

Tuesday 14 September 2010
from 09.00 to 18.00 hrs
European Parliament
Room ASP A3E-2

CARITAS IN VERITATE

CONFERENCE ON THE ENCYCLICAL
“CHARITY IN TRUTH”
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF POLITICS,
ECONOMICS AND THEOLOGY

CHAIRER BY **OTHMAR KARAS**, VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE EPP GROUP,
RESPONSIBLE FOR INTER-RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE AND INTERCULTURAL ACTIVITIES

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS:

JOSEPH DAUL
CHAIRMAN OF THE EPP GROUP

LÁSZLÓ TÖKÉS
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

H.E. ARCHBISHOP ANDRÉ DUPUY
APOSTOLIC NUNCIO TO THE EU

FR. PIOTR MAZURKIEWICZ
GENERAL SECRETARY OF COMECE

H.E. METROPOLITAN EMMANUEL OF FRANCE
ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE



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INTRODUCTION

On 14 September 2010, in conjunction with COMECE, the Commission of the Bishops' Conference of the European Community, the EPP Group in the European Parliament organised a conference on the Encyclical 'Caritas in Veritate' (Charity in Truth) on the occasion of the first anniversary of its publication.

The conference took place on 14 September 2010 in the European Parliament in Brussels.

Caritas in Veritate is the first social encyclical of Pope Benedict XVI and concerns the problems of global development and progress. The economic themes include an attack on free market fundamentalism. Others areas include hunger, the environment, migration, sexual tourism, bioethics, cultural relativism, social solidarity, energy and population issues.

The EPP Group has long been an advocate of fruitful dialogue with Churches and other religious organisations and wishes to continue to deepen this special relationship. The Group is seeking to find common ground through open discussions between politicians and the representatives of Churches on current and future challenges facing European citizens and their governments.

Conference speakers included: Joseph Daul MEP, Chairman of the EPP Group, Othmar Karas MEP, Vice-Chairman of the EPP Group responsible for inter-religious dialogue, Archbishop André Dupuy, Apostolic Nuncio to the EU, Monsignor Piotr Mazurkiewicz, General Secretary of COMECE, His Eminence Metropolitan Emmanuel of France, President of the Conference of European Churches (CEC).



PROGRAMME

CONFERENCE ON THE ENCYCLICAL “CARITAS IN VERITATE” FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND THEOLOGY

14 SEPTEMBER 2010

08.30

Registration

09.00

Welcome Addresses

- } **Joseph Daul** MEP,
Chairman of the EPP Group in the European Parliament (EP)
- } **László Tőkés** MEP,
Vice-President of the EP
- } **Othmar Karas** MEP,
Vice-Chairman of the EPP Group, responsible
for Inter-religious Dialogue and Intercultural activities

09.30-10.00

Introduction

- } **H.E. Archbishop André Dupuy**,
Apostolic Nuncio to the European Union
- } **Fr. Piotr Mazurkiewicz**,
Secretary General of the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences
of the European Community (COMECE)

10.00-11.30

Chair

Culture and Values

- } **Jaime Mayor Oreja** MEP,
Vice-Chairman of the EPP Group in the EP

Introduction

- } **H.E. Metropolitan Emmanuel of France,**
Ecumenical Patriarchate
- } The encyclical, a compass for the XXI century.
Ethical, social and cultural perspectives -
Prof. Bartolomeo Sorge SJ, Director Emeritus,
Fondazione Culturale San Fedele
- } The role of religion in the age of secularisation -
Prof. Dr Peter Schallenberg,
Faculty of Theology, Paderborn
- } Religious freedom in the world -
Dr Vincent Legrand,
Catholic University of Louvain (UCL)
- } Discussion: 15 minutes

Conclusions

- } **Jan Olbrycht** MEP

11.30-12.30

Family as the key for the future**Chair**

- } **Anna Záborská** MEP

Introduction

- } **Mario Mauro** MEP
- } Demography and the Future of Europe -
José Ramos-Ascensão Commission of the Bishops'
Conferences of the European Community (COMECE)
- } Family and society in the new millennium -
H.E. Msgr. Jean Laffitte,
Secretary of the Pontifical Council for the Family
- } Discussion: 15 minutes

Conclusions

- } **László Surján** MEP

12.30-14.30

Lunch break

14.30-16.15

Chair**Economy and Civil Society**

- } **Corien Wortmann-Kool** MEP,
Vice-Chairwoman of the EPP Group in the EP
- } **Introduction**
- } Strengthening economic governance. The way ahead.
José Manuel García-Margallo Y Marfil MEP
- } What does social market economy mean today?
Prof. Stefano Zamagni, University of Bologna
- } Cultural heritage, civil society, and economy
Wenceslas de Lobkowicz,
Advisor, DG Enlargement, European Commission
- } Discussion: 15 minutes
- } **Conclusions**
- } **Jean-Paul Gauzès** MEP

16.15-17.30

Chair**Development and Environment****Introduction**

- } **Gay Mitchell** MEP
- } **Doris Peschke,**
Secretary General of the Churches' Commission
for Migrants in Europe
- } Migration and development -
Flaminia Giovanelli,
Deputy Secretary, Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace
- } Faith and Environment - **Rev. Dr Frank Turner SJ,**
General Director, Jesuit European Office
- } Discussion: 15 minutes

Conclusions

- } **Alojz Peterle** MEP

17.30-18.00

Overall Conclusions

- } **Othmar Karas** MEP,
Vice-Chairman of the EPP Group responsible
for Inter-religious Dialogue and Intercultural activities



SPEECH BY JOSEPH DAUL MEP,

CHAIRMAN OF THE EPP GROUP IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The work that all of us - from every country of the Union - do at the European Parliament, irrespective of our political differences, is performed with faith and commitment, because we are guided and motivated by our sense of responsibility towards our fellow citizens and towards the various communities all over Europe.

We are aware that Europe faces many challenges.

The economic and financial crisis is just one of them, and what we often see as a deeper crisis, a crisis of values, is another and concerns us more still, as it touches on what is at the very heart of us.

The conference that brings us here today - and I thank you all for agreeing to participate - is an excellent opportunity to reflect together on how best to detect these crises, these difficulties, and, above all, to work together to find effective and lasting solutions.

The EPP Group was keen for the encyclical 'Caritas in Veritate' ('Love or charity in truth') to be a key reference point for this dialogue.

Indeed, this encyclical helps us to understand why we need to engage in a dialogue with churches and religions.

In the EPP Group's view, this dialogue is essential, and it is one we have sustained for years now.

Other political families consider it primarily from a secular point of view.

However, leaving aside the personal faith of political leaders, I believe that public figures cannot ignore the role and message of the Church, of the Churches, in public debate.

To my mind, the basis for cooperation between politicians and churches is the responsibility we share, the former to the electorate, the latter to their congregation, and the fact that we hold and uphold the same values.

The encyclical 'Caritas in Veritate', like all encyclicals addresses not only the Catholic faithful, but all men and women of good will who belong to other religions or are non-believers.

It is for precisely this reason that it forms an excellent basis for open and all-embracing dialogue.

Those familiar with the work of the European Parliament will know that it rarely hosts conferences lasting more than half a day.

But I am quite sure that the discussion we are about to hold on the basis of the encyclical 'Caritas in Veritate' could go on for days without us having exhausted the subject!

I hope that the discussions that ensue over the course of this long day will help all members of the EPP Group, and the experts around us, to broaden their thinking and scope for cooperation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The encyclical 'Caritas in Veritate' was published just over a year ago, in the midst of the economic and financial and social turmoil that has been experienced all over the world, and in Europe in particular.

It has lost none of its relevance.

Its message is universal, and it speaks to all those, like us, who are involved in the struggle against inequality, which has increased with the economic crisis.

I would like to thank all the speakers, eminent representatives of the Holy See and the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant Churches, who have agreed to attend this conference.

My thanks also to those participants who have come from other institutions and organisations in a number of different countries.

I am sure that our work will be fruitful and useful to us as we build on our dialogue with religions, in accordance with Article 17 of the Lisbon Treaty, which refers explicitly to an 'open, transparent and regular dialogue' between the European institutions and religions, churches and faith communities.

Thank you for your attention.



SPEECH BY LÁSZLÓ TÓKÉS MEP,

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

WELCOME ADDRESS

In the tense relation of Church and politics, **Reinhard Marx**, Archbishop of München and Freising, addresses the following question with flat openness: “Is it worthwhile for bishops to make comments upon economic and political issues? Are they competent to share their opinions on these areas? Are they commissioned to do so?” These questions seem to be well founded since, in our age of intricate economic and political challenges, the impression that the participants of the profession and politics are no longer interested in the Church’s teachings and active contribution in worldly matters has been created. In contrast with this attitude, Reinhard Marx’s perspective is that “global challenges can not be solved without paying attention to fundamental moral principles and conviction in well based values.” According to his point of view, worthy of our consideration, the Church should also participate in dealing with problems. By the clarification of the fundamental principles of cohabitation and development, the Church serves the benefit of humanity.

In the new phase of modern day “integrated consumerist society” and economic globalization, humankind has to face more grievous hardships than ever. Nothing has remained and nothing should stay unchanged. Turnovers of political and social stability conceal growing hazards which threaten with the dehumanization of our civilization. There is a real threat that humankind will forget about the idea uttered in 2008 by His Holiness **Benedict XVI** in his encyclical letter *Spe Salvi*: “...man always remains man.” The world “forgot man and forgot man's freedom.” Growing globalization “keeps on hardening the lives of the poor and will not do anything for curing hunger, poverty and social inequalities”, furthermore it “destroys the environment,” we may add, with the words of His Holiness **John Paul II**.

In the European Year for Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion (2010), I salute the participants and lecturers of the European Parliament Conference on **Charity in Truth** with these conscience-provoking ideas. I welcome the dignitaries of the clergy as well as my colleagues dedicated in faith to our mutual European issues. At the same time, allow me to appreciate the great step ahead this

conference brings to the implementation of Article 17 of the **Lisbon Treaty** which commits the European Union to maintaining a dialogue with Churches.

In advance to the significant Article 17 of the Lisbon Treaty, European Parliament **resolution** of 13 January 2009 already emphasized the importance of the dialogue between the Union and Churches and religious communities. Under such circumstances, the President of the EP delegated one of the Vice Presidents to take specific responsibility for dialogue with Churches and religions, as well as intercultural dialogue.

I commenced my work as recently elected Vice-President of the EP in full awareness of this specific responsibility. In this position, I participated in the Church Leader's Meeting of 19 July this year. I have joined the efforts of the EPP Group Responsible for Inter-Religious Dialogue and Intercultural Activities for genuine dialogue and cooperation, which has been in a wider range promoted by the Commission of the Bishop's Conferences of the European Community (COMECE), as well as the Church and Society Commission of the Conference of European Churches (CSC CEC).

Last week, commenting President **José Manuel Barroso's** 'State of the Union' speech, EPP Group Chairman **Joseph Daul** emphasized that "Europeans want more Europe." We must grow stronger, we must join forces in order to become more efficient and bring Europe to a higher level, he added.

Continuing Chairman Daul's line of thought, I feel that more participation of our churches is also expected with the desire for "**more Europe**". European unity cannot be fulfilled without the participation of churches, and it cannot be fulfilled without their good cooperation.

It is good to see that the Union, the decision-makers of the EU and member states who adopted the Lisbon Treaty, all share the same point of view on the particular issue of the **European partnership** of Churches and religious communities.

"Churches and religious communities are important providers of social services in EU member states. If we want to combat poverty effectively, it is essential to draw from their long standing and wide ranging experiences," stated President Barroso at the Church Leader's Meeting on 19 July.

At the same event, **Jerzy Buzek**, President of the European Parliament, also highlighted the decisive role of Churches. "Their experience has never been as valuable as it is today in a time of crisis," the Polish Protestant European leader declared.

The encyclical letter of His Holiness Pope Benedict XVI, entitled **Caritas in Veritate**, which appears to carry an epoch-making significance, attributes an exquisite **spiritual dimension** to

the aforementioned objectives and conceptions. Let me hereby quote its introductory sentence: "Charity in truth, to which **Jesus Christ** bore witness by his earthly life and especially by his death and resurrection, is the principal driving force behind the authentic development of every person and of all humanity."

The encyclical offers an outstanding religious and theological program for our world in the dual unity of **love** and **truth**, which aims an authentic progress for humans and for humanity. According to the principle and paragon of truth accomplished in love, it is believed that love can solely be understood in the light of truth, and it can only be justified and practiced by truth. Only this way can sentimentality and its twisted crookedness be avoided. The co-existence of love and truth and their interdependence is as important as the symbiosis between faith and sense. Without these, one cannot speak of **God's** real presence in the world; we cannot speak about a genuine dialogue; neither can we speak about a "good society" which is based upon Christian values, nor about true integral human development which is embracing the whole existence (see *Caritas in Veritate*, points 4 and 56). In the relation between love and truth, the apostolic encyclical outlines the primacy of love in a more determined – and biblical – meaning. Namely, love and charity demand truth, they however surpass the latter. "Love and charity transcend justice and complete it in the logic of giving and forgiving" (see *Caritas in Veritate*, point 6). Love filled with justice is the sole effective remedy for globalization problems and the crisis – we may assert in terms of topicality following the teaching outlined in the *Caritas in Veritate* (see point 5).

Searching for the path of progress and solutions for Europe, which suffered the terrors of the world wars of the last century, as well as the global crisis and hardships of the new century, let us, with utter confidence and hope, tread upon the path of Love and Justice following the godly **Rule of Love**.



SPEECH BY OTHMAR KARAS MEP,

VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE EPP GROUP, RESPONSIBLE FOR INTER-RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE AND INTERCULTURAL ACTIVITIES

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I would like to thank you very much for attending today's conference.

I particularly would like to thank COMECE and also the representatives of other religious groupings. The cooperation is excellent, quite often work leading up to a conference is quite important indeed, sometimes more important than the conference itself. But in a sense what is more important is what happens after the conference.

Today's event is not just another event, it is not just an event between religions represented here. The aim of this event is to be part of a series of events and the real aim is an increased contact between politics and religious, social teaching with Christ. So in thanking you in coming along let me say that the participation of MEPs of all groups of all people who have any kind of commitment to Christ is too limited. The dialogue is often seen as a dialogue with religions, between religions.

We want politicians to take on board the message of religions and the Christian churches. That is our aim here today.

We want to bring the message of religion to political life so that it can be guided by it. That is the way we understand the dialogue.

Now turning to topical matters Christian dialogue is like the cross. It is not about exclusion, it is about inclusion. The cross is something that integrates.

The message of the social encyclicals can give a great deal of guidance to us in political life and that means that we politicians need to take time out. to tackle belief and messages of the encyclicals. to think them through and discuss them. There are very many Christians, many experienced politicians,

but not every Christian and not every Christian politician is a bearer of the message Christ. and not every Christian and not every Christian politician is able or in a position to make a clear association between what it is right to do and what Christian social teaching is.

I would like to make a contribution together with my staff to promoting a greater dialogue and more thinking about these issues. This is also about generating greater trust and confidence of our citizens too.



SPEECH BY HE MGR ANDRÉ DUPUY

APOSTOLIC NUNCIO TO THE EUROPEAN UNION

The richness and diversity of the conference programme is a credit to those responsible for devising it. The three perspectives proposed - political, economic and theological - will be dealt with by speakers who are more than qualified to enrich our reflections on culture and value, family, the economy and civil society, the environment and development. This conference promises a great deal.

Professor Mazurkiewicz, one of its co-organisers, is far better placed than I am to introduce it. I will therefore confine myself to the document that brings us here today: *Caritas in veritate*. This is the document we can thank for this opportunity and which should guide our discussions.

We are not the only ones to celebrate this anniversary or to return to Benedict XVI's encyclical. A well-known French monthly newspaper, *Le Monde diplomatique*, published an article last month by an emeritus professor at Paris-Sud 11 University in Orsay, offering his own interpretation of the encyclical. This professor of economics, Serge Latouche, who likes to present himself as an anti-growth proponent, begins his article by referring to a style of politics unfamiliar to me: 'oxymoron politics'. An oxymoron is a figure of speech that juxtaposes two terms that are or seem to be incompatible, in reality or appearance: making haste slowly, an obscure clarity etc. Western governments allegedly practise this form of politics as a matter of course. Professor Latouche claims that the Vatican bureaucracy excels at it, that it introduced it, through its use of antinomies.

The Professor must forgive me. An oxymoron is a matter of rhetoric or style. It does not necessarily draw on antinomies, which belong, in fact, to the field of dialectics. It should not be confused with an antilogy. Professor Latouche is mixing up his disciplines.

Although I am a Vatican diplomat, I hope not to succumb to 'oxymoron politics', or to slip into rhetoric, when I introduce this conference using two terms that are antinomical for our time: realism and hope. They are at the heart of *Caritas in veritate*.

1. REALISM

THIS CAN BE UNDERSTOOD ON A VARIETY OF LEVELS:

- } realism in the date of publication: 2009, albeit two years late, since the encyclical celebrates 40 years since the publication of *Populorum progressio* (1967). The Pope wanted to acknowledge the effects of the global economic crisis, without seeking to offer a technical diagnosis. ‘The crisis has altered the encyclical, but it is not an encyclical written for the crisis,’ Cardinal Martino, President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace has stressed. The coincidence of Benedict XVI’s first social encyclical and the holding of the annual G8 summit in L’Aquila, which began a day after its publication, has been noted. From the Abruzzo summit, the encyclical would echo more loudly and differently;
- } realism in its method: the aim was not to lay down dogma or to solve all the current problems once and for all, but to invite reflection. The issues dealt with are sensitive ones and many points are problematic. Classifying them and understanding how they are linked was a way of seeking their causes;
- } realism in its content: the encyclical paints a realistic picture of the 40 years that have passed since the appearance of *Populorum Progressio*, which includes the bitter observation that ‘as society becomes ever more globalised, it makes us neighbours but does not make us brothers’. It is a realistic and mixed verdict: growth has taken place, but has been and ‘continues to be weighed down by malfunctions and dramatic problems’. Jérôme Vignon refers to the lucidity with which Benedict XVI evaluates the major flaws in the global development model. He re-examines its bases, taking account of the ambiguous nature of globalisation (‘neither good nor bad’), the relative weakening of the role of states and, above all, the complex interdependence of nations;
- } realism, most of all, in its proposals: the Pope calls for practical, active charity. A Jesuit would see a connection with Ignatius of Loyola, for whom love translated into acts. Clearly, the realism of these proposals does not make reference to this or that technical solution. Like his predecessors, Benedict XVI stresses that this is not the Church’s role. ‘The Church does not have technical solutions to offer and does not claim to interfere in any way in the politics of States.’

I will conclude this point with a comment from a French politician, then the Employment Minister: ‘Reading the encyclical,’ he said, ‘you do not have the impression that you are reading an abstract meditation or prayer. On the contrary, rarely has a Pope touched so closely on reality in order to analyse its ailments and to offer, with pragmatism and lucidity, the most effective antidotes.’

2. HOPE

A few days after the publication of the encyclical, the Archbishop of Paris invited leading figures from the political, economic and social sphere to comment on the document. His personal impression after an initial reading, Cardinal Vingt-Trois stated, was of a message of great hope: humankind has the task and the means of shaping the world in which we live. ‘Hope encourages reason and gives it the strength to direct the will’ (34).

This impression was shared by other eminent commentators. Michel Camdessus, for example, pointed to the air of confidence and hope running through the encyclical. In his opinion, it is the text most filled with hope and confidence in man that we have seen since the beginning of this third millennium.

Similarly, the former UN Undersecretary-General Giandomenico Picco, emphasising the Pope’s call for us to free ourselves of ideologies ‘which often oversimplify reality in artificial ways’ (22), saw in this appeal a sense of hope that unfortunately meets with strong resistance in several areas of the world (fundamentalism of various kinds and the arrogance and brutality of ignorance).

As for Xavier Darcos, he found that, in addressing a world that is disorientated, riddled with inequalities and traumatised by the convulsions of the global crisis, the encyclical had come at the right time.

CONCLUSION

1. You will certainly find nothing of the oxymoron in *Caritas in veritate*. Its emphasis is on the contradictions inherent in the subject at hand, contradictions which popular belief has come to accept. Love and truth are not contradictory, any more than realism and hope, if we take the Christian message at its source.
2. The encyclical addresses many subjects and, above all, sets out proposals. None of them is revolutionary, but, as has been said, it is the first time that they have been so specifically placed on the Catholic Church’s agenda. In this sense, they are radically new.
3. Choosing the word *caritas* as the first word in a commentary on the economy and development is, in these times, unexpected to say the least. Benedict XVI reminds us, quite boldly, that the economy is not only about satisfying needs and promoting trade. It is about building a brotherly world. That’s quite a task!



SPEECH BY FR. PIOTR MAZURKIEWICZ

SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE COMMISSION OF THE BISHOPS' CONFERENCES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (COMECE)

CHRISTIAN COMMITMENTS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

In the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council's Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, *Gaudium et Spes*, we read: 'Therefore, while we are warned that it profits a man nothing if he gain the whole world and lose himself, the expectation of a new earth must not weaken but rather stimulate our concern for cultivating this one. For here grows the body of a new human family, a body which even now is able to give some kind of foreshadowing of the new age. Hence, while earthly progress must be carefully distinguished from the growth of Christ's kingdom, to the extent that the former can contribute to the better ordering of human society, it is of vital concern to the Kingdom of God' (GS 39). Christians must therefore distinguish carefully between progress within this world and the growth of the Kingdom of God - which should protect them from involvement in attempts to create utopias on Earth. At the same time, they have a duty to participate in the affairs of this world, which, in a certain sense, represents the verification of their commitment to Christ.

THE INEVITABLE ACCUMULATION OF HUMAN ACHIEVEMENTS?

At a time of crises of various kinds - financial, economic, climate and population - Benedict XVI devotes a great deal of space in his social encyclicals to reflecting on the issue of development. What are the reasons for these crises and what is authentic development? Is sustainable development possible? Are crises part of the very dynamic of development?

Faith in progress as the inevitable accumulation of human achievements is a typical legacy of the Enlightenment. Although we gave it little thought, faith in this inevitability was very quickly called

into question. In the encyclical *Spe salvi*, the Pope draws attention to the hope brought by ‘the French Revolution—an attempt to establish the rule of reason and freedom as a political reality. To begin with, the Europe of the Enlightenment looked on with fascination at these events, but then, as they developed, had cause to reflect anew on reason and freedom’ (19). Benedict XVI refers to two works by Immanuel Kant: one written in 1792, ‘Der Sieg des guten Prinzips über das Böse und die Gründung eines Reichs Gottes auf Erden’ (The Victory of the Good over the Evil Principle, and the Founding of a Kingdom of God on Earth), and the other written two years later, in 1794, ‘Das Ende aller Dinge’ (The End of All Things), in which he reaches the conclusion that the definitive end of human history is not necessarily the ‘Reich Gottes auf Erden’ (Kingdom of God on Earth), the eternal republican dream, but that it may tend, from a moral point of view, to the perverse end of all things.

The 19th and 20th centuries, in particular the two World Wars, have demonstrated with great intensity the ambiguity of progress. ‘Without doubt,’ Benedict XVI has written, ‘it offers new possibilities for good, but it also opens up appalling possibilities for evil—possibilities that formerly did not exist. We have all witnessed the way in which progress, in the wrong hands, can become and has indeed become a terrifying progress in evil.’ (SpS 22). The clear ambiguity of progress cannot be ignored. But what, then, determines whether progress coincides with the realisation of dreams of a kingdom truly worthy of man or whether it is merely, as Theodor W. Adorno puts it, ‘progress from the sling to the atom bomb’?

THE CRITERION OF AUTHENTIC DEVELOPMENT

Both faith and experience show us that each change is not necessarily a change for the better. That being the case, we must ask ourselves against what criterion we judge the changes that have taken place. The Pope’s answer is very simple: ‘If technical progress is not matched by corresponding progress in man’s ethical formation, in man’s inner growth, then it is not progress at all, but a threat for man and for the world.’ (SpS 22) The criterion is therefore of an ethical nature and relates to the reference point for these changes, to what is objectively good for mankind. Sometimes, in the language of the Church, we draw a terminological distinction, using ‘progress’ to mean a simple accumulation of changes and ‘development’ to mean those changes that ‘foster the development of each man and of the whole man’ (*Populorum progressio* 14).

As Pope Paul VI wrote: ‘Neither individuals nor nations should regard the possession of more and more goods as the ultimate objective. Every kind of progress is a two-edged sword. It is necessary if man is to grow as a human being; yet it can also enslave him, if he comes to regard it as the supreme good and cannot look beyond it. When this happens, men harden their hearts,

shut out others from their minds and gather together solely for reasons of self-interest rather than out of friendship; dissension and disunity follow soon after. Thus the exclusive pursuit of material possessions prevents man’s growth as a human being and stands in opposition to his true grandeur. Avarice, in individuals and in nations, is the most obvious form of stultified moral development’ (PP 19).

The accumulation of technical achievements and material resources may be accompanied by the destruction of humanity’s moral and spiritual resources. This, moreover, is how John Paul II viewed the current state of Western culture, holding it jointly responsible for the erosion of ‘other estimable cultures and civilisations’.

Both *Populorum progressio* and *Caritas in veritate*, which updates the former, speak of ‘authentic development’ or ‘integral development’, meaning the supplementing of technical progress and economic growth with a truly humanistic aspect relating to culture and morality. Neglecting this aspect would mean that - regardless of our level of liberalism - in practice, we would be nothing more than Marx’s pupils, unconsciously repeating his chief error, which was materialism (see SpS 21).

What is integral development? Benedict XVI draws our attention, first of all, to the fact that ‘in the design of God, every man is called upon to develop and fulfil himself’ (PP 43; CV 16). In this sense, development is man’s personal duty, on the one hand, while, on the other, lack of faith in development contains an element of sin (see PP 15 and CV 14). Authentic human development concerns the whole of the person in every single dimension (see CV 11). It is the development of every man and of the whole man. Every single dimension means that of material needs, so often brought to the fore, as well as openness to others (the relationship dimension: me-you, me-us) and, finally, the spiritual dimension, or our openness to transcendence.

The Pope draws our attention to two aspects of the materialist view of development that appear contradictory. On the one hand, human beings are simply ‘hostages’ of historical determinism. Nothing depends on their will. Humankind’s freedom is completely superfluous and is confined to knowledge of the laws of historical development. Man must accept deep down what must inevitably come to pass. This also leads to the definition of freedom as a ‘conscious necessity’. Development must come to man ‘from outside’, guaranteed by the emergence of the requisite social structures and institutions. Given that Marx conceived of man solely as a product of economic conditions, human ‘rehabilitation’ would take place in full disregard for his spiritual potential. At the same time, materialist conceptions have always assumed a messianic nature. They stated that an elite group of initiates was capable of accelerating the arrival of ‘what must inevitably come to pass’. They therefore delivered development into man’s hands, giving him the illusion of being able to save himself.

As history has shown us, belief in any of these tenets means supporting a dehumanised development, a messianism that promises, but creates illusions (see CV 17). For ‘man does not develop through his own powers, nor can development simply be handed to him’ (CV 11). Only man’s openness to God reveals to him the whole truth about man, allows him to understand himself and his freedom and enables him to see in the other not only ‘the other’ but to recognise in him a brother, created, like him, in the image and resemblance of God, somebody worthy of love. Integral human development can never take place without reference to our freedom and responsibility. We must not expect it to happen without human engagement.

THE CHURCH DOES NOT OFFER ANY TECHNICAL SOLUTIONS

Popes have been consistent in stressing that ‘the Church does not have technical revolutions to offer for the problem of underdevelopment as such [...] For the Church does not propose economic and political systems or programmes, nor does she show preference for one or the other [...]’ (Sollicitudo rei socialis 41). With the same consistency, they remind us that authentic development ‘affects the dignity of individuals and peoples’. But if it is reduced to a ‘technical’ problem, it would be ‘emptied of its true content, and this would be an act of betrayal of the individuals and peoples whom development is meant to serve’ (Sollicitudo rei socialis 41).

