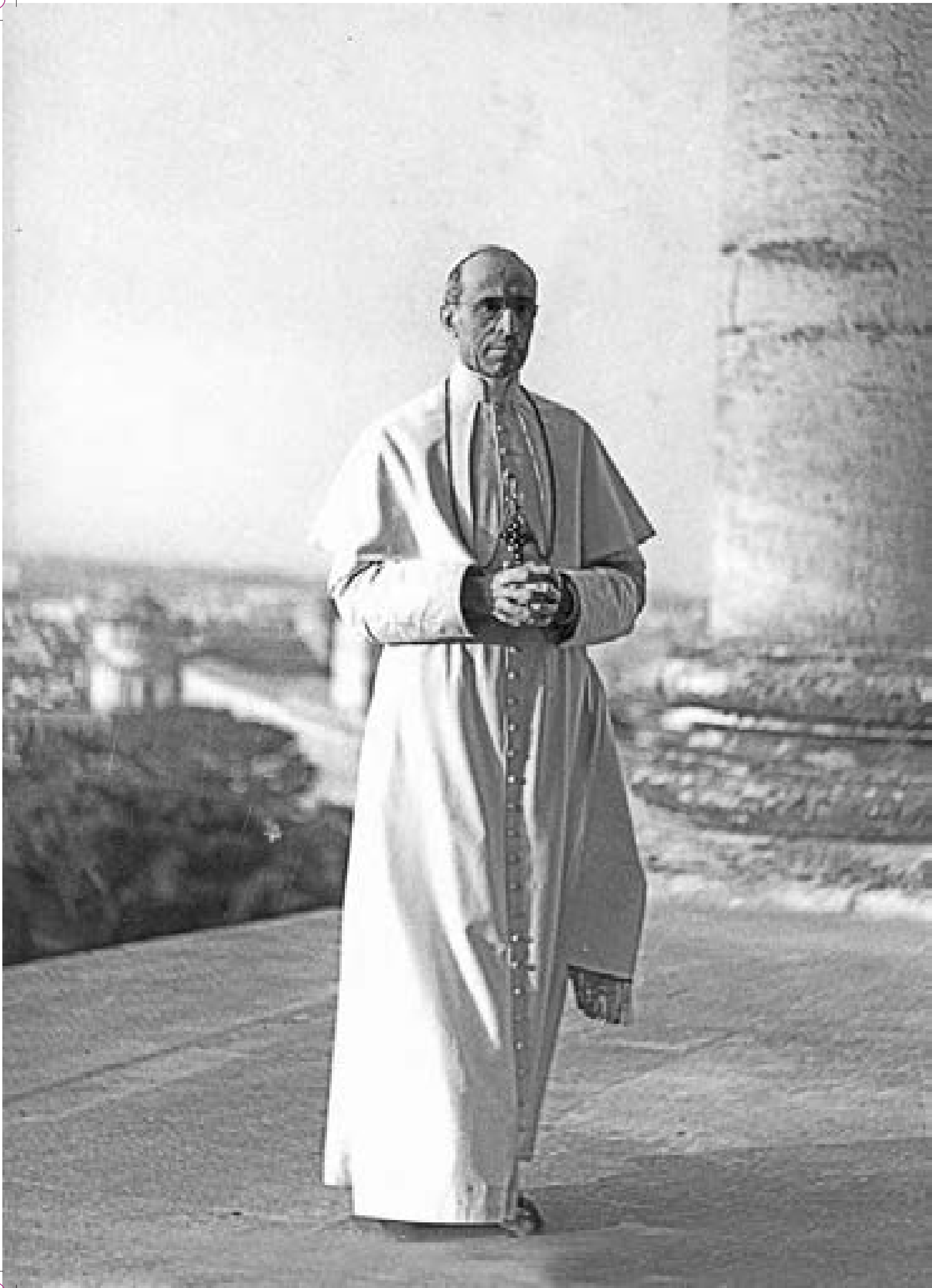
It has been your wish that your work help strengthen the spirit of cooperation between organizations and political forces in order that European unity might be established more quickly.

You have some idea how closely We have followed the progress of the European idea and how We have watched the concrete efforts being put forth to make the idea penetrate more deeply into men's minds and, under the proper circumstances, to bring about its realization. Despite some wavering between success and regression, this plan has made some headway during the past few years. Not long ago, when this plan first took shape for application to autonomous and independent governmental institutions, people thought that it was an ideal which, albeit desirable, was nonetheless unattainable.

But in 1952 the legislative bodies of six western European nations approved the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community, and the social and economic advantages of the move have been encouraging. On the other hand, the European Defence Community, which was supposed to unify efforts toward defence on a military and political basis, met with such strong resistance that it failed. At the present time, many people are of the opinion that it will be a long while before the initial enthusiasm for unification is revived.

In any case, it is not yet time to consider unity on a supra-national basis and we should fall back upon the formula of the Union of Western Europe which, aside from military aid, is intended to stimulate social, cultural, and economic cooperation. But We still cannot consider this a sufficiently strong basis for a European community, since the majority decisions of the Council of Ministers are under strong limitations and the Assembly is unable to impose its will or use parliamentary control.

From the spring of 1955, when it was touched off, the so-called European revival grew until, on March 25, 1957, it climaxed in the signing of treaties for Euratom and the



Pius XII

Common Market. Granted that this community is under some restrictions in the economic area, it is nevertheless able, by extending its field of activity, to make the member-states aware of their mutual interests. This awareness, naturally, will exist at first only in the material order, but, if the attempt is successful, it will extend itself to those areas where moral and spiritual values are concerned.

Your congress has kept a sharp eye on the future, and you have, before anything else, examined the decisive point upon which depends the formation of any community worthy of the name: the formation of a European political authority which will have sufficient responsibility to be felt. From this point of view, the European Economic Community is less successful than the Coal and Steel Community, whose High Authority has powers which are relatively broad and which, except in certain determined cases, do not depend upon any Council of Ministers.

Among the tasks facing you now, the first one is the ratification by the interested parliaments, of the treaties We mentioned above, which were signed at Rome on March 25. As a second step, you will have to examine means of re-enforcing the powers of the executive branches of the already existing communities, in order to come, finally, to some idea of the constitution demanded by this political unity.

You have already looked into the question of an external political community and you have learned that, for such a situation to be successful and produce results, it does not necessarily presuppose an already existing economic integration. A single external political community in Europe, though it will allow for the differences arising from varying interests, will also base itself on the common economic, spiritual, and cultural interests of its members. Such a community is becoming more and more indispensable in a world which, more and more, is splitting up into small groups.

Fortunately, interests overlap on enough points to permit such a plan for unity to be put into action among the already existing European institutions, but an instrumentality is needed which will effectively refine and apply such a plan.

Finally, you have considered the problems connected with an association between Europe and Africa, which was given special mention in the March agreements. It seems to Us that Europe must keep her influence in Africa so far as education and formation are concerned and wherever, more basically, she gives a great deal of material aid which helps to raise the standard of living of the people of Africa and enhances the value of the continent's natural resources.

In this way Europe will prove that her desire to form a community of States does not spring from selfish motivation. She will show that she is not, after all, interested simply in a defensive arrangement which will protect her from external threats to her interests. She will prove that, more than anything else, she is working from constructive and disinterested motives.

Paul VI
14 October 1964

Right now, it is abundantly clear that there is real need for union and that such a union must be built upon foundations strong enough to support it. Whether it be a painful process or a happy one, the construction of the union is going forward and, despite some unsuccessful tries, it is going forward with courage.

You have already ventured to pass beyond the realities of the present, and are beginning to select the stones necessary for tomorrow's building. We are happy to see such a spirit, persuaded that it comes from generous and upright motives. Your aim is to secure for Europe, which has so often been torn asunder and bloodstained, a lasting unity which will enable her to continue her mission in history.

If it is true that for Europe the message of Christianity was like the leaven in dough, always working and causing the whole mass to rise, it is no less true that this same message remains, today as yesterday, the most valuable of the treasures with which she has been charged. With the concept and exercise of the fundamental liberties of the human person, this message can maintain the vigor and integrity of the operations of family and national society and, in a supra-national community, can guarantee respect for cultural differences and a spirit of conciliation and cooperation, along with an acceptance of the sacrifices which it will entail and the dedication which it will demand.

No undertaking in the temporal order comes to a conclusion without giving rise to another, without generating, in its accomplishment, a whole series of other obligations, needs, and objectives. Human society always depends on the future; it is always in search of a better organization, and cultures often survive only by dying and giving birth to richer and more brilliant cultures which in their turn yield to others.

Christianity brings an element of growth and stability to each of these cultures. Above all, it directs their forward march toward a clearly defined goal, and gives them an unchanging assurance of a homeland which is not of this world and which only knows perfect union, because it originates in the strength and light of God Himself.

It is Our most earnest wish that this ideal will always guide your work and give you strength to bear without discouragement the fatigue, bitterness, and disillusionment inherent in all such undertakings. May you be able to construct for the men of our age an earthly home which bears some resemblance to the Kingdom of God, the Kingdom of truth, love, and peace, to which they aspire from the depths of their beings.

As a token of the divine favours which We ask for your work, We give to you, to your families, and to all your dear ones, Our Apostolic Benediction.

To Christian Democratic Members of the European Parliament

Gentlemen,
As part of the study days organised by your Group here in Rome, you expressed the wish to pay your respects to Us. We were glad to grant your wish and are very pleased to welcome you in Our residence.
As you know, We have expressed great interest in European matters since the beginning of Our Papacy, while of course keeping to Our own sphere. We are aware that the Christian Democratic Group of the European Parliament brings together representatives of the different Member States, who belong to different religious confessions, but who are all motivated by a common desire to work in the spirit of just and brotherly cooperation in the gradual construction of Europe. This Europe of tomorrow, which is already taking shape, must be based on the human, moral and religious heritage inspired to a large extent by the Gospel, which has affirmed and continues to affirm this Continent's unique importance in the history of civilization.

Please allow Us to take this opportunity to encourage you once more, and to urge you to pursue an undertaking which – although challenging and complex – is clearly vital to the future of Europe, as well as to that of the whole world. You may therefore be certain, Gentlemen, that We will continue to support your efforts to hasten the advent of a peaceful, united Europe.

It is in this spirit that We fervently ask God to grant you every success in this noble cause and We wholeheartedly invoke an abundance of heavenly blessings upon your work, yourselves and your families.

St. Benedict
in a fresco at Subiaco

Paul VI
24 October 1964



PACIS NUNTIUS

Paul VI
PACIS NUNTIUS
Apostolic Letter
by which St. Benedict, Abbot, is proclaimed Principle Patron
of All of Europe
In perpetual memory

Messenger of peace, builder of unity, master of civilization, and above all herald of Christianity and founder of Western monasticism: these are the proper laudatory titles given to St. Benedict, Abbot. At the fall of the exhausted Roman Empire, while some regions of Europe seemed to have fallen into darkness and others remained as yet devoid of civilization and spiritual values, it was he who, by constant and assiduous effort, brought about the dawn of a new era. It was principally he and his sons, who with the cross, the book and the plough, carried Christian progress to scattered peoples from the Mediterranean to Scandinavia, from Ireland to the plains of Poland (cf. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 39, 1947, p. 453). With the cross: that is, with the law of Christ, he lent consistency and growth to the ordering of public and private life. To this end, it should be remembered that he taught humanity the primacy of divine worship through the “opus Dei”, i.e. through liturgical and ritual prayer. It was in this way that he cemented that spiritual unity in Europe, whereby peoples divided on the level of language, ethnicity and culture perceived that they constituted the one People of God – a unity that, thanks to the constant efforts of those monks who followed so illustrious a teacher, became the distinctive hallmark of the Middle Ages.

It is this unity, which St. Augustine calls the “exemplar and model of absolute beauty” (cf. *Epistulae* 18: *PL* 33, 85) but which regrettably has been fragmented through a maze of historical events, that all men of good will even in our own day seek to rebuild. With the book, then, i.e. with culture, the same St. Benedict, – from whom so many monasteries derive their name and vigour – with providential concern, saved the classical tradition of the ancients at a time when the humanistic patrimony was being

*Pope Montini in Montecassino
shows the Apostolic Letter "Pacis nuntius"
(24 October 1964)*

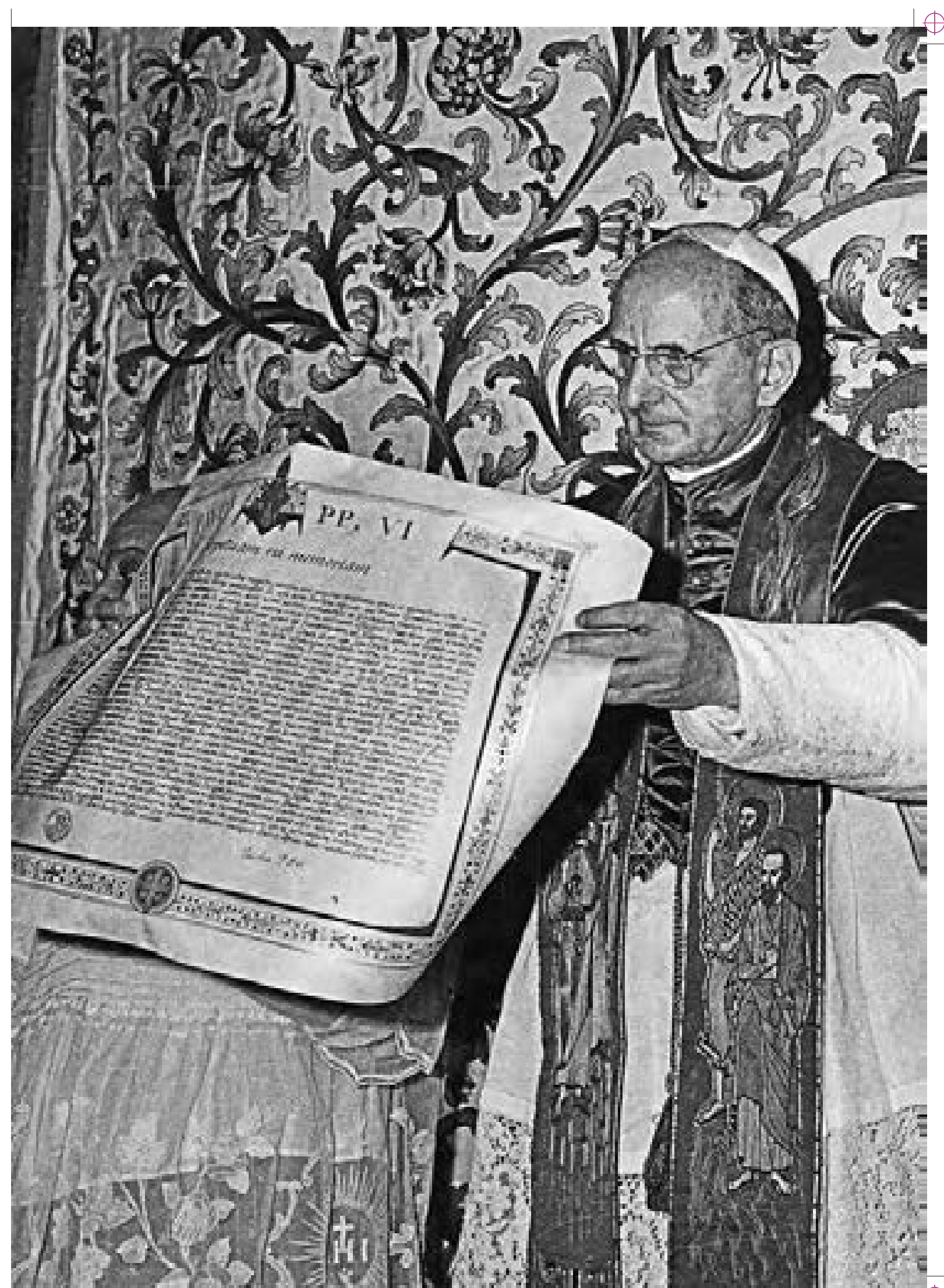
lost, by transmitting it intact to posterity, and by restoring the cult of knowledge. Lastly, it was with the plough, i.e., with the cultivation of the fields and with other similar initiatives, that he succeeded in transforming abandoned and overgrown lands into fertile fields and graceful gardens; and by uniting prayer with manual labour, according to his famous motto "*ora et labora*", he ennobled and elevated human work. Rightly, therefore, Pius XII hailed St. Benedict as the "father of Europe" (cf. *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*); for he inspired in the peoples of this Continent that loving care of order and justice that forms the foundation of true society. Our same Predecessor desired that God, through the merits of this great saint, support the efforts of all those seeking to unite the European nations in fraternal bonds. In his paternal solicitude, John XXIII also greatly desired that this come about.

It is natural, then, that We also give our full assent to this movement inclined toward the achievement of European unity. For this reason, We gladly welcomed the requests of many Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Superiors General of Religious Orders, University Rectors and other distinguished representatives of the laity from the various European nations to declare St. Benedict the Patron of Europe. And in the light of this solemn proclamation, today's date appears to Us particularly appropriate, for on this day We re-consecrate to God, in honour of the most holy Virgin and St. Benedict, the temple of Montecassino, which, destroyed in 1944 during the terrible world conflict, was rebuilt through the tenacity of Christian piety. This we do most willingly, repeating the actions of several of Our Predecessors, who personally took steps throughout the centuries towards the dedication of this centre of monastic spirituality, which was made famous by the sepulchre of St. Benedict. May so distinguished a saint hear our prayers and, as he once, by the light of Christian civilization, dispelled the darkness and radiated the gift of peace, may he now preside over all of European life and by his intercession develop and increase it ever more.

