

WHAT KIND OF VALUES ARE THE BASES OF THE EUROPEAN INTEGRATION?

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Summary. The subject of the paper is answering the question: what kind of values are the bases of the European integration? This question is only part of more complex problem, namely: what is the future of Europe? These issues are current in the face of events, which we are witnesses. Living in a pluralistic society cannot ignore the problems of European integration and its two main trends: the cultural heritage of the European nations and ideological presumptions of political parties.

Key words: European Union, cultural heritage, values, Christian values

The subject of my paper is the very important question for the future of Europe: what kind of values are the bases of the European integration, called European Union? It is not easy to answer this question, because we are living in the pluralistic society. But as the matter of fact in public life of Europe there are two main currents of integration. One of them is based on the cultural heritage of European nations, the second one is based on the ideological presumptions of the political parties.

I

At the beginning we have to look into the historical experiences, because the European Union is not the first event of integration in the history of Europe. The first one was the ancient Roman Empire, that was based on the power of law and the military forces according to the uncompromising principle: *Dura lex sed lex*. But under influence of the Greek philosophy it was mitigated by the axiological presumptions, like *Plus ratio quam vis* or *Tantum valet auctoritas quantum valet ratio*.

Ancient Roman Empire was based also on the paradigm of the political and religious monism, expressed by the cult of Cesar as the sign of political integration of conquered peoples. Nevertheless at the beginning of the Middle Ages it was initiated the process of transformation of the pagan Roman Empire from the religious and political monism into the religious

and political dualismus according to the teaching of Jesus Christ: *Reddite ergo caesari quos est caesaris and Deo quod est Dei* (Matt 22, 17-21). It was transformation the pagan to the Christian Roman Empire. Towards the next medieval centuries the *respublica christiana* was formed, also named *Sacrum Imperium Romanum*, which was based on the Christian religion and culture. It was formed on the fundaments of the Roman law, the Greek philosophy and the Christian ethics¹.

However after collapse of the first Roman Empire and the invasion of the pagan Asiatic peoples to Europe it had been erised a new *Imperium Romanum*, named *Sacrum Imperium Romanum Francorum* and next *Germanorum*, based on the two monumental pillars transmitted by the Church: the Roman Law and Evangelium. It was the political and cultural integration of European nations based on the foundation of the Christian values. Towards the end of the first Millenium into the Roman Empire have been incorporated the Hungarian nation and the Slavonic nations, as Great Moravians², Polish³ and Rutheniens⁴.

However at the beginning of the Contemporary Ages has taken place the disintegration of the Christian Europe. It was inspired by different kind of ideologies, as liberalism, national socialism and communism.

Nevertheless the influences of different ideologies the nations of the central and eastern Europe have preserved their Christian cultural roots. Very important sign of it was the proclamation of the Cyrille and Metody's heritage in the Constitution of Slovak Republic and Christian heritage in the Constitution of Polish Republic⁵.

The main question is: shall the Christian values be respected in the law of European Union? The source of the negation of respecting of these values is misunderstanding the truth that there are two kind of Christian values: one of them are the theological values, like a truth that God is one into the three divine persons: Father, Son and the Holy Spirit and on the supernatural dignity of

¹ B. Vogel, *Europäische Union und Religiöser Pluralismus*, in: *Kultura i prawo*, vol. V: *Materiały V Międzynarodowej Konferencji na temat Tożsamość kulturowa Unii Europejskiej a pluralizm religijny*, Trewir, 18-19 września 2006, eds. J. Krukowski, J. Isensee, M. Sitarz, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2007, pp. 227–240; J. Krukowski, *Kościół i państwo. Podstawy relacji prawnych*, ed. 2, Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, Lublin 2000, pp. 15–33.

² M.S. Durica, *L'acculturazione cristiana come costante storica dell'identità etnica degli Slovacchi*, in: *The Common Christian Roots of the European Nations. An International Colloquium in the Vatican*, Le Mounnier, Florence 1982, pp. 23–31.