The institutional Church’s prime duty in terms of responsibility for development is not, therefore, to offer technical solutions, but to carry out the ministry of evangelisation, to proclaim the truth about Christ, itself and man, his dignity and vocation, and to apply it to specific circumstances (see CV 9 and 41). In other words, its contribution to integral development consists, above all, in proclaiming integral humanism, open to transcendence, which protects humanity from falling into the trap of ‘an empiricist and sceptical view of life, incapable of rising to the level of praxis’ (CV 9). Christians’ contribution to sustainable development does not consist chiefly of striving for the growth of the gross or net national product, of collecting aluminium or attempting to reduce greenhouse gas emissions, but of recalling the inalienable dignity of humankind, created in the image and resemblance of God. The application of this truth to the specific circumstance in which we are living in the West means that Christians must fulfil their responsibility with regard to sustainable development by defending the right to life from the moment of conception to natural death, by refusing to allow human embryos to be reduced to the status of mere objects, by demonstrating the beauty of human love and marriage as a union of a man and a woman and a family founded on marriage, by defending the right to freedom of religion, by emphasising the duty of solidarity with present and future generations and the intrinsic link between

economics and ethics, by advocating a realistic social policy that takes account of the capacity of economic systems and by stressing the need for technology to meet aims worthy of humankind. This list could clearly go on much longer. However, I would like to add just one issue: the relationship between development and population. At a time when many international aid programmes are striving to reduce population growth in the poorest countries, sometimes even making this a condition of access to international aid, Pope Benedict XVI points out that, ‘to consider population increase as the primary cause of underdevelopment is mistaken, even from an economic point of view’ (see CV 44). This approach also has such inhumane effects as compulsory sterilisation programmes and forced abortions, and is also selective. These forms of violence targeting women in particular can be considered a form of cruelty and a violation of the Convention Against Torture.

CLASH OF CULTURES - A FALSE DICHOTOMY

This fact of stressing the fundamental importance of anthropology - the truth about man - to sustainable development does not mean that Popes do not appreciate the importance of technology or economic development. We have in *Populorum progressio* one of the first contemporary uses of the term ‘cultural conflicts’, and it should be stressed that the Pope is not referring here to any possible conflict between Western culture and the culture of Islam or India, for instance, but to the false dilemma between remaining faithful to tradition at the risk of under-development and opting for progress at the risk of betraying the traditions of our ancestors with their wealth of humanism. We read that: ‘Moreover, traditional culture comes into conflict with the advanced techniques of modern industrialisation; social structures out of tune with today’s demands are threatened with extinction. For the older generation, the rigid structures of traditional culture are the necessary mainstay of one’s personal and family life; they cannot be abandoned. The younger generation, on the other hand, regards them as useless obstacles, and rejects them to embrace new forms of societal life. The conflict between generations leads to a tragic dilemma: either to preserve traditional beliefs and structures and reject social progress; or to embrace foreign technology and foreign culture, and reject ancestral traditions with their wealth of humanism’ (PP 10). This dilemma is false, as the new world can only emerge as a creative continuation of tradition and humanity’s most noble achievements.

Furthermore, Benedict XVI stresses that: ‘Paul VI had an articulated vision of development. He understood the term to indicate the goal of rescuing peoples, first and foremost, from hunger, deprivation, endemic diseases and illiteracy. From the economic point of view, this meant their active participation, on equal terms, in the international economic process; from the social point

of view, it meant their evolution into educated societies marked by solidarity; from the political point of view, it meant the consolidation of democratic regimes capable of ensuring freedom and peace' (CV 21). The Pope's thinking is very practical; it is firmly rooted in reality, including the economic reality. However, he also asks the question: 'After so many years, as we observe with concern the developments and perspectives of the succession of crises that afflict the world today, we ask to what extent Paul VI's expectations have been fulfilled by the model of development adopted in recent decades?' (CV 21).

The development in which we have participated and in which we are participating retains its ambiguous nature and certainly cannot be characterised as sustainable. That is the case because, when thinking about development, we still succumb to the temptation to separate the 'technical' elements from the human elements. We still give in to the temptation to think about development in materialist terms. Often, too, we understand its sustainability and balance in a materialist manner and not in regard to integral development. In reality, however, the development of nations is closely linked with the development of humankind. It is not possible, therefore, to ensure sustainable development without respecting the truth about man. 'The complexity and gravity of the present economic situation rightly cause us concern, but we must adopt a realistic attitude as we take up with confidence and hope the new responsibilities to which we are called by the prospect of a world in need of profound cultural renewal, a world that needs to rediscover fundamental values on which to build a better future' (CV 21). The crisis obliges us to reconsider yet again the path we are taking and to create a new humanistic synthesis. 'If development calls for an ever-growing number of technical experts, even more necessary still is the deep thought and reflection of wise men in search of a new humanism, one which will enable our contemporaries to enjoy the higher values of love and friendship, of prayer and contemplation, and thus find themselves. This is what will guarantee man's authentic development - his transition from less than human conditions to truly human ones' (PP 20). The crisis provides an opportunity to assess the situation, but it also represents an appeal to the wise and the capable to engage in profound reflection, so that they may have the courage to shoulder their share of the responsibility for the present and the future.



SPEECH BY METROPOLITAN EMMANUEL OF FRANCE

Your Eminences,
Your Excellencies,
Members of the European Parliament,
Representatives of religious authorities,
Representatives of academia,
Ladies and gentlemen,

The third encyclical of Pope Benedict XVI, known under the title 'Caritas in Veritate', 'Love In Truth', remains the most important social encyclical of the contemporary era. Its publication was even delayed in order to be able to respond more specifically to the questions emerging with the economic crisis. Its importance resides not only in the answers it provides to the problems we currently face, but also in the Roman Pope's explicit desire to reaffirm the Catholic Church's place in history and in European society. It carries with it all religious actors, forcing them to take action.

However, not all countries have the same approach to secularity and discordant voices are often unwelcome in the world of politics as soon as they begin to criticise it. In France, for instance, the polemic continues: is or is not the Church permitted to make public its position?

It is all the more gratifying, therefore, that, in the midst of this crisis, which hardly favours freedom of expression, the Group of the European People's Party, in collaboration with the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Community, should organise a conference that accepts that proposals coming from religious institutions have a contribution to make to the current debate.

In this regard, the encyclical Caritas in Veritate sets out a number of points on which to base a comprehensive analysis of the crisis, regarding its relationship to society and the absence or persistence in Christianity of a tie between the different components of this society.

I will attempt, along with the other speakers at this meeting, to reflect on the cultural and ethical aspects of this document. Without wishing to get ahead of myself, or to encroach on what will be said later, I would like to raise three salient points that can help us in our deliberations today.

Firstly, at a time when intellectuals, politicians and civil society figures are reflecting on the notion of ties within society, the encyclical Caritas in Veritate is, above all, a reaffirmation of its real nature.

In Christianity, love is more than a notion or a concept; it is the very essence of its message, it is God's name itself. Love not only creates ties but is a tie itself. Moreover, we can draw a correlation between the weakening of social ties and the economic crisis. Indeed, if the crisis were a symptom, it would be due to the lack of any ties, an absence of solidarity, a denial of brotherhood. Because love has disappeared from among our values, morality has lost its way and its direction. 'Thinking of this kind', the text reads, 'requires a deeper critical evaluation of the category of relation' (53).

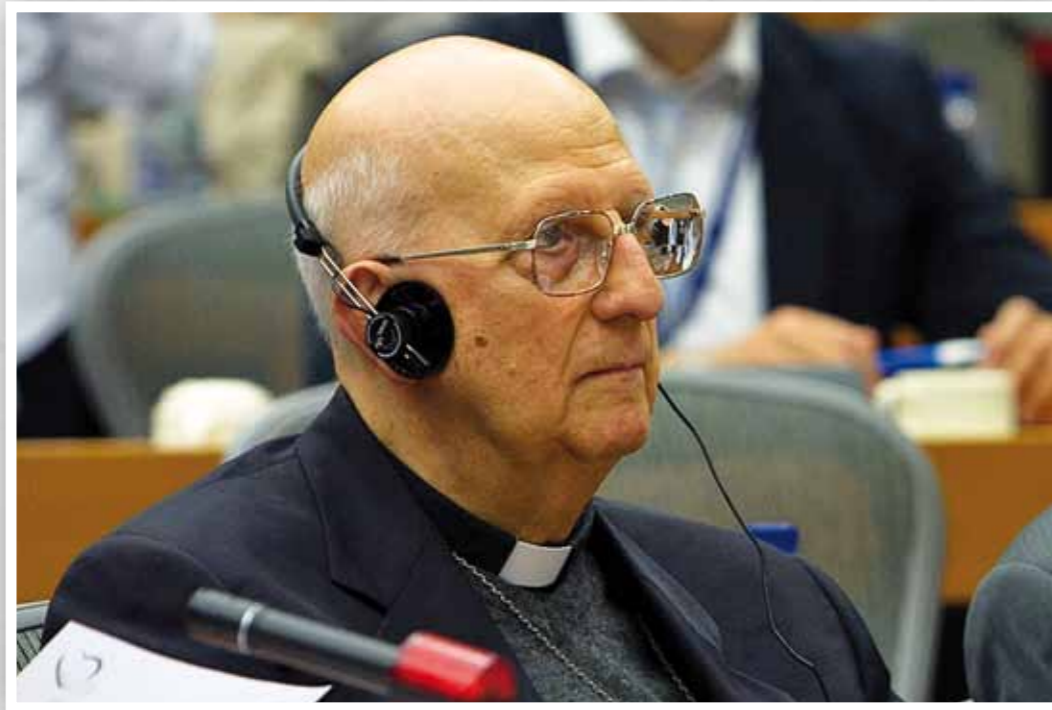
Love that spreads across all values, and the resulting ethical fermentation, is the support we need, or rather cannot do without, for a serene and peaceful coexistence. In other words, these values that form the basis of all social cohesion must bind members of the human race closer together, especially at times of crisis, like those we are living through at present. The crisis should not be seen as merely a tragic episode, accentuating the temptation at the heart of humanity, but should be transformed to achieve a genuine metamorphosis that draws men and women closer to each other in the face of adversity, rather than the opposite. In Benedict XVI's eyes: 'Because it is filled with truth, charity can be understood in the abundance of its values, it can be shared and communicated' (4).

Now, for this relationship to persist, for it to last, to be a part of everyday life for our fellow citizens, it must be able to find a fertile outlet for expression. According to the encyclical, culture continues to provide a particular backdrop, not only as a meeting point, but also, and above all, for exchanges, for synergy. There is a reason why the language of international relations likes to use the term 'synergy', which has particular resonance in our theological vocabulary. After all, culture, this perpetual metamorphosis that means that in death there is also life, as André Malraux liked to say, is embedded with the religious experience of its time. This proximity is so intense that it is often difficult to put things in perspective: to decide what is culture and what is religion. Faith is therefore a source of inspiration that takes form in painting, writing and other means of artistic expression. However, art becomes culture at the point where it is no longer content to exist in itself and for itself; when it becomes wholly the object and subject of beauty, entirely open to others, when it is the subject and object of communication, of sharing, of relationships. Thus, there is undeniably a culture of values that cannot be understood without the values of culture. That is to say, the ability to recognise in culture what is beautiful, true, eternal. It seems to me that this is a message delivered very firmly by the encyclical *Caritas in Veritate*. The text makes this point very clearly when it says: 'Hence charity and truth confront us with an altogether new and creative challenge, one that is certainly vast and complex. It is about broadening the scope of reason and making it capable of knowing and directing these powerful new forces, animating them within the perspective of that "civilization of love" whose seed God has planted in every people, in every culture' (33).

Ladies and gentlemen,

With regard to the intersection of these two themes, culture and value, which will occupy us over the next few minutes, I believe it is essential to keep hold of the expression 'civilisation of love', as it represents, to my thinking, an attempt to reconcile not only individuals in relation to each other but also men and women in relation to the world in which they live.

Thank you for your attention.



SPEECH BY FR BARTOLOMEO SORGE,

DIRECTOR EMERITUS, FONDAZIONE CULTURALE SAN FEDELE

Hitherto the most significant statements made by the Church on social matters have been published on the anniversary of the *Rerum novarum* of Leo XIII (1891). This is true of Pius XI and *Quadragesimo anno* (1931), Pius XII and the Pentecost Address (1941), John XXIII and *Mater et magistra* (1961), Paul VI and his Apostolic Letter *Octogesima adveniens* (1971) and John Paul II and his two encyclicals *Laborem exercens* (1981) and *Centesimus annus* (1991). There have also, however, been some exceptions to this rule, for example *Pacem in terris* (1963) by John XXIII, *Populorum progressio* (1967) by Paul VI and *Sollicitudo rei socialis* (1987), which Pope John Paul II (Karol Wojtyła) wrote to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of *Populorum progressio*.

Now, following the example of his predecessor, Benedict XVI has published *Caritas in veritate* to commemorate the **fortieth anniversary of *Populorum progressio***: ‘I intend to pay tribute and to honour the memory of the great Pope Paul VI, revisiting his teachings on integral human development and taking my place within the path that they marked out, so as to apply them to the present moment (No. 8; numbers in parentheses refer to the paragraphs of *Caritas in veritate*). **However, Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph Ratzinger) is not merely issuing a commemoration, he is in fact setting a new course for the Church’s social teaching. Indeed, while in no way reducing the importance of *Rerum novarum*, Benedict XVI is of the view that the teachings set out in *Populorum progressio* are better tailored to the problems of today: ‘I express my conviction that *Populorum Progressio* deserves to be considered “the *Rerum Novarum* of the present age”, shedding light upon humanity’s journey towards unity’ (ibid.).**

The Encyclical from Benedict XVI is complex and articulate. All we can do in the space allocated for an editorial is to provide a brief reading guide.

The text develops in line with the ‘**deductive**’ method typical of the first social encyclicals: in other words, it proceeds from the principles upon which the conclusions must gradually be derived. However, in order to gain a better understanding of the encyclical and appreciate it more deeply, it should be read using the ‘**inductive method**’ — ‘see, judge, act’ — introduced by John XXIII

in Mater et magistra: 'First, one reviews the concrete situation; secondly, one forms a judgement on it in the light of [evangelical] principles [derived from the teachings of the Church]; thirdly, one decides what in the circumstances can and should be done to implement these principles' (No. 236). This method was followed by the Second Vatican Council in *Gaudium et spes* and was to some degree codified by Paul VI in the fourth paragraph of *Octogesima adveniens*.

Therefore: 1) we shall start at Chapter 6, which sets out why the 'social question' of yesterday has now become an 'anthropological question'; 2) we will then read Chapters 1 and 2, where Benedict XVI demonstrates why Paul VI's *Populorum progressio* is still valid and implements it for today's world; 3) we shall then turn to the Introduction and the Conclusion, which contain the encyclical's true message and provide the key to its reading; 4) finally, it will be easier to understand the approach taken by the Church to the new problems of our times, as set out in Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

1. THE NEW 'SOCIAL QUESTION' (CHAPTER 6)

The 'social question', born in the 19th century as a 'labour question', was transformed in the first decades of the 20th century following the October Revolution from an ideological confrontation into a clash between differing models of the State, namely liberal democracy on the one hand and true socialism on the other. In the second half of the 20th century it changed further, and assumed global dimensions in the form of the balance between the wealthy north of the world and the poor south. **Today, following the historic recanting of ideologies, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the technological revolution, the 'social question' has become an 'anthropological question'.** The challenge is a new way of conceiving human life which, by means of the biotechnology available to man, can be manipulated in thousands of ways, from in vitro fertilisation to research on embryos, cloning and human hybridisation.

As a result, new technocratic ideology has gained strength, taking the place of the political ideologies of the 19th and 20th centuries. Technological man is intoxicated with it, 'convinced that he is the sole author of himself, his life and society. [...] The conviction that man is self-sufficient and can successfully eliminate the evil present in history by his own action alone has led him to confuse happiness and salvation with immanent forms of material prosperity and social action' (No. 34). The age-old temptation returns: what need is there for God if man is self-sufficient and can liberate himself with his own hands? The encyclical's reply is that that is not how things are: 'True development does not consist primarily in "doing". The key to development is a mind capable of thinking in technological terms and grasping the fully human meaning of

human activities, within the context of the holistic meaning of the individual's being' (No. 70). Benedict XVI concludes: 'Without God man neither knows which way to go, nor even understands who he is' (No.78).

Paul VI gave this very warning as long as over forty years ago, in his encyclical *Populorum progressio*. Admittedly, the world has changed since then. **In the days of Pope Paul VI (Giovanni Montini), the process of socialisation was in its initial stages, whereas today, since the collapse of the economic and political systems of the Communist countries of Eastern Europe and the end of the so-called 'opposing blocs', globalisation as a phenomenon has undergone rapid acceleration and requires a full re-examination of the road to world development.** However, convinced of the validity of the teachings contained in *Populorum progressio*, Benedict XVI intends to re-read them in the light of the new challenges raised by the anthropological question.

2. IMPLEMENTING POPULORUM PROGRESSIO IN TODAY'S WORLD (CHAPTERS 1 AND 2)

Populorum progressio discussed the 'development of peoples'. Today Benedict XVI prefers to talk about 'integral human development', and proposes an implementation of Paul VI's essential principles for the modern world.

a) The first principle is contained in No. 42 of *Populorum progressio*: 'True humanism points the way toward God and acknowledges the task to which we are called, the task which offers us the real meaning of human life'. Benedict XVI makes this his own and observes: 'Paul VI taught that progress, in its origin and essence, is first and foremost a vocation: "in the design of God, every man is called upon to develop and fulfil himself, for every life is a vocation"' (No. 16). This is the doctrine upon which the Pope constructs *Caritas in veritate*.

It is precisely **because development is man's response to his transcendental vocation**, he reasons, **that progress must respect human dignity**: 'A vocation is a call that requires a free and responsible answer. Integral human development presupposes the responsible freedom of the individual and of peoples: no structure can guarantee this development over and above human responsibility' (No. 17). There can be no integral development without acknowledgement of the dignity of the human person, his freedom and his responsibility: 'Only when it is free can development be integrally human; only in a climate of responsible freedom can it grow in a satisfactory manner' (ibid).

Therefore, if true progress consists in the free and responsible following of a vocation bestowed upon man it follows that 'integral human development' cannot not refer to God, the caller; in other words it has to be transcendental. That is why God and religion cannot be excluded from the human context.

- b) Paul VI's second fundamental principle is that **brotherly ties are a prerequisite for development that is truly human**. 'Human society is sorely ill', reads *Populorum progressio* (No. 66). 'The cause is not so much the depletion of natural resources, nor their monopolistic control by a privileged few; it is rather the weakening of brotherly ties between individuals and nations'. Benedict XVI makes this second principle his own too and implements it for the modern world. The grave circumstances against which Paul VI spoke out, notes Pope Benedict, still obtain or have even been exacerbated in the globalised world; consider, for example, badly managed and largely speculative financial dealing, large-scale migration of peoples tragically left to rely on their own resources, the unregulated exploitation of the Earth's resources, corruption and illegality (cf. No. 21). This is the proof, he states, that without 'charity in truth' there can be no brotherly ties, no true integral human development; it constitutes evidence that the economic structures and institutions (whose importance is denied by no one) are not enough in themselves if insufficient attention is paid to the human and humanising aspects of development.

This constitutes the precise **limit of the technocratic ideology** which is so widespread today. In fact, continues Benedict XVI, it will never be possible for true brotherhood to be attained by human effort alone: 'As society becomes ever more globalised, it makes us neighbours but does not make us brothers. Reason, by itself, is capable of grasping the equality between men and of giving stability to their civic coexistence, but it cannot establish fraternity'; that is because there is no escaping the fact that fraternity, concludes the Pope, 'originates in a transcendent vocation from God the Father, who loved us first, teaching us through the Son what fraternal charity is'. (No. 19).

- c) Finally, *Populorum progressio* (cf. for example No. 85) reiterates that **reforms should be tackled from an interdisciplinary standpoint**, linking the various aspects of development into a vision of the whole. This is what is proposed in *Caritas in veritate*: 'moral evaluation and scientific research must go hand in hand, and [...] charity must animate them in a harmonious interdisciplinary whole, marked by unity and distinction. The Church's social doctrine, which has "an important interdisciplinary dimension", can exercise, in this perspective, a function of extraordinary effectiveness' (No.31).

Indeed, many problems raised by the 'anthropological question' are interlinked; individual rights cannot be detached from a **framework of rights and duties**, otherwise the demanding of rights becomes an opportunity to maintain the privileges of the few: 'rights presuppose duties, if they are not to become mere licence' (No. 43). Benedict XVI insists on the need always to take account of the close connection between the various aspects and problems of integral human development, including those associated with population growth: 'This is a very important aspect of authentic development', he says, 'since it concerns the inalienable values of life and the family. To consider population increase as the primary cause of underdevelopment is mistaken, even from an economic point of view. (No. 44).

3. THE KEY TO READING THE ENCYCLICAL (INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUSION)

At this point it is necessary to interpret the 'signs of the times' in the light of the Christian revelation and the teachings of the Church. What reading does the encyclical give? **The Pope proceeds from the incontrovertible truth that life is a gift**. No one can generate it. Each individual is essentially a 'vocation', a 'calling to life' (a plan of God) to be welcomed with gratitude and implemented freely and responsibly: 'Each person finds his good by adherence to God's plan for him, in order to realize it fully: in this plan, he finds his truth, and through adherence to this truth he becomes free (cf. John 8:32)'. (No. 1). That is why God cannot be removed from human consciousness. Man is made for truth and love, and God is the sole possible response not only to the demands of intellect (truth) but also to the impulses of the heart (love).

Therefore, charity in truth is not only the essence of the Christian message but the cement required to pursue integral human development. If human relations are to be sound, not only the personal, private relationships of friendship, family or a group, but the public relationships, whether social economic or political, they must be founded on 'true charity'. Indeed, 'Without truth, charity degenerates into sentimentality' and love 'falls prey to contingent subjective emotions and opinions, the word "love" is abused and distorted, to the point where it comes to mean the opposite' (No. 3); rather, '[t]ruth, by enabling men and women to let go of their subjective opinions and impressions, allows them to move beyond cultural and historical limitations and to come together in the assessment of the value and substance of things' (No. 4). Only charity in truth can make dialogue, communication and communion possible. In conclusion, practising charity in truth is the only basis upon which to construct a 'good society' and pursue the integral development of humanity.

Benedict XVI dwells a great deal on **religion as an essential facet of humanity's development**, a concept on which even exponents of the 'lay culture' now agree. How can this be achieved? The answer once again lies in 'charity in truth', in other words in fruitful dialogue and worthwhile cooperation between reason and religious faith: 'Reason always stands in need of being purified by faith: this also holds true for political reason, which must not consider itself omnipotent. For its part, religion always needs to be purified by reason in order to show its authentically human face. Any breach in this dialogue comes only at an enormous price to human development' (No. 56).

The Church's social doctrine came into being precisely in order to claim 'citizenship status' for the Christian religion based on natural law and its revelation: 'This doctrine is a service to charity, but its locus is truth. [...] It is at the same time the truth of faith and of reason, both in the distinction and also in the convergence of those two cognitive fields' (No. 5). For this reason the Pope formulates a **new definition of the Church's social doctrine**: 'which is caritas in veritate in re sociali: the proclamation of the truth of Christ's love in society' (ibid). The Pope thereby seeks to emphasise that the Church's social doctrine is born not of things external, not of the 'social question', but emanates from the truth and love which Christianity offers in response to human society's expectations. Admittedly, 'The Church does not have technical solutions to offer and does not claim "to interfere in any way in the politics of States." She does, however, have a mission of truth to accomplish, in every time and circumstance, for a society that is attuned to man, to his dignity, to his vocation.' (No. 9). Therefore the Church's contribution to integral human development consists in promoting transcendental humanism which precludes 'an empiricist and sceptical view of life, incapable of rising to the level of praxis' (ibid).

4. THE CHURCH AND THE MAJOR PROBLEMS WE FACE TODAY (CHAPTERS 3, 4 AND 5)

The stance taken by the Church with regard to the challenges of the 'anthropological question' can be understood in the light of these premises. Admittedly, reads the encyclical, '[t]he significant new elements in the picture of the development of peoples today in many cases demand new solutions. These need to be found together, respecting the laws proper to each element and in the light of an integral vision of man, reflecting the different aspects of the human person, contemplated through a lens purified by charity' (No. 32). This is precisely what Caritas in veritate does by addressing the new challenges from an individual and community perspective.

At this point the encyclical introduces a new concept, the keystone of the entire document, when it states: 'Charity in truth places man before the astonishing experience of gift.

Gratuitousness is present in our lives in many different forms, which often go unrecognised because of a purely consumerist and utilitarian view of life. The human being is made for gift, which expresses and makes present his transcendent dimension' (No. 34). **Truth is a gift which is greater than we are, it is prior to us like the gift of charity, 'truth is not something that we produce, it is always found, or better, received' (ibid). The Pope concludes: 'Because it is a gift received by everyone, charity in truth is a force that builds community, it brings all people together without imposing barriers or limits' (ibid). This requires further exploration of the category of the 'relationship'** and leads us to the discovery that 'As a spiritual being, the human creature is defined through interpersonal relations. The more authentically he or she lives these relations, the more his or her own personal identity matures. It is not by isolation that man establishes his worth, but by placing himself in relation with others and with God. [...] The same holds true for peoples as well' (No. 53).

These considerations embody the rationale behind the **approach taken** in the encyclical in respect of ethical financing (No. 45); protection of the environment (No. 48); responsible use of energy resources (No. 49); religious freedom (No. 55); fraternal collaboration between believers and non-believers (No. 56); the role of international cooperation (No. 58); international tourism as a factor in growth (No. 61); the phenomenon of migration (No. 62); the new challenges facing labour union organisations (No. 64); the reform of the United Nations and the need for a true world political authority (No. 67).

The breadth of the perspectives and problems addressed by Benedict XVI in his encyclical make Caritas in veritate a genuine Christian social manual for the 21st century.



SPEECH BY PROF. DR. PETER SCHALLENBERG, FACULTY OF THEOLOGY, PADERBOM

THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE AGE OF SECULARIZATION

1. As today's focus is on the encyclical "CARITAS IN VERITATE" I would like to refer to the role (the) religion can play in the age of secularization and what religion can offer nowadays.

Therefore I would like to concentrate on the catholic point of view with special regard to the theology of history by Augustine because the encyclical has not a social point of view solely. Rather we conclude that it is a fundamental synopsis of the catholic history of theology and anthropology. From this perspective politics and economy are asked for their last aims and not only for their penultimate. From this metaphysic dimension it becomes clear why the encyclical does not only want to answer current questions of economy and politics. On the contrary it goes into greater detail in order to offer sustainable answers to challenges of all ages. Because the final sense of every community and social system - from a catholic perspective - is to serve one purpose: to make the person ready for the eternal love of god.

2. The age of secularization is basically characterized by the separation of religion and state. This separation finds its equivalents in the distinction of private ethos and public responsibility. This contrast or polarization comes also across when we look at the work of Augustine of Hippo who composed two societies of man in his magnum opus "civitas dei": the civitas dei and the civitas terrena. He characterizes the suspense between the two societies or citizenships in the second part of his work in 12 books in which the different aims of the two citizenships are brought forward. The city of man has the aim of mere survival whereby the city of god tends to live in permanent harmony with the true nature of man which can only be found in God. The civitas terrena for Augustine is a necessary evil which followed the murder of Abel by Cain. In contradiction to that the civitas dei is characterized as a state of pilgrimage which has not the manifest form of a common state. Rather it is to understand as a family of mankind which is led by Christ. The question "Who belongs to the city of god?" remains open until the day of judgement.

Concerning our question and perspective of the relationship between the state and religion in the age of secularization we can assert that the city of god is not identical with the visible church.

To be precise it can only be found in the forum internum of the persons immortal soul which decides between *uti* (mere use of human beings) and *frui* (the giving and enjoying of pure love). From this perspective history is not an eternal circle but a linear development of souls towards the absolute.

From this point of view religion and politics are two different categories which can be characterized with the two terms of *uti* and *frui*. In Augustine's point of view the state has an essential function namely the order in producing peace as assumption for the city of god. But he follows the principle of utility and therefore is not the best idea of being. The term of justice which is connected with the *civitas terrena* is excelled by the self-giving love which can be only found in the *civitas dei*.