Therefore, as proposed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and after careful consideration, by virtue of Our apostolic power, with the present Brief and in perpetuity we constitute and proclaim St. Benedict, Abbot, the Principle heavenly Patron of all Europe, granting every honour and liturgical privilege, rightly vested in primary Protectors. Notwithstanding any provision to the contrary. This we make known and establish, deciding that the present Letter remain valid and effective, that it obtain its full and integral effect and be respected by all those it regards or shall regard in the future; so too may whatever judgment or definition be in accordance with it; and henceforth, may whatever contrary act by whoever and by whatever authority established, knowingly or unknowingly, be deemed invalid.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, the 24th of October in the year 1964, the second of Our Pontificate.

PAULUS PP. VI



Paul VI
25 November 1971

To the President of the European Parliament Walter Behrendt

Mister President

We extend a warm greeting to you and your suite and thank you for the significant address that you delivered to us in your capacity as President of the European Parliament.

You stressed, in appreciative terms, the particular interest that the Holy See has always shown in the problem of a united Europe. In fact, without wishing to interfere in the political affairs of individual States, we have repeatedly referred in our addresses to the prerequisites for peaceful co-existence and fruitful collaboration among the peoples of Europe. We have recently shown our interest in the whole issue by nominating a diplomatic representative of our own to the European communities. For the Holy See encourages with all its moral authority all efforts to serve the true and lasting progress of peoples.

In this connection it is deeply significant that you made a point of paying the Pope a visit in order to express your conviction that the eternal values of the dignity of every individual man, his freedom and moral responsibility, his rights and duties to his fellow-men, to the family and to the State, form, as Christianity preaches, the unshakable foundation of every well-ordered society. This doctrine formed Europe in the past centuries, enabling it to achieve such a high cultural development that it became the educator of other peoples and continents. If in the pluralistic society of today, despite all technical progress, we find that social security and the peaceful co-existence of peoples and communities is jeopardized, is it not due in the last analysis to the fact that a universally valid moral law is being denied and rejected. Here therefore those who occupy a responsible position in public life have certainly a decisive task to carry out. The Europe of yesterday suffered devastation and cruelty which seem actually incredible: the Europe of tomorrow must become another Europe which does honour its historical vocation of teaching true progress.

With the wish that you, Mr. President, and your collaborators may successfully devote your best efforts in the high office that you fill for the common good of mankind, we warmly invoke God's lasting protection and blessing for all of you.

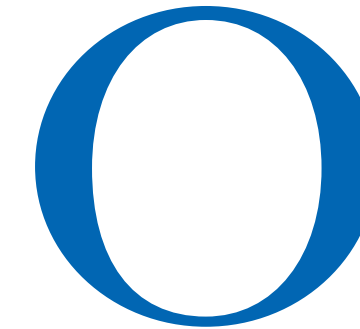


SS Cyril and Methodius

JOHN PAUL II
31 December 1980

EGREGIAE VIRTUTIS

Apostolic Letter
EGREGIAE VIRTUTIS
of Pope John Paul II



Our thoughts and hearts go again to the illustrious figures of SS Cyril and Methodius in this year in which fall two particularly significant centenaries. It is, in fact, a hundred years since the publication of the Encyclical Letter “*Grande Munus*” of 30 September 1880, in which the great Pontiff Leo XIII recalled to the whole Church the figures and apostolic activity of these two Saints and, at the same time, introduced their liturgical feast into the calendar of the Catholic Church¹. It is also the 11th centenary of the Letter *Industriae Tuae*², sent by my Predecessor John VIII to Prince Svatopluk in June of the year 880, in which the use of the Slavic language in the liturgy was praised and recommended so that “the praises and the works of Christ our Lord might be proclaimed in that language”³.

Cyril and Methodius, Greek brothers born in Thessalonica, the city in which St Paul lived and worked, right from the beginning of their vocation entered into close cultural and spiritual relations with the patriarchal Church of Constantinople, which then had a flourishing culture and missionary activity, in whose lofty school they were formed⁴. They had both chosen the religious state combining the duties of the religious vocation with missionary service, to which they first bore witness by going to evangelize the Khazars of the Crimea.

Their main evangelizing work was, however, the mission in Greater Moravia among the peoples who then lived in the Balkan peninsula and the lands through which the Danube flowed. It was undertaken at the request of the Prince of Moravia Roščislav, presented to the Emperor and to the Church of Constantinople. To meet the needs of their apostolic service among the Slavic peoples, they translated the Sacred Books into their language for liturgical and catechetical purposes. They thereby laid the founda-

tions of the whole literature in the languages of these peoples. They are rightly considered, therefore, not only the Apostles of the Slavs but also the fathers of culture among all these peoples and all these nations, for whom the first writings in the Slavic language do not cease to be the fundamental reference point in the history of their literature.

Cyril and Methodius carried out their missionary service in union both with the Church of Constantinople, by which they had been sent, and with Peter's Roman See, by which they were confirmed. In this way they manifested the unity of the Church which, during the period of their life and activity, was not struck by the blow of division between East and West, despite the serious tensions which marked the relations between, Rome and Constantinople at that time.

In Rome, Cyril and Methodius were received with honour by the Pope and by the Roman Church. They found approval and support for their whole apostolic work and also for their innovation of celebrating the Liturgy in the Slavic language, which was opposed in some Western circles. Cyril died in Rome (14 February 869) and was buried in St Clement's Church, while Methodius was ordained by the Pope as archbishop of the ancient see of Symia and was sent to Moravia to continue his providential apostolic work there, pursuing it with zeal and courage together with his disciples and in the midst of his people until the end of his life (6 April 885).

2. A hundred years ago Pope Leo XIII in the encyclical "*Grande Munus*" recalled to the whole Church the extraordinary merits of SS Cyril and Methodius for their work of evangelizing the Slavs. Since this year, however, the Church is solemnly recalling the 1500th anniversary of the birth of St Benedict, proclaimed Patron Saint of Europe by my venerated Predecessor Paul VI in 1964, it seemed that this protection with regard to the whole of Europe would be better highlighted if we add to the great work of the Holy Western Patriarch the particular merits of the two brothers, SS Cyril and Methodius. In favour of this there are many reasons of an historical nature, belonging both to the past and to the present, which have both their theological and their ecclesial guarantee, as well as their cultural one, in the history of our European Continent. And therefore before the close of this year dedicated to special memory of St Benedict, it is my wish that for the centenary of Leo's encyclical all these reasons should be given new value by the present proclamation of SS Cyril and Methodius as Co-Patrons of Europe.

3. Europe, in fact, as a geographical whole, is, so to speak, the fruit of the action of two currents of Christian traditions, to which are added also two different, but at the same time deeply complementary, forms of culture. St Benedict, who with his *influence* embraced not only Europe, first of all Western and Central, but through the Benedictine centres also arrived in the other continents, is at the very centre of that current that starts from Rome, from the See of St Peter's successors. The Holy Brothers of Thessalonica highlight first the contribution of ancient Greek culture and, subsequently, the

significance of the influence of the Church of Constantinople and of Eastern tradition, which has so deeply marked the spirituality and culture of so many peoples and nations in the Eastern part of the European Continent.

Since today, after centuries of division of the Church between East and West, between Rome and Constantinople, from the Second Vatican Council decisive steps have been taken in the direction of full communion, the proclamation of SS Cyril and Methodius as Co-Patrons of Europe, alongside St Benedict, seems to correspond fully to the signs of our time. Especially if that happens in the year in which the two Churches, Catholic and Orthodox, have entered the stage of a decisive dialogue, which started on the Island of Patmos, linked with the tradition of St John the Apostle and Evangelist. Therefore this act is also intended to make this date memorable.

This proclamation at the same time is intended to be a testimony, for men of our time, of the preeminence of the proclamation of the Gospel, entrusted by Jesus Christ to the Churches, and for which the two Brothers, Apostles of the Slavs, toiled so much. This proclamation was the way and the instrument of mutual knowledge and union among the various peoples of the new-born Europe, and it ensured the Europe of today a common spiritual and cultural heritage.

4. I hope, therefore, that thanks to the mercy of the Holy Trinity, through the intercession of the Mother of God and all the Saints, what divided the Churches, as well as the peoples and nations, may disappear; and that the differences of traditions and culture will prove, on the contrary, the mutual completion of a common richness.

May awareness of these spiritual riches, which have become along different ways the heritage of the individual nations of the European Continent, help the modern generations to persevere in mutual respect for the just rights of every nation and in peace, not ceasing to render the services necessary for the common good of the whole of mankind and for man's future on the whole Earth.

Therefore, with certain knowledge and my mature deliberation, in the fullness of apostolic authority, by virtue of this Letter and for ever, I constitute and declare Saints Cyril and Methodius heavenly Co-Patrons of the whole of Europe before God, granting furthermore all the honours and liturgical privileges which belong, according to law, to the principal Patron Saints of places.

Peace to men of good will!

Given in Rome, at St Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, on the 31st day of the month of December of the year 1980, the third of the Pontificate.

JOHN PAUL II

John Paul II
9 November 1982

Declaration to Europe in Santiago de Compostela

Your Majesty,
Your Excellencies,
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,
Brothers and Sisters,

1. At the end of my pilgrimage in the land of Spain I pause at this splendid cathedral, one so closely linked with the Apostle James and with the Spanish faith. Allow me especially to express my sincere gratitude to His Majesty, the King, for the meaningful words which he has addressed to me at the beginning of this service.

This place, so dear to the people of Galicia, and to all the Spanish people, has throughout history attracted and brought together people from Europe and from among all Christian peoples. This is why I wished that this meeting with the distinguished representatives of European bodies, of the bishops and organizations of the continent, be held here in this place: I address my humble and cordial greetings to all of you, and with you I want to reflect this afternoon on Europe.

At this moment I have in mind the whole continent of Europe; I can see its extensive communications network which unites European cities and nations; and I can still see those roads which, from the Middle Ages, have led and do lead innumerable crowds of pilgrims, moved by their devotion to the Apostle, to Santiago of Compostela – as is shown by the celebration this year of the Holy Year.

Since the eleventh and twelfth centuries, under the impulse of the monks of Cluny, the faithful came from all corners of Europe in ever greater numbers to the tomb of James extending to the place then regarded as “Finis terrae” (Cape Finisterre) that famous “road to Santiago” along which the Spanish people were already making pilgrimages. They would find help and shelter through the exemplary charity of persons such as St Dominic de la Calzada and Saint Juan Ortega, or in places like the Sanctuary of the Virgin of the Way.

¹ *Leonis XIII Acta*, II, pp. 125-131.

² Cf. *Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici*, t. III, Brno 1969, pp. 197-208.

³ *Ibid.* p. 207.

⁴ Cf. *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses*, Fontes, ed. F. Grivec - F. Tomšić, Radovi Staroslavenskog Instituta, IV, Zagreb 1960.



*John Paul II
pilgrim to Santiago de Compostela
(9 November 1982)*

People came here from France, Italy, Central Europe, the Nordic Countries, and the Slavic Nations; Christians of every social condition, from kings to the most lowly inhabitants of the villages; Christians of all levels of spirituality, from saints, as Francis of Assisi and Brigit of Sweden (not to mention so many Spanish saints), to public sinners seeking to do penance.

The whole of Europe found itself here at the tomb of James during the same centuries as it was being built up as a homogeneous and spiritually united continent. Therefore, even Goethe would point out that European self-awareness arose out of pilgrimages.

2. The pilgrimage to Santiago was one of the more significant factors which brought about the mutual understanding of such different European peoples as the Latins, the Germans, the Celts, the Anglo-Saxons and the Slavs. The pilgrimage brought together, made contact and established ties among those peoples who, from century to century, convinced by the preaching of witnesses for Christ, embraced the Gospel and, it can be said, contemporaneously emerged as peoples and nations.

The history of the formation of the European nations runs parallel with their evangelization, to the point that the European frontiers coincided with those of the inroads of the Gospel. After twenty centuries of history, notwithstanding the bloody conflicts which have set the peoples of Europe in opposition to one another, and in spite of the spiritual crises which have marked the life of the continent – even to the point of raising serious questions in our own time about its future destiny – it can be said that the European identity is not understandable without Christianity, and that it is precisely in Christianity that are found those common roots by which the continent has seen its civilization mature: its culture, its dynamism, its activity, its capacity for constructive expansion in other continents as well; in a word, all that makes up its glory.

And today still, the soul of Europe remains united because, beyond its common origin, it has similar Christian and human values, such as those of the dignity of the human person, a deep sense of justice and liberty, of industry and a spirit of initiative, of love for the family, of respect for life, of tolerance with the desire for cooperation and peace, which are notes which characterize it.

3. I focus my attention upon Europe as the continent which has contributed more than any other to the development of the world, as much in the field of ideas as in that of work, in the sciences and in the arts. And while I bless the Lord for having illuminated it with his evangelical light from the beginning of the apostolic preaching, I cannot be silent about the critical state in which it finds itself at the dawn of the third millennium of Christianity.

I address myself to the representatives of the organizations established for European cooperation, and to my brothers in the episcopate of the different local Churches of

Europe. This crisis affects both civil and religious life. On the civil plane Europe is divided. Some unnatural divisions deprive its peoples of the right to meet one another in a climate of friendship, and to combine freely their creative efforts in the service of a peaceful life together or of solidarity in working for the solution of problems which affect the other continents. Civil society is characterized by the effects of secularized ideologies which are based on the denial of God or the limitation of religious liberty and extend to the overwhelming importance attributed to economic success as opposed to the importance given to the human values of work and of production: effects that range from materialism and hedonism which attack the values of a large and united family, of life from the moment of conception, and the moral protection of youth, to a “nihilism” which disarms the will to face crucial problems such as those of the new poor, emigrants, ethnic and religious minorities, the appropriate use of the mass media, while it places arms in the hands of terrorists.

Furthermore, Europe is divided from the religious point of view not so much nor principally by reason of the divisions which occurred throughout the centuries, as by the fact that the baptized and believers lack a profound grasp of their faith and the doctrinal and moral strength of that Christian vision of life which guarantees a sense of balance to individuals and communities.

4. Therefore, I, John Paul, son of the Polish nation which has always considered itself European by its origins, traditions, culture and vital relationships, Slavic among the Latins and Latin among the Slavs; I, Successor of Peter in the See of Rome, a See which Christ wished to establish in Europe and which he loves because of its efforts for the spread of Christianity throughout the whole world; I, Bishop of Rome and Shepherd of the Universal Church, – from Santiago, utter to you, Europe of the ages, a cry full of love: *Find yourself again. Be yourself.* Discover your origins, revive your roots. Return to those authentic values which made your history a glorious one and your presence so beneficent in the other continents. Rebuild your spiritual unity in a climate of complete respect for other religions and genuine liberties. Give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God. Do not become so proud of your achievements that you forget their possible negative effects. Do not become discouraged for the quantitative loss of some of your greatness in the world or for the social and cultural crises which affect you today. You can still be the guiding light of civilization and the stimulus of progress for the world. The other continents look to you and also hope to receive from you the same reply which James gave to Christ: “I can do it”.

5. If Europe is one, and it can be so with due respect for all its differences, including those of different political systems; if in the social realm Europe continues to think with courage affirming principles such as those contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, in the European Declaration of the Conference for European Security and Cooperation; if, in the specific realm of religion, Europe returns to acting with an

appropriate knowledge of and respect for God, on which is based all right and justice; if Europe again opens its doors to Christ and is not afraid to open up to his saving power the State boundaries, the economic and political systems, the vast fields of culture, civilization and development (cf. Discourse of John Paul II, 22 October 1978), then Europe’s future will not be dominated by uncertainty and fear; instead a new period of life, both interior and exterior, will open up, benefiting and shaping the world which is continually threatened by the clouds of war and by a possible firestorm of atomic holocaust.

6. Now there comes to mind the names of great personalities: men and women who have brought splendour and glory to this continent because of their talents, abilities and virtues. The list is too numerous with thinkers, scientists, artists, explorers, inventors, heads of State, apostles and saints to allow abbreviating it. This patrimony constitutes a motive force of example and encouragement. Europe has still in reserve incomparable human energies, capable of sustaining it in this historic work toward a continental renaissance and greater service to humanity.

I am pleased simply to recall now the spiritual power of Teresa of Jesus, whose memory I have especially wanted to honour during this visit, and the generosity of Maximilian Kolbe, a martyr of charity in the concentration camp of Auschwitz, and whom I have recently proclaimed a saint.

However, Saint Benedict of Nursia and SS Cyril and Methodius, patrons of Europe, deserve particular mention. From the first days of my pontificate, I have not failed to stress my solicitude for the life of Europe, and to point out the teachings which came from the spirit and work of the “patriarch of the West”, and of the “two Greek brothers”, apostles of the Slavic peoples.