³ A. Nowak, *Dzieje Polski*, vol. I: *Skąd Nasz Ród (do 1202)*, Biały Kruk, Kraków 2014, pp. 61–98; K. Ożóg, *966. Chrzest Polski*, Biały Kruk, Kraków 2016; W. Uruszczak, *Historia państwa i prawa polskiego*, vol. I: *(966-1705)*, ed. 3, Lex a Wolters Kluwer business, Warszawa 2015, pp. 34–45.

⁴ K. Ożóg, *966. Chrzest Polski*, pp. 31–38.

⁵ J. Krukowski, *Konstytucyjne zasady relacji państwo–Kościół w III Rzeczypospolitej*, in: *Katolickie zasady relacji państwo–Kościół a prawo polskie*, eds. J. Krukowski, M. Sitarz, H. Stawniak, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2015, pp. 91–93.

man, redeemed by Jesus Christ; the belief in that truth is the essential element of Christian religion. While the second kind of Christian values are the universal ethical values, which are the foundations of all social relations, like the inherent dignity of human person as the source of the human rights and fundamental freedoms, and that the main purpose of social order is the good of human person and that the common good as the fundamentally base of the relations between all people and all human societies⁶. They are the bases of the culture of the European nations. The next main question is: are these universal ethical values the bases of the European Union?

II

As a matter of fact the integration of the democratic states of the Western Europe – initiated after the World War II by the Christian politicians – Konrad Adenauer, Robert Schuman and Alcide de Gasperi – was based on the values which decided on the identity of Europe: on the universal Christian values. However in next years the differences emerged, resulting from other ideological presumptions of political parties lead themselves and directed to the powers of the European Union and to the control over the functioning of supreme organs of member states, according to the law stated by the European Union and to its interpretation according to the presumptions of the neoliberal ideology. The new problems arised when the organs of the European Union do not respecte of the universal human values, which have had the origin in the Christian heritage of European nations.

After the collapse of the communist regime of the nations of the Central and Eastern Europe, which initiated the creation of the democratic order in the bases of the Christian values rooted in the national culture. Towards the same time it was initiated the implementation of law of the European Union to the economical, financial and social life of the given states. The European Union functions on the bases of law stated by its organs. At that moment I want to pay attention to three very important issues:

1) what kind of values forms the bases of the law stated by the European Union?

⁶ Ioannes Paulus PP. II, Adhortatio apostolica post-synodalis *Ecclesia in Europa* (28.06.2003), AAS 95 (2003), pp. 649–719, n. 61-73; J. Życiński, *Das Axiologische Fundament der Europäischen Einheit in der Perspektive des Apostolischen Schreibens "Ecclesia in Europa"*, in: *Kultura i prawo*, vol. IV: *Materiały IV Międzynarodowej Konferencji na temat Religia i wolność religijna w państwach Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej w perspektywie integracji europejskiej*, Lublin, 1-2 września 2003, ed. J. Krukowski, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2004, pp. 21–31; J. Krukowski, *Prawo Unii Europejskiej a wartości chrześcijańskie*, Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 2012, pp. 45–62.

2) what is the meaning of the national identity of states members of the European Union with the respect of their sovereignty in the application of the common European law to the social order of the given states?

3) what is the meaning of the application of the project of the “civil society” in the public order and which are its consequences for the legal security of the European states in the opening of the border to the great waves of the immigrants from Asia and Africa to Europe?

III

The first question refers to the European values proclaimed by the European Union. These are defined in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of 7 December 2000, adopted on 12 December 2007, which shall have the same legal values as the Treaties of the European Union. The common values of the European Union were defined also in the Treaty of European Union called Treaty of Lisbon. The art. 2 of its declared:

“The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the members of a society in which pluralism, non discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity, and equality between women and men prevail”⁷.

The European Union determined also its own competences according to the principles of solidarity and proportionality. These basic values of the Union are similar to the Christian values but indeed are not just identical ones. After all they just not respect the hierarchy of the ethical fundamental values and they are not inform how to dissolve the conflicts between the primary and secondary values, and also they do not contain the principle of common good. In fact that proclamation of values is based on the neoliberal principle of competition of interests between the members states.