3. This basic idea of relationship between religion and state leads us to the question what the religion and especially the Catholic social ethics can offer to foster social confidence and a true human development in a state and an economy of a growing secularization. The first decisive dilemma is the anthropology which sharpens into the dignity of man as a person. Each man and women follow the image of god (Gen 1-3). God is defined as the highest ideal what indicates the aim for the man. However, what can be defined as the best? From the perspective of Theology it is unconditioned love (*frui*) which was precisely the status of paradise biblically spoken. Mostly insecure for mankind is not only a quantity of life (life-support) but a quality of life (love-support). This love-support was secured by god as unconditioned love and security of sense for every person's existence which was broken by "Adam and Eve" as symbolic persons by their free will at the very beginning. Since then men have been living in a permanent state of insecurity and are searching for security systems by practicing justice. On a political level this is the origin of state which is understood as *status iustitiae*. On ecumenical level it is the origin of competition for fair distribution of human goods and rights. At the origin of justice and competition always lays love though, because that is the true origin and the goal of a human being as a person. This origin and goal again is thought and revealed along Christian faith as person, as God in Jesus Christ, who is love. Therefore also marriage and family as states of love are the essence of state and community.
4. This is followed by another fundamental principle of thinking: Personality. It describes the basic right to live, to be loved and to be protected. This means more closely that each and every man and women have an individual nature and a social nature. In greek language each human being is a "zoon politikon"! Due to the imagination of God which is in every person vital the person is thought as good. As social being man has the possibility to face other people in his goodness

and to express the true and eternal ideal of love which can be just experienced in a personal way. In this self-giving and non-egoistic love the person can already comprehend the absolute love which we call like mentioned above God.

5. How we can know what is good in the sense of God, though? The church's answer would be the conscious. The individual conscious is the demand of the good, the demand of love. This has to be the quintessence of religion since from this point an understanding of justice and the basic rights which are necessary in the age of secularization is developed.
6. Understandably the distinction between basal and principal justice for every person and personal love or political justice and private love lays deep in the Christian faith and builds a solid basis for the dialogue between religion and state. Both is necessary to fulfill the demand of personality. The political justice guarantees a negative liberty, for example not to be robbed or murdered. The private love offers the possibility for an positive liberty, which basically includes to love personally, to be honest or to receive true love.
7. The social ethics from this perspective can be described by the following four principles: solidarity (Oswald von Nell-Breuning: "We are all in one boat"), subsidiarity (meant as anti-marxistic principle, where the state is only helpful for persons and little communities like the communitarism in the USA), the public weal and sustainability.
8. Nowadays this system of social ethics and ethics of economies is in competition with other systems and philosophies particularly in time of globalization and secularization. But the central question has to be: "What is the best way of thinking of human person, of each human person? What is the universal goal of each human person around the world and what is the right international framework for developing every person?"
9. I would like to mention one example for true human development in modern society: human work. It cannot simply be reduced to gaining income and economic security as fundamental and indispensable as this function of work is today. Christian social teaching has always stressed the comprehensive significance of work for the individual and the human community. Work promotes people's creativity, their flexibility and their openness. In this sense, work makes a significant contribution of a person's self-realization. Furthermore, participation in the division of tasks within society is a central key to a social participation. Also family work and voluntary and civic commitment have always taken on considerable significance in the understanding of Christian social teaching. Human work in all its manifestations is an expression of social life. For this reason, work is different in qualitative terms from the production factor "capital" and

the production factor “natural resources.” Nonetheless, work is frequently regarded as merely a production and cost factor which is moved around like a number at will without taking account of the comprehensive nature of work and its existential meaning. There is a distinction between the “right to work” and “rights at work”. Both they form the concept of decent work. People who work pass through several phases of life hence of employment. The manifestation assumed by work cannot always be identical in these phases but in each instance it must accommodate a variety of individual, but also society and industry, the older, younger and following generations as well as those in between. A good system of basic and further training guarantees the success of entrepreneurial activity and the positive development of a pluralistic democracy. A modern family policy supporting child- raising, stable social systems and the promotion of political and voluntary commitment serve to secure social peace. Thus, society and enterprises benefit in equal measure from a policy of decent work.

10. The social dimension of work must also figure in the international context. The informalization of the labour market is amplified by the globalization of markets. The concomitant economic division of tasks promotes for instance the decoupling of specific services and production stages from the core enterprise, ranging to work at home in bogus self- employment. The threat of moving jobs to countries where costs are lower will remain until worldwide agreements have been reached to protect employment. The situation is already dramatic today, given that more than two-thirds of the working population are employed in the so-called informal economy in many countries. The liberalization of the labour market means for most of those concerned a profound lack of security to plan their future. Neither international nor national employment policy has so far developed coherent concepts to put a stop to these negative trends so that people can live and survive by the work of their own hand and perhaps even achieve a certain prosperity and security for themselves and their families. Individual human and social needs must be harmonized and balanced with economic requirements in working processes as far as possible.

In many countries with a high share of informal workers, such workers make considerable contribution to the economy without being included in the statistics. Nonetheless, most informal workers live in poverty. Although development cooperation of state and civil society players observe the respective political and economic framework of a country the significance of the right to organize, of the right of political expression, of the right to represent interests together in the informal economy, is nonetheless still too frequently disregarded.

Legislatures must create reliable framework conditions for the self-organization of those who are engaged in informal dependent employment or self-employment. Access to social security systems and the establishment of enterprises must be made possible as soon as possible.

Governments must undertake to implement a policy of employment promotion and of ensuring social peace. Transnational enterprises and private investors should orientate their corporate policy in countries with a high share of informal workers in such a way that they integrate informal work into their corporate policy in no way. This can be reached by reducing the number of jobs and by outsourcing but must strive to create official, skilled and socially secure jobs.

Employment policy is not a field of work which can be considered in isolation; in particular viewed in conjunction with international economic policy and national educational and family policy. In order to put in place a global employment policy it is necessary to establish internationally valid principles and rights at work based on a consensus of ethical ideas which satisfy the definition of decent work. Over and above this, the naturally restricted mobility of the labour market requires globally mobile markets, such as the capital market, to be effectively regulated in order to not push employment from the focus of the protection requirement.

11. In the end we have to come back to the encyclical “CARITAS IN VERITATE” and the basal teaching of the church from economy as activity to serve human desires and wants to enable us to choose a life one has reason to value. Wants, desires and preferences the human person has do not exist in the state of nature. They are culturally and socially shaped. The religions and especially the Christian social teaching as well should therefore be open for the dialogue with the modern societies and vice versa to make sure a shaping of politics and economy which considers the personal dignity of all human beings. The encyclical by Pope Benedikt XVI. is a chance of profound dialogue with the modern world and gives sustainable answers.

SPEECH BY DR VINCENT LEGRAND

LECTURER AT UNIVERSITÉ CATHOLIQUE DE LOUVAIN (UCL)¹



Although the Encyclical primarily addresses the economic and social barriers to integral human development, it also refers – and I quote – to ‘another aspect of modern life that is very closely connected to development: the denial of the *right to religious freedom*’². Which obstacles to integral human development does Pope Benedict XVI identify in this area?

First of all, there is religious fanaticism or fundamentalism, ‘that in some contexts impedes the exercise of the right to religious freedom’ (paragraph 29). Here the Encyclical focuses on religious intolerance towards other religions.

Then there is secularism, which could also be described as secular fundamentalism: ‘The Christian religion and other religions can offer their contribution to development *only if God has a place in the public realm*, specifically in regard to its cultural, social, economic, and particularly its political dimensions’. Since religion contributes to development and human progress by inspiring the polity, politics and policies, its exclusion from the public domain has several consequences, as the Encyclical emphasises, namely the impoverishment of public life as well as political oppression and disregard for human rights. Just as religion ‘*always needs to be purified by reason*’, reason, including political reason, ‘*always stands in need of being purified by faith*’. The Encyclical notes that any breach in this dialogue between faith and reason ‘comes only at an enormous price to human development’ (paragraph 56).

Lastly, there is the cult of indifference. The Encyclical notes that ‘the deliberate promotion of religious indifference or practical atheism on the part of many countries obstructs the requirements for the development of peoples, depriving them of spiritual and human resources’. It goes on to say

1. Formerly adviser on inter-religious affairs at COMECE, the Commission of the Bishops’ Conferences of the European Community (January 2007 to August 2010).
2. See in particular paragraphs 29, 55 and 56 of *Caritas in Veritate*, Encyclical Letter of the Supreme Pontiff Benedict XVI to the bishops, priests and deacons, men and women religious, the lay faithful and all people of good will on integral human development in charity and truth, 29 June 2009, at www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf_ben-xvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-veritate_en.html.

that ‘*God is the guarantor of man’s true development*’ because He feeds the ‘innate yearning’ of men and women to ‘be more’ (paragraph 29).

In raising this issue of indifferentism, Benedict XVI also touches on that of relativism. In paragraph 55, the Holy Father stresses that,

} on the one hand, ‘development needs the religions and cultures of different peoples’ to the extent that ‘other cultures and religions teach brotherhood and peace and are therefore of enormous importance to integral human development’,

} but emphasises, that, on the other hand, ‘it is equally true that adequate discernment is needed’. ‘Religious freedom’, he says, ‘does not mean religious indifferentism, nor does it imply that all religions are equal’. So what is the criterion for this discernment? It is the contribution that cultures and religions can make to the ‘common good’, in other words their capacity to work for integral human development, that is to say the development of ‘the whole man and every man’ – a development that is rooted in *charity* and *truth*.

This contextualisation of the right of religious freedom without indifferentism harks back to the declaration *Dignitatis Humanae* adopted by the Second Vatican Council in 1965, which enshrines in the doctrine of the Catholic Church the recognition of the fundamental right to religious freedom, though without implying any renunciation of the quest for truth:

‘The human person has a right to religious freedom. This freedom means that all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of social groups and of any human power, in such wise that no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs, whether privately or publicly, whether alone or in association with others, within due limits’³.

Why is there no contradiction between the right to religious freedom and the moral quest for truth? Precisely because this right is a fundamental condition of an authentic quest for the truth, since ‘the truth cannot impose itself except by virtue of its own truth’, to use the Council’s wording.⁴ The truth cannot in practice be imposed by any human power whatsoever. The implication of this inherent fundamental freedom of human beings is that it must be recognised by the law and thereby become a guaranteed civil right, the Council noted⁵.

3. Declaration on Religious Freedom – *Dignitatis Humanae* – on the right of the person and of communities to social and civil freedom in religious matters. Second Vatican Council, 7 December 1965, paragraph 2. www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651207_dignitatis-humanae_en.html

4. *ibid.*, paragraph 1.

5. *ibid.*, paragraph 2.

In this respect, one cannot but emphasise the primacy assigned by the Church to religious freedom among the human rights – a ‘super-fundamental’ right which cannot be compared with a ‘simple’ right to freedom of opinion. The Church, in fact, likes to remind us that, ‘in so far as it [religious freedom] touches the innermost sphere of the spirit, one can even say that it upholds the justification, deeply rooted in each individual, of all other liberties’⁶. In this way, the Church sees the right to religious freedom as the cornerstone of the entire edifice of human rights, such that respect for this right emerges as a “*test*” for the observance of the other fundamental rights⁷. The state’s respect for this right is thus a gauge of its respect for all human rights.

It is on the basis of this mission that the Church, through COMECE, which represents the Bishops’ Conferences of the 27 Member States and serves as the liaison body of the Catholic Church with the institutions of the European Union appeals to you – Members of the European Parliament, decision-makers and officials of the Union – to promote this fundamental right throughout the world by means of the policies which it is possible to pursue within the framework of the Union’s human-rights policy, particularly in the context of its external relations. I refer in this respect to the report published in May by the COMECE Secretariat.⁸ In my former post as an adviser in the COMECE staff, I had the privilege of helping to draft the report (see Annex). Entitled *Religious Freedom – Pillar of the Human Rights Policy in the External Relations of the European Union* the report:

} outlines the legal framework of the EU governing the protection and promotion of human rights;

} outlines the concept of religious freedom as expressed in the Church’s social teaching;

} catalogues violations of the right to religious freedom and cases of religious persecution in the world.

6. John Paul II, Message to the signatory nations of the Helsinki Final Act, 14 November 1980. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/pont_messages/1980/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19800901_helsinki-act_en.html

7. Our emphasis. John Paul II, Speech to the members of the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See, 9 January 1989, paragraph 6. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1989/january/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19890109_corpo-diplomatico_fr.html

8. The French version entitled *La liberté religieuse, fondement de la politique des droits de l’Homme dans les relations extérieures de l’UE, Rapport aux Evêques de la COMECE, mai 2010*, is available online at www.comece.eu/site/article_list.siteswift?so=all&do=all&cc=download&d=article%3A3493%3A2. The English version - *Religious Freedom – Pillar of the Human Rights Policy in the External Relations of the European Union, A Report to the Bishops of COMECE, May 2010*, can be accessed online at www.comece.eu/content/site/en/home/article/3643.html. The German version is entitled *Die Religionsfreiheit – Grundlage der Menschenrechtspolitik in den auswärtigen Beziehungen der Europäischen Union, Bericht an die Bischöfe der COMECE, Mai 2010*, and is available online at www.comece.eu/site/article_list.siteswift?so=all&do=all&cc=download&d=article%3A3493%3A3.

Let us emphasise from the outset that the objective, which is universal in scope, is to improve the conditions for the exercise of religious freedom for the whole of humanity, especially for religious minorities, including Christian minorities. Christian minorities are not the only ones to endure violations of this fundamental right, which also affect other minorities such as Jews, Muslims and Baha'is. As the report points out, however, we must remember that Christians are the victims of at least 75% of the cases of religious persecution in the world,⁹ with some 100 million followers of Christ suffering discrimination, oppression or persecution¹⁰. It is understandable, then, that the Church is so deeply concerned about this matter.

In this same context, the report hails the growing awareness among the EU institutions of the importance of protecting and promoting this fundamental right, and it invites them to keep up their efforts; last but not least, it makes a series of recommendations to that end for your attention – you Members of the European Parliament, who can act primarily through the interparliamentary delegations, and you who are members of the European Commission and the Council of the EU. There are 11 of these recommendations, to be precise, and I ask you to give them your consideration.

I shall finish this talk by raising a sensitive question which I believe is very important to clarify, precisely because of the misunderstandings that still persist. I refer to the question of reciprocity in the context of religious freedom.

The concept of reciprocity in the Church's social teaching is sometimes misunderstood by a number of protagonists in various circles, especially by some of the Muslims with whom we engage in dialogue, both in Europe and in the predominantly Muslim countries. Like me, some of you will recall the dialogue of the deaf that took place in this very forum two years ago, in 2008, the European Year of Intercultural Dialogue, at the seminar on Islam, Christianity and Europe initiated by COMECE, the Church and Society Commission of the Conference of European Churches (CEC) and the European office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation and devoted to

9. Thomas Schirrmacher, 'Defending religious freedom of Christians benefits all', in *International Journal for Religious Freedom*, No 1/2008, p. 13.

10. This is the figure estimated by the Open Doors International organisation; it is based on a broad definition of persecution, covering all Christians who suffer discrimination, receive threats or lose their lives because of their faith. Source: www.opendoors-de.org/verfolgung/weltverfolgungsindex/index. Other sources, such as World Evangelical Alliance, *Geneva Report 2005 - A perspective on global religious freedom: challenges facing Christian Communities*, MBS Texte 045 (2005), Martin Bucer Seminar / Pro Mundis / Evangelische Allianz / AKREF, p. 3 - www.bucer.org/uploads/media/mbstexte045.pdf – or Paul A. Marshall and Lela Gilbert, *Their Blood Cries Out: The Untold Story of Persecution Against Christians in the Modern World*, Word Publishing, Dallas, 1997, quote a higher figure of 200 million persecuted Christians in the world, but this figure is considered to be less plausible.

the external relations of the EU with Muslim countries and the international responsibility of religious communities¹¹.

On the basis of an unfortunate misapprehension of the Catholic concept of reciprocity in the context of religious freedom, the Muslim representative was indignant, mistakenly believing that reciprocity could erode the religious rights of Muslim communities in Europe, given the gross violations of these rights to which religious minorities, including Christian minorities, had been subjected in some predominantly Muslim countries. The Muslim representative rightly pointed out that the Muslim communities living in Europe had nothing to do with the violations of this right that had been perpetrated by the governments of those countries or by some of their fellow Muslims who lived there and could not be held responsible in any way. This fear is unfounded; moreover, it does not in any way reflect the position of the Catholic magisterium on the matter. Allow me, therefore, to clarify this concept in view of its political importance; my remarks are based on section 2.3 of the report, which is devoted to it (see Annex).

I shall begin these remarks by explaining what reciprocity is not. The purpose of the Church's plea for 'fair and sound reciprocity' in the area of religious freedom¹² is the *worldwide* defence of that right. In no way does it therefore constitute or justify any recourse whatsoever to retaliation, which is illegal in international law. Human rights are non-negotiable and, happily, cannot by any manner of means be used as a bargaining chip. From a Christian perspective, retaliation is also inconceivable and morally suspect¹³.

What, then, is reciprocity? Let us distinguish between two dimensions. In the internal dimension, as noted in the instruction *Erga migrantes caritas Christi* from the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, 'reciprocity is [...] an attitude of heart and spirit that enables us to live together everywhere with equal rights and duties. Healthy reciprocity will urge each one to become an "advocate" for the rights of minorities when his or her own religious community is in the majority'¹⁴.

The position adopted by the German Bishops' Conference regarding the building of mosques in Germany may be interpreted as a reflection of this philosophy: *As a good protected by the Constitution, the right to religious freedom and the related right to construct mosques must be*

11. Seminar of 11 September 2008. See the report at www.comece.eu/site/article_list.siteswift?so=all&do=all&c=download&d=article:3250:4.

12. See the definition of 'fair and sound reciprocity' in footnote 20 of the COMECE report.

13. For details, see footnotes 21 and 22 of the COMECE report.

14. Instruction – *Erga migrantes caritas Christi* – from the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, 3 May 2004, paragraph 64. www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/migrants/documents/rc_pc_migrants_doc_20040514_erga-migrantes-caritas-christi_en.html.

*dissociated from the fact that Christians also enjoy individual or collective religious freedom in Muslim countries. It is precisely because we Christians reject and denounce restrictions on religious freedom in countries anchored in Islam that we are committed not only to the rights of Christians in those countries but also to those of Muslims in ours. The same principle must apply to both Christians and Muslims, namely that whoever claims religious freedom in other countries for the members of his or her community of faith that forms a minority in that country cannot deny like freedom to the religious minorities in his or her own country.*¹⁵

Let us move on to the international dimension. As John Paul II said at his meeting with young Muslims in Casablanca in 1985¹⁶ and as Benedict XVI reiterated in recent years, the promotion of fundamental rights, including religious freedom, on the basis of reciprocity favours ‘peace and agreement between the peoples’¹⁷. *‘In relations between Christians and persons of other religions, the principle of reciprocity is important. It is to be understood not merely as an attitude for making claims but as a relationship based on mutual respect and on justice in juridical and religious matters.’*¹⁸

The desire for reciprocity is therefore deeply rooted in a question of relationship, on the mutuality of relations between each other. Besides not constituting in any respect a call to retaliation, it does not impose conditions for the granting of rights either. On the contrary, it is a moral appeal, a vibrant desire formulated by the Church on the basis of the most deeply embedded foundations of that ‘attitude of heart and spirit’ to which I referred above.

15. German Bishops’ Conference, *Moscheebau in Deutschland. Eine Orientierungshilfe der deutschen Bischöfe*, 26 September 2008 - www.dbk.de/aktuell/meldungen/01761/index.html. See the report on the seminar in the Islam, Christianity and Europe series held in the European Parliament by COMECE, The Church and Society Commission of the CEC and the European Office of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (KAS) on 29 May 2008 and entitled *Visibility of religion in the European public space: the question of worship places and religious symbols in clothing* - www.comece.eu/site/article_list.siteswift?so=all&do=all&c=download&d=article:3250:2.

16. Address of His Holiness John Paul II to young Muslims, Casablanca, 19 August 1985. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1985/august/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19850819_giovani-stadio-casablanca_en.html.

17. Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Ambassadors of countries with a Muslim majority and to the representatives of Muslim communities in Italy, 25 September 2006 - www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060925_ambasciatori-paesi-arabi_en.html.

18. Instruction – *Erga migrantes caritas Christi* – from the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, 3 May 2004, paragraph 64. Pope Benedict XVI emphasised the “huge importance” that the Instruction *Erga migrantes caritas Christi* gives “and rightly so” to the principle of reciprocity in inter-religious relations. (See Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the participants in the Plenary Assembly of the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People at www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2006/may/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060515_pc-migrants_en.html).

While the Christian vision of reciprocity does not allow for any recourse to retaliation, this does not mean that Christians should abdicate their moral and political responsibilities and yield to the temptation of passivity¹⁹, for that could result in a denial of the principle of responsibility to protect the poor, the small and the vulnerable, who need to be defended wherever they are subject to discrimination²⁰.

Once again, however, we must not focus on the wrong ‘target’. This moral appeal and vibrant desire must be addressed to the governments of the offending states, not to our fellow citizens or residents from the Islamic community in Europe, who have no responsibility in those situations and who, regrettably, are also subjected to many forms of discrimination, particularly in the economic and social spheres, in the prevailing climate of xenophobia with which they are confronted²¹. In this context, I have one final observation to make, which I address to those governments of predominantly Muslim countries which have been failing to respect religious freedom: application of the principle of reciprocity is also an instrument of peace within the EU, in that it can help to improve social cohesion and civil peace in a Europe which, though still predominantly Christian, has become more multicultural and multi-faith than it used to be. An absence or insufficient degree of reciprocity in the realm of religious freedom, as reflected in situations of discrimination and persecution to which Christians are exposed in some predominantly Muslim countries, fuels Islamophobia in Europe. Just as she opposes Christianophobia and other anti-religious phobias, including anti-Semitism, the Church opposes Islamophobia and is not in any way responsible for the discriminatory situations that are encountered here and there within the EU, which are the work of public and political authorities or the product of social pressures. Thus the question of reciprocity with regard to religious freedom is by no means an insignificant issue within the Union itself either, where it impacts on the common good and social cohesion of the entire population, not to mention the ardently desired improvement in the lot of those communities throughout the world that are still being persecuted today.

19. See Edouard Divry, ‘Réciprocité religieuse: ni rétorsion, ni placidité – La position catholique’, in *Liberté politique*, No 44, Spring 2009, p. 72.

20. *idem*. See Meeting with the members of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organization – Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI, 18 April 2008, at www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2008/april/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20080418_un-visit_en.html.

21. In this respect, the COMECE report observes in footnote 19 that ‘It is worth clarifying here that, faced with the dramatic situation of religious freedom for the religious minorities in certain parts of the world, it is often assumed that religious minorities do not encounter the same problems in Europe. However, discriminatory situations most certainly do exist and should be fought, even if they are not on the same scale as those experienced by the religious minorities in some non-EU countries to the point of being persecuted.’

SPEECH BY JOSÉ RAMOS-ASCENSÃO

COMMISSION OF THE BISHOPS CONFERENCES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY



Ladies and gentlemen,

As the school year starts in Portugal this month, 701 primary schools will have their doors closed. The initial forecast of the Government suggested that around 500 schools, each with less than 21 pupils, would be closed. Maternity hospitals are also being closed all over the country.

These are only some of the impacts of the so-called demographic transition, or change, or more dramatically, the demographic challenge, implosion, or indeed demographic winter, that is devastating, not only Portugal, but all of Europe.

In the course of the next few minutes I will try to review the actual situation, its causes and its consequences, as well as to explore some of the solutions that have been proposed. Because the original title of this conference questioned the existence of an “anti-birth” mentality in Europe, I will pay special attention to the low fertility aspects of the demographic issue. Whenever appropriate, I will duly make reference to Caritas in Veritate which sheds some light on this issue. Actually, it is Pope Benedict VI who says herein that “coherence does not mean a closed system: on the contrary, it means dynamic faithfulness to a light received. The Church's social doctrine illuminates with an unchanging light the new problems that are constantly emerging” (no. 12).

As a result of increased longevity and lower fertility, Europe is ageing. The age pyramid is turning upside down. The absolute number of children is projected to decline gradually from 2020 onwards. Half of the population today is 40 years-old or more. In 2060, half of the population will be aged 48 years or over. The number of elderly persons aged 65 or more already surpassed the number of children (those below 15) in 2008; but, in 2060, there will be more than twice as many elderly than children.

Although a modest recovery in the total fertility rate is foreseen on a 50-year projection, that would not be sufficient, in all EU countries, to achieve the natural replacement rate of 2.1 births per woman.

The population of working-age had already started to decline in 2010; but by 2060 it will have fallen by 15 per cent in the EU as a whole. And although there is a projected increase in the labour participation rate, a decline in the labour supply and in the labour input (that is, hours of work) will lead to a doubling of the old-age dependency ratio.

With the current legislation enacted, the population would peak by 2035, due mostly to immigration, but then the impact of immigration will disappear and a steady decline will take place, although with important differences among countries.

The underlying causes of this situation, particularly of low fertility, are multiple and complex. Family instability, the falling marriage rate and increasing divorce help to explain it. One out of every two marriages ends in divorce (in some countries, one of which is Belgium, it is 2 out of 3). This marital breakdown rate has doubled in about 25 years (that is, from 1980 to 2006).

Young adults are entering later into the labour market, because of studying longer, for example, and average age of motherhood jumped from 27.1 years in 1980 to 29.7 in 2006 (in other words, by more than two and a half years in the period!). This is due also to such factors as job instability at a time characterized by unusual economic and social uncertainties, pessimism regarding the future, the high cost of quality child education, and even the lack and cost of appropriate housing, with young couples being forced out to the suburbs, with a negative impact on their mobility, and far distant from an available network of informal care services.

But these study, working and family life contingencies and choices are also linked with life-styles and mindsets that are not conducive to assuming family responsibilities. A child, after all, is a lifelong bond.

The dominant culture is individualist, hedonist, consumerist. It is not now a predominantly Malthusian anti-birth culture, but rather a culture of women's rights, such as so-called sexual and reproductive rights, that include the so-called right to abortion and to contraception. Human life is undervalued in this "culture of death" and a "safe-sex ideology" – safe from diseases, but also 'safe' from pregnancies – is inculcated in our children through sex education in the schoolroom. A widespread contraceptive mentality and behavior disconnects human sexuality from its procreative dimension, reflecting a reluctance to mutual self-giving by the spouses.

The consequences of the present situation are evident. Caritas in Veritate calls attention to the fact that "formerly prosperous nations are presently passing through a phase of uncertainty and in some cases decline, precisely because of their falling birth rates; this has become a crucial problem for highly affluent societies. The decline in births, falling at times beneath the so-called

"replacement level", also puts a strain on social welfare systems, increases their cost, eats into savings and hence the financial resources needed for investment, reduces the availability of qualified labourers, and narrows the "brain pool" upon which nations can draw for their needs. Furthermore, smaller and at times miniscule families run the risk of impoverishing social relations, and failing to ensure effective forms of solidarity." (no. 44).

European structural weakness is revealed by this simple fact: a century ago 15% of the world's population lived in the area correspondent to the EU-25; today this share is about half of that, and in the year 2050, it will be just a third.

Even without taking into account the potential negative impact of the current economic crisis, the annual average potential GDP growth rate in the EU is projected to fall to a meager 1.3% in the period 2041-2060. This is most disturbing when we consider that "man is constitutionally oriented towards "being more"", as it is stated in the Encyclical (no. 14). In other words, development pertains to human nature.

Furthermore, long-term fiscal sustainability is being put at risk. On the basis of current policies, age-related public expenditure – that is, expenditures on pensions, healthcare, long-term care – is projected to increase on average by about four and three-quarter percentage points of GDP in the EU by 2060.

Thus, a further strain will be put on the productive, private sector where, at the end of the day, the resources will have to be found. The alternative is a clear restraint on the levels of social protection, with the fading of the European model of a social market economy just when it is needed the most: the vulnerability of the elderly would increase.

Living standards will therefore most probably be affected as each worker has to provide for the consumption needs of a growing number of elderly dependents. Intergenerational justice problems will come up, and this is likely to exacerbate social tension and conflict, putting more stress on social cohesion.

Finally, with an ageing population, serious issues of justice regarding the allocation of healthcare resources may also rise, with particular relevance when it comes to the case for legalizing euthanasia, for example.

When it comes to solutions, one thing is clear: coping with the challenge posed by an ageing population will require determined policy action.

Since 1997, the European institutions and specially the European Commission have issued a number of documents on the subject, namely a 2006 Communication (called "The demographic

future of Europe – from challenge to opportunity”), which followed a Green Paper of 2005 called “Confronting demographic change: a new solidarity between generations”,

The causes are identified, the consequences are foreseen, but when proposing solutions, sometimes attention is diverted to attacking the consequences or less important causes of the problem, instead of tackling low fertility itself. Reducing debt, raising employment rates and productivity, reforming pension, healthcare and long-term care systems, receiving and integrating migrants, these are certainly important policy goals, but they are linked with realities derived, at least partially, from the demographic problem itself.

In 2007, the European Economic and Social Committee contributed to the debate by issuing an Opinion on “The family and demographic change” and calling for the Member States to sign a “European Pact for the Family”.