Benedict knew how to integrate what was Roman with the Gospel, the sense of universality and of law with the values of God and of the human person. With his well-known phrase, “ora et labora” – “pray and work” – he has left us a rule still valid today for a balance between the person and society, a balance threatened by the dominance of *having over being*.

Saints Cyril and Methodius knew how to anticipate some achievements which have been fully adopted by the Church in the Second Vatican Council; for example, inculturation of the Gospel message in the respective civilizations; acceptance of the language, the customs and the spirit of the indigenous peoples with an appreciation of their value. And they realized this in the ninth century, with the approval and support of the Apostolic See, establishing thereby that presence of Christianity among the Slavs which today still remains insuppressible, in spite of the present circumstances and vicissitudes. To these three patrons of Europe I have dedicated pilgrimages, discourses, pontifical

documents and public worship, imploring their protection for the continent, and at the same time presenting their thoughts and example to the new generations.

The Church is, furthermore, conscious of its role in the spiritual and human renewal of Europe. Without reclaiming certain roles which it once held and which the present age regards as completely outmoded, the Church, as Holy See and as Catholic community, is at the service of these ends to contribute to the achievement of an authentic material, cultural and spiritual well-being of the nations. Therefore, it is present also on the diplomatic level through its observers in different non-political community organizations; for the same reason it maintains diplomatic relations, as extensively as possible, with the states; for a similar motive it has participated, as a member, in the Helsinki Conference and in the signing of its important Final Statement and has also participated in the meetings at Belgrade and at Madrid – the latter resumes its work today, and I express my best wishes for it at a time which is not easy for Europe.

But it is especially the ecclesial life that is called upon – in the continuance of its witness of service and love – to contribute to the overcoming of the present crises of the continent, as I had occasion to repeat recently to the Symposium of the Council of the European Episcopal Conferences (cf. Discourse of John Paul II, 5 October 1982).

7. God's help is with us. The prayer of all believers accompanies us. The good will of many unknown persons, who are working for peace and for progress, is present in our midst as an assurance that this message, directed to the peoples of Europe, will find fertile soil.

Jesus Christ, the Lord of history, holds open the future to the generous and free decisions of all those who, welcoming the grace of good inspirations, commit themselves to a decisive action for justice and charity, in the framework of a thorough respect for truth and liberty.

I commend these thoughts to the Blessed Virgin, so that she may bless them and make them fruitful; and recalling the homage which is paid to the Mother of God in the many shrines of Europe, from Fatima to Ostra Brama, from Loreto to Czętochowa, I ask her to hear the prayers of so many hearts so that good may continue to be a joyful reality in Europe and that Christ may keep our continent ever United to God.

Visit to the European Parliament

M

ister President,
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen

1. First of all, permit me to say how much I appreciate the words of welcome and consideration which you have been good enough to express in my regard. I wish to thank you most warmly, Mr. President, for having personally renewed the invitation, first extended in 1980, to come and address this prestigious Assembly. The hope which I expressed more than three years ago before the representatives of the

European Institutions is now being realized, and I am very conscious of the importance of my present meeting with the representatives of the twelve countries which make up the European Community, that is to say, the representatives of some three hundred and thirty million citizens who have entrusted to you the mandate of directing their common destinies.

Now that your Assembly, which has been the centre of European integration since the beginnings of the European Coal and Steel Community and the signing of the Treaty of Rome, is elected by direct universal suffrage and, consequently, enjoys increased prestige and authority, it rightly appears to your compatriots as the institution that will guide their future as a democratic community of countries, desirous of integrating their economy more closely, of harmonizing their legislations on a number of points, and of offering all their citizens greater freedom in the perspective of mutual cooperation and cultural enrichment.

Our encounter takes place at a special moment in the history of this continent when after a long journey, not without difficulties, we stand at the beginning of new and decisive stages which, with the coming into force of the Single European Act, will hasten the process of integration which has been patiently conducted during recent decades.2. Since the end of the last World War, the Holy See has not ceased to encourage the development of Europe. Assuredly, the Church's mission is to make known to all people

*John Paul II
to the European Parliament
(11 October 1988)*



their salvation in Jesus Christ, whatever the conditions of their present history, since this is her inalienable task. In addition, without departing from her own area of competence, it is the Church's duty to clarify and accompany the initiatives people develop which are in accord with the values which she must proclaim; at the same time she must remain attentive to the signs of the times which call for the permanent demands of the Gospel to be translated within the changing realities of existence.

How could the Church not be interested in the development of Europe, a Church which for centuries has been implanted in the people that constitute it and brought them to the baptismal fonts, people for whom the Christian faith is and remains one of the elements of their cultural identity.

3. Europe today can certainly welcome as a sign of the times the state of peace and cooperation definitively established among its member States, which throughout the centuries have used their strength to wage war and seek domination over one another.

Another sign of the times is the increased sensitivity to human rights and the value of democracy, of which your Assembly is an expression and wishes as well to be the guarantor. Moreover, this unity must always ensure that the respect for the rights and dignity of human persons be upheld in all circumstances.

Another sign of the times, we believe, is the fact that this part of Europe, which until now has invested so much in its economic cooperation, may also search more and more intensely for its soul, and for an inspiration that is able to assure its spiritual cohesion. On this point, it seems to me, the Europe that you represent is on the threshold of a new stage in its own growth, and in its relations with the rest of the world.

4. The Single European Act, which will go into effect at the end of 1992, will hasten the process of European integration. A common political structure, the product of the free will of European citizens, far from endangering the identity of the peoples in the Community, will be able to guarantee more equitably the rights, in particular the cultural rights, of all its regions. These united European peoples will not accept the domination of one nation or culture over the others, but they will uphold the equal right of all to enrich others with their difference.

The empires of the past have all failed when they tried to establish their dominance by force or political assimilation. Your Europe will be one of free association of all its peoples and of the pooling of the many riches of its diversity.

5. Other nations will certainly be able to join those that are represented here today. As the Supreme Pastor of the universal Church, myself a native of Eastern Europe and knowing the aspirations of the Slavic peoples, the other "lung" of our common European homeland, my wish is that Europe, willingly giving itself free institutions, may one day reach the full dimensions that geography and, even more, history have given it. How could I not hope for this, since the culture inspired by the Christian faith has so profoundly marked the

history of all the peoples of Europe, Greek and Latin, Germanic and Slavic, despite all the vicissitudes and beyond all social systems and ideologies.

6. The European nations are all distinguished in their history by their openness to the world and the vital exchanges they have established with the peoples of other continents. It is unimaginable for a united Europe to close itself up in its egoism. Speaking with one single voice, joining forces, it will be able, even more than in the past, to dedicate new resources and energies to the great task of the development of countries in the Third World, especially those that have traditional bonds with Europe. The Convention of Lomé, which paved the way for an institutionalized cooperation between the members of your Assembly and the representatives of sixty-six countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific, is an excellent example in this regard. European cooperation will be all the more credible and fruitful if it is pursued, without any ulterior motives of domination, with the intention of aiding poor countries to take charge of their own destinies.

7. Mr. President, the message of the Church concerns God and the ultimate destiny of man, questions which have imbued European culture to the highest degree. Truly, how could we even imagine a Europe devoid of this transcendental dimension?

In modern times, since certain currents of thought have developed on European soil that have slowly removed God from the understanding of the world and man, two opposing visions fuel a constant tension between the point of view of believers and that of proponents of an agnostic, and sometimes even an atheistic, humanism.

The former consider obedience to God to be the source of true freedom, which is never a mere arbitrary or aimless freedom, but a freedom for truth and good, those two great goods which always lie beyond man's ability to enjoy them completely. On the ethical level, this fundamental attitude is expressed by the acceptance of principles and norms of behaviour which human reason attains or which flow from the authority of the Word of God, which man, individually or collectively, cannot bend to his pleasure or to the fancy of fashion or changing interests.

8. The second attitude is one which, having suppressed all subordination of the creature to God or to any transcendent order of truth and good, sees man in himself as the principle and end of all things, and society, with its laws, norms, and achievements as his absolutely sovereign work. Ethics, then have no other foundation than social consensus, and individual freedom no other constraint than that which society chooses to impose on it in order to safeguard the freedom of others.

According to some people, civil and political freedom, already won by the overturning of the old order based on religious faith, is still understood as going hand in hand with the marginalization, indeed the suppression, of religion, in which they tend to see a system of alienation. For some believers, on the other hand, a life of faith is not possible

without a return to that old order, which they frequently idealize. These two opposing attitudes do not contain any solution that would be compatible with the Christian message and the spirit of Europe. For, where civil freedom reigns and religious liberty is fully guaranteed, faith can only grow in strength by facing the challenge posed by unbelief, and atheism cannot but see its own limitations in the challenge which faith gives it.

Faced with this diversity of points of view, the highest function of the law is to guarantee to all citizens equally the right to live in accordance with their consciences and not to contradict the norms of the natural moral order which are recognized by reason.

9. At this point, it seems important to me, to mention that it was from the soil of Christianity that modern Europe took the principle – often lost sight of during the centuries of “Christendom” – that most fundamentally governs public life: I mean the principle, proclaimed for the first time by Christ, of the distinction between “what is Caesar’s” and “what is God’s” (cf. Mt 22:21). This essential distinction between the arranging of the external framework of the earthly city and the autonomy of the person becomes clear in light of the respective natures of the political community, to which all citizens necessarily belong, and that of the religious community, to which believers freely adhere.

After Christ, it is no longer possible to idolize society as a collective greatness that devours the human person and his inalienable destiny. Society, the State, and political power belong to the changing and always perfectible framework of this world. No plan of society will ever be able to establish the Kingdom of God, that is, eschatological perfection, on this earth. Political messianism most often leads to the worst tyrannies. The structures that societies set up for themselves never have a definitive value; they can no longer seek for themselves all the goods to which man aspires. In particular, they cannot be a substitute for human conscience or for the search for truth and the absolute.

Public life and the good order of the State rest on the virtue of the citizens, which invites them to subordinate their individual interests to the common good, to establish and recognize as law only that which is objectively true and good. The ancient Greeks already discovered that there can be no democracy without the subjection of all to law, nor can there be any law that is not based on a transcendent norm of the true and the just.

To say that it is up to the religious community, and not the State, to manage “what is God’s”, is to impose a healthy limit on man’s power, and this limit is that of the realm of conscience, of final ends, of the ultimate meaning of existence, of openness to the absolute, of tending towards a fulfilment not yet reached, which stimulates our efforts and inspires right choices. All the schools of thought of our old continent must reflect on the gloomy perspectives to which the exclusion of God from public life, of God as the

ultimate authority of ethics and the supreme guarantee against all the abuses of the power of man over man, could lead.

10. Our European history clearly shows how often the dividing line between “what is Caesar’s” and “what is God’s” has been crossed in both directions. Medieval Latin Christendom to mention only one example, while theoretically elaborating the natural concept of the State, taking up the great tradition of Aristotle, did not always avoid the integralist temptation of excluding from the temporal community those who did not profess the true faith. Religious integralism, which makes no distinction between the proper spheres of faith and civil life, which is still practised in other parts of the world, seems to be incompatible with the very spirit of Europe, as it has been shaped by the Christian message.

However, it is from outside that, in our time, the greatest threats have come, when ideologies have absolutized society itself or some dominant group, in contempt of the human person and his freedom. Wherever man no longer draws support from the great reality that transcends him, he risks handing himself over to the uncontrollable power of the arbitrary and the pseudo-absolutes that destroy him.

11. Today other continents experience a more or less profound and very promising symbiosis between Christian faith and culture. However, for almost two thousand years, Europe has given a very significant example of the cultural fruitfulness of Christianity which by its very nature, cannot be relegated to the private sphere. Christianity is, in effect, a vocation to public profession and active presence in all areas of life. It is also my duty to emphasize strongly that if the religious and Christian foundation of this continent in its role as the inspiration of ethics and in its social effectiveness is ever marginalized, not only will the heritage of the European past be denied, but also a future worthy of the individual European – and, indeed, all Europeans, believers and non believers alike – will be seriously compromised.

12. In conclusion, I would like to highlight three areas where it seems to me that the integrated Europe of tomorrow, open to the eastern part of the continent and generous towards the other hemisphere, should take up its role as a beacon in world civilization:

– first of all, in reconciling the person with creation, in taking care to preserve the integrity of nature, its flora and fauna, its air and rivers, its delicate balances, its limited resources, its beauty that praises the glory of the Creator;

– then, in reconciling people with one another, in accepting those of various cultural traditions or schools of thought, in welcoming the foreigners and refugees, in being open to the spiritual riches of peoples from other continents;

– finally, in reconciling the person with himself: yes, in working to remake an integrated and complete vision of the person and of the world, in contact with cultures of

John Paul II
1 October 1999

SPES AEDIFICANDI

Apostolic Letter
issued Motu Proprio
Proclaiming Saint Bridget of Sweden, Saint Catherine of Siena
and Saint Teresa Benedicta of the Cross
Co-Patronesses of Europe
His Holiness JOHN PAUL II
for perpetual remembrance

suspicion and dehumanization, a vision in which science, technological ability and art do not exclude, but elicit, faith in God.

Mr. President, delegates, in responding to your invitation to address your illustrious Assembly, I kept before my eyes the millions of European men and women whom you represent. It is to you that they have entrusted the great task of maintaining and developing the human values, both cultural and spiritual, that belong to Europe's heritage and that will be the best safeguard of its identity, liberty and progress. I pray that God will inspire you and strengthen you in this great undertaking.

The hope of building a more just world, a world more worthy of the human person, stirred by the expectation of the impending Third Millennium, must be coupled with an awareness that human efforts are of no avail if not accompanied by divine grace: "Unless the Lord builds the house, those who build it labour in vain" (*Ps* 127:1). This must also be a consideration for those who in these years are seeking to give Europe a new configuration which would help the Continent to learn from the richness of her history and to eliminate the baneful inheritances of the past, so as to respond to the challenges of a changing world with an originality rooted in her best traditions.

There can be no doubt that, in Europe's complex history, Christianity has been a central and defining element, established on the firm foundation of the classical heritage and the multiple contributions of the various ethnic and cultural streams which have succeeded one another down the centuries. The Christian faith has shaped the culture of the Continent and is inextricably bound up with its history, to the extent that Europe's history would be incomprehensible without reference to the events of the first evangelization and then the long centuries when Christianity, despite the painful division between East and West, came to be the religion of the European peoples. Even in modern and contemporary times, when religious unity progressively disintegrated as a

Sano di Pietro
"Saint Catherine of Siena" (about 1442)



result both of further divisions between Christians and the gradual detachment of culture from the horizon of faith, the role played by faith has continued to be significant.

The path to the future cannot overlook this fact, and Christians are called to renew their awareness of it, in order to demonstrate faith's perennial potential. In the building up of Europe, Christians have a duty to make a specific contribution, one which will be all the more valid and effective to the extent that they themselves are renewed in the light of the Gospel. In this way they will carry forward that long history of holiness which has traversed the various regions of Europe in the course of these two millennia, in which the officially recognized Saints are but the towering peaks held up as a model for all. For through their upright and honest lives inspired by love of God and neighbour, countless Christians in a wide range of consecrated and lay vocations have attained a holiness both authentic and widespread, even if often hidden.

2. The Church has no doubt that this wealth of holiness is itself the secret of her past and the hope of her future. It is the finest expression of the gift of the Redemption, which ransoms man from sin and gives him the possibility of new life in Christ. The People of God making their pilgrim way through history have an incomparable support in this treasure of holiness, sensing as they do their profound union with the Church in glory, which sings in heaven the praises of the Lamb (cf. *Rev* 7:9-10) and intercedes for the community still on its earthly pilgrimage. Consequently, from very ancient times the Saints have been looked upon by the People of God as their protectors, and by a singular practice, certainly influenced by the Holy Spirit, sometimes as a request of the faithful accepted by the Bishops, and sometimes as an initiative of the Bishops themselves, individual Churches, regions and even Continents have been entrusted to the special patronage of particular Saints.

Accordingly, during the celebration of the Second Special Assembly for Europe of the Synod of Bishops, on the eve of the Great Jubilee of the Year 2000, it has seemed to me that the Christians of Europe, as they join their fellow-citizens in celebrating this turning-point in time, so rich in hope and yet not without its concerns, could draw spiritual benefit from contemplating and invoking certain Saints who are in some way particularly representative of their history. Therefore, after appropriate consultation, and completing what I did on 31 December 1980 when I declared Co-Patrons of Europe, along with Saint Benedict, two Saints of the first millennium, the brothers Cyril and Methodius, pioneers of the evangelization of the East, I have decided to add to this group of heavenly patrons three figures equally emblematic of critical moments in the second millennium now drawing to its close: Saint Bridget of Sweden, Saint Catherine of Siena and Saint Theresa Benedicta of the Cross. Three great Saints, three women who at different times – two in the very heart of the Middle Ages and one in our own century – were outstanding for their fruitful love of Christ's Church and their witness to his Cross.

3. Naturally the vistas of holiness are so rich and varied that new heavenly patrons could also have been chosen from among the other worthy figures which every age and region can vaunt. Nevertheless I feel that the decision to choose this “feminine” model of holiness is particularly significant within the context of the providential tendency in the Church and society of our time to recognize ever more clearly the dignity and specific gifts of women.