IV

Art. 4 of the Treaty of Lisbon proclaimed the principle of “respect the equality of Member States before the Treaties as well as their national identities, inherent in their fundamental structures, political and constitutional, inclusive of regional and local self government”⁸.

For understanding that declaration the next commentary is required. In the first stage of the European integration after the World War II the concept of

⁷ Dz.U. UE C 306 of 17 Dec. 2007.

⁸ Ibidem.

“national state” was rejected. The justification of that point of view has the tragic historical experiences. The national state was perceived as the source of the two world wars of the 20th century, originating in Europe. The leaders of the democratic states attempted to replace the concept of national state with the concept of the international structure, that would unite multiple population in a single European organization. It was the federalist structure, claiming that the national states were the transitional phenomena, leading to the creation of broader structure that will be able of completing the plan of peace and reconciliation between the nations, based on the common economic and political interests.

However the reality proved different than the political project. After the collapse of communist bloc in the end of 20th century the concept of national state did not only fall to decay, but renewed on the international arena, that confirming their rationale behind their existence. This trend emerged in Central and Eastern Europe after the “Solidarity Revolution” that was initiated in Poland. The results were the recognition of democratic national states, that expressed their will to exist and join to the European Union.

Under the influence of these events, the respect for the national states was stressed. But the question is what is the meaning of that assumed the respect of the sovereignty of the given state in the negative and positive aspect.

V

The last question respects the concept of the project of “civil society”. As the matter of fact it is the project of neoliberal ideology to create a civil society, made of the non-governmental organizations and other groups of people of different cultures, religions and viewpoints, existing between the individual man and the state, created at the common pour pieces to attain the European values. It was assumed, that in the future the national state will be replaced by the European civil society, in which the role of the state will be limited to the protection of basic freedom and rights of individuals, with the preservation of the democratic procedure. The sovereign competences of the state will be assumed by the European Union. That project of the building of civil society has failed of the inviting to the European Union millions of the Muslim immigrants from Asia and Africa. This kind of the opening of the borders of Europe is the source of the political crises of European Union and the terroristic attacks in the states of Western Europe and even the beginning of the European disintegration⁹.

⁹ E. Shils, *Naród, narodowość, nacjonalizm a społeczeństwo obywatelskie*, “Sprawy Narodowościowe – Seria nowa” vol. 5 (1996), issue 1 (8), pp. 9–30.

CONCLUSIONS

The historical experiences are resulting the problem of the respecting the moral values in the public order of the states of the European Union. Successfully for the development of nations of Europe were the periods, when the Christian universal values were respected in the public order, and very dangerous were that ones, in which the Christian values were removed from the public life according to the different ideological presumptions¹⁰.

The future prosperity of the European nations depends on it, if the Christian universal moral values will be respected in the public order of the singular states. It concerns also the states of Eastern and Central Europe.

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¹⁰ J. Isensee, *Das europäische an der Europäischen Union*, in: *Kultura i prawo*, vol. V, pp. 369–392.

JAKIEGO RODZAJU WARTOŚCI SĄ PODSTAWĄ INTEGRACJI EUROPEJSKIEJ?

Streszczenie. Przedmiotem artykułu jest udzielenie odpowiedzi na pytanie: jakiego rodzaju wartości są podstawą integracji europejskiej? Pytanie to stanowi tylko część bardziej złożonego problemu, mianowicie: jaka jest przyszłość Europy? Kwestie te są aktualne wobec wydarzeń, jakich jesteśmy świadkami. Żyjąc w społeczeństwie pluralistycznym nie można ignorować problemów dotyczących integracji europejskiej i jej dwóch podstawowych nurtów: dziedzictwa kulturowego narodów europejskich i ideologicznych założeń partii politycznych.

Słowa kluczowe: Unia Europejska, dziedzictwo kulturowe, wartości, wartości chrześcijańskie