The EU rightly starts from a recognition that the decision to have children is a private matter, and that the scope of policy is to enable couples to make their own choices with regard to the number of children they want to have. This approach is demanded by respect for freedom and for subsidiarity. Surveys suggest that Europeans generally would like to have more children than they actually have. In almost all EU countries, the number of desired children exceeds the replacement level. Responsible procreation is part of the Church’s teaching and is considered in *Caritas in Veritate* to be “a positive contribution to make to integral human development” (no. 44). What is up to the public authorities is to reinforce the incentives for making these choices, and to foster the best conditions for couples to exercise such responsible parenting.

Some of the policies which are promoted are undoubtedly pointing in the right direction: reconciliation of work and family life is an example. However, fostering the provision of formal childcare services (and care services for the elderly and other dependent people), outside one’s home, should not impede a recognition of the social, economic and educational value of informal family work. Financial support for a parent to take care of their children at home (which goes beyond extended maternity and paternity leaves), or for childminding by a grandparent, who would therefore keep active, would be more advisable, from the perspectives of both subsidiarity and intergenerational solidarity. As has already been called for in a Resolution of 2008 of the European Parliament, Member States should examine the possibility of recognizing length of service, social security and pension rights for those who carry out such family work.

One must keep in mind that in demographic policy, more than in other policies in general, it is the structural, long term perspective that makes much sense. Migration is not a long term solution

(and it also raises problems of integration and the question of social cohesion in a multicultural society); neither is easy access to in vitro fertilization, whose diverse ethical difficulties are also well expressed in *Caritas in Veritate*.

COMECE has already contributed some suggestions for policy measures, namely the ones included in our document of 2007 called “Proposal for a Strategy of the European Union for the Support of Marriage and Family”.

In general, however, policies and legislation should attend to five requisites.

First, they should promote adequate incentives or at least not produce distortions or convey wrong signals to society. For instance, cohabitation, divorce, abortion, should not be promoted by permissive, facilitating legislation that sanctions the very mentality that fragments values such as family and human life.

Notwithstanding the clear correlation between financial benefits per child and the number of children a couple has, it is worth saying that before considering incentives the public authorities should work towards guaranteeing at least policy neutrality. Tax law, for example, should not discriminate against couples, married people or large families vis a vis singles, couples in cohabitation or divorced, and childless or one-child families. Which leads us to the second requisite.

Policies and legislation should respect the principle of subsidiarity. Besides what has been already said on this principle, it is important to bear in mind what is stated in the Encyclical: “The principle of subsidiarity must remain closely linked to the principle of solidarity and vice versa, since the former without the latter gives way to social privatism, while the latter without the former gives way to paternalist social assistance that is demeaning to those in need” (no. 57). Only when the couples, the family, are unable to perform their natural functions, should the public authorities intervene. In the words of Pope Benedict VI, the principle of subsidiarity is “an expression of inalienable human freedom” (no. 57).

Thirdly, policies and legislation should be transversal; the causes of the problem are multiple, so family and demographic policies must tackle a broad set of public measures – the larger picture should always be kept in mind.

Fourthly, participation: pro-family associations and federations, in particular, should be listened to and involved in policy definition and in the preparation of legislation.

Lastly, and in line with what has already been said, policies and legislation should be long-term oriented and stable, resistant to economic cycles.

One final, word specifically on family policy.

Demographic policies should not be isolated from family policies and this must also be taken into account by the EU, although such policies are not within its sphere of competence. Society is built up from families. The family, based on the marriage of husband and wife, is best fitted for the success of marital life, parenthood and development of the children. It is best in performing the natural functions of the family: supplying human capital, the ultimate source of prosperity in a society, fostering social solidarity and emotional stability, transmitting values such as respect. It is imperative that the political actors recognize its social effectiveness: other familial structures are intrinsically more unstable and represent higher social risks – risk of poverty, exclusion, school drop-out, poorer health, lower skills. Family structure is not indifferent to the best interests of the child.

Pope Benedict VI, in *Caritas in Veritate*, states clearly that “it is thus becoming a social and even economic necessity once more to hold up to future generations the beauty of marriage and the family, and the fact that these institutions correspond to the deepest needs and dignity of the person. In view of this, States are called to enact policies promoting the centrality and the integrity of the family founded on marriage between a man and a woman, the primary vital cell of society” (no. 44).

Family mainstreaming, meaning in the first place the process of identifying the implications for families of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, should be promoted both at EU and Member State levels.

In conclusion, one can say: demography is not destiny.

As was stated in COMECE’s document of 2007 which I have already mentioned, we must create once again a “climate of joy and confidence in life, a climate in which children are not seen as a burden, but rather as a gift for all”.



FAMILY AND SOCIETY

SPEECH BY MGR JEAN LAFFITTE,

SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR THE FAMILY

‘Through this close link with truth, charity can be recognised as an authentic expression of humanity and as an element of fundamental importance in human relations, including those of a public nature [...] Truth frees charity from the constraints of an emotionalism that deprives it of relational and social content, and of a fideism that deprives it of human and universal breathing-space. In the truth, charity reflects the personal yet public dimension of faith in the God of the Bible, who is both Agápe and Lógos: Charity and Truth, Love and Word.’

These few words from the introduction of the encyclical *Caritas in Veritate* (3), extrapolated to the subject of human love and family, seem to me to be the perfect key for summarising and understanding the Church’s conception of human love and the relationship between family and society.

FAMILY IS A PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE

In the time I have, I would simply like, by illustrating this statement with some examples taken from the recent magisterium, to take as my basis what, for the last two Popes, and John Paul II in particular, has been fundamental in human love and its relationship with the family institution: family is first and foremost a practical experience before it is the subject of a philosophical choice or of political opinion.

The family experience teaches us something about love between a man and a woman, but it also raises the deepest questions at the heart of each of us. John Paul II was accustomed to talking about fundamental human experiences, what he sometimes referred to also as elementary experiences: among them, he mentioned the deepest aspiration of the human heart: the desire to love and be loved, to which other experiences are tied, such as suffering, fear of death, mourning, the desire for children, the desire to leave something of oneself to one’s loved ones, the desire to be useful, and other desires.

The term 'experience' should be clarified. It means an experience lived, an Erlebnis. In short, we can say that the human experience includes both the sensitive aspect of humankind, which it stimulates, and its own intelligibility. The Christian anthropologist Jean Mouroux said that 'experience exists' in this regard 'when man conceives of himself in relationship to the world, himself and God' (see Jean Mouroux, *The Christian Experience*, p. 21). We should note in passing that the intelligibility of experience is verified only by the Word, which allows a personal experience to be transmitted to others: this is the transcendental and social dimension of the human experience, as indicated, in different terms, by the two sentences from the encyclical that have already been quoted. Every authentic human experience (i.e. not without intelligibility) ensures the growth of that person through the objective relationship he or she maintains with someone other than him- or herself.

THE FUNDAMENTAL EXPERIENCE OF LOVE

What is true of every human experience, applies particularly to the fundamental experience of love. The being other than oneself can be contemplated in what reveals him or her specifically to be other: his or her body. We recall that it is this fact that John Paul II used as the basis for developing his thoughts on the original experience of the body, in the first part of his Catecheses on human love. According to him, love is accompanied by the discovery of the nuptial dimension (in Italian the *dimensione sponsale*) of the body, perceptible in what he called the *ethos* of gift.

Love personalises all the dynamics at play within a person and unifies them. Eros, far from being an obstacle to the retention of personal mystery, is part of the process of personalisation. C.S. Lewis wrote that, 'Eros makes a man really want, not a woman, but one particular woman [...] the lover desires the Beloved herself [...] Eros thus wonderfully transforms what is par excellence a Need-pleasure into the most Appreciative of all pleasures.' (C.S. Lewis, *The Four Loves*, p. 90).

Notice how, at all levels of the experience of love, the presence of a truth and goodness is revealed. We are familiar with the theological aspect of this truth of love. John Paul II believed it to be rooted in God's design for human love, taking inspiration from the conversation, in Matthew 19, between Jesus and the Pharisees on the indissolubility of marriage: to those who referred to the certificate granted by Moses to dismiss their wives, Jesus argued that at the beginning (*apo arche*), when God made man and woman, it was not so. The beginning here is the principle of love.

It is interesting to see how John Paul II's successor expresses this intrinsic link between love and truth: after having proclaimed, with a certain boldness, the existence of a divine eros, Benedict XVI sees the truth of love in a balance between eros and agape, and not in the separation of these two

aspects: 'eros and agape – ascending love and descending love – can never be completely separated. The more the two, in their different aspects, find a proper unity in the one reality of love, the more the true nature of love in general is realised.' (Benedict XVI, *Deus Caritas est*, 4-9). ['Even if eros is at first mainly covetous and ascending, a fascination for the great promise of happiness, in drawing near to the other, it is less and less concerned with itself, increasingly seeks the happiness of the other, is concerned more and more with the beloved, bestows itself and wants to "be there for" the other. The element of agape thus enters into this love, for otherwise eros is impoverished and even loses its own nature. On the other hand, man cannot live by oblation, descending love alone. He cannot always give, he must also receive. Anyone who wishes to give love must also receive love as a gift.']

Caritas in Veritate emphasises the oblation aspect of love that finds in gift its true aspect, not cut off from its transcendent scope: Charity in truth places man before the astonishing experience of gift. Gratuitousness is present in our lives in many different forms, which often go unrecognised because of a purely consumerist and utilitarian view of life. The human being is made for gift, which expresses and makes present his transcendent dimension (*Caritas in Veritate*, 34).

FROM LOVE TO MARRIAGE, FROM MARRIAGE TO FAMILY

In order to understand the true nature of family, there are two transitions that must be made: from love to marriage, and from marriage to family: the fact of marrying lends the experience of love its social aspect. It takes it beyond the boundaries of interpersonal intimacy and enriches it by equipping it with a new significance. The very existence of the conjugal union (civil or religious) means that society retains an interest in what happens between spouses and considers their relationship to be a good; it will, therefore, by the authority it holds (the authority of civil society or the Church), grant it the means of stability. Society incorporates as a new piece of information the fact that, within it, this particular man and this particular woman have been joined in a unique way that not only commits them for the future but also requires society to take note of this union, to demonstrate its interest and esteem, to help it establish itself or grow stronger, and to view as an enrichment the possibility that it might expand to become a family. From the point of view of the individuals in question, taking steps publicly that will commit them in the future lends their union maturity and objectivity. Far from diminishing the intensity of love, as adherents of what Maritain refers to in *Love and Friendship* as romantic love, as opposed to disinterested love, the *amor benevolentiae* of former times, seem to believe, this public act instead endows it with authentic integration. Is there, in fact, better evidence of a person's love than to promise his or her beloved not only the present, but also the future? And is there a better gauge of this desire than to have God as one's witness (religious ceremony) or, in any case, human society?

The second transition is from marriage to family. The family experience can be understood from the point of view of the child, of the spouses themselves as they become parents and, finally, of society itself.

Let us examine the experience of somebody gradually discovering that he or she is a member of a family. It was the experience of the vast majority of people until a few decades ago: an experience of which we are aware from early childhood. How can we not think at this point of John Paul II's famous Letter to Families (*Gratissimam sane*), in which he referred, on the subject of the conception and birth of a child, to the genealogy of the person: 'Bound up with the family is the genealogy of every individual: the genealogy of the person.' The personal aspect of the event found its full meaning, in his eyes, in the fact that every person is created in the image and resemblance of God: 'Every act of begetting finds its primordial model in the fatherhood of God. Nonetheless, in the case of man, this "cosmic" dimension of likeness to God is not sufficient to explain adequately the relationship of fatherhood and motherhood. When a new person is born of the conjugal union of the two, he brings with him into the world a particular image and likeness of God himself: the genealogy of the person is inscribed in the very biology of generation.' (*Gratissimam sane* 9). The genealogy of the person, it is said, provides a link between every person's natural desire to start a family and the more hidden and original aspect of man: each human being perceives him- or herself as the fruit of a mysterious love. We recall the extraordinary writings of the philosopher Gabriel Marcel about the mystery of family in his work *Homo Viator*. He writes: 'under the abstract words of paternity and sonship, I have gradually come to guess at occult and forbidden realities which make my soul dizzy [...] At the very least, I come to believe that, far from being endowed with an absolute existence of my own, I am, without having originally wished or suspected it, that I incarnate the reply to the reciprocal appeal which two beings flung beyond themselves to an incomprehensible power whose only expression is the bestowal of life. I am this reply, unformed at first, but who, as I become articulate, will know myself to be a reply and a judgment. Yes, I am irresistibly led to make the discovery that by being what I am, I myself am a judgment upon those who have called me into being; and thereby infinite new relationships will be established between them and me.' (Gabriel Marcel, *Homo Viator*, Aubier-Montaigne, Paris 1945, pp. 98-99).

The second point of view is that of the spouses: the coming into existence of one or more children changes the nature of what they have experienced thus far: not only does the child introduce one to the new experience of fatherhood and the other to the new experience of motherhood, but they discover themselves to be father and mother through each other; so it is that their love takes on a new, far broader dimension, taking them well beyond their limits as a couple, to a family unit that transcends their relationship. The transition from marriage to family is therefore a transformation

of the spouses' love, not a replacement of that love with something else that would essentially bring with it burdens and restrictions on their previous freedom. Let us make clear here that an experience of this kind does violate the spouses' subjectivity. For, before becoming parents, they were those children discovering that they were members of a family, objects of an unconditional love that kept them secure: the essence of fatherhood and motherhood can be seen only in the context of a filial anthropology. The current Pope, when he was leading the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, organised a seminar in 2003 that ran for several days and looked precisely at the question: what is a filial anthropology? The context was that of the divine sonship common to those baptised into a Christian vision, but many speeches would expand on the substance of the human experience of being a son (or a daughter). We can do nothing better here than to refer to the proceedings of this seminar.

Finally, society's point of view is leading us towards the end of this relationship. Up until the last few decades, it was commonly accepted in all legislation that the family was founded on a public commitment between a man and a woman. The recent extension of the terms family and marriage to other forms of social reality: reconstructed families, free unions (with no other basis than the will of the partners) and, in some countries' legislation, unions between people of the same sex, has undoubtedly weakened perception of the structural and founding tie between marriage and family. Nevertheless, the rights granted to a family founded on the conjugal union have always suggested recognition of the fact that the family unit is a good for society: that a unit of this kind aids the gradual socialisation of future adult citizens through their upbringing; that the support given to children and adolescents by their parents helps to ensure the stability of social ties. This brings to mind Article 16 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the UN General Assembly on 10 December 1948, which states that: 'the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.' A statement of this kind, in a text with no religious basis, made clear that, while the family is of such great importance, it is because it meets a public interest and was evidently linked to the common good in the opinion of legislators at the time.

To relativise the family institution is to weaken an essential foundation of life as a society. This is achieved by the absolute privatisation of the family, which becomes the realm of privacy, in which people find instant gratification for their emotional desires. The legislative viewpoint is shifting in this regard: civil authority has the right (or rather the duty) to guarantee the freedom of individuals' private choices, not to support the union that provides society's natural basis and cohesion.

Certainly, at the beginning of this millennium, the family institution retains a presence in a number of societies that it binds and unifies. It is, however, suffering dangerously at the hands of Western

countries that are constantly attempting to impose and export their social and cultural models. Instead of any specifically ethical consideration of the matter, it is with an anthropological model that we are now confronted: one that consists of thinking about people solely in an individualistic manner, as an isolated entity with absolute freedom, ignoring their original social aspect and no longer viewing marriage and the family as a natural society rooted, specifically, in the natural sociality of men and women. The risk socially is the political disregard for safeguarding the conjugal and family institution, which, in the eyes of governments, would no longer be strongly linked to the common good and therefore worthy of being defended and championed. We should also consider here what the disappearance of stability could mean in terms of population and the replacement of generations.

The encyclical *Caritas in Veritate*, which has in mind the very future of human society, calls on legislation to honour and encourage the family for reasons that are not only ethical but, above all, concern the very survival of social ties: 'It is thus becoming a social and even economic necessity once more to hold up to future generations the beauty of marriage and the family, and the fact that these institutions correspond to the deepest needs and dignity of the person. In view of this, States are called to enact policies promoting the centrality and the integrity of the family founded on marriage between a man and a woman, the primary vital cell of society' (44). It is within the culture of family that society will find the means to ensure cohesion and to develop fundamental relationships of solidarity, as well as reasons to place hope in the future.



SPEECH BY JOSÉ MANUEL GARCÍA-MARGALLO Y MARFIL MEP

GLOBALISATION: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

THE CRISIS AND EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE, GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

- 1) Whereas globalisation is a completely new, **revolutionary phenomenon**, whose main feature is the diversification of production processes and the division of labour within multinational groups which can site their businesses practically anywhere in the world, taking advantage of new technologies and the exponential growth of international financial flows.
- 2) Whereas globalisation has encouraged the emergence of **economic agents who adopt 'quasi-political' decisions** that are imposed on states and determine their actions. Of the world's 100 biggest economies, 51 are multinational companies and just 49 are nation states. Before the Second World War, every country feared foreign invasion, whereas nowadays they fear that foreigners and their capital will by-pass them and settle elsewhere.
- 3) Whereas globalisation **cannot be viewed as a huge deregulation process** and whereas it is the responsibility of national and international public authorities to lay down a framework within which the global economy can function in an orderly fashion and to remedy the most obvious flaws in the market. There is, in fact, no real alternative to globalisation, but it has led to collateral damage and has not benefited everyone equally. Competitiveness, social compensation and environmental protection must be the three pillars of a comprehensive concept of **sustainable development** that is binding on every one of the planet's inhabitants – key players and ordinary citizens alike.
- 4) Whereas, however strong they are, nation states cannot resolve the problems posed by internalisation by themselves: only by joining **supranational organisations** will they be able to face up to the challenges of globalisation, even though this will influence many of their domestic policies. Law-making, law enforcement, and conflict resolution cannot be conducted as they were in the days when state sovereignty was absolute. The autonomy of nation states is conditioned

by commitments entered into with the international organisations to which they belong (legal restriction). Moreover, it is clear that **economic policy is greatly influenced by unwritten rules which sanction arbitrary action by ostracism and poverty.**

- 5) Whereas globalisation has led to **radical changes to economic structures**, chief amongst which are: the dramatic increase in migration, the growing competitiveness of products from emerging countries, the relocation of companies to countries with lower salaries or less stringent environmental standards, the outsourcing of services, the leading role of the financial economy, the transfer of savings to less developed countries and the battle for scarce natural resources.
- 6) Whereas the countries that **have performed best in terms of growth, jobs and international trade** are those that have made the most progress in removing barriers to trade and the movement of capital, business creation, simplifying the regulatory sphere and safeguarding legal certainty, education and training. Countries that have kept their borders closed and been reluctant to liberalise their capital markets are lagging well behind.
- 7) Whereas **the relative position of the various countries has changed a great deal since the post-war period.** In 1955 the United States accounted for 36.3% of world GDP, the European Economic Community 17.5% and Japan 2.2%. In 2008 the US economy amounted to 20.3%, the European (EU-27) economy 26.38% and the Japanese economy 6.24%. **Brazil, Russia and China** alone account for 40% of the global economy and more than 15% of world GDP. Within 50 years, China and India between them will account for 50% of global wealth.
- 8) **Whereas the European Union was not progressing at the same rate as its closest competitors in the period immediately prior to the crisis.** In the ten years from 1997 to 2007, the United States created 1.2 new jobs for every post 'ceded' to the emerging economies whilst the EU created only 0.8 jobs for every post lost as a result of business relocation. China and India grew faster than we did and, more importantly, were already exporting high-tech products (telecommunications, electronics, computers, etc.) before the onset of the crisis.
- 9) **Whereas the emerging countries and the United States are recovering from the crisis more rapidly and more strongly than the EU and Japan.** According to the latest IMF report, China will grow by about 9.9% next year, India by about 8.4% and the USA by around 2.6% whereas the EU-27 will grow by just 1.8% and the euro area countries by as little as 1.5%. The report predicts growth of 2.2% in the most developed countries, whilst the newly industrialised Asian economies will grow by 4.3%. These figures suggest that there will be further changes in the **global economic order.**

10) Whereas before the crisis 1.4 million **legal immigrants** entered the EU – and to them should be added all those who entered illegally – whilst the USA, which is twice as large, received some 900 000 people over the same period. The number of immigrants as a percentage of the total population is lower in the EU than in the USA, Australia or New Zealand. The proportion of workers relative to the total workforce is also lower. The problem stems from the fact that immigration is growing more rapidly in the EU than in the rest of the world, as is the proportion of foreigners entering the job market.

11) Whereas the increase in **greenhouse gas emissions is the root cause of global warming** and that protecting the planet has become one of the major concerns of its inhabitants. Nowadays no one disputes that most of the polluting gases emanate from the burning of fossil fuels associated with industrialisation and that deforestation, intensive agriculture and livestock farming are major contributors to the greenhouse effect.

1. In order to design a new global governance, it is first essential to have a firm grasp of the current **shape of the world.** After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the USSR, there seemed to be no major power besides the USA. Things began to change after the attack on the Twin Towers in 2001 and today we know that although the USA remains the world's biggest economic and military power, it will have to rely on Russia, China, the EU and other emerging powers in order to address the challenges – international terrorism, the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the fight against climate change, etc. – which lie before us. A new **multipolar** order is emerging that will gradually replace the **unipolar** order that dominated until just a few years ago.
2. Given that history teaches us that changes to **cultural, economic and social structures** inevitably filter through to **political structures**, it seems clear that the revolutionary change brought about by globalisation must result in major changes in the political institutions that we have inherited from the last century.
3. Globalisation represents an **opportunity** for all countries, regardless of their level of development, provided that they are able to move forward, to reform their legislation, make their markets more flexible and reduce burdens that their businesses are no longer able to support in the face of competition from other countries. Many of the reforms needed are radical ones, not simply cosmetic changes.

4. **A multilateral treaty would spell out the rights and obligations of countries of origin and of destination as regards immigration.** Countries of origin would be obliged to check on departing residents and readmit those who emigrated without following the proper procedure. Host countries would have the right to set admission quotas, but would also be obliged to help immigrants integrate and pledge not to try to lure the brightest minds from emerging countries. Opening up developed markets and making a greater effort on development policies would also form part of the **new world order as regards migration.**
5. At present, newly industrialised countries 'link' their currencies to the dollar with an artificially low exchange rate in order to boost their exports. In return, they reinvest their reserves in the USA, buying huge amounts of US securities. **This system is incompatible with market integration which, by definition, demands a certain level of exchange rate stability.** At this stage, it is difficult to predict what type of exchange system will replace the current one, but there are only two possible scenarios: a euro-dollar-yen-yuan oligopoly or the emergence of new regional systems. In either case, it is highly likely that the countries that sever their ties with the dollar will also have to adjust their reserves portfolios.
6. WTO agreements assume that trade liberalisation benefits all countries, because it enables each of them to specialise in goods produced using cheap and plentiful local production factors. This assumption has become obsolete in that a single country – China – combines all the comparative advantages. The situation is altered still further by the differences between developed and emerging countries in terms of trade, employment, tax and environmental laws. **A new world trade order must, therefore, be devised to ensure balance between the various parties as well as fair trade, which will require everyone to adhere to minimum labour, social, tax and environmental standards.**
7. On this subject, it is vitally important to bring the Doha Round negotiations to a successful conclusion. Regional integration processes and bilateral free trade agreements must be promoted.
8. **Unfair trade measures and practices** such as dumping (both social and environmental) which hinder international trade must be eradicated as a matter of urgency. The **principle of reciprocity** must govern trade relations, with the exception of those cases where the aim is to boost exports from the least developed countries.
9. It is also necessary to eliminate '**offshore accounts, offshore trusts or shell companies** in offshore financial centres [...] to conceal taxable assets or income' (OECD, The Seoul Declaration, 14-15 September 2006), which significantly distort international trade.

11. The **ILO's Decent Work Agenda** needs to be promoted, and a **Global Jobs Pact** should be launched to provide work for those currently unemployed and for new workers, mostly young people, who enter the labour market each year. The new order with regard to jobs should include a **minimum level of social protection** and a **poverty reduction** strategy in order to achieve the Millennium Development Goals.
12. The **dialogue broken off in Copenhagen** needs to be resumed so that the countries that are signatories to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) can adopt clear targets for temperature levels, emission reduction and atmospheric concentration of CO₂. The developed countries should make greater efforts to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions than they have to date. The developing countries must adapt to the challenge of climate change. The complexity of the situation calls for a solution based on the market i.e. either **emissions trading or a tax to penalise polluters.** Countries that meet the targets could consider imposing carbon tariffs on products originating from countries that fail to do so.
13. **Early-warning** mechanisms need to be set up, along with crisis committees involving the key international players who are able to adopt the emergency measures required in a crisis promptly and effectively. The IMF, the Financial Stability Board and the G20 have an essential role to play in this area.
14. The **regulatory framework** needs to be reformed as a matter of urgency **in order to restore transparency to global financial products, institutions and markets.** Better information and supervision systems, more accurate measurement of the risks taken by financial institutions, and the establishment of orderly winding-up procedures for international entities should form part of this new regulatory order. It is also absolutely essential to establish a body of globally comparable prudential and accounting standards in order to ensure a level playing field.
15. The **scope of financial regulation** urgently needs to be extended so as to prevent 'shadow banking' and a proliferation of barely regulated institutions. The regulation of Alternative Investment Funds, in particular hedge funds, must be carried out in a coordinated fashion in order to avoid relocations taking place for purely regulatory reasons.
16. It is also necessary to **revise the rules** on capital levels, systemic institutions, crisis management and mechanisms to prevent the cost of future crises being borne by taxpayers. Reforms creating greater transparency in the derivatives markets, specific rules on credit default swaps and common criteria on special bonuses paid to financial executives must be adopted as soon as possible.

17. It is also important to strengthen the **supervisory powers** of regulators and harmonise supervisory practices at global level. The stability of the financial system can only be guaranteed by improving the quality of regulations, supervisors and risk assessment.

EUROPEAN GOVERNANCE

18. In the current international context, the EU must devise a **common foreign policy that is all of a piece** to enable it to defend its interests in the world and speak with one voice in international organisations. The European Union will not be a leading player in our multipolar world unless we Europeans manage to redefine the world, starting with the EU itself.

19. The fight against **illegal immigration** is a common problem for the whole of the European Union. Tackling it requires the desire to do so as well as adequate financial and technical resources. However, European countries should avoid recourse to large-scale regularisation programmes, because they do not stop illegal immigration and they always exert a pull effect. Long-established legal immigrants should have the same **social and economic rights** as nationals but, in return they should accept the EU's values and express a desire to integrate, without in any way being required to renounce their cultural identity. The attitude of the countries of origin and transit will have to be taken into account when granting them trade opportunities and preferences, distributing development aid and concluding cooperation agreements.

20. Common bases must be established so that the Member States can set a more progressive **industrial policy** in motion, bearing in mind that an economic model based exclusively on the services market should not be a future choice for the European economy.

21. A decisive push must be given to the **liberalisation of services** of general interest (postal services, telecommunications, gas, electricity, railways, air transport and broadcasting services) in which the weight of local businesses remains high and competition inadequate. Interconnectivity of networks between Member States, which is a necessary corollary of liberalisation, must also be speeded up.

22. It is essential to establish a **single open market in services** on the basis of the Services Directive in order to guarantee the quality of services provided to consumers. Full implementation of this Directive could increase trade in services by around 45% and direct foreign investment by around 25%, equivalent to a 0.5% to 1.5% rise in GDP (Europe 2020).

23. **SMEs** must be given better access to the single market. Entrepreneurship should be fostered through specific policy initiatives, including a simplification of company law (bankruptcy procedures, private company statute, etc.), and initiatives to enable entrepreneurs to start up again after a business has failed (Europe 2020).

24. **Competition policy** should be implemented in line with the following principles: open markets, equal opportunities for businesses, measures to combat national protectionism, the creation of a favourable environment for innovation, the eradication of market abuses and anti-competitive practices between businesses. State aid should support the most innovative, effective and green technologies, and facilitate access to investment.

25. There is an urgent need for progress on **integrating European financial markets** in order to reach a critical mass, which would allow us to approach the Americans on equal terms. Wholesale markets are now fairly well integrated, but there remains much to be done in the retail markets, which are closest to citizens.

26. The **Systemic Risk Board** and the **three new sectoral authorities** need to become operational as soon as possible. The Colleges of Supervisors have a vital role to play in supervising organisations with cross-border operations. Systemic institutions should be supervised at European level and be under the responsibility of a European crisis resolution unit. To complete the new supervision system, a joint deposit guarantee scheme and a joint European fund to defray the costs arising from bailing out systemic entities without recourse to taxpayers should be set up.