The Church has not failed, from her very origins, to acknowledge the role and mission of women, even if at times she was conditioned by a culture which did not always show due consideration to women. But the Christian community has progressively matured also in this regard, and here the role of holiness has proved to be decisive. A constant impulse has come from the icon of Mary, the “ideal woman”, Mother of Christ and Mother of the Church. But also the courage of women martyrs who faced the cruellest torments with astounding fortitude, the witness of women exemplary for their radical commitment to the ascetic life, the daily dedication of countless wives and mothers in that “domestic Church” which is the family, and the charisms of the many women mystics who have also contributed to the growth of theological understanding, offering the Church invaluable guidance in grasping fully God’s plan for women. This plan is already unmistakably expressed in certain pages of Scripture and, in particular, in Christ’s own attitude as testified to by the Gospel. The decision to declare Saint Bridget of Sweden, Saint Catherine of Siena and Saint Teresa Benedicta of the Cross Co-Patronesses of Europe follows upon all of this.

The real reason then which led me to these three particular women can be found in their lives. Their holiness was demonstrated in historical circumstances and in geographical settings which make them especially significant for the Continent of Europe. Saint Bridget brings us to the extreme north of Europe, where the Continent in some way stretches out to unity with the other parts of the world; from there she departed to make Rome her destination. Catherine of Siena is likewise well-known for the role which she played at a time when the Successor of Peter resided in Avignon; she brought to completion a spiritual work already initiated by Bridget by becoming the force behind the Pope’s return to his own See at the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles. Finally, Teresa Benedicta of the Cross, recently canonized, not only lived in various countries of Europe, but by her entire life as thinker, mystic and martyr, built a kind of bridge between her Jewish roots and her commitment to Christ, taking part in the dialogue with contemporary philosophical thought with sound intuition, and in the end forcefully proclaiming by her martyrdom the ways of God and man in the horrendous atrocity of the Shoah. She has thus become the symbol of a human, cultural and religious pilgrimage which embodies the deepest tragedy and the deepest hopes of Europe.

4. The first of these three great figures, Bridget, was born of an aristocratic family in 1303 at Finsta, in the Swedish region of Uppland. She is known above all as a mystic

and the foundress of the Order of the Most Holy Saviour. Yet it must not be forgotten that the first part of her life was that of a lay woman happily married to a devout Christian man to whom she bore eight children. In naming her a Co-Patroness of Europe, I would hope that not only those who have received a vocation to the consecrated life but also those called to the ordinary occupations of the life of the laity in the world, and especially to the high and demanding vocation of forming a Christian family, will feel that she is close to them. Without abandoning the comfortable condition of her social status, she and her husband Ulf enjoyed a married life in which conjugal love was joined to intense prayer, the study of Sacred Scripture, mortification and charitable works. Together they founded a small hospital, where they often attended the sick. Bridget was in the habit of serving the poor personally. At the same time, she was appreciated for her gifts as a teacher, which she was able to use when she was required to serve at Court in Stockholm. This experience was the basis of the counsel which she would later give from time to time to princes and rulers concerning the proper fulfilment of their duties. But obviously the first to benefit from these counsels were her children, and it is not by chance that one of her daughters, Catherine, is venerated as a Saint.

But this period of family life was only a first step. The pilgrimage which she made with her husband Ulf to Santiago de Compostela in 1341 symbolically brought this time to a close and prepared her for the new life which began a few years later at the death of her husband. It was then that Bridget recognized the voice of Christ entrusting her with a new mission and guiding her step by step by a series of extraordinary mystical graces.

5. Leaving Sweden in 1349, Bridget settled in Rome, the See of the Successor of Peter. Her move to Italy was a decisive step in expanding her mind and heart not simply geographically and culturally, but above all spiritually. In her desire to venerate the relics of saints, she went on pilgrimage to many places in Italy. She visited Milan, Pavia, Assisi, Ortona, Bari, Benevento, Pozzuoli, Naples, Salerno, Amalfi and the Shrine of Saint Michael the Archangel on Mount Gargano. Her last pilgrimage, made between 1371 and 1372, took her across the Mediterranean to the Holy Land, enabling her to embrace spiritually not only the many holy places of Catholic Europe but also the wellsprings of Christianity in the places sanctified by the life and death of the Redeemer.

Even more than these devout pilgrimages, it was a profound sense of the mystery of Christ and the Church which led Bridget to take part in building up the ecclesial community at a quite critical period in the Church’s history. Her profound union with Christ was accompanied by special gifts of revelation, which made her a point of reference for many people in the Church of her time. Bridget was recognized as having the power of prophecy, and at times her voice did seem to echo that of the great prophets of old. She spoke unabashedly to princes and pontiffs, declaring God’s plan with regard

Hermann Rode, "Saint Bridget"
(Salem, Sweden, about 1480)

to the events of history. She was not afraid to deliver stern admonitions about the moral reform of the Christian people and the clergy themselves (cf. *Revelations*, IV, 49; cf. also IV, 5). Understandably, some aspects of her remarkable mystical output raised questions at the time; the Church's discernment constantly referred these back to public revelation alone, which has its fullness in Christ and its normative expression in Sacred Scripture. Even the experiences of the great Saints are not free of those limitations which always accompany the human reception of God's voice.

Yet there is no doubt that the Church, which recognized Bridget's holiness without ever pronouncing on her individual revelations, has accepted the overall authenticity of her interior experience. She stands as an important witness to the place reserved in the Church for a charism lived in complete docility to the Spirit of God and in full accord with the demands of ecclesial communion. In a special way too, because the Scandinavian countries from which Bridget came were separated from full communion with the See of Rome during the tragic events of the sixteenth century, the figure of this Swedish Saint remains a precious ecumenical "bridge", strengthened by the ecumenical commitment of her Order.

6. Slightly later in time is another great woman, Saint Catherine of Siena, whose role in the unfolding history of the Church and also in the growing theological understanding of revelation has been recognized in significant ways, culminating in her proclamation as a Doctor of the Church.

Born in Siena in 1347, she was blessed from her early childhood with exceptional graces which enabled her to progress rapidly along the spiritual path traced by Saint Dominic on a journey of perfection which combined prayer, self-denial and works of charity. Catherine was twenty years old when Christ showed his special love for her through the mystical symbol of a wedding ring. This was the culmination of an intimacy which had matured in hiddenness and in contemplation, thanks to her constantly abiding, even outside the monastic walls, in that spiritual dwelling-place which she loved to call her "interior cell". She was quickly able to blend the silence of this cell, which rendered her completely docile to God's inspirations, with remarkable apostolic activity. Many people, including members of the clergy, gathered around her and became her disciples, recognizing in her the gift of spiritual motherhood. Her letters circulated throughout Italy and Europe as a whole. Indeed, by the assurance of her bearing and the ardour of her words, the young woman of Siena entered into the thick of the ecclesiastical and social issues of her time.

Catherine was tireless in her commitment to resolving the many conflicts which afflicted the society of her time. Her efforts to bring peace reached the level of European rulers such as Charles V of France, Charles of Durazzo, Elizabeth of Hungary, Louis the Great of Hungary and Poland, and Giovanna of Naples. Her attempts to reconcile Florence with the Pope were also notable. Placing "Christ crucified and sweet Mary"



before the parties involved, she made it clear that in a society inspired by Christian values there could never be grounds for conflict so serious that the reasons of force need prevail over the force of reason.

7. Yet Catherine was well aware that such a conclusion was unthinkable if souls had not first been moulded by the power of the Gospel. This was why she stressed the reform of morals to all, without exception. To monarchs she insisted that they could not govern as if the realm was their “property”: knowing that they must render to God an account of their exercise of power, they must instead uphold “holy and true justice” and become “fathers of the poor” (cf. *Letter 235 to the King of France*). The exercise of sovereignty was not to be separated from the exercise of charity, which is the soul both of one’s personal life and one’s political responsibility (cf. *Letter 357 to the King of Hungary*).

With the same vigour, Catherine addressed Churchmen of every rank, demanding of them the most exacting integrity in their personal lives and their pastoral ministry. The uninhibited, powerful and incisive tone in which she admonished priests, Bishops and Cardinals is quite striking. It is essential – she would say – to root out from the garden of the Church the rotten plants and to put in their place “new plants” which are fresh and fragrant. And strengthened by her intimacy with Christ, the Saint of Siena was not afraid to point out frankly even to the Pope, whom she loved dearly as her “sweet Christ on earth”, that the will of God demanded that he should abandon the hesitation born of earthly prudence and worldly interests, and return from Avignon to Rome, to the Tomb of Peter.

With similar energy Catherine then strove to overcome the divisions which arose in the papal election following the death of Gregory XI: in that situation too she once more appealed with passionate ardour to the uncompromising demands of ecclesial communion. That was the supreme ideal which inspired her whole life as she spent herself unstintingly for the sake of the Church. She herself declared this to her spiritual children on her death-bed: “Hold firm to this, my beloved – that I have given my life for the holy Church” (Blessed Raymond of Capua, *Life of Saint Catherine of Siena*, Book III, Chap. IV).

8. With Edith Stein – Saint Teresa Benedicta of the Cross – we enter a very different historical and cultural context. For she brings us to the heart of this tormented century, pointing to the hopes which it has stirred, but also the contradictions and failures which have disfigured it. Unlike Bridget and Catherine, Edith was not from a Christian family. What we see in her is the anguish of the search and the struggle of an existential “pilgrimage”. Even after she found the truth in the peace of the contemplative life, she was to live to the full the mystery of the Cross.

Edith was born in 1891 to a Jewish family of Breslau, which was then in German territory. Her interest in philosophy, and her abandonment of the religious practice which she had been taught by her mother, might have presaged not a journey of holiness but a life lived by the principles of pure “rationalism”. Yet it was precisely along the byways of philosophical investigation that grace awaited her: having chosen to undertake the study of phenomenology, she became sensitive to an objective reality which, far from ultimately dissolving in the subject, both precedes the subject and becomes the measure of subjective knowledge, and thus needs to be examined with rigorous objectivity. This reality must be heeded and grasped above all in the human being, by virtue of that capacity for “empathy” – a word dear to her – which enables one in some way to appropriate the lived experience of the other (cf. Edith Stein, *The Problem of Empathy*).

It was with this listening attitude that she came face to face, on the one hand, with the testimony of Christian spiritual experience given by Teresa of Avila and the other great mystics of whom she became a disciple and an imitator, and, on the other hand, with the ancient tradition of Christian thought as consolidated in Thomistic philosophy. This path brought her first to Baptism and then to the choice of a contemplative life in the Carmelite Order. All this came about in the context of a rather turbulent personal journey, marked not only by inner searching but also by commitment to study and teaching, in which she engaged with admirable dedication. Particularly significant for her time was her struggle to promote the social status of women; and especially profound are the pages in which she explores the values of womanhood and woman’s mission from the human and religious standpoint (cf. E. Stein, *Woman. Her Role According to Nature and Grace*).

9. Edith’s encounter with Christianity did not lead her to reject her Jewish roots; rather it enabled her fully to rediscover them. But this did not mean that she was spared misunderstanding on the part of her family. It was especially her mother’s disapproval which caused her profound pain. Her entire journey towards Christian perfection was marked not only by human solidarity with her native people but also by a true spiritual sharing in the vocation of the children of Abraham, marked by the mystery of God’s call and his “irrevocable gifts” (cf. *Rom 11:29*).

In particular, Edith made her own the suffering of the Jewish people, even as this reached its apex in the barbarous Nazi persecution which remains, together with other terrible instances of totalitarianism, one of the darkest and most shameful stains on the Europe of our century. At the time, she felt that in the systematic extermination of the Jews the Cross of Christ was being laid on her people, and she herself took personal part in it by her deportation and execution in the infamous camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau. Her voice merged with the cry of all the victims of that appalling tragedy, but at the same time was joined to the cry of Christ on the Cross which gives to human suffering a mysterious and enduring fruitfulness. The image of her holiness remains for



Edith Stein
(Saint Teresa Benedicta of the Cross)

ever linked to the tragedy of her violent death, alongside all those who with her suffered the same fate. And it remains as a proclamation of the Gospel of the Cross, with which she identified herself by the very choice of her name in religion.

Today we look upon Teresa Benedicta of the Cross and, in her witness as an innocent victim, we recognize an imitation of the Sacrificial Lamb and a protest against every violation of the fundamental rights of the person. We also recognize in it the pledge of a renewed encounter between Jews and Christians which, following the desire expressed by the Second Vatican Council, is now entering upon a time of promise marked by openness on both sides. Today's proclamation of Edith Stein as a Co-Patroness of Europe is intended to raise on this Continent a banner of respect, tolerance and acceptance which invites all men and women to understand and appreciate each other, transcending their ethnic, cultural and religious differences in order to form a truly fraternal society.

10. Thus may Europe grow! May it grow as a Europe of the spirit, in continuity with the best of its history, of which holiness is the highest expression. The unity of the Continent, which is gradually maturing in people's consciousness and receiving a more precise political definition, certainly embodies a great hope. Europeans are called to leave behind once and for all the rivalries of history which often turned the Continent into a theatre of devastating wars. At the same time they must work to create conditions for greater unity and cooperation between peoples. Before them lies the daunting challenge of building a culture and an ethic of unity, for in the absence of these any politics of unity is doomed sooner or later to failure.

In order to build the new Europe on solid foundations it is certainly not enough to appeal to economic interests alone; for these, while sometimes bringing people together, are at other times a cause of division. Rather there is a need to act on the basis of authentic values, which are founded on the universal moral law written on the heart of every person. A Europe which would exchange the values of tolerance and universal respect for ethical indifference and scepticism about essential values would be opening itself to immense risks and sooner or later would see the most fearful spectres of its past reappear in new forms.

To remove this threat, the role of Christianity – which tirelessly points to the horizon of ultimate truth – is once again seen to be vital. Also, in light of the many areas of agreement with other religions acknowledged by the Second Vatican Council (cf. Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions *Nostra Aetate*), it must be strongly emphasized that openness to the Transcendent is a vital dimension of human existence. It is essential, therefore, for all Christians who live in the different nations of the Continent to renew their commitment to bear witness to their faith. Theirs is the task of nourishing the hope of full salvation by the proclamation which properly belongs to them: the proclamation of the Gospel, the "Good News" that

John Paul II
24 March 2004

God has drawn near to us and in his Son Jesus Christ has offered us redemption and fullness of divine life. In the power of the Spirit who has been given to us we can lift our eyes to God and call upon him with the tender name of “Abba”, Father! (cf. *Rom* 8:15; *Gal* 4:6).

11. It is precisely this proclamation of hope that I have wished to strengthen by calling for a renewed devotion, in a “European” context, to these three great women, who in different historical times made so significant a contribution to the growth of the Church and the development of society.

Through the Communion of Saints, which mysteriously unites the Church on earth with the Church in heaven, they take our cares upon themselves in their unceasing intercession before the throne of God. At the same time, a more fervent invocation of these Saints, and a more assiduous and careful attention to their words and example, will not fail to make us ever more aware of our common vocation to holiness and inspire in us the resolve to be ever more generous in our commitment.

Wherefore, after much consideration, in virtue of my Apostolic Authority I establish and declare Saint Bridget of Sweden, Saint Catherine of Siena and Saint Teresa Benedicta of the Cross heavenly Co-Patronesses of all of Europe before God, and I hereby grant all the honours and liturgical privileges belonging by law to the principal patrons of places.

Glory be to the Holy Trinity, whose radiant splendour shines uniquely in their lives and in the lives of all the Saints. Peace to men and women of good will, in Europe and throughout the world.

Given in Rome, at Saint Peter’s, on the first day of October in the year 1999, the twenty-first of my Pontificate.

JOHN PAUL II

At the Conferral of the Charlemagne Prize

H

onourable Mr. Mayor,
Dear Members of the Awards Committee of the
Charlemagne Prize,
Your Eminences,
Your Excellencies, Distinguished Guests,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

1. I offer you all a cordial welcome here in the Vatican. I address a special greeting to the representatives of the City of Aachen accompanied by the Mayor, Mr. Linden, and guests of the German Federal Republic. Aware that the Catholic Church has at heart the union of Europe, you have come here to honour the Successor of Peter with the International Charlemagne Prize. If I am able to receive this Prize today, conferred in an extraordinary and unique way, I do so with gratitude to Almighty God, who has filled the European people with the spirit of reconciliation, peace and unity.

2. The Prize, awarded by the City of Aachen for laudable efforts to promote Europe, has very fittingly taken the name of the Emperor Charlemagne. Indeed, the King of the Franks, who established Aachen as the capital of his kingdom, made an essential contribution to the political and cultural foundations of Europe and therefore deserved the nickname *Pater Europae* (father of Europe) that his contemporaries gave him. The felicitous combination of classical culture and Christian faith with the traditions of various peoples took place in Charlemagne’s empire and developed in various forms down the centuries as the spiritual and cultural legacy of Europe. Even if modern Europe presents in many aspects a new reality, we can nevertheless recognize the highly symbolic value of the historical figure of Charlemagne.

3. Today, Europe’s growing unity also includes other fathers. On the one hand, we must not underestimate those active thinkers and politicians who have given and who give priority to the joint reconciliation and growth of their peoples, instead of insisting on their own rights and on exclusion.

In this context, I would like to recall those who have been awarded the Prize so far; we can greet some of them who are present here. The Apostolic See recognizes and encourages their activities and the commitment of many other personalities to the peace and unity of the European peoples.

My special thanks go to those who have put all their efforts at the service of building the common European House on the foundations of the values passed on by the Christian faith as well as on those of Western culture.

4. Since the Holy See is located in Europe, the Church has special relations with the peoples of this Continent. Therefore, from the very beginning the Holy See has been involved in the process of European integration. After the horrors of the Second World War, my Predecessor, Pius XII of venerable memory, demonstrated the keen interest of the Church by explicitly supporting the idea of forming a “European union”, leaving no doubts about the fact that for such a union to be valid and lasting, it is necessary first of all to go back to Christianity as a factor that creates identity and unity (cf. *Address to the Union of European Federalists in Rome*, 11 November 1948).

5. Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen, what kind of Europe should we dream of today? Permit me to outline a rapid sketch of my own vision of a united Europe.

I am thinking of a Europe that is free of selfish brands of nationalism, in which nations are seen as living centres of a cultural wealth that deserves to be protected and promoted for the benefit of all.

I am thinking of a Europe in which the conquests of science, economics and social well-being are not geared to a blind consumerism but are at the service of every needy person, offering integral assistance to those countries that are endeavouring to reach the goal of social stability. May Europe, which has undergone so many bloody wars in its history, become an active agent of peace throughout the world!

I am thinking of a Europe whose unity is based on true freedom, whose precious fruits of freedom of religion and social freedoms have matured in the *humus* of Christianity. Without freedom there is no responsibility, either before God or before men and women. The Church, especially since the Second Vatican Council, wants to make ample room for freedom. The modern state is aware that it cannot be a state of rights if it does not protect and promote the freedom of its citizens, allowing them to express themselves as individuals and as groups.

I am thinking of a Europe that is united thanks to the work of the young. Young people understand one another with the greatest of ease, over and above geographical boundaries! How can a young generation be born, however, which is open to the true, the beautiful, the noble and to what is worthy of sacrifice, if in Europe the *family* no longer represents an institution open to life and disinterested love? A family of which

the elderly are an integral part, with a view to what is most important: the active communication of values and of the sense of life.

The Europe I have in mind is a political, indeed, a spiritual unit in which Christian politicians of all countries act with an awareness of the human riches that faith brings: men and women who are committed to making these values fruitful, putting themselves at the service of all for a Europe centred on the human person on which shines the face of God.

This is the dream I carry in my heart and which I would like on this occasion to entrust to you and to the future generations.

6. Mr. Mayor, I would like once again to thank you and the Awards Committee of the Charlemagne Prize. From my heart I implore God to pour out his Blessings in abundance upon the City and Diocese of Aachen, and upon all who are working for the true good of the inhabitants and peoples of Europe.

Benedict XVI
30 March 2006

To the Members of the European People's Party

Honourable Parliamentarians,
Distinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,
I am pleased to receive you on the occasion of the Study Days on Europe, organized by your Parliamentary Group. The Roman Pontiffs have always devoted particular attention to this continent; today's audience is a case in point, and it takes its place in the long series of meetings between my predecessors and political movements of Christian inspiration. I thank the Honourable Mr. Pöttering for his words addressed to me in your name, and I extend to him and to all of you my cordial greetings.

At present, Europe has to address complex issues of great importance, such as the growth and development of European integration, the increasingly precise definition of neighbourhood policy within the Union and the debate over its social model. In order to attain these goals, it will be important to draw inspiration, with creative fidelity, from the Christian heritage which has made such a particular contribution to forging the identity of this continent. By valuing its Christian roots, Europe will be able to give a secure direction to the choices of its citizens and peoples, it will strengthen their awareness of belonging to a common civilization and it will nourish the commitment of all to address the challenges of the present for the sake of a better future. I therefore appreciate your Group's recognition of Europe's Christian heritage, which offers valuable ethical guidelines in the search for a social model that responds adequately to the demands of an already globalized economy and to demographic changes, assuring growth and employment, protection of the family, equal opportunities for education of the young and solicitude for the poor.

Your support for the Christian heritage, moreover, can contribute significantly to the defeat of a culture that is now fairly widespread in Europe, which relegates to the private and subjective sphere the manifestation of one's own religious convictions. Policies built on this foundation not only entail the repudiation of Christianity's public



role; more generally, they exclude engagement with Europe's religious tradition, which is so clear, despite its denominational variations, thereby threatening democracy itself, whose strength depends on the values that it promotes (cf. *Evangelium Vitae*, 70). Given that this tradition, precisely in what might be called its polyphonic unity, conveys values that are fundamental for the good of society, the European Union can only be enriched by engaging with it. It would be a sign of immaturity, if not indeed weakness, to choose to oppose or ignore it, rather than to dialogue with it. In this context one has to recognize that a certain secular intransigence shows itself to be the enemy of tolerance and of a sound secular vision of state and society. I am pleased, therefore, that the European Union's constitutional treaty envisages a structured and ongoing relationship with religious communities, recognizing their identity and their specific contribution. Above all, I trust that the effective and correct implementation of this relationship will start now, with the cooperation of all political movements irrespective of party alignments. It must not be forgotten that, when Churches or ecclesial communities intervene in public debate, expressing reservations or recalling various principles, this does not constitute a form of intolerance or an interference, since such interventions are aimed solely at enlightening consciences, enabling them to act freely and responsibly, according to the true demands of justice, even when this should conflict with situations of power and personal interest.

As far as the Catholic Church is concerned, the principal focus of her interventions in the public arena is the protection and promotion of the dignity of the person, and she is thereby consciously drawing particular attention to principles which are not negotiable. Among these the following emerge clearly today:

- protection of life in all its stages, from the first moment of conception until natural death;
- recognition and promotion of the natural structure of the family – as a union between a man and a woman based on marriage – and its defence from attempts to make it juridically equivalent to radically different forms of union which in reality harm it and contribute to its destabilization, obscuring its particular character and its irreplaceable social role;
- the protection of the right of parents to educate their children.

These principles are not truths of faith, even though they receive further light and confirmation from faith; they are inscribed in human nature itself and therefore they are common to all humanity. The Church's action in promoting them is therefore not confessional in character, but is addressed to all people, prescinding from any religious affiliation they may have. On the contrary, such action is all the more necessary the more these principles are denied or misunderstood, because this constitutes an offence against the truth of the human person, a grave wound inflicted onto justice itself.

Dear friends, in exhorting you to be credible and consistent witnesses of these basic truths through your political activity, and more fundamentally through your commitment to live authentic and consistent lives, I invoke upon you and your work the continued assistance of God, in pledge of which I cordially impart my Blessing to you and to those accompanying you.

Benedict XVI
24 March 2007

To the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Community

M

embers of the College of Cardinals,
Venerable Brothers in the Episcopate,
Honourable Parliamentarians,
Ladies and Gentlemen!

I am happy to receive such a large number of persons at this particular audience taking place on the eve of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, signed on 25 March 1957. This was an important step for Europe, exhausted by the Second World War and eager to build a future of peace and greater economic and social

well-being without suppressing or denying its various national identities. I welcome the Most Reverend Adrianus Herman van Luyn, Bishop of Rotterdam, President of the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Community, and I express to him my gratitude for his kind words. I also offer greetings to the other prelates, to the distinguished authorities and to all those taking part in this Convention organised by the COMECE as an invitation to reflect on Europe.

Since March 1957, this Continent has travelled a long road, which has led to the reconciliation of its two "lungs" – the East and the West – linked by a common history, but arbitrarily separated by a curtain of injustice. Economic integration has stimulated political unification and encouraged the continuing and strenuous search for an institutional structure adequate for a European Union that already numbers 27 nations and aspires to become a global actor on the world scene.

During these years there has emerged an increasing awareness of the need to establish a healthy balance between the economic and social dimensions, through policies capable of producing wealth and increasing competitiveness, while not neglecting the legitimate expectations of the poor and the marginalized. Unfortunately, from a demographic point of view, one must note that Europe seems to be following a path that could lead

to its departure from history. This not only places economic growth at risk; it could also create enormous difficulties for social cohesion and, above all, favour a dangerous form of individualism inattentive to future consequences. One could almost think that the European continent is in fact losing faith in its own future. As regards, for example, respect for the environment or the structured access to energy resources and investments, incentives for solidarity are slow in coming, not only in the international sphere but also in the national one. The process of European unification itself is evidently not shared by all, due to the prevailing impression that various “chapters” in the European project have been “written” without taking into account the aspirations of its citizens.

From all this it clearly emerges that an authentic European “common home” cannot be built without considering the identity of the people of this Continent of ours. It is a question of a historical, cultural, and moral identity before being a geographic, economic, or political one; an identity comprised of a set of universal values that Christianity helped forge, thus giving Christianity not only a historical but a foundational role vis-à-vis Europe. These values, which make up the soul of the Continent, must remain in the Europe of the third millennium as a “ferment” of civilization. If these values were to disappear, how could the “old” Continent continue to function as a “leaven” for the entire world? If, for the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Treaty of Rome, the Governments of the Union wish to “get nearer” to their citizens, how can they exclude an element essential to European identity such as Christianity, with which a vast majority of citizens continue to identify? Is it not surprising that today’s Europe, while aspiring to be regarded as a community of values, seems ever more often to deny the very existence of universal and absolute values? Does not this unique form of “apostasy” from itself, even more than its apostasy from God, lead Europe to doubt its own identity? And so the opinion prevails that an “evaluation of the benefits” is the only way to moral discernment and that the common good is synonymous with compromise. In reality, if compromise can constitute a legitimate balance between different particular interests, it becomes a common evil whenever it involves agreements that dishonour human nature.

A community built without respect for the true dignity of the human being, disregarding the fact that every person is created in the image of God ends up doing no good to anyone. For this reason it seems ever more important that Europe be on guard against the pragmatic attitude, widespread today, which systematically justifies compromise on essential human values, as if it were the inevitable acceptance of a lesser evil. This kind of pragmatism, even when presented as balanced and realistic, is in reality neither, since it denies the dimension of values and ideals inherent in human nature. When non-religious and relativistic tendencies are woven into this pragmatism, Christians as such are eventually denied the very right to enter into the public discussion, or their contribution is discredited as an attempt to preserve unjustified privileges. In this historical hour and faced with the many challenges that confront it, the European Uni-

on, in order to be a valid guarantor of the rule of law and an efficient promoter of universal values, cannot but recognize clearly the certain existence of a stable and permanent human nature, source of common rights for all individuals, including those who deny them. In this context, the right to conscientious objection should be protected, every time fundamental human rights are violated.

Dear friends, I know how difficult it is for Christians to defend this truth of the human person. Nevertheless do not give in to fatigue or discouragement! You know that it is your duty, with God’s help, to contribute to the consolidation of a new Europe which will be realistic but not cynical, rich in ideals and free from naïve illusions, inspired by the perennial and life-giving truth of the Gospel. Therefore, be actively present in the public debate on a European level, knowing that this discussion is now an integral part of the national debate. And to this commitment add effective cultural action. Do not bend to the logic of power as an end in itself! May Christ’s admonition be a constant stimulus and support for you: “If the salt loses its flavour it is no longer good for anything, except to be thrown out and trampled by men” (cf. *Mt.* 5:13). May the Lord make all your efforts fruitful and help you to recognize and use properly what is positive in today’s civilization, while denouncing with courage all that is contrary to human dignity.

I am certain that God will bless the generous efforts of all who, in a spirit of service, work to build a common European home where every cultural, social and political contribution is directed towards the common good. To you, already involved in different ways in this important human and evangelical undertaking, I express my support and my most fervent encouragement. Above all, I assure you of a place in my prayers. Invoking upon you the maternal protection of Mary, Mother of the Word made Flesh, I cordially bless you and your families and communities.



Benedict XVI
22 September 2011

Visit to the Bundestag

M

ister President of the Federal Republic,
Mr. President of the Bundestag,
Madam Chancellor,
Madam President of the Bundesrat,
Ladies and Gentlemen Members of the House,

It is an honour and a joy for me to speak before this distinguished house, before the Parliament of my native Germany that meets here as a democratically elected representation of the people, in order to work for the good of the Federal Republic of Germany. I should like to thank the President of the *Bundestag* both for his invitation to deliver this address and for the kind words of greeting and appreciation with which he has welcomed me. At this moment I turn to you, distinguished ladies and gentlemen, not least as your fellow-countryman who for all his life has been conscious of close links to his origins, and has followed the affairs of his native Germany with keen interest. But the invitation to give this address was extended to me as Pope, as the Bishop of Rome, who bears the highest responsibility for Catholic Christianity. In issuing this invitation you are acknowledging the role that the Holy See plays as a partner within the community of peoples and states. Setting out from this international responsibility that I hold, I should like to propose to you some thoughts on the foundations of a free state of law.

Allow me to begin my reflections on the foundations of law [*Recht*] with a brief story from sacred Scripture. In the First Book of the Kings, it is recounted that God invited the young King Solomon, on his accession to the throne, to make a request. What will the young ruler ask for at this important moment? Success - wealth - long life - destruction of his enemies? He chooses none of these things. Instead, he asks for a listening heart so that he may govern God's people, and discern between good and evil (cf. *1 Kg 3:9*). Through this story, the Bible wants to tell us what should ultimately matter for a politician. His fundamental criterion and the motivation for his work as a politician must not be success, and certainly not material gain. Politics must be a striving for justice, and hence it has to establish the fundamental preconditions for peace. Naturally

a politician will seek success, without which he would have no opportunity for effective political action at all. Yet success is subordinated to the criterion of justice, to the will to do what is right, and to the understanding of what is right. Success can also be seductive and thus can open up the path towards the falsification of what is right, towards the destruction of justice. “Without justice – what else is the State but a great band of robbers?”, as Saint Augustine once said. We Germans know from our own experience that these words are no empty spectre. We have seen how power became divorced from right, how power opposed right and crushed it, so that the State became an instrument for destroying right – a highly organized band of robbers, capable of threatening the whole world and driving it to the edge of the abyss. To serve right and to fight against the dominion of wrong is and remains the fundamental task of the politician. At a moment in history when man has acquired previously inconceivable power, this task takes on a particular urgency. Man can destroy the world. He can manipulate himself. He can, so to speak, make human beings and he can deny them their humanity. How do we recognize what is right? How can we discern between good and evil, between what is truly right and what may appear right? Even now, Solomon’s request remains the decisive issue facing politicians and politics today.

For most of the matters that need to be regulated by law, the support of the majority can serve as a sufficient criterion. Yet it is evident that for the fundamental issues of law, in which the dignity of man and of humanity is at stake, the majority principle is not enough: everyone in a position of responsibility must personally seek out the criteria to be followed when framing laws. In the third century, the great theologian Origen provided the following explanation for the resistance of Christians to certain legal systems: “Suppose that a man were living among the Scythians, whose laws are contrary to the divine law, and was compelled to live among them ... such a man for the sake of the true law, though illegal among the Scythians, would rightly form associations with like-minded people contrary to the laws of the Scythians”¹.

This conviction was what motivated resistance movements to act against the Nazi regime and other totalitarian regimes, thereby doing a great service to justice and to humanity as a whole. For these people, it was indisputably evident that the law in force was actually unlawful. Yet when it comes to the decisions of a democratic politician, the question of what now corresponds to the law of truth, what is actually right and may be enacted as law, is less obvious. In terms of the underlying anthropological issues, what is right and may be given the force of law is in no way simply self-evident today. The question of how to recognize what is truly right and thus to serve justice when framing laws has never been simple, and today in view of the vast extent of our knowledge and our capacity, it has become still harder.

How do we recognize what is right? In history, systems of law have almost always been based on religion: decisions regarding what was to be lawful among men were taken with reference to the divinity. Unlike other great religions, Christianity has never proposed a revealed law to the State and to society, that is to say a juridical order derived from revelation. Instead, it has pointed to nature and reason as the true sources of law – and to the harmony of objective and subjective reason, which naturally presupposes that both spheres are rooted in the creative reason of God. Christian theologians thereby aligned themselves with a philosophical and juridical movement that began to take shape in the second century B.C. In the first half of that century, the social natural law developed by the Stoic philosophers came into contact with leading teachers of Roman Law². Through this encounter, the juridical culture of the West was born, which was and is of key significance for the juridical culture of mankind. This pre-Christian marriage between law and philosophy opened up the path that led via the Christian Middle Ages and the juridical developments of the Age of Enlightenment all the way to the Declaration of Human Rights and to our German Basic Law of 1949, with which our nation committed itself to “inviolable and inalienable human rights as the foundation of every human community, and of peace and justice in the world”.