27. It is important to establish an authentic **euro diplomacy**, because if we Europeans do not speak with one voice, we will forgo all the benefits to be gained from having the world's second biggest currency.

28. We need to complete the harmonisation of **fiscal provisions** liable to distort exchanges or affect competition. The harmonisation of the following are priority tasks: the tax base for companies, withholding taxes applied to dividends paid to associated companies, and the methods used in the country of residence to avoid double taxation. Constant changes to fiscal legislation and incoherent administrative guidelines are major obstacles to investment.

29. Monetary policy should continue to focus on **price stability**, because inflation distorts the economic process, hinders investment plans and has an adverse effect on workers, retired people and anyone else in receipt of a fixed income. With respect to its policy on setting interest rates, the ECB will have to closely monitor inflation in the euro area as well as external imbalances, the prices of property and financial assets, and financial volatility.

30. **Fiscal consolidation** is an urgent task, because macro-economic stability is a basic premise for a sustainable budget. The Council will examine national budgets before they are debated in the respective parliaments in order to check the sustainability of the public finances. During this analysis, **implicit obligations** arising from an ageing population, the position of **external accounts, the level of public debt** and the **prospects for growth** in the national economies will be taken into account. The 'quality' of public expenditure will have to be taken into account in assessing the Member States.

31. **The EU will have to address structural reform without delay in order to improve its competitiveness.** The modernisation of infrastructure (including broadband), increased effort in the fields of research, development and innovation, a policy ensuring sufficient, economical and clean energy, the development of new technologies and the quality of education and training are central planks of the strategy. It is vital to coordinate efforts to achieve these objectives. New ways should therefore be sought of exploiting all the potential offered by Articles 121 and 136 of the Treaty.

32. The EU must do all it can to reduce **greenhouse gas emissions** by 30% by 2020 and 60-80% by 2050. Changing the energy model entails a broad spectrum of measures ranging from greater market liberalisation to interventions by the public authorities to boost renewable energies and biofuels, plans to improve energy efficiency, and investment in new technologies in the quest for 'clean combustion'. The EU will have to speak with one voice at the forthcoming post-Copenhagen conferences.

33. The relative failure of the Lisbon Strategy is due to the lack of authentic European governance. With the exception of monetary policy, which is dictated by the ECB, and budgetary policy, which has been largely emasculated by the Stability Pact, the Member States have exclusive responsibility for the remaining economic policies. In theory, the coordination of economic policy is the objective of the Broad Economic Policy Guidelines and the employment guidelines. In practice, the degree of guidance offered by these policies is very limited. The coordination of Member State economic policies and the setting up of genuine governance for the euro area, able to act as a counterbalance to the ECB, is an increasingly pressing need.

SPEECH BY PROF. STEFANO ZAMAGNI

UNIVERSITY OF BOLOGNA

Caritas in veritate (CV) raises many very important points for discussion and instructions for action.

Here I shall refer only to those I regard as having the greatest originality and a practical relevance.

a) One of the first prominent messages lies in the call to rise above the almost obsolete dichotomy between the economic sphere and the social sphere. Modern times have bequeathed the conviction that eligibility for access to the economic club requires sights to be set on profit and motivation to be entirely self-interested in its aims; it amounts to the idea that businesspeople who do not pursue maximisation of profit are not true businesspeople. Those who fail to do so have to be content with forming part of the social sphere. This absurd construct, itself the result of a theoretical error whereby the market economy genus is confused with one of its species, namely the capitalist system, has led to economics becoming identified with the place of wealth production (or income) and social matters becoming identified with the place of solidarity and/or compassion.

By contrast, CV tells us that it is indeed possible to do business even where the goal pursued is social welfare and the motivation to act is pro-social in nature. **This is one specific way of bridging the dangerous gap between the economic and social realms, although it is not the only one; the gap is dangerous because if it is true that economic action which does not incorporate a social dimension is ethically unacceptable, then it must also be true that solely redistributive social action which fails to take account of constraints on resources would not be sustainable in the long term: before one can distribute, one must produce.**

b) Broadening the scope of discussion for a moment, 'market' is tantamount to 'competition' in the sense that there can be no market unless there is competition (even though the opposite is not true). No-one can fail to see that the creative capacity of competition lies in the fact that it implies tension, which in turn presupposes both that another party is present and that there is a relationship with another party. Without tension there is no movement, but the movement caused by the tension, and this is the important point, can also be fatal, a cause of death. So-called 'positional competition' falls into this category. It is a relatively new form of competition which was rare in times gone by and



it is particularly dangerous because it has a tendency to destroy the bond with the other party. In positional competition, the aim of economic action is not tension in the light of a common objective as the Latin derivation 'cum-petere' clearly implies - but the Hobbesian aim of 'mors tua, vita mea'. Therein lies the stupidity of positionality: although it succeeds in identifying the best by awarding victory to the first to cross the finish line, it eliminates or neutralises whoever comes 'second' in the market competition. As a result the social bond is reduced to a 'cash nexus' and economic activity tends to lose its human dimension and therefore ultimately becomes inefficient.

Now, the admittedly significant advantage set out in CV is that it adopts a position receptive to the concept of the market which is typical of the civil economy in which human social relationships can play out as part of a normal economic life, rather than somewhere beyond or alongside it as suggested by the dichotomous model of social order. This format offers an alternative to the concept of the market as a place of exploitation where the strong overcome the weak, and to the concept in anarchist-liberational thought where it is viewed as a place where solutions to all of society's problems can be found.

The Church's Social Doctrine goes beyond (but does not run counter to) the Smithian tradition of economics in which the market is regarded as the only institution which is truly essential to democracy and liberty. The Church's Social Doctrine reminds us, however, that while a good society is undoubtedly the product of the market and of liberty, the principle of fraternity ultimately gives rise to demands that can neither be circumvented nor hived off to the private sphere or philanthropy alone. At the same time, the Church's Social Doctrine does not support those who oppose markets and regard the economic sphere as endemically in natural conflict with a good life, and who advocate degrowth and the withdrawal of economic matters from community life. Rather, the Church's Social Doctrine proposes a multi-faceted humanism in which the market is regarded as an important aspect of the public sphere, a sphere which is considerably larger than that of the State and which, if understood and implemented as a space which is also open to the principles of reciprocity and gift, builds the 'city'.

c) The key word which expresses that demand better than any other today is 'fraternity', a word which appeared on the ensign of the French Revolution but was, for reasons that are well known, subsequently abandoned in the post-revolutionary order and was eventually expunged from the lexicon of politics and economics. The Franciscan school of thought was responsible for imbuing the term with the meaning it has retained over time, namely to complement and exalt the principle of solidarity. Indeed, although solidarity is the principle of social organisation which allows unequals to become equals, the principle of fraternity is the principle

of social organisation which allows equals to be different. Fraternity allows persons who are equal in terms of dignity and fundamental rights to express their life plan or charisma in different ways. Ages now past, namely the 19th and especially the 20th centuries, were distinguished by major cultural and political battles fought in the name of solidarity, and these were a good thing; I have in mind the history of the trades union movement and the fight for civil rights. The point is that the perspective of solidarity is not enough to achieve a good society: a society which espouses solidarity but not fraternity would be a society from which people would try to distance themselves. The fact is that a society which is fraternal is also a society where there is solidarity, whereas the converse is not necessarily true.

Leaving to one side the fact that a human society in which the sense of fraternity has been extinguished is not sustainable, a society in which everything is reduced to improving the exchange of equivalents and increasing the implantation of public welfare structures, one comes to realise why, despite the quality of the intellects in this field, no credible solution has yet been reached in the grand trade-off between efficiency and equity. There is no future for a society in which the principle of fraternity has been dissipated; progress is not possible in a society based solely on 'giving in order to acquire' or 'giving through duty'. That is why neither the liberal-individualist view of the world in which exchange is everything (or nearly everything), or the State-centric vision of society in which paying one's dues is everything (or almost everything) can be sure guides for leading us out of the shallows in which our societies have become so bogged down today.

d) What, in practical terms, does incorporating the perspective of gratuitousness mean for economic action? I shall give an overview of two of the many consequences. The first relates to how to preserve the link between economic growth and welfare programmes. What comes first, economic growth or welfare? To put it another way, is expenditure on welfare viewed as social consumption or social investment? The thesis expounded in CV is that the current circumstances of history would indicate that the position of someone who views welfare as a factor for economic development is substantially more credible and justifiable than that of someone who holds the opposite view.

The second consequence of affording the principle of gratuitousness a prime place in economic life is related to the dissemination of culture and the praxis of reciprocity. Like democracy, reciprocity is a founding value of a society. Indeed, it could even be argued that democratic rule is the ultimate expression of reciprocity.

Which 'settings' are home to reciprocity, in other words, where is it practised and nourished? The family is the first such setting; consider the relationships between parents and children and

between brothers and sisters. Next there is the cooperative, social enterprise and the various forms of associations. Is it not perhaps true that relations between the members of a family or the members of a cooperative are relationships of reciprocity? Today we know that a country's civil and economic progress depends essentially on how widespread reciprocal practices are among its citizens. Without mutual recognition of a shared sense of belonging there is no efficiency and no lasting accumulation of capital. Today there is a huge need for cooperation: that is why we need to enlarge upon the forms of gratuitousness and enhance those that exist already. History has long shown that societies which uproot the tree of reciprocity from their land are destined for decline.

e) There are three principal structural factors to the crisis. The first concerns the radical change in the relationship between finance and the production of goods and services that has been undergoing a process of consolidation over the last thirty years. Since the mid-1970s, most Western countries have made their pension promises conditional upon investments which were dependent on the sustainable profitability of new financial instruments. At the same time the creation of these new instruments exposed the real economy to the whims of finance, generating a burgeoning need to increase the added value of returns on the savings invested in those instruments. Stock-market and private equity fund pressures on undertakings have become even greater pressures in other directions: on leaders who are obsessively persuaded to achieve a continuous improvement in management performance in the aim of receiving ever more stock options; on consumers to persuade them, using sophisticated marketing techniques, to buy more and more even when they cannot afford it; on businesses in the real economy to convince them to increase shareholder value. As a result the persistent quest for ever more brilliant financial results has, as a result of a trickle-down effect, begun to have repercussions on the economic system as a whole, and to become a genuine cultural model in itself. The quest for an ever-more glorious future has made us forget the present. The second factor is the dissemination among popular culture of the ethos of efficiency as the ultimate criterion by which economic reality should be judged and justified. On the one hand, it has legitimised greed - the best-known and most widespread manifestation of avarice, as a civic virtue of some kind: the greed market has replaced the free market. 'Greed is good, greed is right', said Gordon Gekko, the protagonist in the famous 1987 film *Wall Street*. On the other hand, the ethos of efficiency is the source of the now regular shift between greed and panic. It cannot be said either, as more than one commentator has tried to explain, that panic is the consequence of irrational behaviour by operators. This is because panic is nothing other than euphoria preceded by a minus sign; if, therefore, euphoria is rational under the prevailing theory, then panic must be too. The fact is, however, that the theory is aporetic, as I shall discuss in the next paragraph.

The third outside cause is related to the specific features of the cultural matrix consolidated over recent decades on the wave of globalisation and the advent of the third industrial revolution: the information technology revolution. Two specific aspects of that matrix are relevant for these purposes. The first involves noting that today's capitalist economy is underpinned by a serious pragmatic contradiction. There is no question that the capitalist economy is a market economy, in other words a network of institutions in which the two fundamental principles of modernity are present and operational: the freedom to act and do business; and equality of all before the law. At the same time, however, the principal institution of capitalism, namely capitalist business, has over the last three hundred years been constructed on the hierarchical principle. As a result a system of production has been established comprising a centralised structure to which a number of individuals provide, of their own free will, some of their goods and services for a price (wages); once incorporated into the business, those goods and services are outside the control of the persons who supplied them.

The second aspect concerns the growing dissatisfaction at the way the principle of liberty is interpreted. As everyone knows, liberty comprises three facets: autonomy, immunity and capacitation. Autonomy means freedom of choice: a person who is not in a position to make a choice is not free. Immunity means the absence of coercion on the part of any external agent. Capacitation (literally capacity for action) means the capacity to achieve the objectives an individual sets for himself, at least to some degree. There can be no freedom for those who never (at least in part) try to pursue their own life plan. While the liberal/liberational approach serves to ensure the first and second facets of liberty at the expense of the third, the State-centric approach, whether in the mixed economy context or the market socialism context, is more likely to favour the second and third facets at the expense of the first. Liberationalism is indeed capable of propelling change but is not able to manage the negative consequences of that change owing to the significant time lag between the distribution of the costs to which that change gives rise and the distribution of the benefits it generates. The costs are immediate and tend to fall on the least experienced segments of the population; the benefits emerge at a later date and are enjoyed by individuals with greater skills. On the other hand, market socialism in its many guises confers the role of tackling the asynchronies referred to above on the State, it does not undermine the rationale of the capitalist market; instead it places limits only on the area of operations and incidence. The challenge is therefore to ensure that all three facets of liberty stand together: that is why the paradigm of the common good would appear to at least be an interesting perspective to explore.

f) The emphasis in CV on the need to achieve global governance marked by subsidiarity and stratification is most timely. On the one hand it involves a refusal to establish a kind of super-

state and on the other hand it acknowledges the urgent need to supplement and update the work undertaken in 1944 in Bretton Woods, when the new international economic order was designed.

In my view this involves: 1) establishing a second assembly of representatives of transnational civil society in its various guises, to sit alongside the UN Assembly; 2) the establishment of a United Nations socio-economic Security Council to support the current military Security Council; 3) the establishment of a World Migration Organisation and a World Environment Organisation, taking the World Trade Organization as a blueprint; 4) taking action at the IMF to tackle the matter of a global currency and conduct a reform of global monetary reserves, as proposed by the United Nations Conference of 23 June 2009.



SPEECH BY WENCESLAS DE LOBKOWICZ

ADVISOR, DG ENLARGEMENT, EUROPEAN COMMISSION

‘European’ society, in so far as it exists, is characterised by its diversity. Even if that has not become the Union’s motto, as provided for by the defunct Constitution, 16 Member States reiterated in declaration No 52 annexed to the Lisbon Treaty²² that it constitutes a unifying symbol for all their citizens. **Our cultural, religious and philosophical heritage is our wealth**, allowing us to work together to improve the common good. This **heritage includes the ‘religious’ inheritance explicitly mentioned** in the second recital of the Preamble to the Treaty on European Union²³. Irrespective of the Convention’s debate about a possible explicit invocatio Dei, today’s conference dealing with the meaning of a papal encyclical cannot help but confirm the role this heritage plays for us all.

We must thank COMECE and the EPP Group in the European Parliament for giving us this opportunity to examine the meaning of this encyclical from a political and economic perspective. It is with great humility that I shall attempt, as the organisers have asked me to, to share with you **some thoughts on the role of civil society and cultural heritage**. I will endeavour to establish **whether the mechanisms and certain activities of the European Union can help achieve this objective**.

1. MY FIRST THOUGHT CONCERNS THE SCOPE AND AMBITION OF THIS TEXT

It is not aimed solely at Christians, but **addresses ‘all people of good will’**, with no further distinction than that they are members of the human community concerned by human development. This aim of addressing all people with no other stipulation than their good will is perfectly in keeping with the Church’s universal vocation. It is therefore **legitimate for decision-makers and citizens, at European and national level, to examine these lessons** to see how to contribute to this objective. The encyclical Caritas in Veritate offers us a number of useful recommendations from a social, economic and political point of view.

22. OJ C 83, 30.3.2010, p. 355.

23. OJ as above, p. 15.

It begins by looking at the **twofold change** that has occurred since the publication in 1967 of Paul VI's encyclical *Populorum Progressio*:

- } On the one hand, '**globalisation**', which means that it is no longer possible to address public matters coherently and effectively with reference to one state, or even one continent, alone. This realisation **limits countries' sovereignty and alters their political power**;
- } On the other hand, **the dismantling of blocks**²⁴, a phenomenon all the more visible on the European continent, as, without having been prepared for it, the Union has embarked, to use Cardinal Schönborn's expression, on its '**reunification**'. In spite of the difficulties and the inherent complexity, this task was largely **accomplished in 2004 and 2007 with the admission, subject to the approval of the nations involved, of 10 and then two new Member States**. The drive for reconciliation continues, in particular with the countries of the Balkans.

This dual observation requires an 'adjustment' of the role played by public authorities. The encyclical calls quite plainly for 'an increase in the new forms of political participation, nationally and internationally [...] through the activity of organisations operating in civil society'²⁵. More than 50 years after the signing of the Treaties of Rome, and benefiting from the enlargement of both its powers and its area, the European Union has granted **civil society a triple role**:

- } Firstly, in the forming of European **public opinion and consciousness**;
- } In **certain European policies**;
- } Finally, in the European **decision-making process**.

2. LET US LOOK, FIRST OF ALL, AT THE ROLE CIVIL SOCIETY HAS BEEN ASSIGNED IN FORMING EUROPEAN PUBLIC CONSCIOUSNESS AND OPINION.

Without questioning the legitimacy of democratic institutions, civil society plays an integral part when it comes to creating a European consensus. The Lisbon Treaty recognises this role as both a general principle and with regard to certain specific areas:

24. Paragraph 23 of the encyclical.
25. Paragraph 24 of the encyclical.

} **In terms of the general principle, Article 11 (2)** of the Treaty on European Union states clearly that '**the institutions shall maintain an open, transparent and regular dialogue** with representative associations and civil society'²⁶. This principle would remain a simple *petitio principii* if it were not developed.

} **The aim of this dialogue is to contribute to the 'good governance'**²⁷ in which the Union institutions must allow civil society to participate. The same applies with regard to the definition and implementation of Union policies:

- > **on the environment**²⁸, the importance of which the encyclical stresses **by urging society to review its lifestyle**²⁹. Creation is a divine gift belonging to everyone, meaning that earth, water and air must be conserved in order to 'protect mankind from self-destruction'³⁰;
- > **on consumer protection**³¹, with the encyclical³² stressing its **role in the economic process**, as the act of purchasing is not only economic but also moral. The role of consumers is identified as contributing to a democratic economy.

In addition to these examples, the **specific role of Churches** should also be stressed. **A whole article of the Treaty is devoted to them**³³. Their role in society is better defined here than in numerous founding texts in certain Member States. There are three key elements:

- } **A principle: Respect for their existence and status**, which is essential in Member States in which they have been granted an institutional role;
- } **An objective: Recognition of their specific contribution** to public debate, including within the European Parliament;
- } **A means:** The implementation of '**an open, transparent and regular dialogue**'. This is nothing new, since, at President Delors's initiative, a dialogue was established with churches and faith communities at the end of the 1980s and has been pursued by his successors, allowing them to offer their analyses in European debate.

26. OJ as above, p. 23.
27. Article 15(1) of the TFEU, OJ as above, p. 54.
28. Article 11 of the TFEU, OJ as above, p. 53.
29. Paragraph 51(1) of the encyclical.
30. Same paragraph, second subparagraph.
31. Article 12 of the TFEU, OJ as above, p. 54.
32. Paragraph 66.
33. Article 17 of the TFEU, OJ as above, p. 55.

It is true that, in a diverse world, this status is granted to all churches, as well as to non-faith organisations. This **explicit status** granted to churches as such and not merely as a component part of civil society demonstrates, as pointed out by one of the expert commentators on the Lisbon Treaty, Ambassador Etienne de Poncins, that the Treaty has chosen to **'single out the role of Churches, in order to emphasise it'**³⁴. **Religion is not excluded from European public debate but is part of it.** As the encyclical states: 'Reason always stands in need of being purified by faith: this also holds true for political reason, which must not consider itself omnipotent'³⁵. The **Commission applies this principle during its annual meetings** with European religious dignitaries, the most recent of which was held on 19 July 2010 and concerned the fight against poverty and social exclusion. Churches have therefore been able to make their voices heard in an arena in which they have particular experience and credibility, so that European policies can reap the benefit thereof. Our meeting today is further illustration of that fact.

3. NEXT WE HAVE THE ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN CERTAIN EUROPEAN POLICIES, IN PARTICULAR INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE.

In a Union of 27 Member States, we should look beyond the differences stemming from our history and beliefs, including religious beliefs, and identify what we have in common. That can only be done in the context of dialogue. The encyclical stresses this point, noting that interaction between cultures allows us to develop this dialogue³⁶, **saving us from falling into a twofold trap:**

- } Firstly, that of **cultural eclecticism**, whereby all cultures are placed alongside each other, rendering real dialogue pointless, which results in straightforward coexistence, with no authentic dialogue;
- } Secondly, that of **cultural levelling**, leading to the silent disappearance of the principles that drive people to tackle life's fundamental questions.

Many Union policies, even financial programmes, have helped boost such a dialogue, even if that was not their primary goal. The last 20 years in particular, and enlargement to the other half of Europe, have taught us a great deal. It involved welcoming into our European family countries

34. A former member of the Secretariat of the 'Convention', which preceded the drafting of the now defunct Constitution; in *Le traité de Lisbonne en 27 clefs*, Editions Lignes de repère 2008, p. 92.

35. Paragraph 56 of the encyclical.

36. Paragraph 26 of the encyclical.

with strong national and religious traditions, which had been prevented from taking part in the European adventure. While none of us was prepared for it, this challenge was met through the adoption of support measures, including financial assistance, to allow this reunification to go ahead. This has been doubly enriching:

- } Firstly, because the **15 existing Member States had to put aside their own selfish concerns in order to meet the need for dialogue** between neighbours, even though 40 years of separate history required us to **redefine our common values, while listening to** those who had sacrificed their freedom to defend their beliefs: **the Catholic Church paid heavily in this respect.** The names of Cardinals Mindszenty in Budapest, Wyszyński in Warsaw and Beran are symbolic of this struggle. Without the financial mechanisms of the Community budget, and in spite of our sometimes excessively technical procedures, this dialogue would never have taken place.
- } Secondly, **because this dialogue has borne fruit, enabling a better understanding** with a world that seemed new to some: so-called Eastern Europe, which is really Central Europe, the 'second lung' of our continent according to John Paul II, the Slavic world, which has been European since the time of Saints Cyril and Methodius.

Cultural heritage plays a particular role on account of its symbolic power. We have come to understand this better in the pursuit of enlargement efforts in the Western Balkans, torn asunder by war. Allow me to mention, by way of an example, a joint initiative of the Council of Europe and the Commission, known as the **'Ljubljana Process'**. Its aim was not to offer a smattering of funding, designed more to salve donors' collective conscience than to be really effective, but to **work with these countries to rediscover their past.** This exercise initially consisted of **agreeing on a common methodology in order to identify sites representing this cultural heritage.** The joint effort inevitably required dialogue, which was all the trickier as it meant **dealing with accounts of the past that had become symbols of division.** It is not the process itself that is of import, but the dialogue it has prompted between former adversaries and the consensus it has created with regard to the value and role of cultural heritage for the future.

This dialogue on cultural heritage has led to a **consensus, as more than 180 sites in the region have been identified**, several of which have subsequently benefited from Community financing for their rehabilitation. **The religious aspect has quickly become apparent as one of the pillars of cultural heritage** in the Balkans, in the form of Christian churches in the former Yugoslav Republic

of Macedonia, a monastery in Serbia and a mosque in Bosnia³⁷. A **process initially technocratic in nature has boosted intercultural dialogue**, including in terms of religious diversity in a particularly volatile region.

4. FINALLY, WE COME TO THE ROLE THAT HAS BEEN DEVOLVED TO CIVIL SOCIETY IN THE EUROPEAN DECISION-MAKING PROCESS.

The adoption of European legislation has never been the domain of a handful of 'European technocrats' taking decisions from their glass palaces in Brussels. It is essentially the **progressive sharing of legislative power between the Council** representing the Member States **and the European Parliament** representing citizens through their political spokespeople. While codecision by these two institutions began as an exception gradually extended from treaty to treaty, with the Lisbon Treaty it has become the ordinary decision-making procedure. **The European Parliament has a long tradition of 'listening'** to differing sensibilities. The democratic system is distinguished by its attempt to unite the various elements of public opinion in order to reflect the common interest. **Then there is the practice made widespread by the Commission of consulting representative organisations ahead of legislative proposals** in sectors in which they have acquired experience or credibility. This is crucial as regards economic and social issues, because, as the encyclical points out, 'economic activity cannot solve all social problems through the simple application of commercial logic'³⁸, and it is necessary to look beyond the dual forces of Market and State.

With the Lisbon Treaty, civil society will not only be one of the leaders of European public opinion, as it is at present, but will become a partner in European decision-making. One of the **Treaty's innovations is the citizens' initiative, which will allow a million European citizens from various Member States to ask the Commission to present a proposal within the confines of the Union's competences** where they consider European action to be necessary³⁹. On the basis of comparable procedures in place in some Member States, **citizens will have what is virtually a right of legislative initiative**, whereas, at present, this is held solely by the Commission and,

37. The monastery in Bač, Serbia, the church in Staro Nagoričane and the Holy Mother of God Church in Ohrid, FYROM, and the mosque in Foca, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

38. Paragraph 36 of the encyclical.

39. Articles 11(4) of the TEU and 24 of the TFEU, OJ as above, pp. 21 and 58.

in some cases, the Member States. Even though the Commission will not be legally obliged to convert each citizens' initiative into a legislative proposal, it will lend the public political influence. **The will of a million citizens cannot be systematically ignored.**

Without awaiting the entry into force of the Lisbon Treaty, the Commission set to work by presenting a Green Paper⁴⁰ on the steps necessary to implement this right. After all, the Treaty lays down only principles. In order to establish these rights in practice, it was essential to be attuned to civil society, to ensure that the arrangements are clear and effective. Less than four months after the Treaty entered into force, the Commission tabled a **proposal for a Regulation**⁴¹ of the Council and the European Parliament. This proposal is currently under consideration in the two Union institutions that hold legislative power. In addition to provisions of a technical nature, the Commission is proposing that **these million signatures should come from at least one-third of Member States, i.e. nine at present, with a minimum number of signatures per Member State corresponding to 750 times its number of MEPs**. Examination of this proposal is progressing at a reasonable pace.

The European citizens' initiative will be decisive for at least two reasons:

- } Firstly, because **it will be adopted in the Council by qualified majority voting**, which means that **no Member State will have the right of veto** to oppose a measure, even if this procedure does not exist within its national law;
- } Secondly, because the European citizen **will become co-holder of what is virtually a power of legislative initiative**. This will no doubt help to **facilitate the emergence of a European public opinion**, the absence of which has so often been regretted, in particular at the time of the recent negative referendums.

In a Union of 27 Member States with different traditions, including as regards relations between Church and State and the role granted to churches in public debate, **these mechanisms are essential to ensuring, as the encyclical urges, that 'citizens' interest and participation in the res publica will become more deeply rooted'**⁴².

40. Document COM (2009) 622 final of November 2009.

41. Document COM (2010) 119 final of 31 March 2010.

42. Paragraph 24 of the encyclical.

Without even knowing how successful this procedure will be, it will prevent **entire swathes of European opinion being ignored in the public debate**. This is all the more important as the Union's Charter of Fundamental Rights⁴³ recognises and guarantees **religion as one of the fundamental freedoms**. Four articles should be mentioned in this regard:

- } Article 10, which recognises the **freedom of religion** and the freedom to manifest religion, alone or in community with others, in public or in private;
- } Article 14, which recognises **the right to education** in terms of the right of parents to ensure the education and teaching of their children **in conformity with their religious convictions**;
- } Article 21 **banning discrimination on grounds that include religion**;
- } Article 22 **guaranteeing religious diversity**.

As an integral component of European public opinion, Christians will be able to **make their voices heard**, not only in politics, but also within European civil society, so that, as the encyclical underlines, 'adhering to the values of Christianity is not merely useful but essential for building a good society and for true integral human development'⁴⁴. **The real challenge facing us is not to complain about the institutions or political figures that we have helped to appoint and which are legitimised through election, but to show judgment in using these mechanisms to advance our beliefs and help to construct this society, so that Europe is not only a continent but becomes, as Pope Benedict XVI has called for, a 'spiritual home'⁴⁵.**

43. OJ as above, pp. 391 to 403.

44. Paragraph 4 of the encyclical.

45. Address to the civil authorities and diplomatic corps, Prague, 26 September 2009.

SPEECH BY DORIS PESCHKE

SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE CHURCHES, COMMISSION FOR MIGRANTS IN EUROPE

Ladies and Gentlemen,

First of all I would like to thank the organisers for inviting representatives of ecumenical organisations to this conference on the encyclical “Caritas in Veritate”. The encyclical touches on so many issues of society today, and churches of diverse denominations, like our members, Orthodox and Protestant churches in Europe, share many of the issues raised. The task to commit ourselves to the “development of the whole man and of all men” is a common challenge, particularly on a global level.