For the development of law and for the development of humanity, it was highly significant that Christian theologians aligned themselves against the religious law associated with polytheism and on the side of philosophy, and that they acknowledged reason and nature in their interrelation as the universally valid source of law. This step had already been taken by Saint Paul in the Letter to the Romans, when he said: “When Gentiles who have not the Law [the Torah of Israel] do by nature what the law requires, they are a law to themselves ... they show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness ...” (*Rom 2:14f.*). Here we see the two fundamental concepts of nature and conscience, where conscience is nothing other than Solomon’s listening heart, reason that is open to the language of being. If this seemed to offer a clear explanation of the foundations of legislation up to the time of the Enlightenment, up to the time of the Declaration on Human Rights after the Second World War and the framing of our Basic Law, there has been a dramatic shift in the situation in the last half-century. The idea of natural law is today viewed as a specifically Catholic doctrine, not worth bringing into the discussion in a non-Catholic environment, so that one feels almost ashamed even to mention the term. Let me outline briefly how this situation arose. Fundamentally it is because of the idea that an unbridgeable gulf exists between “is” and “ought”. An “ought” can never follow from an “is”, because the two are situated on completely different planes. The reason for this is that in the meantime, the positivist understanding of nature has come to be almost universally accepted. If nature – in the words of Hans Kelsen – is viewed as “an aggregate of objective data linked together in terms of cause and effect”, then indeed no ethical indication of any



kind can be derived from it³. A positivist conception of nature as purely functional, as the natural sciences consider it to be, is incapable of producing any bridge to ethics and law, but once again yields only functional answers. The same also applies to reason, according to the positivist understanding that is widely held to be the only genuinely scientific one. Anything that is not verifiable or falsifiable, according to this understanding, does not belong to the realm of reason strictly understood. Hence ethics and religion must be assigned to the subjective field, and they remain extraneous to the realm of reason in the strict sense of the word. Where positivist reason dominates the field to the exclusion of all else – and that is broadly the case in our public mindset – then the classical sources of knowledge for ethics and law are excluded. This is a dramatic situation which affects everyone, and on which a public debate is necessary. Indeed, an essential goal of this address is to issue an urgent invitation to launch one.

The positivist approach to nature and reason, the positivist world view in general, is a most important dimension of human knowledge and capacity that we may in no way dispense with. But in and of itself it is not a sufficient culture corresponding to the full breadth of the human condition. Where positivist reason considers itself the only sufficient culture and banishes all other cultural realities to the status of subcultures, it diminishes man, indeed it threatens his humanity. I say this with Europe specifically in mind, where there are concerted efforts to recognize only positivism as a common culture and a common basis for law-making, reducing all the other insights and values of our culture to the level of subculture, with the result that Europe vis-à-vis other world cultures is left in a state of culturelessness and at the same time extremist and radical movements emerge to fill the vacuum. In its self-proclaimed exclusivity, the positivist reason which recognizes nothing beyond mere functionality resembles a concrete bunker with no windows, in which we ourselves provide lighting and atmospheric conditions, being no longer willing to obtain either from God's wide world. And yet we cannot hide from ourselves the fact that even in this artificial world, we are still covertly drawing upon God's raw materials, which we refashion into our own products. The windows must be flung open again, we must see the wide world, the sky and the earth once more and learn to make proper use of all this.

But how are we to do this? How do we find our way out into the wide world, into the big picture? How can reason rediscover its true greatness, without being sidetracked into irrationality? How can nature reassert itself in its true depth, with all its demands, with all its directives? I would like to recall one of the developments in recent political history, hoping that I will neither be misunderstood, nor provoke too many one-sided polemics. I would say that the emergence of the ecological movement in German politics since the 1970s, while it has not exactly flung open the windows, nevertheless was and continues to be a cry for fresh air which must not be ignored or pushed aside, just

because too much of it is seen to be irrational. Young people had come to realize that something is wrong in our relationship with nature, that matter is not just raw material for us to shape at will, but that the earth has a dignity of its own and that we must follow its directives. In saying this, I am clearly not promoting any particular political party – nothing could be further from my mind. If something is wrong in our relationship with reality, then we must all reflect seriously on the whole situation and we are all prompted to question the very foundations of our culture. Allow me to dwell a little longer on this point. The importance of ecology is no longer disputed. We must listen to the language of nature and we must answer accordingly. Yet I would like to underline a point that seems to me to be neglected, today as in the past: there is also an ecology of man. Man too has a nature that he must respect and that he cannot manipulate at will. Man is not merely self-creating freedom. Man does not create himself. He is intellect and will, but he is also nature, and his will is rightly ordered if he respects his nature, listens to it and accepts himself for who he is, as one who did not create himself. In this way, and in no other, is true human freedom fulfilled.

Let us come back to the fundamental concepts of nature and reason, from which we set out. The great proponent of legal positivism, Kelsen, at the age of 84 – in 1965 – abandoned the dualism of “is” and “ought”. (I find it comforting that rational thought is evidently still possible at the age of 84!) Previously he had said that norms can only come from the will. Nature therefore could only contain norms, he adds, if a will had put them there. But this, he says, would presuppose a Creator God, whose will had entered into nature. “Any attempt to discuss the truth of this belief is utterly futile”, he observed⁴. Is it really? – I find myself asking. Is it really pointless to wonder whether the objective reason that manifests itself in nature does not presuppose a creative reason, a *Creator Spiritus*?

At this point Europe's cultural heritage ought to come to our assistance. The conviction that there is a Creator God is what gave rise to the idea of human rights, the idea of the equality of all people before the law, the recognition of the inviolability of human dignity in every single person and the awareness of people's responsibility for their actions. Our cultural memory is shaped by these rational insights. To ignore it or dismiss it as a thing of the past would be to dismember our culture totally and to rob it of its completeness. The culture of Europe arose from the encounter between Jerusalem, Athens and Rome – from the encounter between Israel's monotheism, the philosophical reason of the Greeks and Roman law. This three-way encounter has shaped the inner identity of Europe. In the awareness of man's responsibility before God and in the acknowledgment of the inviolable dignity of every single human person, it has established criteria of law: it is these criteria that we are called to defend at this moment in our history.

Francis
25 November 2014

As he assumed the mantle of office, the young King Solomon was invited to make a request. How would it be if we, the law-makers of today, were invited to make a request? What would we ask for? I think that, even today, there is ultimately nothing else we could wish for but a listening heart – the capacity to discern between good and evil, and thus to establish true law, to serve justice and peace. I thank you for your attention!

¹ Contra Celsum, Book 1, Chapter 1. Cf. A. Fürst, “Monotheismus und Monarchie. Zum Zusammenhang von Heil und Herrschaft in der Antike”, *Theol. Phil.* 81 (2006), pp. 321-338, quoted on p. 336; cf. also J. Ratzinger, *Die Einheit der Nationen. Eine Vision der Kirchenväter* (Salzburg and Munich, 1971), p. 60.

² Cf. W. Waldstein, *Ins Herz geschrieben. Das Naturrecht als Fundament einer menschlichen Gesellschaft* (Augsburg, 2010), pp. 11ff., 31-61.

³ Cf. Waldstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-21.

⁴ Cf. Waldstein, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

Visit to the European Parliament in Strasbourg

M

ister President and Vice Presidents,
Members of the European Parliament,
All associated with the work of this Institution,
Dear Friends,

I thank you for inviting me to address this institution which is fundamental to the life of the European Union, and for giving me this opportunity to speak, through you, to the more than 500 million citizens whom you represent in the 28 Member States. I am especially grateful to you, Mr. President, for your warm words

of welcome in the name of the entire assembly.

My visit comes more than a quarter of a century after that of Pope John Paul II. Since then, much has changed throughout Europe and the world as a whole. The opposing blocs which then divided the continent in two no longer exist, and gradually the hope is being realized that “Europe, endowed with sovereign and free institutions, will one day reach the full dimensions that geography, and even more, history have given it”¹.

As the European Union has expanded, the world itself has become more complex and ever changing; increasingly interconnected and global, it has, as a consequence, become less and less “Eurocentric”. Despite a larger and stronger Union, Europe seems to give the impression of being somewhat elderly and haggard, feeling less and less a protagonist in a world which frequently regards it with aloofness, mistrust and even, at times, suspicion.

In addressing you today, I would like, as a pastor, to offer a message of hope and encouragement to all the citizens of Europe.

It is a message of hope, based on the confidence that our problems can become powerful forces for unity in working to overcome all those fears which Europe – togeth-

er with the entire world – is presently experiencing. It is a message of hope in the Lord, who turns evil into good and death into life.

It is a message of encouragement to return to the firm conviction of the founders of the European Union, who envisioned a future based on the capacity to work together in bridging divisions and in fostering peace and fellowship between all the peoples of this continent. At the heart of this ambitious political project was confidence in man, not so much as a citizen or an economic agent, but in man, in men and women as persons endowed with *transcendent dignity*.

I feel bound to stress the close bond between these two words: “dignity” and “transcendent”.

“Dignity” was a pivotal concept in the process of rebuilding which followed the Second World War. Our recent past has been marked by the concern to protect human dignity, in contrast to the manifold instances of violence and discrimination which, even in Europe, took place in the course of the centuries. Recognition of the importance of human rights came about as the result of a lengthy process, entailing much suffering and sacrifice, which helped shape an awareness of the unique worth of each individual human person. This awareness was grounded not only in historical events, but above all in European thought, characterized as it is by an enriching encounter whose “distant springs are many, coming from Greece and Rome, from Celtic, Germanic and Slavic sources, and from Christianity which profoundly shaped them”², thus forging the very concept of the “person”.

Today, the promotion of human rights is central to the commitment of the European Union to advance the dignity of the person, both within the Union and in its relations with other countries. This is an important and praiseworthy commitment, since there are still too many situations in which human beings are treated as objects whose conception, configuration and utility can be programmed, and who can then be discarded when no longer useful, due to weakness, illness or old age.

In the end, what kind of dignity is there without the possibility of freely expressing one’s thought or professing one’s religious faith? What dignity can there be without a clear juridical framework which limits the rule of force and enables the rule of law to prevail over the power of tyranny? What dignity can men and women ever enjoy if they are subjected to all types of discrimination? What dignity can a person ever hope to find when he or she lacks food and the bare essentials for survival and, worse yet, when they lack the work which confers dignity?

Promoting the dignity of the person means recognizing that he or she possesses inalienable rights which no one may take away arbitrarily, much less for the sake of economic interests.

At the same time, however, care must be taken not to fall into certain errors which can arise from a misunderstanding of the concept of human rights and from its misuse.

Today there is a tendency to claim ever broader individual rights – I am tempted to say individualistic; underlying this is a conception of the human person as detached from all social and anthropological contexts, as if the person were a “monad”, increasingly unconcerned with other surrounding “monads”. The equally essential and complementary concept of duty no longer seems to be linked to such a concept of rights. As a result, the rights of the individual are upheld, without regard for the fact that each human being is part of a social context wherein his or her rights and duties are bound up with those of others and with the common good of society itself.

I believe, therefore, that it is vital to develop a culture of human rights which wisely links the individual, or better, the personal aspect, to that of the *common good*, of the “*all of us*” made up of individuals, families and intermediate groups who together constitute society³. In fact, unless the rights of each individual are harmoniously ordered to the greater good, those rights will end up being considered limitless and consequently will become a source of conflicts and violence.

To speak of *transcendent human dignity* thus means appealing to human nature, to our innate capacity to distinguish good from evil, to that “compass” deep within our hearts, which God has impressed upon all creation⁴. Above all, it means regarding human beings not as absolutes, but as *beings in relation*. In my view, one of the most common diseases in Europe today is the *loneliness* typical of those who have no connection with others. This is especially true of the elderly, who are often abandoned to their fate, and also in the young who lack clear points of reference and opportunities for the future. It is also seen in the many poor who dwell in our cities and in the disorientation of immigrants who came here seeking a better future.

This loneliness has become more acute as a result of the economic crisis, whose effects continue to have tragic consequences for the life of society. In recent years, as the European Union has expanded, there has been growing mistrust on the part of citizens towards institutions considered to be aloof, engaged in laying down rules perceived as insensitive to individual peoples, if not downright harmful. In many quarters we encounter a general impression of weariness and aging, of a Europe which is now a “grandmother”, no longer fertile and vibrant. As a result, the great ideas which once inspired Europe seem to have lost their attraction, only to be replaced by the bureaucratic technicalities of its institutions.

Together with this, we encounter certain rather selfish lifestyles, marked by an opulence which is no longer sustainable and frequently indifferent to the world around us, and especially to the poorest of the poor. To our dismay we see technical and economic questions dominating political debate, to the detriment of genuine concern for human beings⁵. Men and women risk being reduced to mere cogs in a machine that treats them as items of consumption to be exploited, with the result that – as is so tragically apparent – whenever a human life no longer proves useful for that machine, it is discarded



with few qualms, as in the case of the sick, of the terminally ill, the elderly who are abandoned and uncared for, and children who are killed in the womb.

This is the great mistake made “when technology is allowed to take over”⁶; the result is a confusion between ends and means⁷. It is the inevitable consequence of a “throwaway culture” and an uncontrolled consumerism. Upholding the dignity of the person means instead acknowledging the value of human life, which is freely given to us and hence cannot be an object of trade or commerce. As members of this Parliament, you are called to a great mission which may at times seem an impossible one: to tend to the needs, the needs of individuals and peoples. To tend to those in need takes strength and tenderness, effort and generosity in the midst of a functionalistic and privatized mindset which inexorably leads to a “throwaway culture”. To care for individuals and peoples in need means protecting memory and hope; it means taking responsibility for the present with its situations of utter marginalization and anguish, and being capable of bestowing dignity upon it⁸.

How, then, can hope in the future be restored, so that, beginning with the younger generation, there can be a rediscovery of that confidence needed to pursue the great ideal of a united and peaceful Europe, a Europe which is creative and resourceful, respectful of rights and conscious of its duties?

To answer this question, allow me to use an image. One of the most celebrated frescoes of Raphael is found in the Vatican and depicts the so-called “School of Athens”. Plato and Aristotle are in the centre. Plato’s finger is pointed upward, to the world of ideas, to the sky, to heaven as we might say. Aristotle holds his hand out before him, towards the viewer, towards the world, concrete reality. This strikes me as a very apt image of Europe and her history, made up of the constant interplay between heaven and earth, where the sky suggests that openness to the transcendent – to God – which has always distinguished the peoples of Europe, while the earth represents Europe’s practical and concrete ability to confront situations and problems.

The future of Europe depends on the recovery of the vital connection between these two elements. A Europe which is no longer open to the transcendent dimension of life is a Europe which risks slowly losing its own soul and that “humanistic spirit” which it still loves and defends.

Taking as a starting point this opening to the transcendent, I would like to reaffirm the centrality of the human person, which otherwise is at the mercy of the whims and the powers of the moment. I consider to be fundamental not only the legacy that Christianity has offered in the past to the social and cultural formation of the continent, but above all the contribution which it desires to offer today, and in the future, to Europe’s growth. This contribution does not represent a threat to the secularity of states or to the independence of the institutions of the European Union, but rather an enrichment. This is clear from the ideals which shaped Europe from the beginning, such as peace, subsi-



diarity and reciprocal solidarity, and a humanism centred on respect for the dignity of the human person.

I wish, then, to reiterate the readiness of the Holy See and the Catholic Church, through the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of Europe (COMECE), to engage in meaningful, open and transparent dialogue with the institutions of the European Union. I am likewise convinced that a Europe which is capable of appreciating its religious roots and of grasping their fruitfulness and potential, will be all the more immune to the many forms of extremism spreading in the world today, not least as a result of the great vacuum of ideals which we are currently witnessing in the West, since "it is precisely man's forgetfulness of God, and his failure to give him glory, which gives rise to violence"⁹.

Here I cannot fail to recall the many instances of injustice and persecution which daily afflict religious minorities, and Christians in particular, in various parts of our world. Communities and individuals today find themselves subjected to barbaric acts of violence: they are evicted from their homes and native lands, sold as slaves, killed, beheaded, crucified or burned alive, under the shameful and complicit silence of so many.

The motto of the European Union is *United in Diversity*. Unity, however, does not mean uniformity of political, economic and cultural life, or ways of thinking. Indeed, all authentic unity draws from the rich diversities which make it up: in this sense it is like a family, which is all the more united when each of its members is free to be fully himself or herself. I consider Europe as a family of peoples who will sense the closeness of the institutions of the Union when these latter are able wisely to combine the desired ideal of unity with the diversity proper to each people, cherishing particular traditions, acknowledging its past history and its roots, liberated from so many manipulations and phobias. Affirming the centrality of the human person means, above all, allowing all to express freely their individuality and their creativity, both as individuals and as peoples.

At the same time, the specific features of each one represent an authentic richness to the degree that they are placed at the service of all. The proper configuration of the European Union must always be respected, based as it is on the principles of solidarity and subsidiarity, so that mutual assistance can prevail and progress can be made on the basis of mutual trust.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Members of the European Parliament, within this dynamic of unity and particularity, yours is the responsibility of keeping democracy alive, democracy for the peoples of Europe. It is no secret that a conception of unity seen as uniformity strikes at the vitality of the democratic system, weakening the rich, fruitful and constructive interplay of organizations and political parties. This leads to the risk of living in a world of ideas, of mere words, of images, of sophistry ... and to end up confusing the reality of democracy with a new political nominalism. Keeping democracy alive in Europe requires avoiding the many globalizing tendencies to dilute reality: namely,

angelic forms of purity, dictatorships of relativism, brands of ahistorical fundamentalism, ethical systems lacking kindness, and intellectual discourse bereft of wisdom¹⁰.

Keeping democracies alive is a challenge in the present historic moment. The true strength of our democracies – understood as expressions of the political will of the people – must not be allowed to collapse under the pressure of multinational interests which are not universal, which weaken them and turn them into uniform systems of economic power at the service of unseen empires. This is one of the challenges which history sets before you today.