Our Commission, the Churches’ Commission for Migrants in Europe, is the theme of this panel is Development and Environment, two of the major global challenges today. Churches in Europe have addressed these issues also at the 3rd European Ecumenical Assembly held in Sibiu, Romania in September 2007. We appreciate the strong cooperation and shared visions and convictions on these challenges, rooted in our common Christian faith. The Third European Ecumenical Assembly recommended:

“Recommendation Seven: We urge all European Christians to give strong support to the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations as an urgent practical step towards the alleviation of poverty.

Recommendation Eight: We recommend that a consultative process, addressing European responsibility for ecological justice, facing the threat of climate change; European responsibility for the just shaping of globalisation; the rights of Roma people and other European ethnic minorities, be initiated by CCEE and CEC, with the Churches in Europe and with Churches of other continents.”



MIGRATION AND REFUGEES A GLOBAL CHALLENGE

According to estimates of the International Organisation on Migration, worldwide there are 250 million migrants. International refugees account for less than 10 percent of the migrants. However, particularly in this year which has seen so many disasters and catastrophes, from the earthquake in Haiti at the beginning of this year to the terrible floods in Pakistan in the past weeks, the number of displaced persons has risen tremendously. Many Europeans and European states have demonstrated their solidarity and support for the victims of the disasters and facilitated emergency assistance. And yet, to come closer to justice on a global level, Europe can do more, particularly in providing protection for refugees. While the number of asylum seekers, even if modestly increased over the past 12 months, is at a record low level in Europe, the places for refugee resettlement remain far below 10.000. Do we share the global responsibility to protect refugees?

The Conference of European Churches and the Churches' Commission for Migrants in Europe have jointly dedicated the year 2010 as the Year of European Churches Responding to Migration. During the month of September, the focus lies on "addressing environmental displacement". For November 2010, the theme will be "Welcoming the Stranger, migration in a globalised world". This will coincide with the 4th Global Forum on Migration and Development, and Christian organisations from all denominations and continents sincerely hope that the recommendations and conclusions of these fora will be taken more seriously in developing coherent policy responses also in Europe.

The Sibiu Ecumenical Assembly stated:

Concerned about God's creation, we pray for a greater sensitivity and respect for its wonderful diversity. We work against its shameless exploitation, from which the "whole creation awaits its redemption," (Rom 8:22) and commit ourselves to working for reconciliation between humanity and nature.

Recommendation Ten: We recommend that the period from the 1st September to the 4th of October be dedicated to prayer for the protection of Creation and the promotion of sustainable lifestyles that reverse our contribution to climate change.

Therefore, the time is right to address the issues of environment and development here and I am looking forward to the two presentations and the discussion.

SPEECH BY FLAMINIA GIOVANELLI,

DEPUTY SECRETARY, PONTIFICAL COUNCIL FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE

MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

I would like to begin by thanking the organisers for inviting me to speak at this international conference concerned with reflecting on the encyclical *Caritas in veritate*. A document which, since its publication, has been the inspiration behind most of the work of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, whose mission is to spread the message the encyclical carries, and to enrich it with various points of view, in different settings and environments.

But I have another reason to be grateful to the organisers: the opportunity they have given me to come to Brussels, where I lived as a girl during a period of ‘temporary migration’, at a time when this type of migration was not usual for Italians.

It was a temporary migration that I was able to put to good use later on, chiefly when going to work for the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, where, not only did I find myself in an international environment, but also had, and still have, the privilege of living in such an evocative location. The Palazzo San Calisto is situated in the heart of Trastevere, which, at the time of the Republic, was home to numerous traders, freedmen, slaves and settlers from the Mediterranean Basin - in particular, Greeks, Syrians and Jews. A setting that encouraged the birth and spread of Christianity. Without forgetting also that, at the height of the Empire, as related in Carcopino’s famous work, ‘never had the cosmopolitan character of the Urbs been so distinctly marked. The Roman proper was submerged on every social plane, not only by the influx of Italian immigrants but by the multitude of provincials bringing with them from every corner of the universe their speech, their manners, their customs, and their superstitions’⁴⁶.

46. J. Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome at the Height of the Empire*, Paris, Hachette, 1960, p. 75.



1. MIGRATION: A COMPLEX PHENOMENON THAT APPEARS IN A NEW LIGHT IN THE AGE OF GLOBALISATION

These two examples taken from my own history are simply intended to illustrate that we are facing a complex phenomenon - migration - that is not new, but which appears and is perceived in a new light in a world in flux that is undergoing rapid changes, precisely as a result of globalisation.

Its complexity lies in the different forms of migration - permanent, temporary, forced - and their different scales, which also call for different approaches. But there is more: we must also take account, in industrialised host countries, of the contradictory points of view, with regard to migrants, that are held by industry - migrant workers are necessary - and the political world - the integration of migrants is one of the most problematic issues for developed societies, if only because of their impact on welfare systems.

There are several new circumstances. I will mention here just some of them: the explosion in the number of refugees, the rise of South-South flows⁴⁷, the rapid increase in the percentage of women among the total number of migrants⁴⁸, the fact that, primarily through the development of information and telematic technologies, migrants are remaining attached to their country of origin and becoming, to some extent, 'inhabitants of two worlds'⁴⁹. Finally, while the adoption of new production technologies reduces the distance between countries, it magnifies cultural gaps.

Keeping this context in mind - a context that is really nothing more than a sketch - we must also remember that migrants account for a very small percentage of the global population. The figures vary, but we know that there are currently between 175 and 200 million migrants, which is 3% of the world's population. Yet migrants are a problem: because they are concentrated in certain regions, because, for the most part, they are young in comparison to the population of destination countries, and because, in developed societies, it is smaller rather than larger groups that constitute a source of problems⁵⁰.

Ultimately, we are facing a physiological phenomenon associated with the processes of globalisation: the growing presence of people from different countries will therefore become a

47. J-P. Guengant remarks that 'conflicts, the global economic crisis, but also the need for workers in new emerging countries have completely altered people's movements in the world, in terms of destination and origin', in *Quel lien entre migrations internationales et développement?*, *Projet*, No 272, December 2002, p. 74.

48. The effects on the families they leave behind in their country of origin have prompted talk of 'care drain'; see S. Zamagni, *Il fenomeno migratorio nell'era della globalizzazione*, in *People on the Move*, No 111, December 2009 p. 62.

49. *Ibid*, p.57.

50. R. Cagiano de Azevedo refers to other problems caused by minorities: crime, drugs and prostitution, see *Migrazioni e integrazioni*, in *Nuntium*, No 30 2006/3, p. 58.

structural element of many host countries. In order to deal with this reality, we need to establish sustainable immigration policies at regional and global level.

2. THE PARALLEL ISSUES OF MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The idea that took hold in the 1970s, the idea that the development of poor countries would halt immigration to developed countries, which was seen as threatening, in particular because of the loss of jobs in economic crises, persists today. It is often said, in particular where there is a high concentration of foreigners, let us help them, instead, to create jobs in their own countries.

Now, there is much evidence to show that, in the short and medium term in particular, money transfers increase emigration and, in some respects, are damaging to development. Indeed, in the initial stages of the development process, alongside the revenue, there is also a rise in inequalities, which, in this age of globalisation, have become more pronounced. These inequalities, which cause relative poverty - the type of poverty that makes one feel poor - to rise, represent a factor in decisions to emigrate, and those that emigrate are the most dynamic and most skilled workers, hence the 'brain drain' phenomenon.

A second proven fact is that the initial stages of development require a large number of agricultural workers to be transferred to the industrial sector: this retraining takes time, meaning that some farmers will seek work abroad. Finally, in the short and medium term at least, development boosts rather than reduces emigration⁵¹ even though, in the long term, at the end of the development process, emigration rates fall considerably⁵².

3. THE APPROACH TAKEN BY CARITAS IN VERITATE TO THE MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUE

All that I have just said enables me to introduce the realistic and constructive approach to the 'migration and development issue' that is taken in Benedict XVI's encyclical. This issue is dealt with in paragraph 62.

This approach should, in my opinion, be seen in parallel with what Caritas in veritate (CIV) says about the economic and financial crisis that struck in 2008. The crisis is considered 'an opportunity for discernment', in which to shape a new vision for the future. 'In this spirit,' the Pope continues,

51. J-P. Guengant, *Ibid*, p. 77.

52. S. Zamagni, *Ibid*, pp. 58-59.

‘with confidence rather than resignation, it is appropriate to address the difficulties of the present time’ (CIV 21).

To return to the subject with which we are dealing, Benedict XVI recognises in migration ‘a striking phenomenon [...] a social phenomenon of epoch-making proportions that requires bold, forward-looking policies of international cooperation [...] that] should be accompanied by adequate international norms able to coordinate different legislative systems with a view to safeguarding the needs and rights of individual migrants and their families, and at the same time, those of the host countries’ (CIV 62). However, this is the passage to which I wish to draw your attention: ‘The phenomenon, as everyone knows, is difficult to manage; but there is no doubt that foreign workers, despite any difficulties concerning integration, make a significant contribution to the economic development of the host country through their labour, besides that which they make to their country of origin through the money they send home’ (CIV 62). It could be said, once again, that a phenomenon that poses ‘dramatic challenges’ (CIV 62) may provide ‘an opportunity for discernment’, in which to shape a new vision for the future’ (CIV 21).

4. THE UNDERLYING VISION OF DEVELOPMENT: DEVELOPMENT AS A VOCATION

What enables the Pope to have, if we can refer to it that way, a constructive perspective on the issue?

It is certainly not down to a naive optimism: the Church is well aware of the suffering of migrants, especially those that leave their countries because of violence, conflict or poverty. It is well aware of the - sometimes difficult - situations migrants leave behind them and of the equally difficult situations they can also find in their destination countries, without being able, for lack of money or out of pride, to turn round and go home. I will give you just one example, inspired by female sympathy: that of Mother Cabrini, sent to America by Leon XVIII to help the hundreds of thousands of Italian immigrants who were exploited, underpaid and badly treated, as is the case today for so many migrants from other countries, by unscrupulous organisations.

No. This ‘constructive perspective’ of the phenomenon is inspired by a vision of ‘integral human development’ that sees development as a ‘vocation’: ‘integral human development is primarily a vocation, and therefore it involves a free assumption of responsibility in solidarity on the part of everyone. Moreover, such development requires a transcendent vision of the person, it needs God: without him, development is either denied, or entrusted exclusively to man, who falls into the trap of thinking he can bring about his own salvation, and ends up promoting a dehumanised form of

development. Only through an encounter with God are we able to “see in the other something more than just another creature”, to recognise the divine image in the other, thus truly coming to discover him or her and to mature in a love that “becomes concern and care for the other” (CIV 11).

Development seen this way requires a free and responsible answer from the individual and from peoples to their vocation (CIV 17); it calls for us to respect the truth that is to ‘do more, know more and have more in order to be more’ (CIV 18), and which makes it necessary, finally, for charity to occupy a central place in order to overcome the lack of brotherhood among individuals and peoples, which Paul VI identified as the root cause of under-development (CIV 19).

It is through this idea of a ‘primary vocation’, which represents an appeal, a call to be more, and which requires an adequate response, that a solution can be found. Indeed, this vocation engenders a relationship, the primary relationship, that of God and humankind, a relationship of love in truth that must be reflected between people and nations through the creation of brotherly relations.

‘As a spiritual being,’ the encyclical says, ‘the human creature is defined through interpersonal relations. The more authentically he or she lives these relations, the more his or her own personal identity matures. It is not by isolation that man establishes his worth, but by placing himself in relation with others and with God. Hence these relations take on fundamental importance. The same holds true for peoples as well. A metaphysical understanding of the relations between persons is therefore of great benefit for their development’ (CIV 53).

Charity, which is achieved in relationships of quality, should not remain a private matter, but should be ‘the principle not only of micro-relationships (with friends, with family members or within small groups) but also of macro-relationships (social, economic and political ones)’ (CIV 2). For that to become more than a utopian discourse, at a time when globalisation is placing people and nations in competition with each other, we must make the connection between charity and truth. Only in this way, with relationships inspired by charity translating into giving and brotherhood, ‘can and must marginal and marginalised realities be transformed into principles that occupy a prominent place in the most practical of concerns, such as ways of organising and managing economic enterprises, associations, trade unions, social services, welfare, relations between peoples and so on, until society has been founded on community-based and pluralist governance that ensures the common good by means of a combination of solidarity and subsidiarity among all parties. This applies to the organisation of a family right through to international relations’⁵³.

53. P. Donati, *La Novità della Caritas in veritate*, Agenzia Zenit, 21 July 2009.

Ultimately, taking on board the real meaning of development is the basis on which we can build successfully to establish international migration policies that set out to achieve the common good for the entire human family.

5. ENCOURAGING AND 'CONSTRUCTIVE' SIGNS

'But there is no doubt,' reads the passage of the encyclical that I quoted earlier, 'that foreign workers, despite any difficulties concerning integration, make a significant contribution to the economic development of the host country through their labour, besides that which they make to their country of origin through the money they send home' (CIV 62).

I am not going to speak about the contribution foreign workers make to the economy of the host country: businesses' favourable attitude with regard to their arrival demonstrates for itself the potential for innovation immigrants bring with them, in terms both of the number of patents and the founding of new companies. That is without mentioning the domestic role filled by immigrant women who enable women in the host country to go out to work.

I will, instead, draw your attention to the Pope's comments about the money sent home by migrant workers. These remittances, which boost the balance of payments in the country of origin and are a source of income for the families that have remained behind, are very important and probably the main channel of development funding⁵⁴, exceeding the amount in public development aid from industrialised countries and private investment. Furthermore, the report presented by the International Fund for Agricultural Development in October 2009, entitled 'Sending Money Home to Africa,' indicates that African workers send their families more than USD 40 billion a year (between 30 and 40% of this money goes to rural areas) and also points out that, while the cost of transferring money has dropped considerably for Latin America and Asia, the same is not true for Africa⁵⁵. The initiative launched by the Italian Government and well received at the G8 Summit in L'Aquila, known as '5x5' and aimed at gradually reducing from 10 to 5% the cost of money transfers⁵⁶, is therefore to be welcomed.

Sticking to the subject of migrants' remittances, very positive signs are emerging in Mexico with the Programa 3x1 para Migrantes, through which cooperation between groups of migrants, the Federal

54. In 2008, this type of funding accounted for USD 337 billion, 307 billion of which went to Southern countries, World Bank, Migration and Development Brief, 23 March 2009. The economic crisis has also affected this sector, but to a lesser degree than with regard to both public aid and private investment.

55. IFAD, Sending Money Home to Africa. Remittance markets, enabling environment and prospects, 2009, p. 2.

56. See www.esteri.it; www.mandasoldiacasa.it.

Government, State Governments and municipalities is helping to carry out projects, using the money sent by Mexican workers abroad, that have a direct social impact on their communities of origin⁵⁷.

However, there are examples of the relations I referred to earlier being seen, to an even greater degree, as drivers of development. They are those, constantly growing in number, of which we have direct experience: non-profit organisations. These organisations are increasingly being founded at the initiative of foreign students or migrant workers and are run more and more frequently with local counterparts, thus creating ties of friendship, trust and even brotherhood, ties that can overcome the fear of 'difference' to create a new culture of relationships.

Another example of a civil society initiative is one that has taken hold in the United States following the meeting, in 2007, of two students: a young American of African origin and a student from Zimbabwe. It is the Harambe Endeavour Alliance, which is a partnership between African students and young professionals, who visit highly-regarded universities (Harvard, Oxford, Beijing, Hong Kong, MIT, Stanford, Cambridge and LSE) in the aim of pooling and informing African intellectual capital around the world to encourage it to become involved in the development of the African continent⁵⁸. It is not a barrier to brain drain, but it does encourage the best-trained brains to return.

With these examples, I wanted to demonstrate the possibilities that are materialising in terms of making use of migration to aid development. They represent further proof of the truth in Benedict XVI's statement that 'today the picture of development has many overlapping layers' (CIV 22), as well as an invitation, to my mind, to respond to his call for us to 'liberate ourselves from ideologies, which often oversimplify reality in artificial ways, and [...] should lead us to examine objectively the full human dimension of the problems' (CIV 22).

57. Mexican Federal Government, Chamber of Deputies, Primer Informe Trimestral 2010, Programa de Subsidios del Ramo Administrativo 20, Desarrollo Social: 3x1 Migrantes, www.sodesol.gob.mx.

58. See www.hendeavour.org.

SPEECH BY FRANK TURNER SJ

FAITH AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Taking up a point that has been raised indirectly today, but not discussed directly, I want to add a preliminary note about 'Catholic Social Teaching' (henceforth 'CST') as a genre: about documents such as Caritas in Veritate, and how we best read them. Such documents have a key role in the Church - and have some inherent limitations, just as to choose any mode of writing is to accept certain opportunities and certain limitations. In particular, an encyclical is neither a work of political analysis, nor a work of theology as such: it is precisely **teaching**.

} In a work of political analysis you would expect a balanced account of each question: but in briefly discussing a series of public issues (the environment, the economic and financial crisis, migration, etc.) Caritas in Veritate does **not** analyse them, but presents the Church's official, 'magisterial' **approach** to them. This kind of document supposes that the hard work of analysis is going on elsewhere - for example, by scientists, political experts and politicians - among them, Catholics and other Christians.

} More surprisingly, perhaps, neither is the document 'theology'. Theology is a critical discourse. The Pope does not proceed by presenting a position, describing its strengths but also its possible problems, going on to consider the strengths and weaknesses of alternative views, then drawing some conclusion. He **presents the teaching**. That is crucial: the Church (and 'all people of good will') can be helped. But it is not all that needs to happen. A magisterial document presupposes and requires that the hard work of theological reflection is **also** going on in the Church. CST is powerful and sophisticated. But active and intelligent reception is a key phase of the process, and one might say that the student is no less important than the teacher.

Having said that, I turn to my specific topic, 'Faith and Environment' which I'll consider under three headings. All three aspects are covered in Caritas in Veritate, though not with equal weight. That is natural since this encyclical is not devoted to the Environment as such, but, as the title indicates, to articulating what is authentic love. (Pope Benedict's message for the World Day of Peace, 1st January 2010: 'If you want to cultivate peace, protect creation', develops the encyclical more systematically, and I'll refer to this Message also.)



The three main environmental themes touched on in Caritas in Veritate seem to me to be these. In each case I quote the encyclical, and offer a comment.

1. To the eyes of faith the Creation discloses God, the Creator.
2. We have no human life apart from the earth: we must respect and protect it.
3. The goods of creation are due to all, they are to be shared. Therefore our practice towards the environment must be marked by concern for the common good - that is, the good from which no person, no group (and especially not the poor), is systematically excluded.

I. TO THE EYES OF FAITH THE CREATION DISCLOSES GOD, THE CREATOR

Part of the human response to Creation is 'contemplative': we are to appreciate it. If we do not do that, any ethical duties imposed on us to protect it will seem secondary, or even oppressive.

This sense, of course, far precedes the Christian era: Psalm 104, a sustained hymn to the glories of Creation, leads to praise of the Creator (v.33, 'I will sing to the Lord as long as I live . . .')

In Caritas in Veritate (§.48): 'In nature, the believer recognises the wonderful result of God's creative activity, which we may use responsibly to satisfy our legitimate needs, material or otherwise, while respecting the intrinsic balance of creation. If this vision is lost, we end up either considering nature an untouchable taboo or, on the contrary, abusing it. Nature is . . . a gift of the Creator who has given it an inbuilt order.'

Comment: We are to appreciate it as an authentic, inherent, good. But to regard it as absolute would be to deny that it discloses any good (any 'god' beyond itself.) The Pope's argument is directed in two contrary directions. On the one hand, the contemplative attitude to nature must not slide into 'nature worship': against the so-called 'deep ecologists' (the 2010 Message speaks of 'ecocentrism'). These see humanity as no more than one species among others, part of the natural order but in no way transcending it: so, in the view of deep ecologists, human beings could even be **dispensable**, if they became a threat to the rest of creation: which therefore becomes untouchable, a 'taboo'. But equally, Creation has its 'inbuilt order': that is, it has an intrinsic good which is not reducible to human advantage. Care for nature is **more than 'enlightened self-interest'**. We may (we must) use it responsibly to fulfil our legitimate needs, but to damage it so as to indulge our excesses is to **abuse** it. (This morning we noted the possibility that the idea of 'growth' is narrowed to 'accumulation'.)

II. THE COSMOS, AND SPECIFICALLY THIS EARTH, IS THE INDISPENSABLE CONTEXT OF OUR HUMAN LIFE

In Caritas in Veritate (§.50): 'Human beings legitimately exercise a responsible stewardship over nature, to protect it, to enjoy its fruits and to cultivate it in new ways . . . so that it can worthily accommodate and feed the world's population . . . We [have a] grave duty to hand the earth on to future generations in such a condition that they too can worthily inhabit it'. From a Judaeo-Christian perspective, there is a 'covenant between human beings and the environment, which should mirror the creative love of God'. In other words, we assume an obligation **that follows from faith** to sustain the creation and even enhance it - through our intelligence, our technologies, etc.

Comment: The fact that we inhabit the earth is not incidental to our lives, but is of their essence. We cannot attain our **human** good apart from the good of creation, so the relationship between humankind and the rest of creation is reciprocal. We are 'tenants' of the earth, but we are not its owners. The Pope quotes Genesis 2, we are to 'till it and keep it'. In the 2010 Message, Pope Benedict interprets Genesis as giving to humans not simply authority, still less 'absolute dominion', but responsibility. He quotes Pope John Paul II's Centesimus Annus (1991): through sin nature is less 'governed' by human beings than 'tyrannised' by them.

In the case of climate change, however, one of the greatest threats of our age, it is clear that human practices contribute to global warming - though it is disputed to precisely what extent. But it cannot be disputed that the threat is a challenge to humankind.

III. 'THE GOODS OF CREATION BELONG TO HUMANITY AS A WHOLE' (A QUOTATION FROM 2010 MESSAGE, §.7)

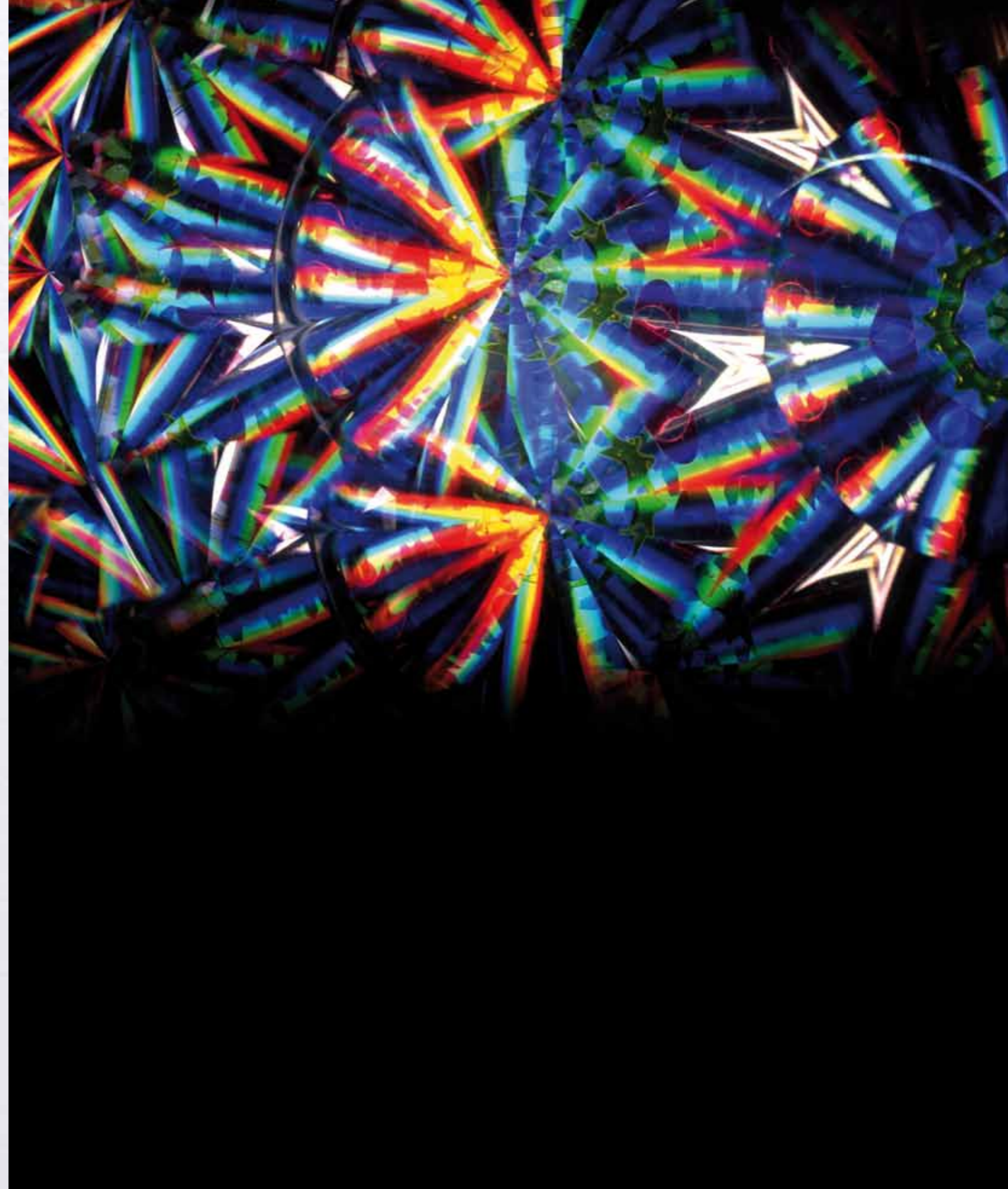
Environmental damage is also a social evil: in particular it harms the poor who have the least chance of evading its consequences, whereas the products of environmental exploitation go overwhelmingly to richer countries and richer people. The early sections of Caritas in Veritate (§6-7) - reflecting CST as a whole - insist that justice and the service of the Common Good lie at the heart of what it is to love: and this perspective informs the environmental sections also. In fact the sections on the environment are introduced through the lens of development, and the Pope applies this principle, the universal destination of the goods of creation, to the principal dimensions of human life: commerce, the international political order, and each person's choices, often expressed through civil society.

Commerce (§.49): 'The fact that some States, power groups and companies hoard non-renewable energy resources represents a grave obstacle to development in poor countries'. 'There is a pressing moral need for renewed solidarity . . . The technologically advanced societies can and must lower their domestic energy consumption' - so that others do not needlessly suffer.

The international political order (§.67): the Pope does not, as some have supposed, propose a 'world government' - but he commends 'a true world political authority' for certain issues that are not governed effectively through our present institutions. Among these issues is the protection of the environment'. He stresses especially the urgent need for peace, not least (in this specific context) bearing in mind the immense environmental degradation caused by military activity.

Personal responsibility (§. 51): It is easy for us to project all blame and all responsibility onto politicians, corporations, etc. But the Pope equally appeals to ideals of sobriety and simplicity, ideals that can be **inspired** by the spiritual force of a faith-vision, but can hardly be a plausible or popular **politicians'** cause unless the concern is widely shared in the culture. He 'invites contemporary society to a serious review of its life-style, which, in many parts of the world, is prone to hedonism and consumerism, regardless of their harmful consequences.' Instead of indiscriminate 'growth', we are to look to 'solidarity and civic friendship'.

Ladies and gentleman, I don't think the Pope is appealing here to the people of Somalia or Bangladesh, or even to the poor of Brussels and London. He has in mind people like us.



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(Translation of the French original)

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM
PILLAR OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS POLICY
IN THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS
OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

a report to the Bishops of COMECE

Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Community
19 Square de Meeûs – B-1050 Brussels – Belgium
Tel. +32 (0)2 235.05.10 – Fax +32 (0)2 230.33.34
comece@comece.eu - www.comece.eu

“The human person has a right to religious freedom, and all people, in every part of the world, should be immune from coercion on the part of individuals, social groups and every human power.”⁵⁹

John Paul II, *Ecclesia in Europa*

59. John Paul II, Apostolic Exhortation “*Ecclesia in Europa*”, 28 June 2003, § 57, quoting the Declaration “*Dignitatis Humanae*” on the Right of the Person and of Communities to Social and Civil Freedom in Religious Matters, Vatican Council II, 7 December 1965, § 2.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

CONSIDERING:

the duties and obligations of the European Union in protecting and promoting human rights, including religious freedom, as defined in its Charter of Fundamental Rights (Article 10.1) (2000)⁶⁰ which states:

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right includes freedom to change religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or in private, to manifest religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

} the violations of the fundamental rights to religious freedom and the religious persecution and discrimination taking place in many countries of the world,

the institutions of the European Union – including:

- } the European Commission,
- } the Council,
- } the European Council,
- } the European Parliament,

the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy,

and the European External Action Service (EEAS)

are invited to give their consideration to the various recommendations set out in this Memorandum so as to contribute, within their respective responsibilities, to the furtherance of religious freedom under the human rights policy conducted by the European Union in its external relations.

60. Article 10.1 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights draws on Article 9.1 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), which in turn draws on Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

INTRODUCTION

Recently the Council of the European Union (EU) reaffirmed “*the strong commitment of the European Union to the promotion and protection of freedom of religion or belief*” and “*its intention to continue to give priority to the issues as part of the European Union’s human rights policy*”⁶¹.

The Church has herself espoused for a long time the cause of religious liberty in the world, especially through the COMECE Secretariat, which is bringing this Memorandum to the attention of the institutions of the EU. By means of this Memorandum, the Church wishes to make her contribution to **protecting** and **promoting** the **basic right to religious freedom** in the framework of EU external policies. To this end, a number of specific avenues are proposed in this paper in the form of a series of **recommendations**.

The promotion of the universal right to religious freedom is based on the **dignity of the human person** and natural law, on respect for basic freedoms, on love for one’s neighbour and on the quest for truth. Yet, as stated by Pope John Paul II during his meeting with young Muslims in Casablanca in 1985⁶², and as restated by Pope Benedict XVI a few years later, the furtherance of these freedoms on the basis of reciprocity is a virtuous means at a secondary level insofar as it also favours “*peace and agreement between the peoples*”⁶³.

Violations of religious liberty, and even religious persecution, are being perpetrated against religious minorities in many countries in the world. This is especially the case in Asia, such as in the Indian state of Orissa, China, Myanmar, Laos, Vietnam and North Korea, where certain minorities, particularly Christians and/or Muslims, are suffering. In other countries, the faithful of the majority religion may themselves be suffering from violations of their religious freedom in the context of a regime that oppresses religion in a general sense: this is the case for Muslims in some countries of Central Asia – this being a leftover of atheist Communism. In other mainly Muslim countries, some Muslim minorities (such as Sunni/Shiites) sometimes suffer from violations of their religious freedoms.

61. Conclusions of the Council of the European Union on freedom of religion or belief, 2973rd Session of the Council – General Affairs, Brussels, 16 November 2009 - www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/111190.pdf.

62. John Paul II, Address to Young Muslims, Casablanca, 19 August 1985 – www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1985/august/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19850819_giovani-stadio-casablanca_en.html.

63. Benedict XVI, Address to the Ambassadors of countries with a Muslim majority and to the representatives of Muslim communities in Italy, 25 September 2006 – www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2006/september/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060925_ambasciatori-paesi-arabi_en.html.

Given this situation, in terms of international justice, the **goal of universal relevance** is the improvement in the exercise of religious freedom throughout the world, notably for religious (including Christian) minorities. As has just been mentioned above, it is not only they who suffer from attacks on this basic right as other minorities – including Jews, Muslims and Baha'is – are likewise affected. However it is important to recall that **at least 75% of all religious persecution in the world is directed against Christians**⁶⁴. The number of the Christian faithful discriminated against, oppressed or persecuted in this regard amounts to some approximately **100 million people**⁶⁵.

Because of this situation, for several decades now our world has witnessed a constant migratory flow of religious minorities, including Christian minorities. This flow has been witnessed, inter alia, from predominantly Muslim countries in the direction of Europe, North America and Australia. Therefore, an improvement in the respect shown towards religious freedom, inter alia, in countries of the Middle East, should, together with other factors (particularly economic factors), contribute to a stemming of the demographic haemorrhage which has affected these said religious minorities who have found themselves abandoned by the international community and in the assistance of which the EU is called to act.

64. Thomas Schirmacher, "Defending religious freedom of Christians benefits all", *International Journal for Religious Freedom*, 1 (2008) 1, p. 13.

65. This is the figure estimated by the 'Open Doors International' organisation on the basis of a wide definition of persecution, covering all the Christians who, because of their faith, are suffering discrimination, live under threats, or lose their lives. Source: www.opendoors-de.org/verfolgung/weltverfolgungsindex/index. Other sources (such as the World Evangelical Alliance's "Geneva Report 2005 - A perspective on global religious freedom: challenges facing Christian communities", MBS Texte, 045 (2005), Martin Bucer Seminar / Pro Mundis / Evangelische Allianz / AKREF, p. 3 - www.bucer.org/uploads/media/mbstexte_045.pdf - or Paul A. Marshall & Lela Gilbert, *Their Blood Cries Out: The Untold Story of Persecution Against Christians in the Modern World*, Dallas, Word Publishing, 1997) mention the higher figure of 200 million Christians persecuted in the world. But this figure is regarded as less credible.

I. THE EU'S OBLIGATIONS AND DUTIES WITH REGARD TO THE PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The EU and its Member States are under an obligation to respect, and duty-bound to promote, all basic freedoms, including religious freedom, both within the EU and throughout the world. In other words, they are to guarantee respect for religious freedom, including, amongst other things, the freedom of worship of religious minorities.

The legal foundations of this obligation are set out in the EU's Charter of Fundamental Rights (Article 10.1) (2000) which is based on Article 9.1 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950), the latter drawing upon Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). This last document states:

Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion. This right includes freedom to change religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or in private, to manifest religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

The importance of the fundamental right to religious freedom has recently been recalled by the Council of the EU, in a Resolution adopted on 16 November 2009 when it declared as follows⁶⁶:

The Council recalls that freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief applies equally to all persons. It is a fundamental freedom which includes all religions or beliefs, including those that have not been traditionally practised in a particular country, the beliefs of persons belonging to religious minorities, as well as non-theistic and atheistic beliefs. The freedom also covers the right to adopt, change or abandon one's religion or belief, of one's own free will.

The adoption of this Resolution by the Council of the EU is a great sign of hope and the institutions of the EU are warmly encouraged to pursue this direction.

66. Conclusions of the Council of the European Union on freedom of religion or belief, 2973rd Session of the Council – General Affairs, Brussels, 16 November 2009 - www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/111190.pdf.

II. RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN THE SOCIAL TEACHING OF THE CHURCH

While the Church, in her claims in favour of religious freedom, relies on the duties and obligations of the EU in this domain, she also equally relies upon her own Social Teaching. In explaining this Social Teaching we will first deal with the place that this right to religious freedom holds in relation to other fundamental rights, then move to its content – its definition and scope - before dealing with the issue of reciprocity.

2.1. THE PRIMACY OF THE RIGHT TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ANCHORED IN HUMAN DIGNITY

The right to religious freedom cannot be likened to a right based simply on freedom of opinion. Respect for human dignity is derived from respect for “**each man**” and for “**the whole man**”⁶⁷ - that is to say, it aims at the **integral development** of every human being as much on the natural level as on the supernatural level⁶⁸. The Church is keen to recall that freedom of religion is a **primary and inalienable right** of the human person: “*what is more, insofar as it touches the innermost sphere of the spirit, one can even say that it upholds the justification, deeply rooted in each individual, of all other liberties*”⁶⁹. That is how religious freedom finds itself listed among the fundamental liberties that the Church has to defend as a matter of priority:

67. Cf. Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio* – Encyclical letter on the development of peoples, 26 March 1967, §14 & 42 – www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_26031967_populorum_en.html.

68. Cf. Benedict XVI, *Caritas in Veritate* – Encyclical letter to the bishops, priests and deacons, to religious men and women, the lay faithful and all people of good will on integral human development in charity and truth, 29 June 2009, §18 – www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/encyclicals/documents/hf_benxvi_enc_20090629_caritas-in-eritate_en.html.

69. John Paul II, Message to the signatory countries of the Helsinki Final Act, 14 November 1980 - www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/pont_messages/1980/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19800901_helsinki-act_en.html.

*The right to religious freedom is so closely linked to the other fundamental rights that one can rightly assert that respect for religious freedom is like a ‘test’ for the observance of the other fundamental rights*⁷⁰.

Respect for this fundamental right by the State is indeed a way of assessing the State's respect for human rights, rights which are indeed anchored in **human dignity**. These rights, among which is the right to religious freedom, emanate from the natural law and indicate the existence of an order surpassing the mere political dimension of existence – an order that pertains to the realm of free adhesion to a community of salvation that precedes the State. So, “*even if, for historical reasons, a State grants a special protection to a religion, it is also duty-bound to guarantee to religious minorities liberties at both individual and community level, which proceed from the common right to religious freedom in civil society*”⁷¹.

2.2. THE DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF THE RIGHT TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

In 1965, the Second Vatican Council, proclaimed as follows in its Declaration on “Human Dignity”⁷²:

The human person has a right to religious freedom. This freedom means that all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of social groups and of any human power, in such wise that no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs, whether privately or publicly, whether alone or in association with others, within due limits.

In fact the Church, without in any way giving up the Truth which is found in Christ, is fully committed to the defence of the right to religious liberty, which is integral to **human dignity** and which is a fundamental condition for the genuine quest for truth, which “*cannot impose itself except by virtue of its own truth*”⁷³. The consequence of this fundamental liberty, which is inherent in humankind, is that it must be recognised by law and guaranteed by the civil order.

70. Passage highlighted by the authors. John Paul II, Speech to the members of the Diplomatic Corps accredited to the Holy See, 9 January 1989, § 6 – www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/speeches/1989/january/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_19890109_corpo-diplomatico_fr.html.

71. *Idem*.

72. Declaration “*Dignitatis Humanae*” on the Right of the Person and of Communities to Social and Civil Freedom in Religious Matters, Vatican Council II, 7 December 1965, § 2.

73. *Ibidem*, § 1.

The right to religious freedom, the exercise of which should be guaranteed within due limits, covers multiple aspects, most particularly the following⁷⁴:

} at the level of the individual:

- > freedom to hold or not to hold a particular faith,
- > freedom of worship,
- > free choice by parents to educate their children in their religious convictions,
- > freedom of action in the name of one's religious and moral convictions regarding various aspects of living in society,
- > right to pastoral care in any place,
- > right to faith-based conscientious objection,

} at the collective level:

- > organisational autonomy of Churches,
- > freedom to exercise one's ministry,
- > freedom of religious training and teaching,
- > freedom to proclaim one's faith and its associated moral teaching,
- > freedom of collective action in the name of one's shared religious and moral convictions regarding various aspects of living in society,
- > freedom to carry out charitable activities.

74. For a more comprehensive list, see Appendix I: Dimensions of the right to religious freedom at individual and community level – Excerpts from the Message delivered by Pope John Paul II to the signatory countries of the Helsinki Final Act on 14 November 1980 - www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/pont_messages/1980/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19800901_helsinki-act_en.html.

2.3. RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND RECIPROCITY

In light of the violations of the right to religious freedom in many countries of the world, over the past few decades the need for reciprocity has been a continually renewed request made by the Catholic Magisterium⁷⁵:

*In relations between Christians and persons of other religions, the principle of reciprocity is important. It is to be understood not merely as an attitude for making claims but as a relationship based on mutual respect and on justice in juridical and religious matters.*⁷⁶

Indeed, the situation of non-reciprocity, or lack of reciprocity, brings about “the astonishment and the feeling of frustration of Christians who welcome, for example in Europe, believers of other religions, giving them the possibility of exercising their worship, and who see themselves forbidden all exercise of Christian worship in countries where those believers are in the majority and have made their own religion the only one admitted and promoted”⁷⁷.

75. Cf. E. Divry, “Réciprocité religieuse: ni rétorsion, ni placidité – La position catholique”, *Liberté politique*, n°44, Spring 2009, p. 65.

76. Instruction “Erga migrantes caritas Christi”, Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, 3 May 2004, § 64. Pope Benedict XVI emphasised the “huge importance” that the Instruction *Erga migrantes caritas Christi* gives “and rightly so” to the principle of reciprocity in inter-religious relations. Cf. Benedict XVI, Speech to the Plenary Session of the Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, 15 May 2006 – www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2006/may/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20060515_pc-migrants_en.html.

77. John Paul II, Apostolic Exhortation “*Ecclesia in Europa*”, 28 June 2003, §57. It is worth clarifying here that, faced with the dramatic situation of religious freedom for the religious minorities in certain parts of the world, it is often assumed that religious minorities do not encounter the same problems in Europe. However, discriminatory situations most certainly do exist and should be fought, even if they are not on the same scale as those experienced by the religious minorities in some non-EU countries to the point of being persecuted. This type of situation may be faced by those practising non-Christian religions and who live in European countries where Christians are in the majority, but there can also be cases of discrimination against people of minority Christian faiths where another Christian confession dominates at State level. This is particularly true for the Catholic Church in Greece and in Romania, both of which countries are principally Orthodox.

This pleading of the Church in favour of a fair and sound reciprocity in the area of religious freedom⁷⁸ is sometimes misunderstood, and wrongly so, because such a plea is directed towards the defence of this right at the universal level. It neither constitutes nor in any way legitimises any call for retaliation⁷⁹, which from the standpoint of international law⁸⁰ would be illegal and, from a Christian standpoint, inconceivable and indeed morally suspect⁸¹:

78. By "fair and sound reciprocity in the area of religious freedom", the Church means that the relevant rights must be exercised within due limits in relation to the common good of the country, which is to say while respecting the historic traditions of the country concerned and also rightful moral order. Rightful according to the equity, that is to say according to the principles of distributive justice and of commutative justice. It means for example that with regard to the number of faithful of different religions within one State, a differentiated treatment by the State of their various cults does not necessarily constitute discrimination, so in terms of public funding. In legal terms, different degrees of reciprocity may thus be discerned: the basic rights that are non-negotiable, those that are compulsory as imposed by international law and followed from the principle of commutative justice ("rights to have"), and non-obligatory rights, which are brought to the attention of public authorities to the advantage of religious minorities, followed from the principle of distributive justice, i.e. proportional to their merits-contributions based on their demonstrated needs ("right to do").

79. While the violation of a human right can be made the subject of an appeal before an international court of justice that is likely to deliver a judgement, any retaliation devised as a right to direct condemnation is completely illegal.

80. Human rights can never be subjected to bargaining. They are imperatively excluded from the contractual provisions pertaining to reciprocity in international law. Cf. Article 60 §5 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, which excludes any form of reprisals against persons protected by treaties in the case of partial or total suspension.

81. The position adopted by the German Episcopal Conference regarding the construction of mosques in Germany may be interpreted as following these guidelines: "As a good protected by the Constitution, the right to religious freedom and the related right to construct mosques must be dissociated from the fact that Christians also enjoy individual or collective religious freedom in Muslim countries. It is precisely because we Christians reject and denounce restrictions on religious freedom in countries anchored in Islam that we are committed not only to the rights of Christians in those countries but also to those of Muslims in ours. The same principle must apply to both Christians and Muslims, namely that whoever claims religious freedom in other countries for the members of his or her community of faith that forms a minority in that country cannot deny like freedom to the religious minorities in his or her own country." (Deutsche Bischofskonferenz, "Moscheebau in Deutschland. Eine Orientierungshilfe der deutschen Bischöfe", 26.09.2008 – www.dbk.de/aktuell/meldungen/01761/index.html.) While being well understood that the inauguration of a Muslim place of worship as a 'mosque', as understood in current European positive law does not endow such place of worship with a status different or superior to that of a 'musallā' or any other place differently named as a Muslim place of worship and reserved exclusively for the purposes of worship (with no political significance or implications). For the distinction between 'mosque' and 'musallā' in Islamic law, see Samir Khalil Samir, "Note sulla Moschea", *La Civiltà Cattolica*, n. 3618, 2001/I, p. 599-603. See also the report of the Seminar "Islam, Christianity and Europe" organised on 29 May 2008 at the European Parliament by COMECE, the CEC-KEK "Church & Society" Commission and the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung (KAS), devoted to "Visibility of religion in the European public space: the question of worship places and religious symbols in clothing" – www.comece.eu/site/article_list.siteswift?so=all&do=all&c=download&d=article%3A3250%3A2.

*Reciprocity is also an attitude of heart and spirit that enables us to live together everywhere with equal rights and duties. Healthy reciprocity will urge each one to become an "advocate" for the rights of minorities when his or her own religious community is in the majority. In this respect we should also recall the numerous Christian migrants in lands where the majority of the population is not Christian and where the right to religious freedom is severely restricted or repressed.*⁸²

In line with this, the Church's request for a fair and sound reciprocity does not *in any way whatsoever* constitute a *precondition* for the granting of rights, *but rather a vibrant* desire coming from her deepest and most profound feelings of the "attitude of heart and spirit" referred to above. While the reciprocity inherent in the Christian vision in no way legitimises retaliation, this does not necessarily mean that we should give up our moral and political responsibilities and give in to the temptation to passivity⁸³. For this could lead to the negation of the "principle of responsibility" to protect the poor and the lowly, who, when subjected to discriminatory actions, are in need of defence⁸⁴.

82. Instruction "Erga migrantes caritas Christi", Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People, 3 May 2004, § 64.

83. Cf. E. Divry, *op.cit.*, p. 72.

84. *Idem.* Cf. Benedict XVI, Address to the Members of the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation, 18 April 2008 – www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2008/april/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20080418_un-visit_en.html.

III. VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHT TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN THE WORLD

Generally speaking, three illustrative situations may be identified where violations of religious freedom and religious persecutions occur in our present world:

1. violations and persecutions which occur in the general context of a lack of democracy affecting a whole range of human rights
2. violations and persecutions that occur either because a secularist government is anti-religious, thus affecting religion generally and every individual faith, or because one majority religion markedly dominates all the rest
3. violations and persecutions may be induced by the State, political and public authorities (see map n°1) or individuals and groups within society (see map n°2). In this scenario, it should be recalled that the State is obliged to protect all its citizens, regardless of their religious beliefs. In the latter case, where the right to religious freedom is guaranteed by law but where violations nevertheless still happen, these defaulting authorities need to be reminded that they are obliged to work on the *effectiveness* of their laws.

It can occur, for example, that even though the State provides constitutional guarantees of freedom of religion and worship, a minority religious community is prevented *in practice* from building a place of worship due to objections from society, with all the resulting political and administrative obstacles that may be raised. It is at this point that the important concept of *effectiveness of law* is brought into play: a law must not remain theoretical, it must be possible for it to be applied in practice.⁸⁵ So for example, even though the Ethiopian legal order recognises the right to religious freedom, this is hampered where the building of places of worship is concerned. The national Orthodox Church in that country has no difficulty in obtaining land for building places of worship – but this is not the case for Protestant Churches or Muslims. This aspect of the problem should also be taken into account in the fight for religious freedom.

85. Cf. V. Legrand, “Religious freedom in the OSCE area: From commitments to implementation”, Europe-Infos, n°119, September 2009, pp. 6-7.

On a geographical scale⁸⁶, as has been mentioned above, there is evidence of situations where religious freedom is being violated, extending as far as religious persecutions - in particular in the Middle East and in Asia (as witnessed in the Indian state of Orissa, China, Myanmar, Vietnam and North Korea). Christian minorities are not alone in suffering from these situations as witnessed by, *inter alia*, Jewish, Muslim and Baha’i minorities. Moreover, because of the heritage of atheistic communism in a number of Muslim-majority countries, notably in Central Asia, religious freedom of Muslims themselves may be violated in the context of a general regime of oppression of all religions. It should also be noted that in some predominantly Muslim countries, Muslim minorities (e.g. Sunnis/Shiites) may themselves be subject to violations of their religious freedoms. While the Church “naturally” focuses herself on oppressed Christian minorities, she is of course also calling for a policy that promotes religious freedom in general, including a protection of the rights of all oppressed religious minorities.

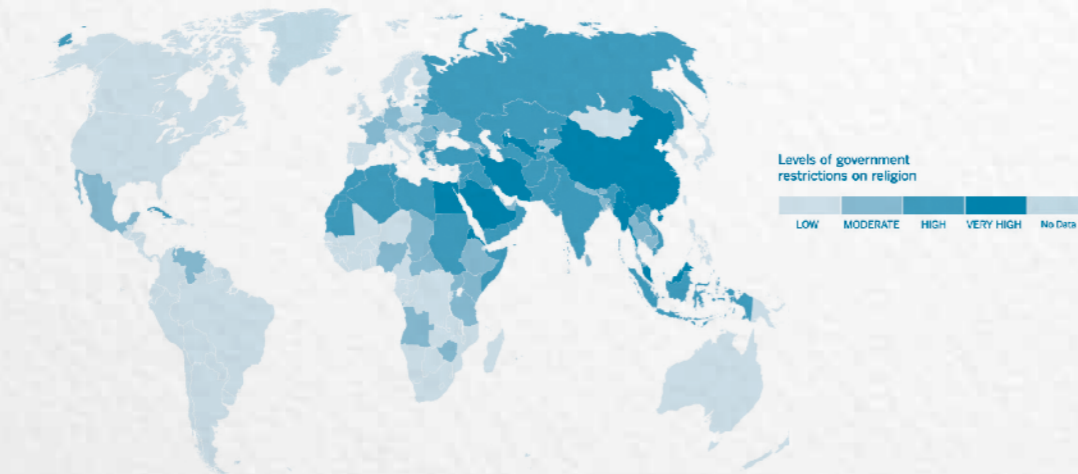
What are the persecutions and violations of the right to religious freedom to which religious minorities are most subject throughout the world?⁸⁷

86. Sources for the countries mentioned in the examples raised in Section 3: -AID TO THE CHURCH IN NEED (ACN) – JOHN PONTIFEX & JOHN NEWTON, *Persecuted and Forgotten? A Report on Christians oppressed for their Faith 2007/2008*, Sutton, Ed. ACN, 2008; -AIDE À L’EGLISE EN DÉTRESSE (AED), *Rapport 2008 – La liberté religieuse dans le monde*, Paris, Ed. AED, 2008; -MARSHALL P. A. (ed.), *Religious Freedom in the World*, Lanham, Md / Washington DC, Rowman and Littlefield / Center for Religious Freedom at the Hudson Institute, 2008; -The 2008 and 2009 editions of the US State Department Report on Religious Freedom - <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf>. -See also the other sources mentioned in the bibliographical references.

87. The countries mentioned in this section are for purposes of illustration, the list not being exhaustive. They figure amongst the worst categories of the nomenclature/categorisation drawn up by Paul A. Marshall in his book *Religious Freedom in the World* (Lanham, Md/Washington DC. Towman and Littlefield/Center for Religious Freedom at the Hudson Institute, 2008, pp 2-3). This author has created a classification of 101 countries representing over 95% of world population. Drawing inspiration from the Freedom House methodology, it classifies countries on the basis of a score from 1 to 3 for the countries that are “Free regarding religious freedom”, from 4 to 5 for countries that are “Partly Free regarding religious freedom” and from 6 to 7 for countries that are “Not Free regarding religious freedom”. The countries mentioned in the present report form part of those with the worst scores of 4, 5, 6 and 7. The other countries or territories listed by Paul Marshall obtaining the same scores, but not figuring in the body of the present document, are: Scoring 7: Turkmenistan, China-occupied Tibet and Eritrea. Scoring 6: Bahrain, Palestinian Territories under Israeli occupation, Bangladesh. Scoring 5: Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan, Kuwait, Libya, Tunisia, Indonesia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Chad, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, and Columbia. Scoring 4: Mexico, Cameroon, Tanzania, Jordan, Armenia, Georgia, Kosovo, Kirghizstan, Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia, Russia, Serbia and Slovakia.

Map n°1⁸⁸:

GOVERNMENT RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGION



Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life • Global Restrictions on Religion, December 2009

Map n°2⁸⁹:

SOCIAL HOSTILITIES INVOLVING RELIGION



Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life • Global Restrictions on Religion, December 2009

88. Source: Global Restrictions on Religion, Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, © 2009. Map reprinted with kind permission of: Pew Research Center - <http://pewforum.org>. For the full report from which the map is reprinted (p. 15), visit: <http://pewforum.org/uploadedFiles/Topics/Issues/Government/restrictions-fullreport.pdf>.

89. Source: Ibidem, p. 25.

3.1. BASIC HINDRANCES TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Fundamental hindrances to the exercise of religion can take place both at an individual and at collective level.

3.1.1. OBSTACLES TO THE PROFESSION OF FAITH AT AN INDIVIDUAL LEVEL

In some countries believers are arrested and imprisoned because of their faith, for having manifested it in public or even (as in North Korea) in private. In Uzbekistan, Christian groups are subjected to police raids, believers found holding meetings in private homes are often penalised, including being sent to prison. In Saudi Arabia, the official government policy is to recognise the right of non-Muslims to worship in private, but this right is regularly swept aside by a religious police known on occasion to assault believers gathering in a private location. It regularly happens that priests, ministers and clerics of other religions are assassinated because of their faith or their manner of sharing it (e.g. Afghanistan, Turkey).

3.1.2. OBSTACLES TO THE PROFESSION OF FAITH AT THE COLLECTIVE LEVEL

At the collective level, some countries make the exercise of religious freedom subject to official registration (as in Belarus, Cuba and Moldova). In the worst cases this exercise is completely impeded and criminally prosecuted. It should be recalled here that the exercise of freedom in religious worship should never require the official approbation of public authorities.

In another way, the religious freedom of religious communities may be impeded in the area of law related to foundations and associations. While Turkey still has to make progress in the field of religious freedom in several areas (cf. *infra* and *supra*), one should welcome in this regard *“the fact that in recent years there have been many important reforms of the Turkish legislation which have improved the situation for the non-Muslim religious communities, in particular as regards property rights under the foundation system and the possibility to establish associations to support the religious*

community”⁹⁰. Additional progress will be achieved when non-Muslim religious communities will be allowed to acquire full moral personality, while recalling that exercising the right of religious freedom should not be conditional on official registration: access to moral personality is welcome insofar as it facilitates the exercise of rights.

3.1.3. FREEDOM OF CONVERSION AND FORCED CONVERSIONS

In some predominantly Muslim countries, conversion to a religion other than Islam is prohibited and repressed. Conversion effectively implies “apostasy” which – theoretically – may incur capital punishment, though this is rarely if ever applied (as in Afghanistan, Sudan, Yemen), notably as a result of international pressure. It is worth emphasising here that the European Union can and does play a role in this matter. And if there is one area where the EU can truly speak with one voice in its common foreign and security policy (CFSP) it is certainly in the case where serious violations of human rights are sanctioned unanimously.

“Apostasy” may also incur other sanctions, such as fines, expulsion or imprisonment. “Apostates” may also forfeit their parental authority, as in Malaysia and the Sultanate of Oman. If a Muslim parent converts to a religion other than Islam, their children are entrusted to other parents, as children are automatically considered as Muslims as they are born of a Muslim father.

Police forces in some States use torture to force members of minority religious communities to abandon their faith. In Saudi Arabia, the zeal of the religious police often leads to summary arrests and torture in prison. The police frequently imprison members of minority religious groups - such as Christians and Shiite Muslims - and only release them upon their signing a document attesting to the renunciation of their faith.

Furthermore, in many predominantly Muslim countries, in keeping with Islamic law, Muslim women are not allowed to marry non-Muslims and a husband-to-be is constrained to convert to Islam before marriage to a Muslim woman.

90. Opinion (no. 535/2009) on the legal status of religious communities in Turkey and the right of the Orthodox Patriarchate of Istanbul to use the adjective “ecumenical”, adopted by the Venice Commission at its 82nd Plenary Session (Venice, 12-13 March 2010), § 107, p. 28 - [www.venice.coe.int/docs/2010/CDL-AD\(2010\)005-E.asp?MenuL=E](http://www.venice.coe.int/docs/2010/CDL-AD(2010)005-E.asp?MenuL=E).

Obstacles to religious freedom may also be expressed, as in Iran and Saudi Arabia, by the compulsory wearing by women of the veil - not only by Muslim women but also by non-Muslim female citizens and residents.