To give Europe hope means more than simply acknowledging the centrality of the human person; it also implies nurturing the gifts of each man and woman. It means investing in individuals and in those settings in which their talents are shaped and flourish. The first area surely is that of education, beginning with the family, the fundamental cell and most precious element of any society. The family, united, fruitful and indissoluble, possesses the elements fundamental for fostering hope in the future. Without this solid basis, the future ends up being built on sand, with dire social consequences. Then too, stressing the importance of the family not only helps to give direction and hope to new generations, but also to many of our elderly, who are often forced to live alone and are effectively abandoned because there is no longer the warmth of a family hearth able to accompany and support them.

Alongside the family, there are the various educational institutes: schools and universities. Education cannot be limited to providing technical expertise alone. Rather, it should encourage the more complex process of assisting the human person to grow in his or her totality. Young people today are asking for a suitable and complete education which can enable them to look to the future with hope instead of disenchantment. There is so much creative potential in Europe in the various fields of scientific research, some of which have yet to be fully explored. We need only think, for example, of alternative sources of energy, the development of which will assist in the protection of the environment.

Europe has always been in the vanguard of efforts to promote ecology. Our earth needs constant concern and attention. Each of us has a personal responsibility to care for creation, this precious gift which God has entrusted to us. This means, on the one hand, that nature is at our disposal, to enjoy and use properly. Yet it also means that we are not its masters. Stewards, but not masters. We need to love and respect nature, but "instead we are often guided by the pride of dominating, possessing, manipulating, exploiting; we do not 'preserve' the earth, we do not respect it, we do not consider it as a freely-given gift to look after"¹¹. Respect for the environment, however, means more than not destroying it; it also means using it for good purposes. I am thinking above all of the agricultural sector, which provides sustenance and nourishment to our human family. It is intolerable that millions of people around the world are dying of hunger while tons of food are discarded each day from our tables. Respect for nature also calls for re-



Pope Francis signs the book of honor during a visit to the European institutions in Strasbourg

cognizing that man himself is a fundamental part of it. Along with an environmental ecology, there is also need of that human ecology which consists in respect for the person, which I have wanted to emphasize in addressing you today.

The second area in which people's talents flourish is labour. The time has come to promote policies which create employment, but above all there is a need to restore dignity to labour by ensuring proper working conditions. This implies, on the one hand, finding new ways of joining market flexibility with the need for stability and security on the part of workers; these are indispensable for their human development. It also implies favouring a suitable social context geared not to the exploitation of persons, but to ensuring, precisely through labour, their ability to create a family and educate their children.

Likewise, there needs to be a united response to the question of migration. We cannot allow the Mediterranean to become a vast cemetery! The boats landing daily on the shores of Europe are filled with men and women who need acceptance and assistance. The absence of mutual support within the European Union runs the risk of encouraging particularistic solutions to the problem, solutions which fail to take into account the human dignity of immigrants, and thus contribute to slave labour and continuing social tensions. Europe will be able to confront the problems associated with immigration only if it is capable of clearly asserting its own cultural identity and enacting adequate legislation to protect the rights of European citizens and to ensure the acceptance of immigrants. Only if it is capable of adopting fair, courageous and realistic policies which can assist the countries of origin in their own social and political development and in their efforts to resolve internal conflicts – the principal cause of this phenomenon – rather than adopting policies motivated by self-interest, which increase and feed such conflicts. We need to take action against the causes and not only the effects.

Mr. President, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Awareness of one's own identity is also necessary for entering into a positive dialogue with the States which have asked to become part of the Union in the future. I am thinking especially of those in the Balkans, for which membership in the European Union could be a response to the desire for peace in a region which has suffered greatly from past conflicts. Awareness of one's own identity is also indispensable for relations with other neighbouring countries, particularly with those bordering the Mediterranean, many of which suffer from internal conflicts, the pressure of religious fundamentalism and the reality of global terrorism.

Upon you, as legislators, it is incumbent to protect and nurture Europe's identity, so that its citizens can experience renewed confidence in the institutions of the Union and in its underlying project of peace and friendship. Knowing that "the more the power of men and women increases, the greater is the personal and collective responsibility"¹², I encourage you to work to make Europe rediscover the best of itself.

At the Conferral of the Charlemagne Prize

An anonymous second-century author wrote that “Christians are to the world what the soul is to the body”¹³. The function of the soul is to support the body, to be its conscience and its historical memory. A two-thousand-year-old history links Europe and Christianity. It is a history not free of conflicts and errors, and sins, but one constantly driven by the desire to work for the good of all. We see this in the beauty of our cities, and even more in the beauty of the many works of charity and constructive human co-operation throughout this continent. This history, in large part, must still be written. It is our present and our future. It is our identity. Europe urgently needs to recover its true features in order to grow, as its founders intended, in peace and harmony, since it is not yet free of conflicts.

Dear Members of the European Parliament, the time has come to work together in building a Europe which revolves not around the economy, but around the sacredness of the human person, around inalienable values. In building a Europe which courageously embraces its past and confidently looks to its future in order fully to experience the hope of its present. The time has come for us to abandon the idea of a Europe which is fearful and self-absorbed, in order to revive and encourage a Europe of leadership, a repository of science, art, music, human values and faith as well. A Europe which contemplates the heavens and pursues lofty ideals. A Europe which cares for, defends and protects man, every man and woman. A Europe which bestrides the earth surely and securely, a precious point of reference for all humanity! Thank you!

¹ John Paul II, Address to the European Parliament (11 October 1988), 5.

² John Paul II, Address to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (8 October 1988), 3.

³ Benedict XVI, *Caritas in veritate*, 7; cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et spes*, 26.

⁴ Cf. *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, 37.

⁵ Cf. *Evangelii gaudium*, 55.

⁶ Benedict XVI, *Caritas in veritate*, 71.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Cf. *Evangelii gaudium*, 209.

⁹ Benedict XVI, Address to the Members of the Diplomatic Corps (7 January 2013).

¹⁰ *Evangelii gaudium*, 231.

¹¹ Francis, General Audience, 5 June 2013.

¹² Cf. Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et spes*, 34.

¹³ Cf. *Letter to Diognetus*, 6.

D

istinguished Ladies and Gentlemen,

I offer you a cordial welcome and I thank you for your presence. I am particularly grateful to Messrs Marcel Philipp, Jürgen Linden, Martin Schulz, Jean-Claude Juncker and Donald Tusk for their kind words. I would like to reiterate my intention to offer this prestigious award for Europe. For ours is not so much a celebration as a moment to express our shared hope for a new and courageous step forward for this beloved continent.

Creativity, genius and a capacity for rebirth and renewal are part of the soul of Europe. In the last century, Europe bore witness to humanity that a new beginning was indeed possible. After years of tragic conflicts, culminating in the most horrific war ever known, there emerged, by God’s grace, something completely new in human history. The ashes of the ruins could not extinguish the ardent hope and the quest of solidarity that inspired the founders of the European project. They laid the foundations for a bastion of peace, an edifice made up of states united not by force but by free commitment to the *common good* and a definitive end to confrontation. Europe, so long divided, finally found its true self and began to build its house.

This “family of peoples”¹, which has commendably expanded in the meantime, seems of late to feel less at home within the walls of the common home. At times, those walls themselves have been built in a way varying from the insightful plans left by the original builders. Their new and exciting desire to create unity seems to be fading; we, the heirs of their dream, are tempted to yield to our own selfish interests and to consider putting up fences here and there. Nonetheless, I am convinced that resignation and weariness do not belong to the soul of Europe, and that even “our problems can become powerful forces for unity”².

In addressing the European Parliament, I used the image of Europe as a grandmother. I noted that there is a growing impression that Europe is weary, aging, no longer fertile and vital, that the great ideals that inspired Europe seem to have lost their appeal.

There is an impression that Europe is declining, that it has lost its ability to be innovative and creative, and that it is more concerned with preserving and dominating spaces than with generating processes of inclusion and change. There is an impression that Europe is tending to become increasingly “entrenched”, rather than open to initiating new social processes capable of engaging all individuals and groups in the search for new and productive solutions to current problems. Europe, rather than protecting spaces, is called to be a mother who generates processes (cf. Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium*, 223).

What has happened to you, the Europe of humanism, the champion of human rights, democracy and freedom? What has happened to you, Europe, the home of poets, philosophers, artists, musicians, and men and women of letters? What has happened to you, Europe, the mother of peoples and nations, the mother of great men and women who upheld, and even sacrificed their lives for the dignity of their brothers and sisters?

The writer Elie Wiesel, a survivor of the Nazi death camps, has said that what we need today is a “memory transfusion”. We need to “remember”, to take a step back from the present to listen to the voice of our forebears. Remembering will help us not to repeat our past mistakes (cf. *Evangelii gaudium*, 108), but also to re-appropriate those experiences that enabled our peoples to surmount the crises of the past. A memory transfusion can free us from today’s temptation to build hastily on the shifting sands of immediate results, which may produce “quick and easy short-term political gains, but do not enhance human fulfilment” (*ibid.*, 224).

To this end, we would do well to turn to the founding fathers of Europe. They were prepared to pursue alternative and innovative paths in a world scarred by war. Not only did they boldly conceive the idea of Europe, but they dared to change radically the models that had led only to violence and destruction. They dared to seek multilateral solutions to increasingly shared problems.

Robert Schuman, at the very birth of the first European community, stated that “Europe will not be made all at once, or according to a single plan. It will be built through concrete achievements which first create a *de facto* solidarity”³. Today, in our own world, marked by so much conflict and suffering, there is a need to return to the same *de facto* solidarity and *concrete generosity* that followed the Second World War, because, as Schuman noted, “world peace cannot be safeguarded without making creative efforts proportionate to the dangers threatening it”⁴. The founding fathers were heralds of peace and prophets of the future. Today more than ever, their vision inspires us to build bridges and tear down walls. That vision urges us not to be content with cosmetic retouches or convoluted compromises aimed at correcting this or that treaty, but courageously to lay new and solid foundations. As Alcide De Gasperi stated, “equally inspired by concern for the common good of our European homeland”, all are called to

embark fearlessly on a “construction project that demands our full quota of patience and our ongoing cooperation”⁵.

Such a “memory transfusion” can enable us to draw inspiration from the past in order to confront with courage the complex multipolar framework of our own day and to take up with determination the challenge of “updating” the idea of Europe. A Europe capable of giving birth to a new humanism based on three capacities: the capacity to integrate, the capacity for dialogue and the capacity to generate.

The capacity to integrate

Erich Przywara, in his splendid work *Idee Europa* [*The Idea of Europe*], challenges us to think of the city as a place where various instances and levels coexist. He was familiar with the reductionist tendency inherent in every attempt to rethink the social fabric. Many of our cities are remarkably beautiful precisely because they have managed to preserve over time traces of different ages, nations, styles and visions. We need but look at the inestimable cultural patrimony of Rome to realize that the richness and worth of a people is grounded in its ability to combine all these levels in a healthy coexistence. Forms of reductionism and attempts at uniformity, far from generating value, condemn our peoples to a cruel poverty: the poverty of exclusion. Far from bestowing grandeur, riches and beauty, exclusion leads to vulgarity, narrowness, and cruelty. Far from bestowing nobility of spirit, it brings meanness.

The roots of our peoples, the roots of Europe, were consolidated down the centuries by the constant need to integrate in new syntheses the most varied and discrete cultures. The identity of Europe is, and always has been, a dynamic and multicultural identity.

Political activity cannot fail to see the urgency of this fundamental task. We know that “the whole is greater than the part, but it is also greater than the sum of the parts”, and this requires that we work to “broaden our horizons and see the greater good which will benefit us all” (*Evangelii gaudium*, 235). We are asked to promote an integration that finds in solidarity a way of acting, a means of making history. Solidarity should never be confused with charitable assistance, but understood as a means of creating opportunities for all the inhabitants of our cities – and of so many other cities – to live with dignity. Time is teaching us that it is not enough simply to settle individuals geographically: the challenge is that of a profound cultural integration.

The community of European peoples will thus be able to overcome the temptation of falling back on unilateral paradigms and opting for forms of “ideological colonization”. Instead, it will rediscover the breadth of the European soul, born of the encounter of civilizations and peoples. The soul of Europe is in fact greater than the present borders

*The award ceremony of the Charlemagne Prize
in the Vatican (6 May 2016)*

of the Union and is called to become a model of new syntheses and of dialogue. The true face of Europe is seen not in confrontation, but in the richness of its various cultures and the beauty of its commitment to openness. Without this capacity for integration, the words once spoken by Konrad Adenauer will prove prophetic: “the future of the West is not threatened as much by political tensions as by the danger of conformism, uniformity of thoughts and feelings: in a word, by the whole system of life, by flight from responsibility, with concern only for oneself”⁶.

The capacity for dialogue

If there is one word that we should never tire of repeating, it is this: dialogue. We are called to promote a culture of dialogue by every possible means and thus to rebuild the fabric of society. The culture of dialogue entails a true apprenticeship and a discipline that enables us to view others as valid dialogue partners, to respect the foreigner, the immigrant and people from different cultures as worthy of being listened to. Today we urgently need to engage all the members of society in building “a culture which privileges dialogue as a form of encounter” and in creating “a means for building consensus and agreement while seeking the goal of a just, responsive and inclusive society” (*Evangelii gaudium*, 239). Peace will be lasting in the measure that we arm our children with the weapons of dialogue, that we teach them to fight the good fight of encounter and negotiation. In this way, we will bequeath to them a culture capable of devising strategies of life, not death, and of inclusion, not exclusion.

This culture of dialogue should be an integral part of the education imparted in our schools, cutting across disciplinary lines and helping to give young people the tools needed to settle conflicts differently than we are accustomed to do. Today we urgently need to build “coalitions” that are not only military and economic, but cultural, educational, philosophical and religious. Coalitions that can make clear that, behind many conflicts, there is often in play the power of economic groups. Coalitions capable of defending people from being exploited for improper ends. Let us arm our people with the culture of dialogue and encounter.

The capacity to generate

Dialogue, with all that it entails, reminds us that no one can remain a mere onlooker or bystander. Everyone, from the smallest to the greatest, has an active role to play in the creation of an integrated and reconciled society. This culture of dialogue can come about only if all of us take part in planning and building it. The present situation does



not permit anyone to stand by and watch other people's struggles. On the contrary, it is a forceful summons to personal and social responsibility.

In this sense, our young people have a critical role. They are not the future of our peoples; they are the present. Even now, with their dreams and their lives they are forging the spirit of Europe. We cannot look to the future without offering them the real possibility to be catalysts of change and transformation. We cannot envision Europe without letting them be participants and protagonists in this dream.

Lately I have given much thought to this. I ask myself: How can we involve our young people in this building project if we fail to offer them employment, dignified labour that lets them grow and develop through their handiwork, their intelligence and their abilities? How can we tell them that they are protagonists, when the levels of unemployment and underemployment of millions of young Europeans are continually rising? How can we avoid losing our young people, who end up going elsewhere in search of their dreams and a sense of belonging, because here, in their own countries, we don't know how to offer them opportunities and values?

The just distribution of the fruits of the earth and human labour is not mere philanthropy. It is a moral obligation⁷. If we want to rethink our society, we need to create dignified and well-paying jobs, especially for our young people.

To do so requires coming up with new, more inclusive and equitable economic models, aimed not at serving the few, but at benefiting ordinary people and society as a whole. This calls for moving from a liquid economy to a social economy; I think for example of the social market economy encouraged by my predecessors (cf. John Paul II, *Address to the Ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany*, 8 November 1990). It would involve passing from an economy directed at revenue, profiting from speculation and lending at interest, to a social economy that invests in persons by creating jobs and providing training.

We need to move from a liquid economy prepared to use corruption as a means of obtaining profits to a social economy that guarantees access to land and lodging through labour. Labour is in fact the setting in which individuals and communities bring into play "many aspects of life: creativity, planning for the future, developing talents, living out values, relating to others, giving glory to God. It follows that, in the reality of today's global society, it is essential that we 'continue to prioritize the role of access to steady employment for everyone'⁸, no matter the limited interests of business and dubious economic reasoning" (cf. Encyclical *Laudato si'*, 127).

If we want a dignified future, a future of peace for our societies, we will only be able to achieve it by working for genuine inclusion, "an inclusion which provides worthy, free, creative, participatory and solidary work"⁹. This passage (from a liquid economy to a social economy) will not only offer new prospects and concrete opportunities for in-

tegration and inclusion, but will make us once more capable of envisaging that humanism of which Europe has been the *cradle and wellspring*.

To the rebirth of a Europe weary, yet still rich in energies and possibilities, the Church can and must play her part. Her task is one with her mission: the proclamation of the Gospel, which today more than ever finds expression in going forth to bind the wounds of humanity with the powerful yet simple presence of Jesus, and his mercy that consoles and encourages. God desires to dwell in our midst, but he can only do so through men and women who, like the great evangelizers of this continent, have been touched by him and live for the Gospel, seeking nothing else. Only a Church rich in witnesses will be able to bring back the pure water of the Gospel to the roots of Europe. In this enterprise, the path of Christians towards full unity is a great sign of the times and a response to the Lord's prayer "that they may all be one" (Jn 17:21).