3.1.4. OBSTACLES TO THE PROCLAMATION OF FAITH

Some countries prohibit and repress the propagation of any religion other than the religion of the majority. Consequently, the Christian Mission of preaching the Gospel encounters a range of obstacles. While some forms of proclamation may overstep the mark⁹¹ through lack of prudence, their repression can take a reprehensible form, with sanctions extending to terms of imprisonment and fines, as is the case in Morocco, Algeria and the Comoros. In Turkey, there is no particular law repressing the Christian evangelical mission as such but Article 301 of the Penal Code, which sanctions “insults to Turkishness”, has been used as a pretext for such oppression⁹². In more general terms, the Turkish authorities sometimes contribute to the maintenance of an atmosphere that is unfriendly towards any religion except Islam (not to mention this State’s similar attitude towards religion in general - and thus, towards its majority religion – Sunni Islam – because of the State’s secularist identity). In a primary school history textbook officially approved by the Turkish Ministry of National Education in 2008 (and amended in 2009), at the very time when Turkey is negotiating to join the European Union and is called on to conform to the Copenhagen Criteria⁹³, it is stated⁹⁴:

Missionary activity is not ordinary propagation of religion. Missionary activities cannot be classified under freedom of thought and the freedom to express opinion. It is a systematic and organised movement to force people to change their religion. Missionaries have political, cultural and economic aims in addition to religious aims. They try to fulfil their goals through the significant

91. The distinction between ‘proper proselytising’ and ‘improper proselytising’ as decided by European jurisprudence presents a good benchmark. At the level of the European Court for Human Rights, the Kokkinakis vs Greece judgment (25 May 1993) recognises that religious freedom implies “the right to try to convince one’s neighbour for example through ‘teaching’” (§31), otherwise freedom to change one’s religion or belief would be likely to remain ‘a dead letter’. The Larissis et al. vs Greece (24 February 1998) formalises the distinction between ‘proper’ and ‘improper proselytising’ (§ 54, 59).

92. Aid to the Church in Need (ACN) – John Pontifex & John Newton, Persecuted and Forgotten? A Report on Christians oppressed for their Faith 2007/2008, Sutton, Ed. ACN, 2008, p. 96.

93. These criteria, adopted by the European Council meeting in Copenhagen in June 1993, especially require the candidate EU countries to have achieved stability of institutions guaranteeing democracy, the rule of law, human rights, respect for and protection of minorities – European Council of Copenhagen, Presidency conclusions, 21-22 June 1993 – www.consilium.europa.eu/euDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/ec/72922.pdf.

94. Text of the version of the textbook amended in March 2009: İlköğretim Cumhuriyet İnkılap Tarihi ve Atatürkçülük – 8. Ders Kitabı (“Primary Education, History of Republic Reforms and Atatürkism” - Lesson Book 8), Devlet Kitapları Yayınları - Devlet (State) Books, 2008, p. 204.

financial support of foreign powers, some non-governmental organisations and from their own supporters. Missionaries exploit the financial hardships of people. They translate texts related to their own beliefs into different languages and distribute them free of charge and accordingly use written and visual media for their propaganda purposes. They are a threat to the national unity and integrity of our state and nation.

Certainly, external threats to which the country had been exposed in the past remain vividly implanted in the memory of the history of the Turkish people, particularly with the dismantling of the Ottoman Empire by the European colonial powers⁹⁵. But employing this aspect of history as a tool for the present poses a grave problem. It is evident that the contemporary Christian evangelical mission is utterly devoid of, and detached from, any “colonial” political ambition. Maintaining such an unfriendly atmosphere is the source of individual acts of physical violence, going as far as the assassination of both lay faithful and churchmen suspected or convicted of “proselytising”.⁹⁶ As we have already seen, even if these States are not always directly responsible for these acts of violence, they still have the duty to protect all their citizens, regardless of their religious persuasion.

3.2. TYPICAL HALLMARKS OF THE VIOLATION OF THE RIGHT TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Recurrent material violations of the right to religious freedom affect the building of places of worship, the publication of religious material as well as religious training and education.

95. In its initial version (2008), the textbook says: “Due to its position our country has been subject to various threats throughout history. Powers whose aim has long been to eradicate Turkish existence in Anatolia have pursued destructive acts against Turkey. These actions aim to break up, divide and rule the country.” And the textbook goes on to say: “One of these negative actions is the one of missionary activities carried out by religious organizations. Missionary activities engage not only clergy (men of religion) but non-clergy too. These people tend to use social service organizations and through those who work in such organizations. Missionaries infiltrate the public and use such universal concepts such as love, peace, brotherhood, freedom, happiness etc., to influence especially the youth.” Source: Christian Solidarity Worldwide (CSW), “Turkey: New school text book encourages religious discrimination”, 12 December 2008 - <http://dynamic.csw.org.uk/article.asp?t=press&cid=813>.

96. Aide à l'Eglise en Détresse (AED), Rapport 2008 – La liberté religieuse dans le monde, Paris, Ed. AED, 2008, pp. 491-494.

3.2.1. PROHIBITION, CONFISCATION AND DESTRUCTION OF PLACES OF WORSHIP

Some States purely and simply ban the construction in public areas of places of worship for minority religions, as in Saudi Arabia.

Where the construction of places of worship is permitted, these places may be either demolished or left to deteriorate due to a ban on repair work, as is the case in Myanmar, or where repairs are hindered, as in Egypt, and there may also be obstacles preventing the construction of new places of worship. It can also happen that access to existing places of worship might be impeded or forbidden, as in the case of several churches and monasteries in the northern part of Cyprus occupied by Turkey.

3.2.2. PROHIBITION, CONFISCATION AND DESTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS PUBLICATIONS

Some countries ban, or heavily restrict, the possession, printing, importation, distribution and/or sale of religious publications of minority religions (as in China, Laos, Mauritania and the Maldives).

In Saudi Arabia the official government policy authorises the keeping of single copies of the Bible strictly for personal use, but there are cases of the religious police arresting Christian faithful on the pretext of their possessing non-Muslim religious literature.

3.2.3. PROHIBITION OF RELIGIOUS TRAINING AND EDUCATION

In some countries, the religious training of clergy is prohibited. In Turkey, the State controls religious training. This affects Sunni Islam, the majority religion, but also the other denominations (such as non-Sunni Muslims, Christians and others). The most notorious case is that of the Greek Orthodox Theological Seminary in Halki, which remains closed despite recent promises made by the Turkish authorities. Access to religious education in accordance with an individual’s own faith may also be restricted. Thus, in some predominantly Muslim countries where there are Christian schools, classes in the Christian religion are banned, while classes teaching the Islamic religion are obligatory (e.g. Kuwait).

3.3 RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION AND DISCRIMINATION

Persecution on the grounds of religious affiliation or manifestation of faith occur in several places in the world, as in the Indian state of Orissa (where Hindu extremists have attacked the Christian minority, including an August 2008 attack where several dozen people were killed). In Laos and Myanmar both governments deal ruthlessly with Christian ethnic minorities. In China many Christians are rotting in prisons or labour camps and are tortured and even executed for their faith. In Pakistan (cf. the anti-Christian riots of Summer 2009 in the villages of Gojra and Korian) or in Iran (where among the different religious minorities the Baha'i communities are persecuted with great zeal and violence). Apart from these brutal physical attacks, there are many other forms of persecution. Among these we mention accusations (or false accusations) of blasphemy (as in Pakistan) or of adultery, gambling, drinking alcohol or theft. In instrumentalising laws penalising these offences, groups and governments attack religious minorities by imposing sentences as severe as the death penalty.

This situation explains why, over the past few decades, we have witnessed a constant flow of emigration of religious minorities, including Christian minorities, *inter alia*, from predominantly Muslim countries and others towards Europe, North America and Australia. Many factors provoke this decision to emigrate. Being subject to discrimination in employment in the public service, many minorities commit themselves to the private sector. But the recent worsening economic conditions have had an immediate and dramatic impact on the socio-economic conditions of these people, especially in situations where social security coverage is non-existent.

In some cases, the decision to emigrate may be explained by persecution deriving from the social-political-religious climate prevailing in the country. For example in Iraq, in 2008 Christians represented only 550,000 to 800,000 of a population of 28 million, compared with between 800,000 and 1,200,000 in 2003⁹⁷ and 1,400,000 in 1987⁹⁸. Yet not all Iraqi refugees are Christian. Having said that, the proportion of Christians amongst all refugees from this country is 40% - while Christians form only 4% of Iraq's total population⁹⁹.

97. U.S. State Department Report on Religious Freedom 2008 – <http://2001-2009.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2008/108483.htm>.
98. According to the 1987 Iraqi census. Source: UNHCR – www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refworld/rwmain?page=printdoc&docid=49913b4bc.
99. Communication of Paul Lansu (Pax Christi International), “Christian Communities in Iraq”, European Parliament, Brussels, 8 October 2008 – <http://storage.paxchristi.net/PUBLIC/2008-0755-en-me-RV.pdf>. In Jordan, Christian Iraqi refugees account for 38% of all Iraqi refugees. In Syria, the figure is 34%. Source: UNHCR - www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/refworld/rwmain?page=printdoc&docid=49913b4bc.

Situations of armed conflict amplify problems and acutely impact minorities through terrorist attacks, kidnapping, ransoms, assault, torture, assassination, intimidation, humiliation, forced marriages and conversion, or orders to leave the country and paying to do so, destruction of houses and churches. The list is long. These acts of violence too often add to disastrous humanitarian situations, not only in Iraq but also in Pakistan and the Holy Land.

But, quite apart from these chaotic situations, the migration of Christians from other Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, has been going on for decades. Christian populations living in the historic cradle of the birth of Christianity are rapidly diminishing in numbers, to the point where they are sometimes threatened with complete disappearance from the region, as may indeed occur in the case of the Assyrian Chaldeans in Turkey.

The improvement of religious freedom in the region should, with other factors (particularly economic), contribute to a stemming of the demographic haemorrhage affecting religious (including Christian) minorities¹⁰⁰.

Along the same lines, while the decision adopted by the EU 'Justice and Home Affairs' Council in November 2008 declaring solidarity with the reception of an additional 10,000 Iraqi refugees on EU territory has been most welcome¹⁰¹, all efforts must be made with a view to preserving the existence of the most vulnerable religious communities of this part of the world – including Christian minorities - on their ancestral land.

Confronted with such a grim tableau of violations of the fundamental right to religious freedom - the cornerstone of all human rights - it is important to give the fullest attention to such a right. In recent times the institutions of the EU have been more and more aware of this issue.

100. It should also be noted that migratory flows of non-Muslim peoples are equally taking place towards the Middle East: that is true in Saudi Arabia, where hundreds of thousands of Christian immigrant workers coming from countries such as the Philippines find themselves deprived of freedom of worship and pastoral care. For those people too it is imperative to improve their rights to religious freedom.
101. Conclusions of the EU 'Justice and Home Affairs' Council on the reception of Iraqi refugees – 2908th session, 27-28 November 2008 - www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/104584.pdf.

IV. THE RISING AWARENESS WITHIN THE EUROPEAN UNION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE RIGHT TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

The European Parliament has become aware of the challenges posed in this area. In its Resolution adopted on 10 May 2007 on reforms in the Arab world, the Parliament expressed the following desire:

that those Arab countries which have not yet done so will commit themselves more fully to religious freedom, or to the right of individuals and communities to freely profess their beliefs and practise their faith (...); on this point, considers that the testimony of millions of Muslims living in Europe should help the Arab countries to implement on the domestic scene the consistent principle of reciprocity which underlies international relations¹⁰².

Likewise, in its Resolution of 19 February 2009 on the Barcelona Process–Union for the Mediterranean, a framework in which the promotion of respect for human rights is one of the major goals, the European Parliament called upon:

all the parties concerned to further and promote respect for freedom of religion and belief and for minority rights; hopes that a joint policy-making and institutional framework will be defined that facilitates greater mutual cooperation in the pinpointing of problems and in the search for common solutions¹⁰³.

The Resolution adopted by the Council of the EU on 16 November 2009 constituted a major breakthrough in this regard. Here the Council acknowledged two major forms of violations and persecutions pertaining to religious freedom. The Council emphasised¹⁰⁴:

102. European Parliament Resolution of 10 May 2007 on reforms in the Arab world: what strategy should the European Union adopt? (2006/2172(INI)), § 19 - www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?pubRef=-//EP//TEXT+TA+P6-TA-2007-0179+0+DOC+XML+V0//EN.

103. European Parliament Resolution of 19 February 2009 on the Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean (2008/2231(INI)), § 28 - www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P6-TA-2009-0077&language=EN&ring=A6-2008-0502.

104. Conclusions of the Council of the European Union on Freedom of Religion or Belief, 2973rd Session of the Council – General Affairs, Brussels, 16 November 2009 - www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cmsUpload/111190.pdf.

} on the one hand, that “States must ensure that their legislative systems provide adequate and effective guarantees of freedom of thought, conscience, religion or belief to all without distinction”,

} on the other hand, that “States have a duty to protect everyone, including persons belonging to minorities, from discrimination, violence and other violations”.

Finally, in its Resolution of 21 January 2010, the European Parliament reacted to the attacks perpetrated on Christian communities in Egypt and Malaysia by¹⁰⁵:

} stressing that “*the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion is a fundamental human right guaranteed by international legal instruments*”,

} strongly condemning “*all kinds of violence, discrimination and intolerance, based on religion and belief, against religious people, apostates and non-believers*”,

} inviting the Egyptian and Malaysian authorities to take the necessary measures to ensure that the authors of the attacks in question would be duly brought to justice and to take care to guarantee the right to religious freedom,

} calling on “*the Council, the Commission and the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy, in the framework of EU relations and cooperation with the countries concerned, to pay particular attention to the situation of religious minorities, including Christian communities*”.

All these Resolutions provide signs of hope for those whose hearts are set on the promotion of the right to religious liberty in the world.

Let us hope that the EU will continue to provide the necessary momentum in this basic struggle for human dignity by enacting the concrete policies, which we encouraged it to pursue in this area.

105. European Parliament Resolution of 21 January 2010 on recent attacks on Christian communities - www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P7-TA-2010-0005&language=EN&ring=P7-RC-2010-0035.

CONCLUSION

CONSIDERING:

- } the duties and obligations of the European Union in protecting and promoting human rights, including religious freedom, as defined in its Charter of Fundamental Rights (Article 10.1) (2000)
- } the violations of fundamental rights to religious freedom and the religious persecution and discrimination in many countries of the world
- } the increasing awareness within the institutions of the European Union of the challenges posed in this area

the institutions of the European Union – including:

- } the European Commission,
- } the Council,
- } the European Council,
- } the European Parliament,

the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy,

and the European External Action Service (EEAS)

are invited to give their consideration to the various recommendations set out in this Memorandum so as to contribute, within their respective responsibilities, to the furtherance of religious freedom under the human rights policy conducted by the European Union in its external relations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The institutions of the EU must unreservedly pursue their policy of protecting and promoting basic freedoms in third-party countries where the religious freedom of religious minorities (including Christian minorities) is violated. It is to these institutions that the following recommendations are particularly addressed.

1. THAT **third-party countries which are in default with regard to their respect for religious freedom BE NOTIFIED** that **religious freedom** constitutes, amongst all human rights, an **essential and basic right** which must be respected¹⁰⁶, and that **conditionalities** related to respect for **human rights** which feature in the bilateral agreements with these countries be made **more effective**.
2. THAT **third-party countries that have not yet signed or ratified the agreements established in the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) BE ENCOURAGED to do so** (with particular reference to the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 18 of which guarantees religious freedom¹⁰⁷).
3. THAT, in cases where third-party countries have made commitments in the area of religious freedom but which are not yet effective, that they BE ENCOURAGED to implement them and thus guarantee the **effectiveness** of their laws.
4. In cases of discrimination and persecution in the area of religious freedom involving individuals and groups within society, independently of the political and public authorities, **THAT defaulting third-party countries BE NOTIFIED** of the fact that **the State is duty-bound to protect all citizens irrespective of their religious faith**. To this end, in countries where **blasphemy laws are instrumentalised** for the persecution of religious minorities THAT such countries BE ENCOURAGED **either to amend such laws or to abolish them**.
5. THAT, in its **Annual EU Report on Human Rights**, a thorough examination of the situation of religious freedom throughout the world BE UNDERTAKEN and recommendations for improvement BE DRAWN UP.

106. A fortiori in the framework of agreements concluded by the EU including provisions on the respect for basic rights. This is the case, for instance, with Article 2 of the Euro-Mediterranean Association Agreements, which stipulates that respect for fundamental rights as set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) is part of them as an “essential element”.

107. See list of countries in Appendix II.

6. THAT the **dialogue with religious authorities and bodies engaged in inter-religious dialogue in third-party countries** BE SUPPORTED with a view to ENCOURAGING respect for religious freedom and more open attitudes towards religious minorities.
7. In support of the above-mentioned objective, THAT **representatives of persecuted religious minorities in the world and Churches**, whose **first-hand knowledge** of this subject makes them ideal partners of the public authorities BE GIVEN VOICE and THAT **NGOs of the Member States and of third-party countries which are fighting for religious freedom throughout the world** BE SUPPORTED.
8. THAT, in its reports on the situation of human rights throughout the world, the “**Human Rights**” **Sub-Committee of the European Parliament’s Committee on Foreign Affairs** BE CALLED UPON to devote a **specific section** to the subject of religious freedom.
9. THAT the European Parliament’s **inter-parliamentary delegations** to third-party countries in default in the area of religious freedom BE CALLED UPON to **devote part of their agenda** of their working sessions to **the specific issue of religious freedom**.
10. THAT the **High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy** BE INVITED to integrate religious freedom fully into the EU Human Rights Policy. To this end THAT he/she BE REQUESTED to ensure that the European **External Action Service (EEAS)** be provided with a “religion unit” devoted to the cause of religious freedom, to the role of religious actors in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as well as in the post-conflict reconstruction phase (reconciliation process).
11. Finally, in the framework of the implementation of Article 17 of the Lisbon Treaty on the functioning of the EU, which guarantees a **dialogue** that is **open, transparent and regular** between the EU and the Churches, THAT provision be made for dealing with the issue of the **right to religious freedom** at the centre of all future agendas.

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APPENDIX I

DIMENSIONS OF THE RIGHT TO RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AT INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY LEVELS EXCERPTS FROM THE MESSAGE DELIVERED BY POPE JOHN PAUL II TO THE SIGNATORY COUNTRIES OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT ON 14 NOVEMBER 1980¹⁰⁸

a) at the personal level, the following have to be taken into account:

- } freedom to hold or not to hold a particular faith and to join the corresponding confessional community;
- } freedom to perform acts of prayer and worship, individually and collectively, in private or in public, and to have churches or places of worship according to the needs of the believers;
- } freedom for parents to educate their children in the religious convictions that inspire their own life, and to have them attend catechetical and religious instruction as provided by their faith community;
- } freedom for families to choose the schools or other means which provide this sort of education for their children, without having to sustain directly or indirectly extra charges which would in fact deny them this freedom;
- } freedom for individuals to receive religious assistance wherever they are, especially in public health institutions (clinics and hospitals), in military establishments, during compulsory public service, and in places of detention;
- } freedom, at personal, civic or social levels, from any form of coercion to perform acts contrary to one's faith, or to receive an education or to join groups or associations with principles opposed to one's religious convictions;
- } freedom not to be subjected, on religious grounds, to forms of restriction and discrimination, vis-à-vis one's fellow citizens, in all aspects of life (in all matters concerning one's career, including study, employment or profession; one's participation in civic and social responsibilities, etc.).

108. www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/messages/pont_messages/1980/documents/hf_jp-ii_mes_19800901_helsinki-act_en.html.

b) at the community level, account has to be taken of the fact that religious denominations, in bringing together believers of a given faith, exist and act as social bodies organized according to their own doctrinal principles and institutional purposes.

The Church as such, and confessional communities in general, need to enjoy specific liberties in order to conduct their life and to pursue their purposes; among such liberties the following are to be mentioned especially:

- } freedom to have their own internal hierarchy or equivalent ministers freely chosen by the communities according to their constitutional norms;
- } freedom for religious authorities (notably, in the Catholic Church, for bishops and other ecclesiastical superiors) to exercise their ministry freely, ordain priests or ministers, appoint to ecclesiastical offices, communicate and have contacts with those belonging to their religious denomination;
- } freedom to have their own institutions for religious training and theological studies, where candidates for priesthood and religious consecration can be freely admitted;
- } freedom to receive and publish religious books related to faith and worship, and to have free use of them;
- } freedom to proclaim and communicate the teaching of the faith, whether by the spoken or the written word, inside as well as outside places of worship, and to make known their moral teaching on human activities and on the organization of society: this being in accordance with the commitment, included in the Helsinki Final Act, to facilitate the spreading of information, of culture, of exchange of knowledge and experiences in the field of education; which corresponds, moreover, in the religious field to the Church's mission of evangelization;
- } freedom to use the media of social communication (press, radio, television) for the same purpose;
- } freedom to carry out educational, charitable and social activities so as to put into practice the religious precept of love for neighbour, particularly for those most in need.

Furthermore:

- } With regard to religious communities which, like the Catholic Church, have a supreme authority responsible at world level (in line with the directives of their faith) for the unity of communion that binds together all pastors and believers in the same confession (a responsibility exercised through Magisterium and jurisdiction): freedom to maintain mutual relations of communication between that authority and the local pastors and religious communities; freedom to make known the documents and texts of the Magisterium (encyclicals, instructions, etc.);
- } at the international level: freedom of free exchange in the field of communication, cooperation, religious solidarity, and more particularly the possibility of holding multi-national or international meetings;
- } also at the international level, freedom for religious communities to exchange information and other contributions of a theological or religious nature.

APPENDIX II

COUNTRIES YET TO SIGN OR RATIFY THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS¹⁰⁹
(NEW YORK, 16 DECEMBER 1966)

COUNTRY	PACT SIGNED BUT NOT RATIFIED	PACT NEITHER SIGNED NOR RATIFIED
Antigua-and Barbuda		X
Saudi Arabia		X
Bhutan		X
Brunei Darussalam		X
Chine	X	
Comoros	X	
Cuba	X	
United Arab Emirates		X
Fiji		X
Guinea	X	
Marshall Islands		X
Salomon Islands		X
Kiribati		X
Laos	X	
Malaysia		X
Micronesia (Federal States of)		X
Myanmar		X
Nauru	X	
Oman		X
Pakistan	X	
Palaos		X
Qatar		X
St Lucia		X
St Kitts and Nevis		X
São Tomé and Príncipe	X	
Singapore		X
Tonga		X
Tuvalu		X

Source: Source: United Nations Organization (UNO), Treaty Collection - http://treaties.un.org/Pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&cmdsg_no=IV-4&chapter=4&lang=en&clang=_en - List of UN Member States: <http://www.un.org/en/members>.

109. 6 November 2009.

APPENDIX III

MEMBERS OF THE COMECE AD HOC WORKING GROUP ON RECIPROCITY IN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Mgr Dr Khaled Akashah

PhD in Biblical Theology, Graduate in Arab and Islamic Studies
Head Office for Islam, Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue

Mr Stephen Biller

Engineer
Former Special Adviser for Religious Affairs, Presidency of the European Parliament / European People's Party (Christian Democrats) / European Democrats (EPP-ED) (dialogue with Islam)
General Secretary of the Consultative Council "Al Sharatan" (Gulf Council for Foreign Relations - GCCFFR, Bahrain)

Prof Dr Louis-Léon Christians

PhD (Law) / PhD (Canon Law)
Professor at Université catholique de Louvain (UCL) and Institut catholique de Paris

Rev Prof Dr Edouard Divry

PhD (Dogmatic Theology) / PhD (Fundamental Theology)
Professor, Faculté de Théologie de Lugano, Institut catholique, Toulouse, and Séminaire diocésain, Toulon
Delegate for Interreligious Dialogue (Judaism, Islam), Diocese of Montpellier

Mr Michaël Lontie

BA (Philosophy)
Project Coordinator, "Aid to the Church in Need" (Belgian Section), an international Pontifical charitable organisation

Rev Prof Hans Vöcking

Emeritus Professor, Pontifical Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies (PISAI)
Secretary, Migration Commission, Council of European Bishops' Conferences (CCEE)
Co-Moderator, Joint Committee for Relations with Muslims in Europe (CRME), CCEE - CEC/KEK

COORDINATION – COMECE SECRETARIAT:

Prof Dr Vincent Legrand

PhD (Political Science - International Relations) / Graduate in Arabic and Islamic Studies

Adviser on Interreligious Affairs, COMECE Secretariat

Visiting Professor, Université catholique de Louvain (UCL) (Contemporary Arab World)

THE CONFERENCE WAS ORGANISED BY

THE EPP GROUP NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICY AND INTERCULTURAL ACTIVITIES SERVICE



Paolo Licandro, Deputy Secretary-General
and Head of Neighbourhood Policy and Intercultural Activities Service



György Hölvényi, Adviser, Neighbourhood Policy
and Intercultural Activities Service - Intercultural and Religious Dialogue



Eduard Sloomweg, Adviser, Press and Communications,
Neighbourhood Policy and Intercultural Activities Service



Gábor Török, Assistant, Neighbourhood Policy
and Intercultural Activities Service - Intercultural and Religious Dialogue



Nora Kramer, Assistant, Neighbourhood Policy
and Intercultural Activities Service - Intercultural and Religious Dialogue

AND COMMISSION OF THE BISHOPS' CONFERENCES OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (COMECE)



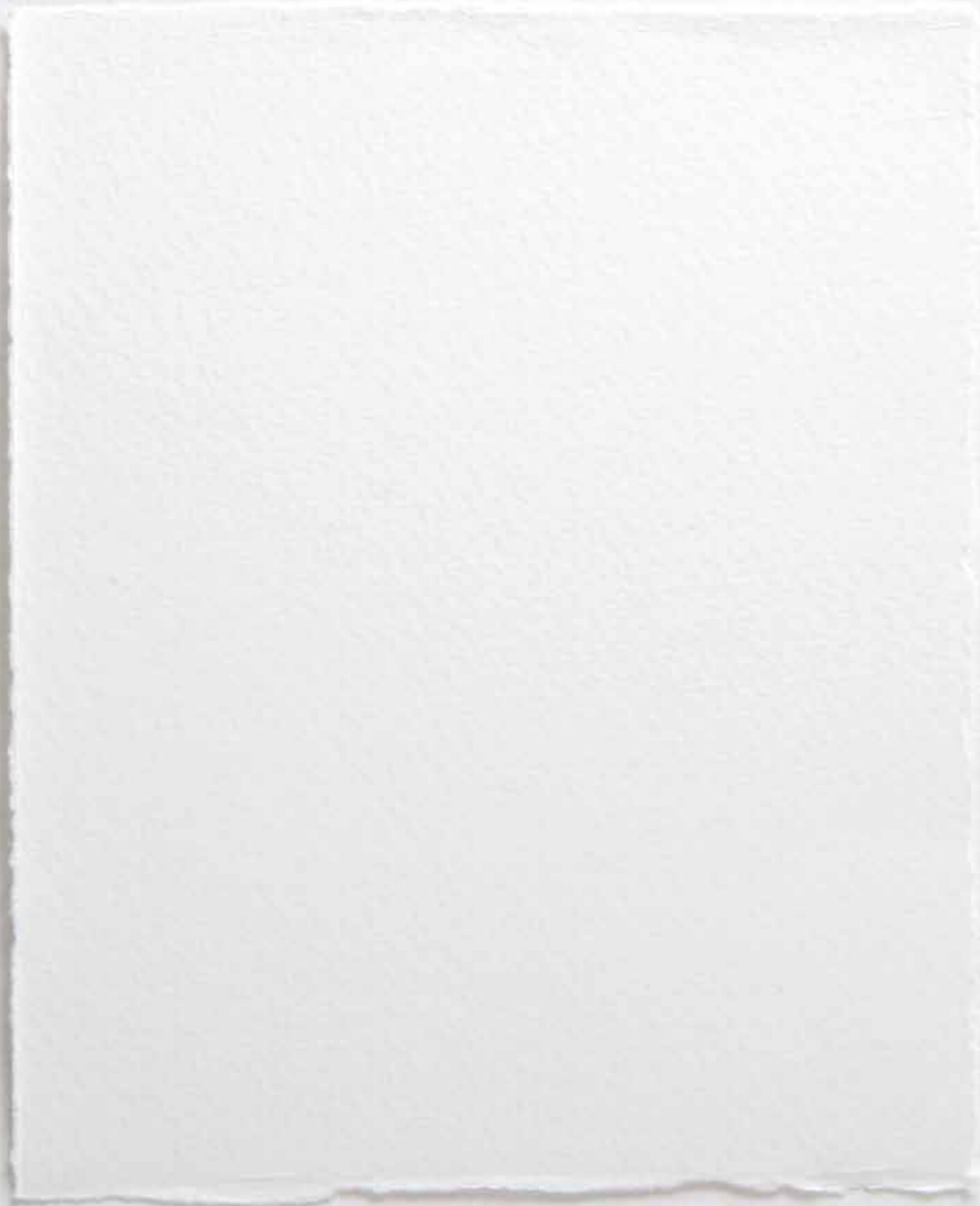
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E-mail: angela.kaladjis@europarl.europa.eu

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