With mind and heart, with hope and without vain nostalgia, like a son who rediscovers in Mother Europe his roots of life and faith, I dream of a *new European humanism*, one that involves "a constant work of humanization" and calls for "memory, courage, [and] a sound and humane utopian vision"¹⁰. I dream of a Europe that is young, still capable of being a mother: a mother who has life because she respects life and offers hope for life. I dream of a Europe that cares for children, that offers fraternal help to the poor and those newcomers seeking acceptance because they have lost everything and need shelter. I dream of a Europe that is attentive to and concerned for the infirm and the elderly, lest they be simply set aside as useless. I dream of a Europe where being a migrant is not a crime but a summons to greater commitment on behalf of the dignity of every human being. I dream of a Europe where young people breathe the pure air of honesty, where they love the beauty of a culture and a simple life undefiled by the insatiable needs of consumerism, where getting married and having children is a responsibility and a great joy, not a problem due to the lack of stable employment. I dream of a Europe of families, with truly effective policies concentrated on faces rather than numbers, on birth rates more than rates of consumption. I dream of a Europe that promotes and protects the rights of everyone, without neglecting its duties towards all. I dream of a Europe of which it will not be said that its commitment to human rights was its last utopia. Thank you.

Francis
24 March 2017

For the Celebration of the 60th Anniversary of the Treaty of Rome

Distinguished Guests,
I thank you for your presence here tonight, on the eve of the sixtieth anniversary of the signing of the Treaties instituting the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community. I convey to each of you the affection of the Holy See for your respective countries and for Europe itself, to whose future it is, in God's providence, inseparably linked. I am particularly grateful to the Honourable Paolo Gentiloni, President of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Italy, for his respectful words of greeting in your name and for the efforts that Italy has made in preparing for this meeting. I also thank the Honourable Antonio Tajani, President of the European Parliament, who has voiced the aspirations of the peoples of the Union on this anniversary.

Returning to Rome, sixty years later, must not simply be a remembrance of things past, but the expression of a desire to relive that event in order to appreciate its significance for the present. We need to immerse ourselves in the challenges of that time, so as to face those of today and tomorrow. The Bible, with its rich historical narratives, can teach us a basic lesson. We cannot understand our own times apart from the past, seen not as an assemblage of distant facts, but as the lymph that gives life to the present. Without such an awareness, reality loses its unity, history loses its logical thread, and humanity loses a sense of the meaning of its activity and its progress towards the future.

25 March 1957 was a day full of hope and expectation, enthusiasm and apprehension. Only an event of exceptional significance and historical consequences could make it unique in history. The memory of that day is linked to today's hopes and the expectations of the people of Europe, who call for discernment in the present, so that the journey that has begun can continue with renewed enthusiasm and confidence.

This was very clear to the founding fathers and the leaders who, by signing the two Treaties, gave life to that political, economic, cultural and primarily human reality which today we call the European Union. As P.H. Spaak, the Belgian Minister of Foreign Af-

¹ Address to the European Parliament, Strasbourg, 25 November 2014.

² Ibid.

³ Declaration of 9 May 1950, Salon de l'Horloge, Quai d'Orsay, Paris.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Address to the European Parliamentary Conference, Paris, 21 April 1954.

⁶ Address to the Assembly of German Artesans, Düsseldorf, 27 April 1952.

⁷ Address to Popular Movements in Bolivia, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 9 July 2015.

⁸ Benedict XVI, Encyclical Letter *Caritas in veritate* (29 June 2009), 32: Acta Apostolicae Sedis 101 (2009), 666.

⁹ Address to Popular Movements in Bolivia, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 9 July 2015.

¹⁰ Address to the Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 25 November 2014.

fairs stated, it was a matter “indeed, of the material prosperity of our peoples, the expansion of our economies, social progress and completely new industrial and commercial possibilities, but above all ... a particular conception of life that is humane, fraternal and just”¹.

After the dark years and the bloodshed of the Second World War, the leaders of the time had faith in the possibility of a better future. “They did not lack boldness, nor did they act too late. The memory of recent tragedies and failures seems to have inspired them and given them the courage needed to leave behind their old disputes and to think and act in a truly new way, in order to bring about the greatest transformation ... of Europe”².

The founding fathers remind us that Europe is not a conglomeration of rules to obey, or a manual of protocols and procedures to follow. It is a way of life, a way of understanding man based on his transcendent and inalienable dignity, as something more than simply a sum of rights to defend or claims to advance. At the origin of the idea of Europe, we find “the nature and the responsibility of the human person, with his ferment of evangelical fraternity..., with his desire for truth and justice, honed by a thousand-year-old experience”³. Rome, with its vocation to universality⁴, symbolizes that experience and was thus chosen as the place for the signing of the Treaties. For here – as the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs, J. Luns, observed – “were laid the political, juridical and social foundations of our civilization”⁵.

It was clear, then, from the outset, that the heart of the European political project could only be man himself. It was also clear that the Treaties could remain a dead letter; they needed to take on spirit and life. The first element of European vitality must be solidarity. As the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, J. Bech stated, “the European economic community will prove lasting and successful only if it remains constantly faithful to the spirit of European solidarity that created it, and if the common will of the Europe now being born proves more powerful than the will of individual nations”⁶. That spirit remains as necessary as ever today, in the face of centrifugal impulses and the temptation to reduce the founding ideals of the Union to productive, economic and financial needs.

Solidarity gives rise to openness towards others. “Our plans are not inspired by self-interest”⁷, said the German Chancellor, K. Adenauer. The French Minister of Foreign Affairs, C. Pineau, echoed this sentiment: “Surely the countries about to unite ... do not have the intention of isolating themselves from the rest of the world and surrounding themselves with insurmountable barriers”⁸. In a world that was all too familiar with the tragedy of walls and divisions, it was clearly important to work for a united and open Europe, and for the removal of the unnatural barrier that divided the continent from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic. What efforts were made to tear down that wall! Yet today the memory of those efforts has been lost. Forgotten too is the tragedy of separated

families, poverty and destitution born of that division. Where generations longed to see the fall of those signs of forced hostility, these days we debate how to keep out the “dangers” of our time: beginning with the long file of women, men and children fleeing war and poverty, seeking only a future for themselves and their loved ones.

In today’s lapse of memory, we often forget another great achievement of the solidarity ratified on 25 March 1957: the longest period of peace experienced in recent centuries. “Peoples who over time often found themselves in opposed camps, fighting with one another ... now find themselves united and enriched by their distinctive national identities”⁹. Peace is always the fruit of a free and conscious contribution by all. Nonetheless, “for many people today, peace appears as a blessing to be taken for granted”¹⁰, one that can then easily come to be regarded as superfluous. On the contrary, peace is a precious and essential good, for without it, we cannot build a future for anyone, and we end up “living from day to day”.

United Europe was born of a clear, well-defined and carefully pondered project, however embryonic at first. Every worthy project looks to the future, and the future are the young, who are called to realize its hopes and promises¹¹. The founding fathers had a clear sense of being part of a common effort that not only crossed national borders, but also the borders of time, so as to bind generations among themselves, all sharing equally in the building of the common home.

Distinguished Guests,

I have devoted this first part of my talk to the founding fathers of Europe, so that we can be challenged by their words, the timeliness of their thinking, their impassioned pursuit of the common good, their certainty of sharing in a work greater than themselves, and the breadth of the ideals that inspired them. Their common denominator was the spirit of service, joined to passion for politics and the consciousness that “at the origin of European civilization there is Christianity”¹², without which the Western values of dignity, freedom and justice would prove largely incomprehensible. As Saint John Paul II affirmed: “Today too, the soul of Europe remains united, because, in addition to its common origins, those same Christian and human values are still alive. Respect for the dignity of the human person, a profound sense of justice, freedom, industriousness, the spirit of initiative, love of family, respect for life, tolerance, the desire for cooperation and peace: all these are its distinctive marks”¹³. In our multicultural world, these values will continue to have their rightful place provided they maintain a vital connection to their deepest roots. The fruitfulness of that connection will make it possible to build authentically “lay” societies, free of ideological conflicts, with equal room for the native and the immigrant, for believers and nonbelievers.

The world has changed greatly in the last sixty years. If the founding fathers, after surviving a devastating conflict, were inspired by the hope of a better future and were

*With the leaders of the European Union
in the Sistine Chapel*



determined to pursue it by avoiding the rise of new conflicts, our time is dominated more by the concept of crisis. There is the economic crisis that has marked the past decade; there is the crisis of the family and of established social models; there is a widespread “crisis of institutions” and the migration crisis. So many crises that engender fear and profound confusion in our contemporaries, who look for a new way of envisioning the future. Yet the term “crisis” is not necessarily negative. It does not simply indicate a painful moment to be endured. The word “crisis” has its origin in the Greek verb *kríno*, which means to discern, to weigh, to assess. Ours is a time of discernment, one that invites us to determine what is essential and to build on it. It is a time of challenge and opportunity.

So what is the interpretative key for reading the difficulties of the present and finding answers for the future? Returning to the thinking of the founding Fathers would be fruitless unless it could help to point out a path and provide an incentive for facing the future and a source of hope. When a body loses its sense of direction and is no longer able to look ahead, it experiences a regression and, in the long run, risks dying. What, then, is the legacy of the founding fathers? What prospects do they indicate for surmounting the challenges that lie before us? What hope do they offer for the Europe of today and of tomorrow?

Their answers are to be found precisely in the pillars on which they determined to build the European economic community. I have already mentioned these: the centrality of man, effective solidarity, openness to the world, the pursuit of peace and development, openness to the future. Those who govern are charged with *discerning the paths of hope* – you are charged with discerning the paths of hope – identifying specific ways forward to ensure that the significant steps taken thus far have not been wasted, but serve as the pledge of a long and fruitful journey.

Europe finds new hope when man is the centre and the heart of her institutions. I am convinced that this entails an attentive and trust-filled readiness to hear the expectations voiced by individuals, society and the peoples who make up the Union. Sadly, one frequently has the sense that there is a growing “split” between the citizenry and the European institutions, which are often perceived as distant and inattentive to the different sensibilities present in the Union. Affirming the centrality of man also means recovering the *spirit of family*, whereby each contributes freely to the common home in accordance with his or her own abilities and gifts. It helps to keep in mind that Europe is a *family of peoples*⁴ and that “as in every good family – there are different sensitivities, yet all can grow to the extent that all are united. The European Union was born as a *unity of differences* and a *unity in differences*. What is distinctive should not be a reason for fear, nor should it be thought that *unity is preserved by uniformity*. Unity is instead *harmony* within a community. The founding fathers chose that very term as the hallmark of the agencies born of the Treaties and they stressed that the resources and talents of each

were now being *pooled*. Today the European Union needs to recover the sense of being primarily a “community” of persons and peoples, to realize that “the whole is greater than the part, but it is also greater than the sum of its parts”⁵, and that therefore “we constantly have to broaden our horizons and see the greater good which will benefit us all”⁶. The founding fathers sought that harmony in which the whole is present in every one of the parts, and the parts are – each in its own unique way – present in the whole.

Europe finds new hope in solidarity, which is also the most effective antidote to modern forms of populism. Solidarity entails the awareness of being part of a single body, while at the same time involving a capacity on the part of each member to “sympathize” with others and with the whole. When one suffers, all suffer (cf. *1 Cor* 12:26). Today, with the United Kingdom, we mourn the victims of the attack that took place in London two days ago. For solidarity is no mere ideal; it is expressed in concrete actions and steps that draw us closer to our neighbours, in whatever situation they find themselves. Forms of populism are instead the fruit of an egotism that hems people in and prevents them from overcoming and “looking beyond” their own narrow vision. There is a need to start thinking once again as Europeans, so as to avert the opposite dangers of a dreary uniformity or *the triumph of particularisms*. Politics needs this kind of leadership, which avoids appealing to emotions to gain consent, but instead, in a spirit of solidarity and subsidiarity, devises policies that can make the Union as a whole develop harmoniously. As a result, those who run faster can offer a hand to those who are slower, and those who find the going harder can aim at catching up to those at the head of the line.

Europe finds new hope when she refuses to yield to fear or close herself off in false forms of security. Quite the contrary, her history has been greatly determined by encounters with other peoples and cultures; hers “is, and always has been, a dynamic and multicultural identity”⁷. The world looks to the European project with great interest. This was the case from the first day, when crowds gathered in Rome’s Capitol Square and messages of congratulation poured in from other states. It is even more the case today, if we think of those countries that have asked to become part of the Union and those states that receive the aid so generously offered them for battling the effects of poverty, disease and war. Openness to the world implies the capacity for “dialogue as a form of encounter”⁸ on all levels, beginning with dialogue between member states, between institutions and citizens, and with the numerous immigrants landing on the shores of the Union. It is not enough to handle the grave crisis of immigration of recent years as if it were a mere numerical or economic problem, or a question of security. The immigration issue poses a deeper question, one that is primarily cultural. What kind of culture does Europe propose today? The fearfulness that is becoming more and more evident has its root cause in the loss of ideals. Without an approach inspired by those ideals, we end up dominated by the fear that others will wrench us from our usual

habits, deprive us of familiar comforts, and somehow call into question a lifestyle that all too often consists of material prosperity alone. Yet the richness of Europe has always been her spiritual openness and her capacity to raise basic questions about the meaning of life. Openness to the sense of the eternal has also gone hand in hand, albeit not without tensions and errors, with a positive openness to this world. Yet today's prosperity seems to have clipped the continent's wings and lowered its gaze. Europe has a patrimony of ideals and spiritual values unique in the world, one that deserves to be proposed once more with passion and renewed vigour, for it is the best antidote against the *vacuum of values* of our time, which provides a fertile terrain for every form of extremism. These are the ideals that shaped *Europe*, that "Peninsula of Asia" which stretches from the Urals to the Atlantic.

Europe finds new hope when she invests in development and in peace. Development is not the result of a combination of various systems of production. It has to do with the whole human being: the dignity of labour, decent living conditions, access to education and necessary medical care. "Development is the new name of peace"¹⁹, said Pope Paul VI, for there is no true peace whenever people are cast aside or forced to live in dire poverty. There is no peace without employment and the prospect of earning a dignified wage. There is no peace in the peripheries of our cities, with their rampant drug abuse and violence.

Europe finds new hope when she is open to the future. When she is open to young people, offering them serious prospects for education and real possibilities for entering the work force. When she invests in the family, which is the first and fundamental cell of society. When she respects the consciences and the ideals of her citizens. When she makes it possible to have children without the fear of being unable to support them. When she defends life in all its sacredness.

Distinguished Guests,

Nowadays, with the general increase in people's life span, sixty is considered the age of full maturity, a critical time when we are once again called to self-examination. The European Union, too, is called today to examine itself, to care for the ailments that inevitably come with age, and to find new ways to steer its course. Yet unlike human beings, the European Union does not face an inevitable old age, but the possibility of a new youthfulness. Its success will depend on its readiness to work together once again, and by its willingness to wager on the future. As leaders, you are called to blaze the path of a "new European humanism"²⁰ made up of ideals and concrete actions. This will mean being unafraid to take practical decisions capable of meeting people's real problems and of standing the test of time.

For my part, I readily assure you of the closeness of the Holy See and the Church to Europe as a whole, to whose growth she has, and always will, continue to contribute.

Invoking upon Europe the Lord's blessings, I ask him to protect her and grant her peace and progress. I make my own the words that Joseph Bech proclaimed on Rome's Capitoline Hill: *Ceterum censeo Europam esse aedificandam* – furthermore, I believe that Europe ought to be built.

Thank you.

¹ P.H. Spaak, Address on the Signing of the Treaties of Rome, 25 March 1957.

² Ibid.

³ A. De Gasperi, La nostra patria Europa. Address to the European Parliamentary Conference, 21 April 1954, in Alcide De Gasperi e la politica internazionale, Cinque Lune, Rome, 1990, vol. III, 437-440.

⁴ Cf. P.H. Spaak, loc. cit.

⁵ J. Luns, Address on the Signing of the Treaties of Rome, 25 March 1957.

⁶ J. Bech, Address on the Signing of the Treaties of Rome, 25 March 1957.

⁷ K. Adenauer, Address on the Signing of the Treaties of Rome, 25 March 1957.

⁸ C. Pineau, Address on the Signing of the Treaties of Rome, 25 March 1957.

⁹ P.H. Spaak, loc. cit.

¹⁰ Address to Members of the Diplomatic Corps Accredited to the Holy See, 9 January 2017.

¹¹ Cf. P.H. Spaak, loc. cit.

¹² A. De Gasperi, loc. cit.

¹³ John Paul II, European Act, Santiago de Compostela, 9 November 1982: Acta Apostolicae Sedis 75 (1983), 329.

¹⁴ Cf. Address to the European Parliament, Strasbourg, 25 November 2014: Acta Apostolicae Sedis 106 (2014), 1000.

¹⁵ Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium*, 235.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Address at the Conferral of the Charlemagne Prize, 6 May 2016: L'Osservatore Romano, 6-7 May 2016, p. 4.

¹⁸ Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii gaudium*, 239.

¹⁹ Paul VI, Encyclical Letter *Populorum progressio*, 26 March 1967, 87: Acta Apostolicae Sedis 59 (1967), 299.

²⁰ Address at the Conferral of the Charlemagne Prize, loc. cit., p. 5.



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